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ANGOLA GENERAL

1975

Unita leader's promise on SWA

STAR 28/4/75

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA—The National Union (Unita) liberation movement favours enlisting the aid of countries such as Botswana and Zambia to ensure a peaceful independence for South West Africa, Unita president Dr Jonas Savimbi told a packed Press conference yesterday.

The colourful Dr Savimbi, bearing a rifle and dressed in camouflage battledress, was facing the Press for the first time since his arrival in Luanda on Saturday.

He also called for a meeting with the leaders of the other two Angolan liberation movements — the Popular Front (MPLA) and the National Front (FNLA) — as the Angolan situation was deteriorating.

Dr Savimbi, whose son died of illness on Saturday, won himself much support among sceptics at the conference.

He defended private enterprise and stressed the need for foreign investment.

Dr Savimbi said that the deal was right for the country.

NON-VIOLENT

On the South West African situation, he said that troops of SWAPO, the SWA liberation force, had aided Unita during their struggle and they shed blood with us.

Dr Savimbi said that because of this Unita was bound to be interested in

the future of SWA but that it was not possible to help SWAPO now as Angola had problems of its own.

Asked what sort of help he envisaged, Dr Savimbi said Unita would attempt to help in a non-violent

change to independence.

Asked why Unita troops had taken up posts at the Santa Clara border post between SWA and Angola and why Unita troops were patrolling the frontier with SWA, Dr Savimbi said they were

there "to check on who is arriving and who is leaving."

Dr Savimbi stressed that the presence of troops on the border did not mean that Unita mistrusted the South Africans.

F.M. 9/5/75

Angola — Savimbi's prescription

Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita Front for United Total Independence of Angola) arrived in Luanda 11 days ago or the first time since he became involved in the bitter War of Independence 10 years ago.

But his triumphant return was marred — hours later — by the worst outbreak of violence in the territory so far.

Savimbi, regarded by many as the favourite to win the hoped-for October elections prior to independence on November 11, has talked to the *FM* about Angola's future.

M: Are elections still possible before November 11?

Savimbi: We are now very much behind schedule. The provisional constitution should have been published by March 1. It was not. The electoral law was supposed to be ready by April, but the transitional government has not started working on it. The registration of voters was supposed to start in April and end in July — we are really behind with that programme, too.

Is any one movement capable of leading the country?

In the opinion of Unita it is necessary for the three liberation movement leaders to meet now and urgently examine the problems we are facing. If

problem of leadership. At the moment the interim government is not operating decisively at all — it discusses minor problems, incidents here, incidents there, and not the real political issues.

I am not condemning the interim government — Unita has given it all its support. But the movements within the transitional government are still operating as individual groups.

There has been a lot of talk about civil war. How seriously do you assess the possibility?

Who is going to create civil war? The balance between the three liberation movements, whilst in some ways negative, is positive in others — because anyone who starts a war will force the unity of the other two movements against themselves.

And the violence?

The three liberation movements must adopt a realistic stance. There is no possibility of two of them destroying the third, or for one to become the only representative (of the people).

There will have to be concessions so that we can make our independence possible and the society viable. That is the position of Unita. Joining two against one, or *vice versa*, is not possible.

There was a very clear programme laid

army is really advancing very well. We cannot continue to have three armies. Angola needs a national army. There will, however, never be true integration while MPLA, FNLA and Unita troops occupy different barracks.

You have said that you see Angola as a socialist State with full scope for private enterprise. Is that not a contradiction?

There is no contradiction. I think that socialism will be a necessity. What we cannot do is become capitalists. Who would be the capitalists — the new leaders? No, those who led the country to independence cannot become the exploiters of the people.

We want a socialist system, but which one? There is the orthodox one — the extremist one. We want the democratic one — a social democracy. But it would be a mistake to compare the system we want with any other country — for instance, Scandinavia.

But we cannot develop the country without the support and help of private enterprise, some of it foreign. Foreign investors must come here knowing our orientation — that the State wants to have a say in economic planning. We will discuss with them what they are going to give us and what they will take.

How do you see the new Angola living with SA and do you trust Mr Vorster's policy of detente?

We support completely the atmosphere of detente. There is a need to live together peacefully in this area. That is a must. That is why we back completely the initiatives of Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere and Seretse Khama.

On the question of Zimbabwe we have seen that Vorster was sincere. Ian Smith would have gone on for many years without agreeing to talk to the nationalists if he had been sure he would continue to get the military backing and economic support of SA.

Because SA did not accept Smith's reasoning, Sithole was released. It was not the intention of the Rhodesian government to release him, but pressure was applied from SA. These are the facts that suggest Mr Vorster is a realistic leader.

After Zimbabwe we are going to tackle the question of Namibia. A different formula will be applied there. Last we are going to discuss the problem of apartheid. It is a South African problem. People do not understand the situation when they say that Vorster is cheating them. There is no question of anyone cheating anyone. There are three prob-



Nationalisation? Never . . . State participation? Yes

don't meet now with the Portuguese and find a solution to the problem of vision, then we cannot go ahead.

Unita considers consultation with the people must be the basic element that will give us a guideline in solving the

down at the Algarve talks (on independence) for establishing a joint army of 24 000 men. There seems to be no progress towards this?

I think it's a question of information. The work on forming an integrated

lems which will be treated in turn.

You have said that fighting may not be the best solution to the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia. Can you elaborate?

We share the pan-Africanist view that our continent should be totally liberated. The armed struggle has, for a long time, been a slogan to rally people in the OAU and to get more money and support.

But, if we can achieve the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia without an armed struggle, why should we miss that opportunity? Whilst there is a possibility of talking and getting a peaceful settlement we shall never support an armed struggle.

What are your ideas on economic co-operation with SA after independence?

I hope the future leaders of Angola will co-operate with SA. We have that dam at Cunene (see page 000), we have other investments with SA. What are we going to do? Are we going to ostracise them? I think not. I hope that any leader here will be realistic and accept political and economic co-operation with any country, despite differences in political systems.

Aren't you applying double standards? Do you see different solutions in Namibia and Zimbabwe to the solution you seek for SA itself?

SA is an independent country. All the African States agree on that. I have never heard anyone talk in terms of liberating SA — not even at the OAU. We are condemning apartheid — that is a different thing.

Do you feel that foreign companies exploiting Angola's natural resources should be nationalised or come under State control?

Never. Nationalisation is a disease. The foreign companies are manned by experts who have the know-how to develop our petroleum, diamond and copper industries. The real question is the renegotiation of allowable profits. Foreign companies need their profits — they would not invest in the country without them. But the people of Angola need their share.

The existing agreements were made between the companies and the Portuguese. When Angola is an independent country investors must realise that the people of Angola will have a greater share in the exploitation of our wealth. The Portuguese did not care very much about that. State participation, yes. Nationalisation, no.

Commander Chiwale (chief of the Unita army) has been to China recently. Has China offered aid to an independent Angola?

I don't think the trip of Commander Chiwale to China was successful. We don't wish to hide anything. Chiwale and I were trained by the Chinese in

1965. The Chinese promised to support us in the struggle. They did not. We are not frustrated because they supported the FNLA — if they want to support FNLA or MPLA it is their business. They asked us to send a delegation to Peking, but I was personally reluctant. We have gone past the stage when we were expecting aid from the Chinese — and it did not come.

Who has the greatest influence on your political thinking?

I had close relations with Ché Guevara and with Ahmed Ben Bella. The two weeks I spent with Ché Guevara in Dar es Salaam in 1965 influenced my thinking. I got a new evolution when Ché left Cuba. When he was no more in Cuba I started to question why.

I went to China and my thinking changed. I returned to Angola ready to fight but said to myself I must do my own thinking. Any theory has positives and negatives. The Russians and the Chinese, although both communists, are enemies because of the nationalism in their policies. This is why I have gone through several stages in my thinking. Now, I am thinking in a different way altogether after my own experience of



Socialism will be a necessity

fighting for six-and-a-half years in the bush.

Would you describe yourself as an anti-communist?

I am not anti-communist because it does not serve any useful purpose. I am not a communist — again it does not serve any purpose. I am an Angolan who wants to serve his country.

We want a democratic society — to co-operate with everybody so long as they don't endanger our country. So we will leave the superpowers — the Americans and the Russians — to confront themselves. As President Kenyatta said: "When you see two elephants fighting keep well clear, because the grass tends to get trampled."

The Star's Africa
News Service

PEREIRA DE ECA — The shots which crackled out in the dry heat here across the Angola/South West Africa border last month seriously but temporarily disrupted the otherwise peaceable relations between the UNITA liberation army and the South African authorities.

The shooting was confirmed by the Portuguese governor of Cunene Province, Mr Pessanha Vieira.

Patrols

But all he would say was: "Two patrols were passing each other and inexplicably began firing at each other."

The incident had already been confirmed by the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, who said, five days after the shooting: "A South African Army patrol was fired on from the Angola side of the South West Africa border. The patrol retaliated and the unknown attackers fled."

"Our patrol suffered no casualties. Such incidents are deplored. We do not start them, but when fired on we have no option but to retaliate."

Details were supplied by Dr Antonio Vakulukuta, leader of UNITA in Cunene and a tough veteran of the bush war against the Portuguese Army.

The incident started when a UNITA patrol — (the movement's men continuously patrol their side of the common border with South West Africa) — set out in three jeeps on what is described as a routine exercise.

They set off in the direction of the wood processing factory owned by a local businessman, Mr Antonio "Banana" Alves.

Mr Jorge Flora, an engineer supervising the roadmaking activities in this barren province, says: "Many people knew that Banana had been moving much of his equipment over to the South West African side for some time."

Employees

According to Dr Vakulukuta some of Mr Alves's employees saw the approaching patrol and told their boss that UNITA was coming to seize the factory.

The doctor denies that this was the intention. "This was a routine patrol," he insists.

Mr Alves panicked and, according to UNITA, he hurried to the South West African side of the border.

PEREIRA DE ECA

Dr Vakulukuta has his headquarters here



UNITA install SANTA

Incidents in this zone 20km



OSHIKANGA Mr Alves lives here

Ward 75

UNITA lost two jeeps to rocket fire. Dr Vakulukuta says one jeep was entirely wrecked and is still at the scene of the action.

I was shown a third jeep involved in the battle. I counted at least 20 bullet holes in its bodywork.

UNITA claim their side had no dead. Certainly had anybody been sitting in that jeep when the bullets struck he would have been very ill indeed. Bullets had smashed through the driver's cab at about stomach level.

The action eventually broke off and the two sides retired. It is not clear what has happened to Mr Alves' equipment which is still on the Angolan side.

But Mr Alves himself now lives in a single storey house in the village of Oshikango, barely 100 metres from the frontier fence but on the South West African side.

UNITA seem perfectly happy to let him stay there but Mr Flora warns: "I think he would be in serious trouble if they caught him on this side of the border."

Ominous as the incident was, Dr Vakulukuta seems determined to view it as a regrettable and isolated flare-up.

"The last thing we want is upsets with the people on the other side of the border. We want to live in peace. We deeply regret this incident — it should never have happened."

But the Portuguese border officials are still there and the UNITA men, who have set up headquarters in a little building at the

CAPE TOWN.—The Department of Foreign Affairs and the fledgling Kavango Government in the northern part of South West Africa are negotiating political and economic settlements with leaders of Angola's independence movements.

- The Express can disclose that:
- ① The Kavango Government has already negotiated a border truce with MPLA, FNLA and Unita leaders by threatening to withhold from Angola the use of essential services in the tiny homeland. The settlement came after shots were fired at a truck driven by a Finnish sister employed by a mission hospital in Kavango.
 - ② The Department of Foreign Affairs has approached the Portuguese and Angolan governments in an urgent attempt to settle any doubts about the agreement in which South Africa and Portugal are jointly developing the R80-million Kunene River power station project in the border town of Ruacana.
 - ③ The Department of Foreign Affairs has also been asked to thrash out an agreement with Angola for proper control on the South West Africa border. Border control has virtually collapsed since the civil war in Angola.

Protest

These disclosures were made this week by Mr Jannie De Wet, Commissioner General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, in an interview at Oshakati in Ovambo.

Mr De Wet said that after two incidents, one involving the Finnish sister, the other involving Unita's occupation of the Calueque storage dam which forms a vital link in the Kunene River power project, the Kavango Government lodged a protest with Angola.

The MPLA, FNLA and Unita then made contact with Kavango.

"I went over the border and attended the talks as an observer," Mr De Wet said. "The discussions were between the Kavango Government and the three local leaders of the movements.

They apologised for the shots fired across the river and claimed they were not fired on instructions but were fired by irresponsible people.

"They gave an undertaking that it would not happen again."

Agriculture, mining key to

Angola's prosperity

At the

rainbow's end

STAR 26/5/75

When (and if) Angola can sort out its pressing political problems, it can concentrate on exploiting enormous natural wealth for its people, the new rulers are already discovering. **DEON DU PLESSIS** of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

LUANDA — The socialist spirit is abroad in Angola today in two of the country's most important spheres — agriculture and mining.

In the new Angola both these fields rank high on the transitional government's priority list — agriculture to keep the people fed and mining to keep the foreign money rolling in.

And with the new order here both promise to become much more by the people and for the people.

"It cannot be tolerated that 1 000 people together have more land than 500 000 who are involved in agricultural production," says the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Mateus Neto. He sternly vows to change all that.

Minister of Mining at the moment is a chunky black man, Dr Jeremia Chitunda, who acquired perfect English with an American accent after more than a decade in the United States.

"I'm not thinking necessarily of nationalisation of our mining industry, but more participation is essential," is his view.

Diamonds

Another priority of his is providing Angola with the means to process the riches from its soil.

For example the country produces about three million carats of diamonds a year, yet the local cutting industry is miniscule.

Another sad example is oil. Nine million tons of crude oil gushes annually from the rigs off Cabinda. Angola's consumption is about two million tons a year.

But the country's one refinery processes less oil. Nine million tons of some petroleum products have to be imported.

All this, says Dr Chitunda, is a hangover from Portuguese colonial rule — from the days when it suited and paid Portugal to export refined petroleum products to Angola while buying cheap Angolan crude, when it suited Portuguese to have Angolan diamonds cut by Portuguese cutters in Portugal.

Those days will be gone for good when the new Angolans like Dr Chitunda get into their stride.

He feels angry too about the treatment meted out to Black workers on some mines by their old masters.

"Some workers there worked barefoot without hard hats. Can you imagine that?" he says.

Iron ore

He is optimistic over Angola's mineral potential, and with good reason.

Down south in the Cunene province are vast deposits of iron ore with one deposit alone esti-

mated at 5 000-million tons. In central Angola there is copper with deposits of clay, phosphates and salt strewn liberally through the rest of this giant territory.

And all this with only 30 percent of the country properly surveyed so far.

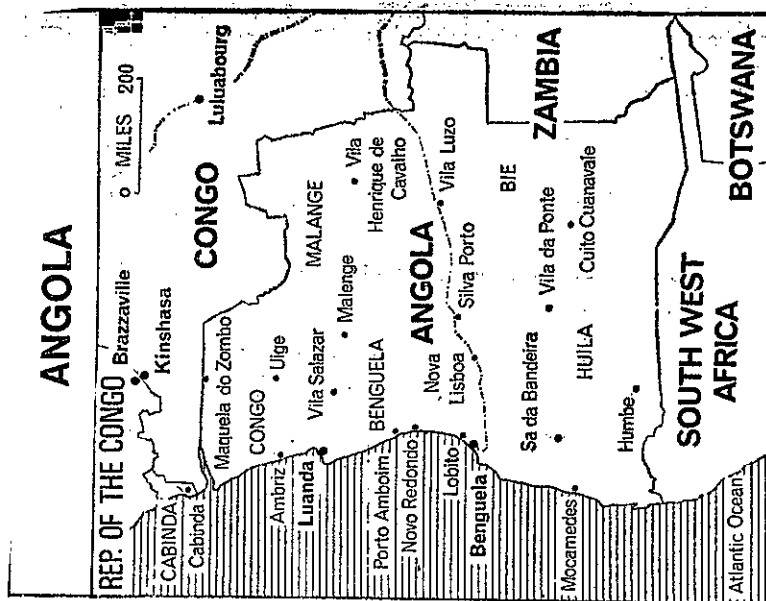
Dr Chitunda can afford to talk in terms of Angola's own diamond cutting industry, a possible new refinery, a steel mill. All he needs is at hand.

Co-operatives

And will the new Angola accept South African aid for its projects to come? A slow smile and the careful answer: "Before any investment proposals are accepted, political relationships will have to be defined."

Over at the Agriculture Ministry, Minister Neto has bold ideas all his own.

"I will try to organise Angolan agriculture into co-operatives and one basic aim will be to increase the food capacity of the country."



sisting that agricultural research in the country comes closer to the realities of the situation.

For instance, he says, the country must process its own raw timber.

And he too demands that Angola stop exporting her natural wealth for conversion elsewhere.

Far-reaching plans in two vital spheres of Angola, but plans that, properly administered, must surely mean a better deal for all in this huge country — provided it can first solve its urgent political problems.

There will be a new system of land distribution eventually, he says, with the best man getting the best land, be he Black or White.

Credit will be available to all farmers and a special agency set up to raise money for specific projects.

For instance Angola should lessen its dependency on imported wheat. Currently about 100 000 tons a year is imported.

Mr Neto intends coordinating all agricultural bodies in Angola under one department and is in-

F.M. 30/5/75

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Angola: the harsh realities

General Silva Cardoso, High Commissioner of the Angolan transitional government, is in charge of security in the troubled State. In this frank interview with the *FM* he reveals that free elections before independence are a dream.

Much more likely is that the transitional government will continue after independence on November 11 — led by a President elected by national referendum and nominees from the three liberation movements.

General Cardoso clearly expects more violence — at least in Luanda — and holds out little hope for a national army.

FM: Does lack of progress in drawing up an electoral law suggest the October elections will have to be postponed?

Cardoso: If those responsible think it advisable to postpone the elections, I don't see why the transitional government shouldn't be kept in office after independence — until elections are possible.

But how can people vote? There's been no preparation; there's 65% to 70% illiteracy in the country; a man with a gun can dictate how things go. Intimidation would be rife.

On the agenda of the summit meeting between Savimbi, Neto and Roberto will be proposals that the elections be held, say, two years after independence and the present transitional government should continue in power after November 11. You are right about illiteracy — I would put it at 80% — and intimidation.

Who'd be President of Angola? Would the present Portuguese ministers in the transitional government leave?

There would be a national referendum for the Presidency. It would be relatively easy to organise. The Portuguese ministers must leave and nominees from Unita, FNLA and MPLA will replace them.

Then Unita leader Jonas Savimbi would surely win. He controls over half the population in his area of south-central Angola?

Yes. And after last week's fighting, all the White Angolans will join him. There are about 500 000 Whites here now. They are scared — Unita seems their only hope.

Do you think there is any chance of a peaceful post-independence period of reconstruction?

Yes. No-one wants civil war. No sin-

gle movement has hope of conquering the whole country — it is too big.

Do you expect more fighting?

I'm afraid so. The MPLA and FNLA soldiers hate each other. We can mix FNLA or MPLA with Unita in our patrols, but never FNLA and MPLA.

How can you hope to control them?

Each movement is now permitted to occupy 15 buildings in and around Luanda. Each building may have only 15 armed men, the rest must stay in barracks. Of course we cannot be sure the men will not go underground.

Morale among Portuguese troops is low. Will it be possible to maintain a Metropolitan military presence until next February, as envisaged under the Algarve agreement?

An agreement is sacred. We will honour every paragraph of the one signed at Alvor: we said we would keep our troops here until not later than February 29 1976 and we will — unless they are wanted or the agreement is changed.



Silva Cardoso (centre)... an agreement is sacred

Some troops seem to want to leave on independence day...

Yes. This will be on the agenda of the summit conference. But this month's fighting helped. When I told them they had to go out and shoot if they had to, no more turning away, they thought they were at last doing a useful job, and morale improved.

Is there any sign that the liberation movements will be able to form a joint military command?

That is a slow process, mainly political. It seems to me they have no alternative if they all want Angola to become a prosperous and well organised nation.

Signs of evolution towards that objective is the mixed alert force proposed by the military staff of the three movements.

What is the biggest obstacle to creating a national army?

The liberation movements are not disciplined. They have no officers. They are a *maquis* — we cannot make soldiers of them.

What is the "alert force"?

We are going to create a truly mixed force — men from all three movements in one force. There will be nine platoons of ten men each, three platoons from each movement. Each three platoons — one FNLA, one MPLA and one Unita — will form a company under one commander. Then there will be one overall commander.

How will the commander be chosen?

I don't know. Maybe they will rotate each month?

How will the Portuguese military installations be divided between the movements?

By common agreement. However, if the dream of an Angolan national army comes true, that problem will cease.

What do you see as the greatest risk to security and political stability in Angola at this moment?

The differences between the movements and their difficulties in making the goodwill which exists at the top reach down to those at the bottom.

We believe Savimbi, Neto and Johnny Eduardo (the FNLA's member of the three-man Prime Ministerial council) toured the damaged areas after this month's fighting. How did they react?

Savimbi was shocked, he feels for the people. So does Johnny Eduardo — they both realised something must be done. But Neto was cold.

Refugees arriving in SWA

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Refugees from strife-torn Angola have started to arrive at the Runtu and Oshikango border posts in northern South West Africa.

An official of the Department of the Interior said there had been an increase in the number of people arriving at the posts

and applying for permission to enter the country.

Everything humanly possible was being done to smooth out their entry, he said, but those without the necessary documents were being treated as people in transit if they were not acceptable.

The Argus Africa News Service reports from Luanda that a grim warning that Angola faced 'Balkanisation' and economic ruin was given today by the Portuguese High Commissioner General Silva Cardoso, as Cabinda, the oil-rich enclave in the north was cut off by heavy fighting.

Another report, pictures, Page 27.

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5/6/75
(5)

Oil-rich Cabinda is devastated

Allen Pizze
The Star's Africa News Service

ABINDA — Three days war in this tiny oil-enclave have left a scene of destruction in the most deserted capital by. Hundreds of refugees are fleeing to mainland Angola, and it is not certain who is in control.

Civilians, and a top Fourth Movement (MPLA) commander, Major General Gilka.

More than 20 people, most of them soldiers, were wounded, according to a military doctor.

"It was not too bad this time, but next time it will be worse because we are very short of bandages," he said.

About 200 people huddled in the hospital for safety during the fierce

fighting. There is widespread destruction in Cabinda.

Rockets and mortars blew large holes in roofs and walls. Thousands of rounds of machine-gun bullets must have been fired.

According to a Portuguese military commander, at least two shrines producing missiles of the type which explode above ground were fired by the MPLA.

He described the missiles as being about 1.3 m long, probably of Russian origin.

Many liberation movement soldiers on the streets were carrying brand-new Russian-type automatic rifles.

The economically straggling island enclave's own liberation movement, ELFC (Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda), was not involved.

FLIC is not recognised

by the Portuguese or any of the three movements, all of whom want the "black gold" under Cabinda's waters for the new independent Angola.

The ELFC headquarters was wrecked in the fighting, however.

The movements (not including FLIC) have hammered out a peace treaty with the help of the Portuguese, but few believe it will last long.

Within hours of a com-

muniqué, on the treaty being issued there were reports of intense fighting in the towns of Buzozau and Dinge in the interior of the enclave.

Under the terms of the agreement all forces must move back 20 km from Cabinda town (the MPLA reportedly fired its missiles and some rockets from the heavily forested hills about a kilometre from the centre of the town). The number of

delegations in the town is limited to one each, all road blocks are to be removed, and only mixed patrols of the Portuguese Army and movement troops may move on the streets.

Since the fighting began early last week at least 700 people have fled from Cabinda which is surrounded by Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville, to mainland Angola.

Among them were 200

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employees of Cabinda Gulf and their families, many of them foreigners.

Civilian refugees jam the steaming airport waiting for Portuguese Air Force transport aircraft and Angolan Airlines (TAAG) to lift them.

There are as many Blacks as Whites in the babbling thron.

Uncounted hundreds of others have fled into the jungle interior.

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CRAZY — ^{Ango} — but it won't

19/6/74



Mr Orlando Costa

The Argus Africa News Service

LOBITO. — Mr Orlando Costa, the Mayor of Lobito, is crazy. Everybody says so, and sometimes he thinks so himself. What else do you call a man who undertakes to clear the town's sprawling slums without sending the budget deep into the red? But looking at what he has achieved in 18 months,

people are beginning to have second thoughts.

He has spent only about R80 000 of municipal money, yet already a quarter of the port's 20 000 shanty dwellers have been rehoused in neat rows of cottages on a healthy plateau overlooking the bay. Sewage pipes are being laid and lamp posts for electric lighting are up

and waiting only to be connected to the power grid by the Government.

And as the consequences of self-determination for Angola begin to sink in and they see the beginnings of a Black middle-class, Whites are starting to say: 'This man Costa looked far into the future.' Not that towns like Lobito are divided purely on racial lines into slums on

the outskirts and proper houses and flats occupied by Whites.

At least as many Blacks live side by side with the Whites in town and there are some Whites in the slums as well. But a potentially dangerous Black shanty-town proletariat was beginning to grow up around the fast-developing seaport, that was: only a health hazard until now could have become a political hazard as well.

Mr Costa's solution is a masterpiece of Portuguese improvisation: A combination of self-help coercion and public spending. He did not have the money to build vast townships but he had the land. Municipal officers surveyed the Alto Liro plateau, marking out streets and fair-sized plots, and these were offered to the shack dwellers at rentals of R2 a year or R50 freehold.

The shack dwellers are allowed to build their own houses, of brick or concrete, which is supplied very cheaply by the municipality.

The design is of their own choosing and the result is variety — an escape from the dull uniformity of most public housing schemes. But the municipality is strict about lay-out. Buildings have to be a certain distance from their bound-

aries and no encroachment on the streets is allowed.

The houses will eventually get electricity and ditches have already been dug for sewerage. But again, it will be up to each individual to install his own sewerage system to connect with the public one once it is complete. At present one communal wash house and toilet block is provided by

The programme has involved him in some remarkable wheeling and dealing, including bank loans to men who, to qualify for Alto Liro, earn less than R75 a month.

He persuaded Banco Totta Standard, to lend almost 1 000 home-builders R300 each for materials with virtually no security and repayable over 36 months. 'I haven't had a com-

THE Mayor of Angola's Lobito is clearing the making their owners small

the municipality for every 50 houses.

Mr Costa's psychology seems good. He believes that a home a man has worked for and built himself, to his own design means for more to him than something handed over by the authorities, which is exactly the same as the thousands round it.

And with freehold ownership, he has still more of a stake in a stable society. What we are doing is building up a class of small capitalists — a bourgeoisie, he says. 'These men had nothing to live for in the shacks. Now they have something to progress from.'

plaint from the bank yet,' he says.

'I think it was a very shrewd move on their part. These people are all potential customers and believe me they will never go anywhere but Standard. In fact they don't even use the word 'banco' any more, their word for a bank is 'Totta.'

These are the self-built homes. Others at Alto Liro have been built by a cement company which has put all its lower-paid employees there and a few shovels have been built by a Lobito charitable club. And the municipality has itself built more than



SHACK TOWN in Lobito.

KSS

1,000 so that the most urgent cases can be rehoused in a hurry.

But the scheme has not been free of problems, the worst being to persuade shanty dwellers to leave the squalid and crowded tenements that huddle together in dry watercourses below the plateau and on a swampy plain closer to town.

Home is home and a lot didn't trust the idea at

vital port of shanties by capitalists.

first. We had to force many to move — they were illegal squatters anyway. But the idea is beginning to catch, said Mr

Costa.

Alto Lirio is going ahead, but is by no means a paradise yet. Dry and dusty, it desperately needs trees and grass.

But degrees cooler than the old shack town below, free of damp and malaria and with water and sanitation and no overcrowding, it is already immeasurably better.

And with plans for the port to practically double its cargo handling capacity in the next two years, it will be needed.

(c) Argus Co, 1974.

CABINDA'S OIL FLOWS ON

CABINDA (Angola). — On an oceanside bluff 19km north of the battle-scarred town, the American Gulf Oil Company stand peacefully in the midst of this deeply troubled country.

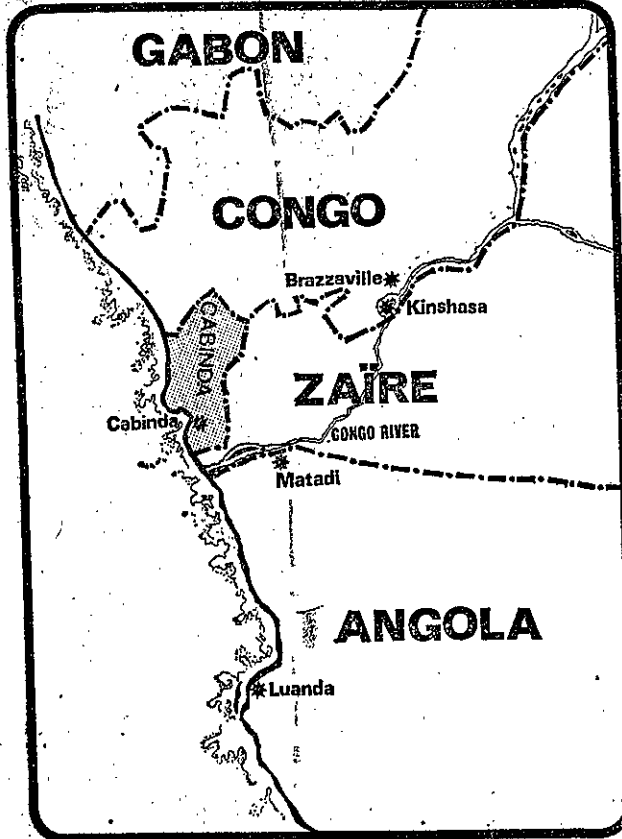
'We are just trying to stay out of politics and keep the oil flowing,' says Earl Wisner, the American terminal supervisor in charge of Gulf's pumping and oil storage installations there.

The other day, Wisner, who is a veteran of the Nigerian Civil War, found the initials of the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) painted inside one of the company's oil storage tanks. Along the road to Gulf's grounds at Malongo, the initials of the three feuding Angolan liberation movements are written everywhere.

RUNNING BATTLE

The town of Cabinda itself is still recovering from from a three-day running battle earlier this month between hundreds of troops of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola. More than a dozen buildings and homes are ruined from mortar, rocket and machine-gun fire and a good portion of the 70 000 inhabitants have left.

Cabinda Gulf is Angola's number one money-maker and also the largest single American investment — 225-million dollars (R160-million) — in this Portuguese colony five months



from independence. Last year, it provided the territory with 650-million dollars (R450-million) in foreign exchange and the Portuguese Government with something like 400-million dollars (R280-million) in revenues. This year it is expected to cover nearly half of Angola's 1 100-million dollar (R770-million) budget.

Production from Gulf's 120 off-shore wells is down somewhat this year to between 120 000 and

far, the drop off is due to 140 000 barrels daily. So the soft world market for crude oil, rather than to any fighting in the enclave among the various liberation movements and the Cabinda Liberation Front.

PROMINENT

The most recent fighting has left the Popular Movement in a predominant position throughout the enclave, according to

local Portuguese military sources.

Officially, all three movements have taken the position that Cabinda must remain an integral part of Angolan territory — but the Cabinda Liberation Front is building its own army around 700 former special African troops of the Portuguese Army and is said to have the backing of both the neighbouring states of Zaire and Congo Brazzaville.

But fearing some kind of confrontation on their Malongo grounds, Gulf has pulled out all families of its personnel. It now runs the offshore wells and on-shore 1.3-million barrel storage facility with 250 local employees and 50 expatriates, including 12 Americans.

INDIFFERENT

Gulf officials seem fairly indifferent toward which group wins the struggle for Cabinda. Its fate here has already been sealed by agreement with the Portuguese Government last year giving Angola 55 percent interest in the Cabinda corporation plus taxes and royalties.

But the accord, whose financial terms have already gone into effect, has not formally been signed yet between Gulf and the present Provisional Angolan Government. This may be one of the first acts of the new Angolan Government after independence celebrations this November. — Washington Post News Service.

Allen Pizzey looks into the devastating effects of political strife on the richest of Portugal's changing colonies.

ARGUS 2/7/75

Angola's only industry

The Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — The chaotic Angolan political situation reflects itself in the economy, and if the three parties do not start worrying less about political points and more about production they will not have a country left to govern.

Chronic strikes, which no party will try to stop for fear of losing support, have sent prices and costs soaring, production plummeting, and inflation off at a gallop.

As a result the once rich economy is in imminent danger of collapse beyond repair.

Even the politicians admit it.

The economy is greatly threatened and things will be catastrophic if political accord is not reached, the Secretary of State for Commerce, Dr Graca da Silva Tavares said.

DOUBLED

Basis of the problem is the strike-plagued port of Luanda. Costs have doubled while production has dropped by half in less than a year.

Goods cannot come into Luanda by sea, and foreign currency earners cannot go out.

Not that there is much to go anyway.

Coffee, one of the biggest foreign exports, has been hit hard by the fighting which caused many White farmers in the coffee-rich Malanje and Carmona areas to leave their farms.

Coffee workers, mainly from the south, have left the northern areas

because of tribal friction there.

Production is about 20 percent of what it was last year.

Even that cannot get to the port easily. Road traffic has almost stopped. Truck drivers refuse to move in rural areas without armed escorts of Portuguese troops.

There is a very real danger of famine in Luanda because of this.

Vegetables from the southern areas get through only in small quantities. Eggs and milk also come from the south and supplies are falling off.

Large poultry farms were affected by the fighting and may cease production soon.

The poultry industry is also affected by strikes, as well as the new public holidays declared by each movement.

In Luanda workers refuse to work late or night shifts because of curfews and fear for their safety on the way home.

Production has dropped by more than 50 percent and costs are up more than 100 percent, an expatriate employee of a large foreign firm here said.

'I think my company is just going to have to close down.'

TAPERING OFF

Foreign firms are letting their business taper off, and capital investment is minimal.

Senior business people say outside investment is virtually non-existent.

The Government is making determined efforts to attract outside capital.

Overseas suppliers are all demanding letters of credit in hard currency before they will deliver to Angola.

Thousands of people, most of them in the skilled and semi-skilled class, have left or intend leaving the country.

One financial institution recently lost 98 employees, 17 of them senior staff.

There is a shortage of goods for the increased buying power of workers. Beer is almost impossible to obtain, as are popular cool drinks, and queues form for cigarettes, bread, and other commodities.

Inflation has been estimated at between 50 and 60 percent.

There is a black market for almost everything. One of the most thriving is the money-changing business. But bread, beer, and even confirmations on seats on planes out of the country are being speculated in.

The mining industry is reported to be about to close. In Luanda construction is almost at a standstill. Dozens of buildings stand forlorn and half completed without even a night-watchman to keep them company.

About the only thing Angola has going for it at the moment is the steady flow of oil from the rich wells of Cabinda.

If that stops, the country may well do the same.

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Angola-SWA arms clamp

Capitimes 8/7/75

Meeting with liberationists

WINDHOEK. — Representatives of the three Angolan liberation movements have met South West African authorities to discuss tight control over the movement of arms and ammunition across the border between the two territories, it was reported yesterday.

The Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples of SWA, Mr Jan-
nie de Wet, confirmed yesterday that he has had three meetings with representatives of the three movements, the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA.

He said the latest meeting had been at Oshikango on the SWA side of the border in Owambo.

The meeting was held after representatives of the liberation movements requested it, he said. Officials of the SA Defence Force and the SA Police accompanied Mr De Wet.

During the meeting a spokesman for the three movements had expressed concern over the possibility of arms and ammunition finding its way across the Angolan border into SWA. It was also alleged that weapons were sometimes stolen in Angola and smuggled across the border into Owambo.

Searches

Asked if he was aware of this, Mr De Wet said he was not, but he welcomed the request by the Angolans to discuss the matter. He would discuss it further with the South African Government.

He said representatives of the three movements said they needed their arms and ammunition in Angola and could not afford to lose any. During the meeting it was also decided to prohibit the movement of cattle across the border.

It was provisionally agreed that people would be searched for weapons at the Oshikango border control post. This would be discussed with the SA Government, said Mr De Wet.

Mr De Wet added that the situation in Owambo was peaceful and orderly.

Asked if Angolan refugees still crossed the border into SWA, he said they were coming through at the rate of about 50 a week. — Sapa

29/7/75
Mercury Africa Bureau

(5)

LUANDA - A new peril, starvation, is hanging over the people of war-torn Angola. In the Uige district of the north an estimated 500 000 refugees are short of food and between 40 and 50 people are dying daily.

Most of the refugees are Bakango tribesmen who support the FNLA liberation movement. Some have returned from Zaire and some have fled north from Luanda.

According to diplomatic and missionary sources, the district capital of Carmona is nearly stripped of food supplies, and roadblocks set up by the rival MPLA are preventing relief getting through from the south.

An inadequate airlift is operating, but hundreds of children in the Carmona area can be seen suffering from the distended stomachs of malnutrition.

An American Southern Baptist missionary, the Rev. Harrison Pike, said yesterday that some seeds had been supplied to the refugees but, in the face of immediate starvation, the seeds had been eaten instead of planted.

A column of 700 White refugees, under a Portuguese military escort, was reported yesterday to be moving towards Luanda from Malange, 20km to the east.

Malange has been the scene of heavy fighting recently and two Portuguese Air Force planes were caught by cross fire when trying to land there on Sunday. All flights have now been suspended except in case of urgent necessity.

It is not known whether the refugee column will be permitted to reach Luanda. Both the FNLA and MPLA have road blocks on the access routes to the capital, and the FNLA controls the vital junction town of Lucala, through which the column must pass.

There was no further news of the expected FNLA advance from the north, and Mr. Holden Roberto's forces appear to have decided to consolidate their position by taking MPLA strongholds to the east and cutting off their rivals' supply routes to the capital.

In London Europeans airlifted out of Angola yesterday spoke of increasingly violent clashes and looting in the African State, reports Sapa-Reuters.

Fifty-five passengers were on the British VC-10 relief flight.

① 5 (5)

3 held in Swapo, Unita break-up

ADm 31/7/75

WINDHOEK. — The South West Africa People's Organisation had broken ties with the Angolan movement, Unita, and three prominent Ovambos who had crossed the border into Angola recently had been detained in retaliation, reports in Windhoek said yesterday.

Swapo had broken with Unita because of its relatively moderate and peace-loving attitude and joined forces with the Marxist-orientated MPLA, the reports said.

Swapo was alleged to have detained an influential Unita leader in Southern Angola, a Dr Valukuta, and after he was disarmed, he was set free.

LEADERS

As a result, Pastor S. Ekandjo, editor of the Owambo Kavango Lutheran Church Journal, and two businessmen, Mr F. Kafula and Mr M. Itope, were detained by Unita recently when they attended a Unita political rally in Southern Angola. All three men were considered church leaders in Owambo.

No trace had since been found of the three men and reports reaching Windhoek indicated that they had been detained in an Angolan jail. The reports said they might have been taken to Zambia.

After the matter was reported to the South African Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, inquiries were made through diplomatic channels in Luanda. But no reply has yet been received. — Sapa.

4/18/75

LUANDA. — About 300 000 Portuguese White settlers are expected to leave Angola before Portugal's largest and richest African colony gains independence on November 11.

This is a drastic revision of the previous figures of 200 000, and was announced at a late afternoon press conference in Luanda on Saturday by Colonel Ribeiro, Secretary-General to the Portuguese High Commissioner, General Silva Cardoso.

An estimated 100 000 Whites have already left Angola since the Lisbon coup in April last year out of more than half a million Whites living in Angola at that time.

The massive airlift plan calls for evacuating between 80 000 to 90 000 people monthly and Angola's second international airport at Nova Lisboa will be used for direct flights to Portugal. This will require about six or seven fully-laden jumbo jets daily.

The Portuguese TAP airline fleet consists of only three Boeing 747 jumbo jets, seven 727 Boeing medium-range and eight Boeing 707 long-range jets. TAP plans to charter more aircraft and use the sole DC-10 already chartered from Swissair to evacuate the refugees.

Colonel Ribeiro said he hoped Angola would remain a unique example of

a place in the world where different races could live together. The Whites leaving Angola were simply searching for security.

Newsmen were told that a national commission had been formed earlier this year but in order to avoid causing panic its formation plan (which surpasses lized).

A member of the commission, a Captain Diniz, said that provisions were being made for the reception of the evacuees in Lisbon, but was not able to elaborate.

FEASIBLE

Although it is apparently feasible to fly out the planned 2500/3000 people a day, correspondents voiced doubts that Lisbon could arrange adequate reception facilities for such a massive influx.

Last month, 35 000 people were flown from Luanda to Lisbon, among them 15 000 refugees.

There is speculation that the massive evacuation plan which surpasses the United States's evacuation of Vietnamese, had the solid backing of the moderate political groups in Lisbon to gain leverage

against left-wing elements and communist manoeuvres to consolidate a leftist regime in Portugal.

It is believed that radical elements of the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal are unhappy about the evacuation from Angola as it is a virtual condemnation of their policies.

EMBITTERED

Such large numbers of embittered repatriates could pose a dangerous political threat to the Lisbon regime and there are already reports of right-wing Angolan repatriates clashing with communists in Portugal, particularly in the north.

There has been continued fighting in areas in areas south of Luanda with considerable shooting reported in Benguela on Saturday and clashes in which heavy weapons were used in the suburban areas of Lobito. But latest reports yesterday said the fighting had slackened off.

In Luanda itself there have been no reports of new clashes and a military spokesman said that in Caxito and other areas near Luanda the situation up to yesterday was stationary.

ARMS SHIPS

On Saturday, however, the Zaire-backed FNLA of Holden Roberto issued a communique stating it was aware that two ships were in Luanda harbour carrying arms shipments for the Marxist MPLA and warned that it would bombard these ships if any attempts are made to off-load the consignment.

As FNLA troops still hold out in the besieged fortress commanding the harbour entrance, they could well be in a position to do so, although it is not known if the weapons they have stocked in the fortress have sufficient range to reach the Luanda docks.

Unita now in Angola conflict

ARGUS 5/18/75

The Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA — The president of the Angola National Union (Unita), Dr Jonas Savimbi, has virtually declared war on the Marxist-oriented Popular Movement (MPLA).

In a radio broadcast from Silva Porto, a major southern city in the heart of Unita territory, Dr Savimbi said FALA (Unita's armed forces wing) would reply to attacks on it by other movements.

In a clear reference to the MPLA, Dr Savimbi said Unita, which up to now has stayed out of the vicious internecine war between the MPLA and the National Front (FNLA), had been forced into its new militant stance by the spread of the conflict to the southern areas.

He detailed specific incidents in which Unita had been attacked by the MPLA and referred to 'deliberate provocations' against Unita.

DETERIORATION

Dr Savimbi said the general deterioration of the situation throughout the country, the 'manipulation' of information by elements in Luanda, attacks of the Minister of Education in the Transitional Government, Dr Jeronimo Wanga of Unita, by radical students and the actions of Intersidical, a pro-MPLA union in the southern port of Lobito, had contributed to the decision.

He also called for the return to Luanda of Portuguese High Commissioner General Silva Cardoso, who left for Lisbon a few days ago.

In Luanda, Unita Prime Minister Dr Jose N'Dele and FNLA Prime Minister Mr N'Gola Kabangu also opposed the withdrawal of General Cardoso.

Dr Kabangu strongly attacked former High Commissioner Admiral Rosa Coutinho, who returned to Lisbon yesterday after a hasty visit here.

PRO-MPLA

Both Unita and the FNLA are said to be upset by the visit of Admiral Coutinho, a radical member of the movement of the armed forces in Portugal whom they have accused of being pro-MPLA.

Unita has scheduled a meeting of all its top members for August 20 in Silva Porto, and called for rallies throughout the country in support of its new stance and to call for the return of General Cardoso as High Commissioner.

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JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Government yesterday prepared to shoulder the immediate responsibility for the thousands of refugees fleeing from Angola to South West Africa.

Emergency talks were held in Pretoria and it was announced that a new camp to house 1 000 more Angolans was being put up at Magaliesoord, near Pretoria.

The refugee camp at Grootfontein in South West Africa, is filling rapidly and is expected to overflow beyond its 1 000 capacity by the weekend.

However, the Minister of the Interior, Dr Connie Mulder, made it clear last night that the bulk of the refugees will be repatriated to Portugal, our Pretoria correspondent reports.

Humane reasons

"These people are regarded by us as being in transit to Portugal," said Dr Mulder. "For humane reasons we have accepted temporary responsibility for housing and looking after them."

It was the firm intention to repatriate them as quickly as possible and in large numbers, he added. Anyone wishing to stay in South Africa would have to meet the minimum qualifications applying to all immigrants. These would not be "watered down" because of the circumstances.

Dr Mulder said negotiations with the Portuguese Government were being held "at the highest level" and included the cost of repatriation.

Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, had talks with officials of the Department of the Interior in Pretoria yesterday on the refugee question.

Dramatic developments

It is clear that South Africa is having to shoulder the responsibility which should have been borne by Portugal, which has had plenty of warning about the deteriorating situation in Angola.

There have been dramatic developments along the refugee trail from Angola to South West Africa. Our Africa Bureau reports from Tsumeb that the great trek to safety being made by a convoy of an estimated 1 500 vehicles may have been stopped along the way by armed guerillas.

The flow of between 300 and 400 refugees a day over the border slowed to a trickle yesterday. Mr De Wet last night estimated that more than 2 000 have passed through Oshikati, 1 000 of them last week.

As many as 10 000 desperate people are on the move overland to asylum in South West Africa. The refugees driving South from the Angolan port of Lobito via Mocamedes, Benguela, Nova Lisboa and Sa da Bandeira could now have to run a gauntlet of fire.

Roving guerillas

Reports reaching Tsumeb indicate that the Portuguese Army provides escorts only for short distances out of town. After that the refugees must fend for themselves against three different and heavily armed roving guerilla armies, who are themselves edgy because of the continual fighting.

Refugees, travelling only as quickly as loaded trucks can move, are an easy prey for looters. There were no signs yesterday of the big column nearing South West Africa and some officials believe it will not show up before Friday.

Refugees are now believed to be fleeing from Luanda, Malanje, Henrique de Carvalho, Gabla, Porto Amboim, Nova Redondo, Lobito and Benguela. They are converging on the "second capital" of Nova Lisboa, where about 25 000 refugees are already massed, looking for an escape route out of Angola. About 7 000 more refugees are in the port of Lobito.

Daily flights

An airlift to take 3 000 Portuguese to Lisbon daily from Angola started yesterday. There are six or seven jumbo-jet flights from the Angolan capital every day, as well as a chartered Swissair DC-10. About 300 000 White Angolans are expected to want to leave.

In addition to the exodus of Whites, worried Black Angolans have been fleeing the capital to the north and south of the country.

● A TAP 707 aircraft arrived in Johannesburg from Luanda yesterday carrying 120 passengers, 90 percent of them Portuguese refugees fleeing Angola. Authorities kept the refugees in the international transit quarters pending arrangements for on-going flights.

Backing of Angola guerillas by SA alleged

Cape Times 6/8/75

(5)

LUANDA — The MPLA stepped up its propaganda war against the FNLA yesterday, producing documents purporting to show that the FNLA was backed by South Africa and employed White mercenaries. Documents claim one mercenary was captured last May.

They were distributed to Angolan and foreign journalists here after a press briefing by Mr. Lopo do Nascimento, MPLA co-premier in the Angolan transitional government, in which each of the three liberation groups here have a co-premiership.

The documents included what were said to be photostats of the Frenchman's credentials as "a militant of the National Liberation Front" and "commander of number-two company" of FNLA.

A spokesman for the French Consulate here confirmed that the Frenchman had been in jail but was later released. He said he had no knowledge that the man had been a mercenary.

A photostat copy of an alleged report by Mr. Manuel Diniz de Moura, chief of protocol to the FNLA-appointed co-premier, Mr. Johnny Eduardo, included a passage which said one of its leaders was promised economic and military aid by high-ranking South African officials.

NEW ATTACKS

FNLA troops yesterday attacked MPLA forces in Cabinda, according to travellers arriving here.

The attack was said to have been near the border with Zaire, where the FNLA has its base.

Cabinda airport was closed and personnel of the Cabinda Oil Company, a subsidiary of the American Gulf Oil were unable to travel from the town of Cabinda to the oil installation 32 km away.

The enclave lies to the north of Angola, separated by a strip of Zaire territory. Portugal and the three main Angolan liberation movements recognize it as an integral part of Angola, but a secessionist movement last week declared the enclave independent.

— Sapa-Reuter-AP

8/8/75

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LUANDA. — A number of international and local companies have closed their doors and are pulling out of Angola as the country's economy slowly grinds to a halt.

Among them are a large firm of international auditors and many local industries.

According to one banker in Luanda if it were not for the fact that Angola still earns a reasonable amount of foreign currency from oil produced in Cabinda, the economy would be strangled instantly.

So serious have people viewed the situation that there has been much talk of moving the central operation of banks and other service industries to the south of the country.

INVESTMENT

A representative of Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union (Unita) liberation movement, has returned from a visit to Britain where he discussed the possibility of large-scale investment in the south.

Dr Savimbi—with much talk of secession doing the rounds in business circles in the country — is the horse most Western financiers will back.

Many banks and other organisations have had to close their branches in outlying areas because of the fighting.

The outlying areas can be compared with the earlier part of the Biafran war — there is a complete breakdown of civil law and order.

Coffee production, which was the second largest money earner in Angola, is down to almost half of what it was — that is, if they can harvest the crop, pack it and get it to Luanda, said a banker.

BLACK MARKET

Whether there is a possibility of a classical type of communist system — to ruin the entire economy and then pick up the threads and reconstruct in the manner which will suit the communists — rearing its head, I would like to see.

Many companies are not meeting their bills simply because they are not selling. Those that are selling are keeping the cash and manipulating it on the currency black market turning it into foreign currency.

I hate to think of the bad debts situation. What Angola will be left with is thumping great overdrafts with money not worth the paper if printed on, he said.

Swapo mans roadblocks in Angola

By DENNIS GORDON
'Mail' Africa Bureau

RDM
12/8/75

OSHIKANGO — Afrikaans-speaking Black men, dressed in olive green uniforms — almost certainly guerillas of the external wing of the South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo) — have set up roadblocks in Southern Angola.

Armed with automatic rifles, revolvers, pangas and bushknives they are stopping motorists fleeing south from the fighting in Angola to safety over the South West Africa border at Oshikango frontier post.

Swapo guerillas, who have not been active militarily against South Africa's Defence Force for some time are known to have infiltration routes and camps in Southern Angola along Eastern Caprivi homeland border.

In 1966 Swapo guerillas attacked Oshikango itself in a night raid.

News of the Swapo roadblocks was told to me yesterday by a Rhodesian tobacco farmer, Mr Clive Williams, and his wife Polly, who left their lands 137 km north of Sa da Bandeira the previous night to drive the refugee route to South West Africa.

"Friends had warned us not to speak Afrikaans to anybody on the road because Swapo supporters were known to be operating in the south," said Mr Williams.

"We pretended we could not speak a word of any language except English — and they let us through after searching our car packed with possessions, three times in a few hundred metres.

"We pretended to be English tourists who did not understand any Afrikaans.

"If we had spoken to them in Afrikaans, identifying ourselves with South Africa, I think we would have been in serious trouble," Mr Williams said. Both he and his wife are fluent in Afrikaans.

At Oshikango yesterday there was a trickle of traffic from the Angolan Santa Clara post on the other side of the border.

Mr Williams believes a shortage of fuel may have cut off the flow of traffic southwards or that refugees are taking a new route through Ruacana further west.

GERALD REILLY reports that the movement of Angolan refugees damming up in the Grootfontein camp in South West Africa to the new camp at Magaliesoord outside Pretoria is expected to start later this week or early next week.

Yesterday the Secretary for Social Welfare and Pensions, Mr H. P. J. van Vuuren, and the Deputy Secretary, Mr H. K. Bennie, flew to Grootfontein from Pretoria to make an on the spot survey of the refugee pile-up.

They are expected back in Pretoria on Thursday, and by then the Magaliesoord camp will be ready for occupation.

The number of refugees at Grootfontein yesterday exceeded 1 000 for the first time.

By midweek the total is expected to reach 1 500 if the stream of refugees is unhampered on its way south from Nova Lisboa.

Reports yesterday indicated that the number of stranded refugees in this southern Angolan city has reached 30 000.

If only 10 per cent of this number find their way to South Africa it will necessitate a further crash expansion of accommodation and other facilities.

2000 Cape Times 13/8/75 refugees arrive in SWA

WINDHOEK. — A convoy of about 500 vehicles, containing about 2 000 Angolan refugees, arrived at Oshakati, South West Africa. Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner-General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, said here. Special arrangements were being made to accommodate the sudden influx and the refugees would be sent to Grootfontein as soon as possible after spending the night in the transit camp at Oshakati in the Owambo homeland.

The arrival seemed to be only the beginning of a much larger number expected at the border this week, said Mr De Wet.

The 2 000 Angolans had been cramped in terrible conditions in a camp at Rocades, Southern Angola, Mr De Wet said. The refugees said food and water had run out at Rocades and they had had no alternative but to make for the South West Africa border.

VACATED

Mr De Wet said he had received information that a convoy of 1 500 vehicles, which had been stranded at Sa Da Bandeira, had started moving south yesterday.

● Angola's Soviet-backed MPLA has taken complete control of Luanda, militarily and politically, after having driven its partners in the transitional government from the capital by force.

MPLA secretaries of State have taken interim responsibility for the ministries vacated by the FNLA and Unita ministers. — Cape Times Africa Bureau and Sapa-Reuters

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Cape Times 14/8/75

6 000 Angolans already in SWA

GROOTFONTEIN.—The exodus of refugees from Angola to South West Africa has swollen in the last 48 hours from a trickle to a flood.

Upwards of 6 000 people have already found asylum and there is every possibility that in the next few days that number may double.

Arrangements have been made at Oshakati to double the medical and documentation facilities. An estimated 5 000 Angolans had crossed the border since Tuesday, and between 7 000 and 8 000 are expected within the next few days.

● A new tent city for another 1 000 Angolan refugees was completed at Magaliesoord, near Pretoria, yesterday, hours before the first batch of families arrived from South West Africa.

● The first aircraft load of refugees will be flown out of South West Africa to Portugal on Saturday, the Minister of Interior, Dr Connie Mulder, said in Pretoria.

● Heavy fighting was reported yesterday in Lobito, Angola's largest port. The FNLA and Unita were locked in battle with the Soviet-supported MPLA yesterday.—Cape Times Africa Bureau; correspondents; Sapa.

Refugee figure doubled

19/8/75
The Argus South West Africa Bureau

WINDHOEK. — Nearly 8 500 refugees from Angola poured across the border into Ovambo late yesterday. It was the biggest group to arrive in one day and doubled the number of refugees in South West Africa and South Africa.

The refugees arrived in 2 400 motor vehicles. They crossed the border near the Ruacana Falls and thus avoided the Santa Clara-Oshikango border post.

The Commissioner General for Indigenous Peoples in SWA, Mr J. N. M. de Wet, said from Ovambo today that a second tent camp had been prepared in the town of Oshakati.

Immunisation and documentation centres had been doubled.

"The position is under control, but food supplies are a problem," he said. "We are making special arrangements to feed the refugees."

FIERCE FIGHTING

He said the refugees would move southwards to camps at Grootfontein as soon as possible. The first convoys would probably leave today.

Mr de Wet said the newcomers were mainly from towns in Southern Angola. Many came from the coastal towns of Lobito and Benguela where fierce fighting was reportedly taking place.

Reports had reached Ovambo that another 600 vehicles were on the way from Angola.

Meanwhile, the refugee camps at Grootfontein are also full and refugees are leaving for Pretoria in ever-greater numbers.

Refugee flow swells into major crisis

20/8/78 Cape Times Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The refugee problem is exploding into a crisis situation as destitute Portuguese continue to flee into South Africa by the hundreds from the growing chaos in Angola.

The Cabinet is yesterday believed to have discussed the growing seriousness of the problem. The Prime Minister,

Mr Vorster, made straight for the cabinet room after his arrival in Pretoria from Jan Smuts by helicopter yesterday morning.

According to the Secretary for Social Welfare and Pensions, Mr H. P. J. van Vuuren, there were 13 000 refugees in South Africa yesterday.

On Monday afternoon

and early yesterday, an estimated 8 000 travelling in about 2 400 vehicles crossed the border into Owambo swamping the facilities at Oshakati and Grootfontein.

And latest reports are that refugees are still streaming south to the border.

The Government fears that if fighting in the southern part of Angola continues and worsens many thousands more will seek refuge in South Africa.

Mr Van Vuuren said the camps now available, including Magaliesoord and Cullinan, could not hold the swelling numbers of refugees.

Other sites were being looked at and these would be urgently prepared to take the overflow.

The organization, he said, was straining to keep pace with the need for accommodation, food and clothing.

"It's developing into a far bigger job than we ever expected and the problem is we cannot see the end of it," he said.

SWA

ARGUS
20/8/75

A NEW refugee camp has been established outside Tsumeb in South West Africa to cope with the stream of Whites leaving Angola. The nearby Grootfontein camp is full and at Oshakati, in Ovambo, thousands are waiting to begin the trip south.

At Upington, in the Northern Cape, arrangements are being made to help the men to get their cars out of Angola.

The Argus Pretoria Correspondent reports that Mr P. J. van Vuuren, Secretary for Social Welfare, is planning a new refugee camp in Pretoria.

The Department of Social Welfare has already provided emergency accommodation for more than 5 000 people who have fled war-torn Angola.

The Grootfontein camp reached capacity yesterday with about 2 500 people using its primitive facilities. A further 400 who arrived yesterday were taken to the new camp at Tsumeb.

At border

Scores are reported to be camped at the border waiting to enter South West Africa. Some reports say people are leaving Angola as far west as the mouth of the Kunene River to travel through Kaokoland to Oshakati.

Thousands of people are still expected in South West Africa.

Most of the refugees first make for Oshakati and from there they move to the Grootfontein and, now, to the Tsumeb camps. Yesterday a convoy of about 80 refugees left Oshakati for Grootfontein and the rest are expected to begin the southward trip within a few days.

Most of the refugees leaving Grootfontein and Tsumeb for South Africa by road are men. The women and children are being flown out by the SAAF in transport aircraft.

Army helps

Supplies are being flown to Oshakati from Pretoria in military aircraft which are visiting the Ovambo regularly and the army is making special arrangements to feed the thousands of refugees.

Refugees

(Continued from Page 1)

These people are travelling on temporary permits given to them for the trip to Pretoria. They have had to refuse offers of employment made by some Upington businessmen.

The Town Clerk of Upington, Mr C. H. Mocke, today appealed for men's second-hand clothing since supplies on hand were dwindling fast. Many of the people arriving in the town have only the clothes they stood up in.

After travelling rough roads and, at times, being driven through bush to avoid road blocks and Unita soldiers, many of the cars needed new tyres when they arrived in Upington.

Police broadcast an appeal for used tyres and by today more than 50 had been received from as far as Kakamas. Minor repairs are being carried out by garages in the town.

Interviewed in Upington, most of the refugees said they were glad to be alive and that this was more important than the loss of their jobs and most of their possessions.

Most said they did not want to be repatriated to Portugal and they hoped to be allowed to stay in South Africa.

According to The Argus Grootfontein correspondent the town looks like a huge used-car lot as people flock there to buy the cars refugees are being forced to abandon. Many people simply left their cars there after running out of money, looking with other refugees for used military transports. So far about 500 people have passed through Upington on their way to Pretoria and last night 76 men, arrived in 44 cars, to camp at the Roman Catholic Mission and the Showgrounds.

(Continued on Page 2, col. 5)

ARGUS 21/8/75

By Bill Goddard, Argus Shipping Correspondent

TWO small wooden fishing boats packed with exhausted and seasick Angolan refugees have arrived in Walvis Bay after a 1,000-mile 'hide-and-seek' voyage down the treacherous West African coast — the first of a small armada heading for the safety of South West Africa.

A further 30-odd boats, some of them barely seaworthy, are said to be on their way carrying about 1,000 men, women and children.

Two Walvis Bay trawlers have already taken two of the small refugee-laden boats in tow and reported by radio that the craft were not very much bigger than rowing boats but are packed with about 40 people each.

The 50 refugees — including a large number of women and children — who arrived in the two 20m fishing boats late yesterday told port authorities they had come from Porto Alexandre and Benguela.

They did not say how long the 1,000-mile voyage had taken down the treacherous West African coast but told officials it had been carried out in 'run-and-hide' fashion — hiding from the blockading patrol boats by day and only putting to sea at night.

Walvis Bay port officials said most of the refugees, who have been barracked at the military camp near by, seemed to be peasants and had escaped with little more than what they were wearing and could carry.

The refugees were accommodated in the single fish hatch of each vessel during the hazardous voyage, but some of the children were allowed to sleep under canvas on the deck.

Another 30

The skippers of the two tiny boats said at least another 30 craft were still on their way south.

Two Walvis Bay trawlers reported by radio today they had come across two extremely small boats, refugees and

Economy rots in Angola

MERCURY

28/8/75

Mercury Correspondent

LUANDA—The imminent departure of nearly 80 percent of Angola's White population is already turning the war-ravaged territory into an economic wasteland.

The mass exodus of the Whites and their skills is proving more damaging than the bloody rivalry between the three Black nationalist movements. The condition of Luanda is symptomatic of the country's malaise.

Rotting rubbish is piled high in every street. Roads are dangerously pot-holed. Normal services are non-existent. Queues start forming outside food shops at 4 a.m. each morning, especially for scarce commodities like bread and sugar.

These are just the symptoms of decay which have left the economy rotten beyond salvation. Production of coffee, the biggest foreign currency earner after oil, will be at least 60 percent down this year and could fail completely next year.

Another big earner, the railway line to Zambia and Zaire, is unlikely to produce any revenue.

There is hardly a business in Angola which is not bankrupt and there is hardly a businessman here who sees it worthwhile importing goods.

The currency has collapsed with black marketeers openly offering four and five times the official rate for foreign currency.

And as long as Angola remains balkanised under the three nationalist movements little can be done to repair the situation.

It will take years before the country is back on its feet. The economic strife could have a telling effect on the civil war.

Revolutionary fervour will dampen when the food runs out, as it surely must before long.

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THE 950-berth luxury cruise ship Oceanic Independence will drop off hundreds of pleasure-seekers in Cape Town on Monday and sail almost immediately at full speed for Walvis Bay to begin mercy voyages to Lisbon with Angolan refugees.

The ship — due back in Cape Town from a 'Winter Sunshine' cruise to South America — will take on 950 refugees, the full complement: the ship is allowed to carry under safety rules.

Angolan men, women and children, many of whom braved death and lost loved ones on nightmare journeys to Walvis Bay, will be given luxury cabins and the full use of the ship's gymnasium, swimming pool and other facilities.

There is a clinic on board with a doctor and nurses. The refugees will eat buffet meals whose recipes are now being decided by the shipping line in consultation with Portuguese authorities.

However, the Oceanic Independence is being chartered by the South African Government to augment the airlift of thousands of Angolans from Johannesburg to Lisbon.

It is understood the Portuguese Government will reimburse South Africa the cost of the fares.

Urgent talks

Meanwhile, passengers booked for the ship's next three cruises are being informed of their cancellation by telegram and telephone this weekend.

The dramatic decision by the shipping line was made today following an urgent meeting between

the local agents, King and Sons, Dunnand Company (Pty) Ltd and the Department of Interior.

The luxury ship will make three 11-day mercy voyages from Walvis Bay to Lisbon.

The diversion of the Oceanic Independence will have its first effect on the passengers returning from the winter cruise. A number of them will have to be provided with alternative transport to Durban.

Cruises off

The diversion also means the cancellation of the vessel's Spring Paradise Cruise to the Indian Ocean islands scheduled to start in Durban on December 6, the Cathay Cruise to the Far East on September 24 and the Cormorant Cruise to the Indian Ocean islands on November 8.

Mr John Siedle, director of King and Sons, said the Department of Interior had appealed to his company to make the ship available.

'Our ship was the only one in these waters and, of course, we couldn't refuse this kind of appeal, although our business might suffer,' he said.

'One regret'

He said the ship's Taiwan owners — the C.Y. Tung Group, which owns the Orient Overseas Line — had been eager to please the South African Government.

Mr Siedle said his company was pleased to have been able to make this gesture, but added: 'My only regret is that we have had to disappoint a lot of passengers.'

Meanwhile, the SA Navy frigate SAS President Kruger will sail from Simonstown next week to join two minesweepers, SAS Kimberley and SAS Pretoria, which are now sailing up the West Coast to help refugees fleeing Angola by sea.

Patrol only

A navy spokesman said the boats would patrol the coast on the lookout for small boats in difficulty.

'This is not a search and rescue mission. The boats are merely patrolling the area,' he said.

A SAAF Shackleton is also flying up the West Coast today looking for possible shipwrecked survivors. If survivors are sighted, the aircraft will drop emergency rations in liferaft containers.

troops in Angola — it's official

STAR 6/9/55

of 30 men was moved to the water pumping station at Caluque, on the Angolan side of the border with South West Africa.

The Portuguese Government had been informed of the move on August 12. Mr. Fourie was referring to a statement from Lisbon which stated that the Portuguese Government was concerned at the operation being carried out without warning.

Mr. Fourie said the Portuguese Foreign Ministry note was not the first to be received on the subject. Mr. Fourie said: "In the first place, when it was realised that both the works and workers in the Caluque-Ruacana area urgently needed protection, the Portuguese authorities were asked to take urgent steps in this regard."

"In the absence of reaction and the increasing danger, steps were taken to give the necessary protection, and the Portuguese authorities were at the same time once again asked to take steps so that the need for protection by South Africa should become unnecessary."

"In the note which was received mention was also made, inter alia, of allegations in connection with possible infiltration by mercenaries and others from South West Africa." The reply sent by the South African Embassy to the Portuguese Government explained the measures taken to protect the works and workers and welcome the decision by Portugal to provide protection. South Africa would suspend her measures as soon as possible. On the mercenary question, the reply stated, "South Africa's policy is

one of non-interference and we allow no mercenaries or other troops to operate from our territory or territory under our control. The Government is therefore surprised at the suggestion that mercenaries and others might have penetrated southern Angola from South West Africa. The Government

rejects this possibility and would appreciate it if the reliable reports could be made available to it." Mr. Fourie said that he cause the Portuguese Note had been sent for information to the Secretary General of the United Nations. Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the same procedure was followed with the South African reply. — Sapa.

SA

South Africa has admitted the presence of troops in Angola in a qualified reply to a note from the Portuguese Government.

A statement from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. B. G. Fourie, said that a South African pa-

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④ 722
⑤ 722

Cape Times 9/9/75

Troops guard Ruacana scheme

JOHANNESBURG. — The Republic had been approached by South African workers at the Ruacana Falls hydroelectric scheme just inside the Angolan border to provide them with the necessary safeguards, the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said in the SABC television programme, News Review, last night.

When it became clear that the workers were not safe any more, South African troops were moved in to protect them and to see that they carried out their duties under peaceful conditions.

Questioned by the interviewer, Mr Botha said it was not an offensive act. It was vital that, under the scheme's agreement between Portugal and South Africa, the Ovambo be provided with water for their cattle and their own needs.

The Minister said the pump station which provided that water was not 35 km inside the Angolan border as had been suggested but "more like 15 or 20 km".

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Even a revolutionary army like FAPLA — the military wing of the Popular Movement (MPLA) — is acquiring a brand of regular army bull that, as in armies around the world, baffles brains every time.

Forms to be filled in (in duplicate), lunch breaks to be observed, procedures to be followed.

Trying to see a senior FAPLA officer is bound with red tape and sealed with hazards, only too commong with the military.

Recently I sought an interview with Commandant Ju-Ju, a senior FAPLA officer.

At FAPLA headquarters there is a form to be filled in — details about yourself and your mission. FAPLA men are sitting around in revolutionary garb, shuffling forms. Crested notepaper even.

No, Commandant Ju-Ju is not in, come back this afternoon.

But this afternoon the office is closed. The staff are at lunch.

One leaves again in a depressed state when, lo . . . standing in a driveway nearby is Commandant Ju-Ju.

But, the interview is not to be. The Commandant indicates that questions first have to be submitted in writing to the ministry of information.

Shades of my national service.

Of course the bull stops somewhere and FAPLA — the Popular Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola — is greatly dif-

An army is an army is an army. DEON DU PLESSIS, of The Star's Africa News Service, tells from Luanda how a revolutionary army has acquired the bull that baffles brains.

STAR 15/9/75

Armed for business...

ferent from more conventional armies.

Commandant Ju-Ju (that is his war name) is a shortish, well-knit White man with wavy hair. He wears a camouflage battle dress to Press conferences, but today he looks natty in a sports shirt and slacks.

He drives his car himself . . . a small European sedan.

But he has the unmistakable stamp of authority . . . an officer.

FAPLA troops dress in the same camouflage suits as their officers. There are no signs of rank. Some of them wear Wellington boots.

Their shoulder flash is almost identical to the coat of arms of Frelimo in Mozambique. There is the same look, Kalashnikov-rifle, Red Star, industrial

cog wheel and hoe, but in different order.

The road to FAPLA headquarters is heavily guarded. But once through that block one drives up a hill and past the residence of the French consul.

Further on, wonder of wonders, is a building with the genteel sign: Luanda English School.

Of course the school is closed now and that's hardly surprising. FAPLA troops mount watch all around it now as their headquarters are only a few hundred metres away.

There is a new order in the military building near the genteel school, but perhaps some of that school's sober administrators would be pleased to see how things are run in the new army headquarters.

Angola

STAR 16/9/75.

'mass murder'

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The Star's Africa
News Service

LUANDA — The MPLA has accused the FNLA of yet another massacre — this time near Caxito.

The MPLA said in a statement that FNLA had murdered a number of civilians near the town, which was won from the FNLA last week.

The MPLA has accused the FNLA of massacres several times. The last time was after the FNLA evacuated the fortress of San Pedro do Barre in Luanda last month.

The MPLA has not yet shown foreign newsmen evidence of the latest massacre although a local photographer was escorted to the site.

His pictures show dead civilians in shallow graves, but there is no indication of how many bodies the MPLA found.

The overall war position in Angola is little changed except for fresh clashes around Luso.

It is believed the MPLA

still holds Luso but that its forces are surrounded and completely cut off from the outside world by Unita.

The MPLA president, Dr Agostinho Neto, has told a crowd at Malanje: "There is only a little time before independence and our assumption of the total responsibilities of our fatherland."

Portuguese military sources here said yesterday there would not be one Portuguese soldier in Angola after November 11.

Factions in *Star 19/9/75* new Angola warfare

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The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA—There was further fighting yesterday afternoon at Libongos, north of here, which is rapidly becoming the hottest point in the Angola war.

Libongos is a hamlet on the road between Caxito and Ambriz.

It appears that the same sort of deadlock is developing there as developed at Caixto which the MPLA took only after weeks of back-and-forward skirmishing.

It is known that this week the MPLA were pushed out of the village of Libongos by the FNLA and that the village is again in FNLA hands.

The town is on the verge of the Ambriz hunt-

ing reserve which used to be a popular spot with big game hunters. The reserve, however, has not been used for years, as it was a hot spot during the war between the Portuguese and the liberation movements.

The fighting in the north is the only confirmed clash from yesterday.

UNCONFIRMED

Unconfirmed reports reaching here say there is much military activity around Luso and that it may even have fallen to UNITA. However there was no confirmation of this rumour.

In a message to the Angolan people yesterday the Portuguese High Commissioner, Admiral Leonel Cardoso, reaffirmed that all operational units of the Portuguese armed forces would be out of Angola by Independence Day — November 11.

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FNLA bid to retake key town

Cape
Times
22/9/75

Cape Times African Bureau

LUANDA.—After an earlier withdrawal 10 days ago of National Front troops from the Caxito key road-junction area 64 km north of Luanda, there are unconfirmed reports of new clashes with the rival popular movement (MPLA) guerillas as FNLA forces appear to be attempting a southward push to retake Caxito.

There was no statement issued yesterday by the MPLA's political commissariat as, the commissariat said, the situation was generally unchanged.

However the MPLA military commander at Bula Atumba, in northern Angola, issued a communique reporting events in his own area.

The communique stated that the MPLA forces had taken two small villages near the deserted town of Bula Atumba where they issued an appeal to the population who had fled the town to disregard false FNLA reports of MPLA guerillas killing civilian administrators and to return to the town where they would be "warmly welcomed."

The Jornal de Angola, now a semi-official reflection of MPLA policy and opinion, did, however, carry several hostile articles of the Portuguese state news agency.

FRENCH ATTACKED

An MPLA editorial in the Jornal de Angola bitterly attacked French relations with the country of Gabon and in particular the sale of four French Mirage jet fighters to Gabon.

The article said that the Gabonese were no more than slaves of the French lords who were perpetuating neo-colonial control over their country with the expensive aircraft that were being paid for with money extracted from the misery of the Gabonese.

Unita declaration of war on MPLA dashes alliance hopes

DISPATCH

23/9/75

(5)

ANGOLA - Geref

LUANDA — Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Angola's smallest guerilla movement, Unita, has declared total war on the Marxist-oriented MPLA movement.

The shock announcement over the Unita-controlled Nova Lisboa radio station — clearly heard by people in Luanda — confirms that reconciliation between the three feuding guerilla armies is now impossible — and that independence in November will certainly be followed by continued civil war.

The broadcast immediately attacked the MPLA-controlled Luanda state radio. Dr Savimbi's statement means that the desperate manoeuvring by the former Left-wing regime in Lisbon to force an MPLA-Unita alliance has fallen flat.

Diplomats in Luanda believed such an alliance would have enabled Portugal to save face by handing over the country to what would technically have been a two-thirds majority opinion, in the MPLA and Unita.

They now believe that Angola will be handed over to the MPLA anyway — and that a protracted, full-scale war will follow.

The MPLA is aiming at international recognition by controlling most of the urban areas. Fighting between the MPLA and soldiers of the military heavy weight FNLA movement has been reported a few kilometres north of Caxito, from where the FNLA withdrew two weeks ago. The MPLA took Caxito and claim they still hold it.

The two rival groups

have also clashed in the Malanje area, 450 km east of Luanda, where large quantities of FNLA equipment were said to have been captured.

In the eastern town of Luso, the MPLA is said to be in control, but is harassed by Unita forces.

Meanwhile, in Lusaka, an MPLA official said that although the movement was in total control of Luanda, it felt it was imperative that the three liberation movements there should reach agreement and work as a team.

The official, Mr Reuben Kamanga, returned yesterday from a fact-finding mission to Angola.

He also said that Angola might get military aid from the United Nations when Portugal withdrew her 24 000 uniformed regular soldiers stationed there. — DDC

MPLA hiding truth on Angola, claims FNLA



FNLA TROOPS on parade in Luanda.

Angola

CIVILIANS TRAINED

The civil defence organisation, which the MPLA inaugurated about a week ago, has already made progress in Luanda.

Groups of civilians are being trained to defend their suburbs and teenagers are being drilled with wooden guns.

The creation of this corps is an extension of the MPLA's previous 'popular power' philosophy by which they armed thousands of untrained civilians.

The Argus Africa News Service

KINSHASA. — Top National Front (FNLA) sources here said yesterday the Popular Movement (MPLA) was engaged in a propaganda campaign aimed both at hiding the truth about the military situation from the Angola people, and, at the same time, trying to convince the world that the MPLA was practically in control of the country.

FNLA sources said that besides the two northern districts of Zaire and Uige, which the FNLA had controlled for a long time, the National Front also controlled the south eastern district of Cuando Cubango, and the largest part of the Malanje district.

FNLA forces are also present in other districts (or provinces), namely those of Luanda, Cuanza Norte, Cuanza Sul, Huilán Moxico, and shares a large presence along with the forces of the third movement, Unita (National Union) in the districts of Huambo and Bie.

PROPAGANDA

With such propaganda put out by the MPLA — the FNLA sources here said — the Popular Movement had tried to give the population of Angola under their control the impression that the movement would be in control of almost all Angola.

The sources said that in fact the MPLA had experienced so much difficulty in some areas that their soldiers had gone to the point of making suicidal attacks in order to seize food.

They added that some MPLA positions were under growing pressure from FNLA or Unita forces in different parts of the territory. They said that at certain points the coastal strip controlled by the MPLA was becoming narrower.

On the other hand, in a communique issued yesterday

the FNLA said the rich diamond district of Luanda was actually occupied by former Katangese soldiers, working for the MPLA, who might plan to attack the former Katanga province from there. These forces were heavily engaged in fights against forces of the FNLA and Unita.

Asked about the recent Lusaka meeting on Angola, the FNLA sources said the National Front had not been invited and that reports that they had been present were not true. The sources added that the FNLA could not feel bound by any decisions that might have been taken at Lusaka.

They pointed out that a climate of 'entente' required the consensus of all Central African countries which have borders with Angola and the three Angola liberation movements — and not just part of them.

The sources said the movement had not closed the door to initiatives for peace — but just not at any price.

THE REFEREES

A Luanda report says about 3 000 troops of the liberation armies are under the protection of the Portuguese armed forces in various parts of Angola.

Disclosing this figure, a Portuguese military source said: 'Wherever they fight, the losers come to us for protection. We are virtually acting as referees.'

Meanwhile the leader of the MPLA, Dr Agostinho Neto, has returned to Luanda to be welcomed by a big crowd, a committee of VIP's and a military police guard of hon-

Now Portugal looks after the losers

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Deon du Plessis of
The Star's Africa News
Service

LUANDA — About three thousand troops of the various liberation armies here are under the protection of the Portuguese Armed Forces in various parts of Angola.

Revealing this figure today, a Portuguese military source said: "Wherever they fight, the losers come to us for protection. We are virtually acting as referees."

The Portuguese authorities have no idea how many guerrilla troops have been killed in the fighting so far, but are worried about medical care for those wounded in the field.

The movements have some medical facilities, the MPLA in Luanda, the FNLA in Carmona and UNITA in Nova Lisboa, but in the field there is

very little medical care."

The Portuguese are worried that injured men may be dying from lack of attention.

"Whenever we are asked for help we respond if possible. We have sent helicopters to evacuate people and those helicopters have been shot at but we have lost none so far, thank God," the source said.

The source said he thought it unlikely that the MPLA would make a push on Ambriz, the port north of here.

Yesterday, the MPLA had lost some ground and were now just south of Libongos on the Ambriz Road.

"The troops are too scattered for a big push anywhere. They are all over the country."

The Portuguese Military authorities are satisfied that prisoners of war held by the various groups are not being ill-treated, although none of the groups is a signatory to the Geneva Convention.

The movements are trying to appear respon-

sible. It is unlikely they will ill-treat prisoners," the source said.

He added that UNITA was holding about 100 MPLA prisoners, but exact figures were not available. The prisoners taken by the MPLA at Caxito, north of here last week, were being "re-educated."

He said that all Portuguese regular forces would be out of Angola by November 11. A few might remain as advisers.

(5)

Roberto conducts a Caxito tour

for 24/9/75

Special Correspondent

KINSHASA — Yesterday afternoon I met Holden Roberto, President of the National Front (FNLA) sitting on a jeep at the centre of Caxito, 53 km north of Luanda.

I had travelled from Kinshasa by plane and car with several Zaire pressmen and two other foreign correspondents.

I shook hands with a relaxed but tired Holden Roberto, who was wearing a battle suit and carrying a portable bench on which he sits to relax now and then.

The FNLA chief took us to what had been the Popular Movement (MPLA) headquarters for

12 days. The house — near Caxito church — was badly battered by the pounding of shells. In the yard was a partially destroyed armoured carrier with camouflage paint and bearing an MPLA symbol.

Somewhere up in the rear I had seen the same type of vehicle which had been captured intact.

RED "GIANTS"

I had seen three powerful Russian armoured cars too.

At Ambriz, Mr Hendrik Vaal Neto, Secretary of State for Information in the Transitional Government of Angola, climbed on top of the Russian giant and gave us a few details about it.



MR HOLDEN ROBERTO

On top it carried a 12,7 heavy machine-gun, and a lighter one. "Too much waste of good material only to carry these two," Mr Neto commented.

A White Portuguese insisted that I take his picture with the Russian car. "Hey man, it was me who got it and the others," he said.

Some of the Whites at Ambajiz, having tried to live normally, have decided that the time has come to bet on their future in Angola by putting their military skill to play fully on behalf of the movement in which they believe.

"The MPLA calls us mercenaries," one remarked to me. "But how about those the same colour as us who are fighting with them?"

He added: "At least we are not doing this for money." And he pointed at his two teenager sons, both with long hair, in military uniform and carrying a gun each.

CHECKPOINTS

As we drove along the tar road that connects Ambriz with Caxito, FNLA patrols stopped us at checkpoints.

About 20 km from Caxito, empty cartridges and empty mortar shell boxes littered the road — a clear sign that the fighting had been intense there.

One bridge had been blown by retreating MPLA forces. Bodies of three MPLA soldiers lay on the side of the road half covered by the dry elephant grass.

"We have special brigades burying the bodies," Mr Neto told me.

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BBC on troop STAR 3/7/75 moves

Reports of alleged movements of South African troops were broadcast by the world service of the BBC twice this morning and have been heard by many in South Africa.

Other reports on the subject have appeared in The Economist and Financial Times — both freely available in this country — and in many international news services, including those of the Washington Post and Los Angeles Times.

BANNED

No reports have appeared in South African newspapers, which have been forbidden so far from reporting, investigating or denying any of the statements that are pouring into newspaper offices in Johannesburg. Reports have been banned almost daily in terms of Section 118 and of Defence Act.

The only reference so far made to the reports being circulated abroad and to the censorship at home appeared in The Star two Saturdays ago. The report was in a

BBC report on troops

From Page 1

column headed "Something you ought to know."

It began: "There are things being said about South Africa in Press conferences and newspapers in London, Lisbon, Leipzig and Luanda which the public here do not know about. For your own sake you ought to know at least that."

The column suggested that many of the allegations coming from different quarters in the past fortnight appeared to be propaganda, but that the authorities here were not allowing public sifting of rumour from fact.

"Military secrets can be kept without someone in the know trying to blindfold the people," it ended.

Troops guard water pump

Rdm 6/9/75

THE SECRETARY for Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie, confirmed in a statement last night that the Government had received a note from the Portuguese Government in connection with a movement of a South African patrol to the water pumping station at Calueque on the border between South West Africa and Angola.

The Portuguese statement said South Africa had informed Portugal on August 12 that it had moved up a 30-man patrol to the water pumping station at Calueque to protect workers there under the terms of an accord between the two countries, guaranteeing water supplies, reports Sapa.

The statement said Portugal had expressed its reserve about the operation being carried out without prior warning. Once it was confirmed that Portuguese troops were in the area the South Africans were asked to withdraw, the statement added.

In his statement Mr Fourie said: "In the first place, when it was realised that both the works and workers in the Calueque-Ruacana area urgently needed protection, the Portuguese authorities were asked to take urgent steps in this regard.

"In the absence of reaction and the increasing danger, steps were taken to give the necessary protection, and the Portuguese authorities were at the same time once again asked to take steps so that the need for protection by South Africa should become unnecessary."

South Africa had welcomed the Portuguese decision to protect the works, and told Portugal on Thursday it would suspend its measures as soon as possible.

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Duisende Rooies verwelkom

OAE in Luanda

Van Ons Korrespondent
LUANDA (Angola).

TERWYL gevegte noordoos van Luanda voortduur, het duisende ondersteuners van die MPLA Vrydag in die stad saamgetrek om die Organisasie vir Afrika-Eenheid se spesiale Angolese komitee te verwelkom.

Die 84 afgevaardigdes van tien lande het ná hul aankoms op die stoep van die regeringspaleis verskyn. Hulle is deur die skare met slagspreuke en MPLA-liedjies verwelkom.

Die MPLA-ondersteuners het drie dae lank in Luanda geswoeg om alle slagspreuke van die FNLA en Unita op geboue, mure en monumente dood te verf. In die plek daarvan is eeyerf: „Neto — die gif vir imperialisme”.

Voor die pateis is plakkaat rondgeswaai met die woorde: „Angola is nie te koop nie”, „Onafhanklikheid, ja; Versoening, nee” en „Angola sal nie 'n slagoffer van imperialisme wees nie”.

Uganda se minister van buitelandse sake en ook die voorsitter van die komitee, Paul Etiang, het die skare woedend gemaak toe hy hulle met die woord „irmaos” (broeders) begroet het. Vinnig is hy ingelig dat die woord net deur die FNLA en Unita gebruik word. Daarna het hy hulle as „kamerade” aangespreek.

Toe hy daarna sê dit is die komitee se taak om die Angolese te versoen en 'n vreedsame oplossing vir die land se probleme te vind, was die skare 'n tweede keer ontevrede. Hulle het geskreue dat hulle nooit met die FNLA of Unita vrede sal maak nie.

Volgens die Angolese departement van inligting is die komitee nie in die land om vrede te maak nie, maar om self die mag van die MPLA waar te neem. Die komitee sal net gebiede besoek wat deur die MPLA beheer word.

Die MPLA is in beheer van twaalf van die sestien distrikte in Angola. Die beweging is heeltemal baas in vier van die land se provinsies en het beheer oor die dorpe en paate in sewe ander.

Gevegte tussen die MPLA en die FNLA duur voort in die noordooste en albei groepe maak aanspraak op oorwinnings.

'n Ligte vliegtuig het Don-

derdagoggend oor Luanda gevlieg en FNLA-pamflette oor die stad gestrooi. Vrydagoggend was die vliegtuig weer oor die stad en ligte plofstof is neergegooi wat twee uitsenders by die radiostasie beskadig het.

Die MPLA het daarna aangekondig dat alle ligte vliegtuie wat sonder verlof oor die stad vlieg, neergeskiet sal word en gister is op so 'n vliegtuig naby die lughawe geskiet.

Donald Lutes, die 57-jarige Kanadese sendeling wat 24 dae gelede deur die MPLA in hegtenis geneem is omdat hy vermoedelik 'n Unita-spioen was, is Donderdag vrygelaat.

Rapport 12/10/75

5

FLASHPOINT — crisis faces UN and OAU

From HUGH ROBERTSON
 NEW YORK — The United Nations and the Organisation for African Unity face becoming embroiled in Angola in the most complicated and explosive independence crisis in Africa so far.

There was speculation at the UN today that Portugal, apparently having abandoned hope of agreement between the three conflicting Iberian

movements before independence on November 11, might soon ask for direct UN and OAU assistance in handing over power.

At the same time, African diplomats disclosed today that representatives of the three Iberian movements had begun a campaign inside the UN for wide recognition and support and had addressed closed meetings of African ambassadors

to the UN in the past few days.

The meetings are understood to have led to clashes between diplomats from several African countries.

There were warnings that the civil war in Angola would be expanded after independence and would lead to a test of strength between the Soviet Union, China and the Western countries.

What worries UN officials most are hints that the largest of the Iberian movements, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), might make a grab for power — in the absence of an agreement with the other movements — and begin a chain of events that would lead to demands for international intervention.

At one of the closed meetings with African ambassadors to the UN in the past few days, the MPLA's foreign minister, Mr Paulo Jorge, is understood to have said that the MPLA was the only movement in a position to take power in Angola on November 11 and that it fully intended to press this advance.

The MPLA already controls the Angolan capital, Luanda, all the major ports and most other parts of the country.

Portuguese officials at the UN are reluctant to discuss their Government's plans for handing over power, but agree that a request for some kind of international assistance cannot be ruled out in view of growing international involvement in the area.

Also, they point out that Portugal is now keeping the UN Secretary General, Dr Kurt Waldheim, fully informed of even minor developments in Angola.

The two smaller Iberian movements — the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita) — are said by African diplomats to have supported the idea of some form of international presence on November 11.

Both are understood to have alleged at meetings here recently that the MPLA plans to grab full control in Angola — along the same lines as the communist party followed in its unsuccessful previous bid for power in Portugal — and would fall to test the will of the people in free and democratic elections.

Diplomats at the UN believe that the present chances of agreement between the movements is remote and that Portugal will continue to be placed in the position of wanting to hand over power according to schedule, but not knowing to whom that power should be given.

They argue that the situation suggests some form of international solution will have to be found.

Only the UN and the OAU, they say, would have the status and influence to maintain some semblance of order and encourage a settlement.

THE ARGUS, TUESDAY OCTOBER 21 1975



Dizzy designers

Among them is an album of 830 political lamppoons which she bought for a record R3 540.

The postcards most sought after are those produced between 1894 and 1920, when a postcard could be sent for a ha'penny.

Cards were printed in their millions. Designers became dizzy with their own ideas. Cards were made of wood, silk, leather and even aluminium.

Now card collecting is such a serious business that enthusiasts have a word for it — deltiology, which is derived from the Greek word *deltion*, meaning small writing tablet.

haven't room to store them any longer is offering them against a day on which they may come in handy.

Gentle pastime

Now I can be more helpful, having read the remarks of Valerie Monahan, wife of a retired schoolmaster and now a leading London expert in the postcard market.

Collecting old postcards used to be such a pleasant, simple hobby, she says.

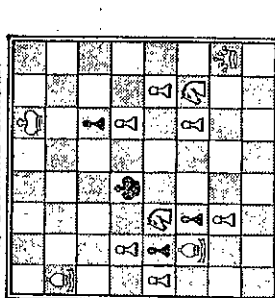
It was a gentle pastime, and the collectors were awfully nice people. We all knew each other by our first names.

Chess

Until today, however, I haven't been able to help with postcards. All I have been able to do when readers have said they don't want to destroy a collection of these pretty pictures in case they are of historic value but

Chess

By LEONARD BARDEN



While mates in two moves seem any defence (by H. Terblad).

Par times: 1 minute, problem master: 2 minutes, expert: 5 minutes, good: 8 minutes, average: 20 minutes, novice.

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DOZENS & DOZENS

Portugal's sad and ignoble departure from Angola

21 DAYS TO THE GREAT EXODUS

LUANDA.—The next 21 days will see the end of the greatest human evacuation in Africa's turbulent history, the sad and ignoble final departure of Portugal from Africa, and the opening of a volatile new zone for East-West competition.

By the end of this month the mass airlift of Portuguese fleeing from the ravages of civil war between Angolans three liberation movements will be finished, and the aircraft will in the first few days of November take out the personnel here operating the airlift — rolling up the carpet behind them and switching off the lights as they leave.

Airlift

With the help of American, Russian, East and West German, British and French aircraft, Portugal's TAP airline and its armed forces have already moved out 140 000 Portuguese and have only about 30 000 left to take.

About 90 000 more have gone out on regular sche-

duled flights to Portugal. South Africa, about 20 000 crossed into South West Africa overland and many thousands more have flown or sailed to places like Brail or simply crossed into neighbouring Zaire or Zambia.

Only about 30 000 Whites out of nearly half a million will remain in this battered land, according to Portuguese official sources.

Dock queue

The signs of their going are increasingly clear, not only in the queue of hundreds of lorries and cars lined up on the road down to Luanda's dockyard, many packed with crates labelled 'Portugal', still awaiting loading.

In Luanda the MPLA has taken over completely and is keeping the streets clean and working at keeping down crime and maintaining a going infrastructure.

But the city has many refugees. Food is so short that even the leading hotels feed only residents and give a set, plain menu

The Argus Africa News Service

which varies little from hotel to hotel and is uniformly badly-served.

The signs are there, too, in the services like the post office, traffic control and maintenance.

Soldiers

With so many skilled people gone, including many non-MPLA Africans who have fled the city, the civic machine is creaking along.

And by November 10, the day before independence day, so will the last Portuguese soldier be leaving for home.

There are about 9 000 Portuguese soldiers in Angola now, a few of them at Lobito, Moçamedes and the Cabinda enclave.

They are doing nothing except wind down their own presence and help to move out the evacuees. They will do nothing to stop the fighting between the three movements and are under orders to fight only if they themselves are attacked.

On November 10 the last batch of them will

board ship for home, and Luanda and Angola will be left to their fate — probably continuing civil war.

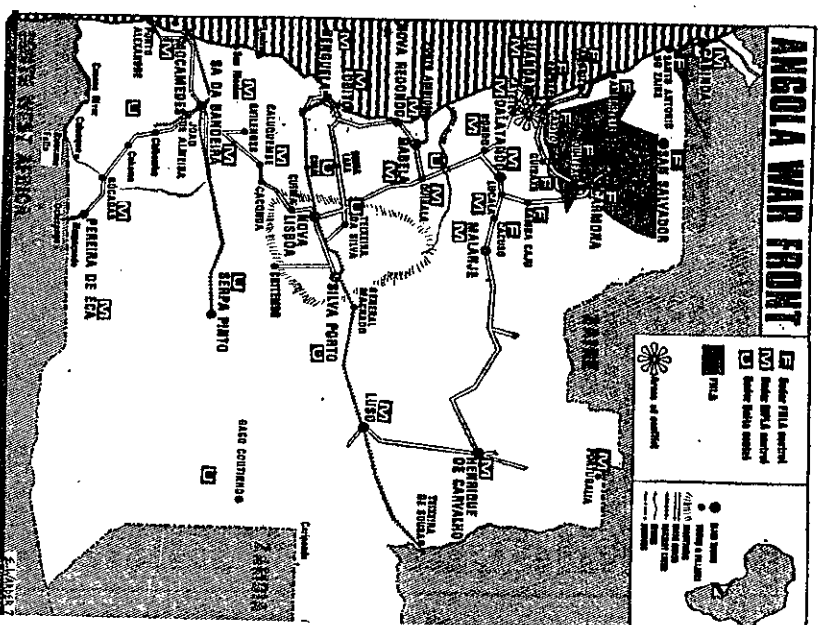
The Portuguese will not hand over the country to anybody they will just leave.

They say they cannot hand over unless to people of Angola represented by an Angolan Government. They will not hand over to any single liberation movement, and the only one in the capital now is the MPLA.

The Portuguese will leave behind them a sizeable stock of military vehicles and have already given out to all three movements when they were all represented in Luanda in a joint Government now in default of a large number of small arms.

Dumped

But they have dumped into the sea here thousands of tons of ammunition rather than let it fall into the hands of any single movement.



THIS is strife-torn Angola which, in only 21 days from now, will be transferred from Portuguese hands to . . . who knows? The three liberation movements failed to find an accord which would have given them each a share in control of the vast territory. Now the biggest of the three — the Moscow-backed MPLA — is making an all-out effort to present Portugal with a fait accompli: that it alone controls Angola's people. But the two smaller groups, the FNLA and Unita, are equally determined to wrest some control over the future of Angola by military successes in the next three weeks.

Other things the Portuguese will leave include a number of small naval patrol ships and various aircraft, including old Nord Atlas and Dakota transports.

But as one officer said, there is nobody in the air and advice, America is reportedly helping the FNLA through Zaire, and possibly France too. The UNITA movement is receiving arms flown in from Europe.

Whoever wins, most Angolans must certainly lose in the process.

LUANDA.—The two biggest of Angola's three liberation movements are poised for a major battle over Luanda, the capital, to stake their claims to rule the new country.

But all indications are that civil war is likely to continue for a long time after independence day, November 11, with spreading devastation and starvation among Angola's more than five-million remaining people.

The concentrated, strongly armed forces of Holden Roberto's national front (FNLA) are striking hard at Luanda from the north and are now fighting for the small but key village of Quifango from only about 32 km from the centre of Luanda, about half the distance between Johannesburg and Pretoria.

WATER SUPPLY

If, as is expected, they take Quifango, they will be able to cut Luanda's water supply.

The FNLA are also driving down from the north around the east of Luanda and, according to Portuguese and other sources, are believed to be striking for the Cambambe Dam to the south east, which provides all of Luanda's electricity from a hydro-electric station there.

The sources believe that the FNLA will try to force the Popular Movement (MPLA) into some kind of negotiated settlement before independence day which will give the FNLA at least a strong presence in psychologically important Luanda and a powerful share in the ruling of the country.

At present the MPLA is in total control of Luanda

Battle set for control of Luanda

The Argus Africa News Service

whose estimated 400 000 Africans, most living in the squalor of its slum suburbs, are solidly in support of the MPLA.

Observers here, point out that for the FNLA to attack the city in full force would lead to a massacre. Holden Roberto would also risk defeat in all out urban warfare because the MPLA has a potential 50 000 armed citizens in the city.

Information reaching here shows clearly that the MPLA and its leader, Dr Agostinho Neto, now control at least half of all Angola including most of its towns and villages.

The MPLA are also making a bid to capture the second largest city of Nova Lisboa in the heavily populated and agriculturally rich central plateau at present held by the third liberation movement, the National Union (Unita) which is the weakest of the three.

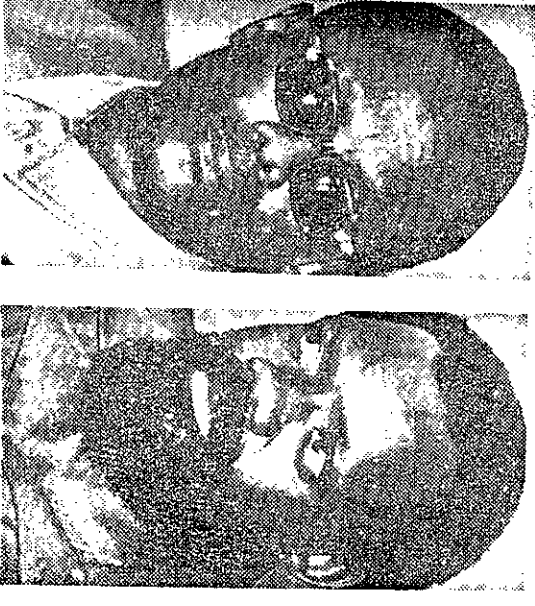
This and the military need to hold half of Angola has spread the MPLA forces thin on the ground whereas the FNLA forces are concentrated in the north-west and are being backed by and supplied from Zaire.

Since being driven out of Luanda in August the FNLA have been amassing arms for a major drive back into the capital.

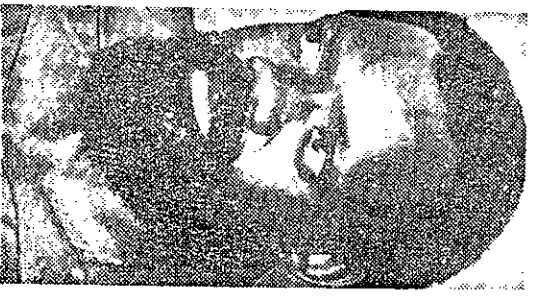
But nothing has happened in the past two days to substantiate Roberto's declaration that he would be in Luanda by tomorrow.



DR AGOSTINHO NETO — leader of the MPLA, strongest of Angola's three liberation movements and already in control of Luanda, the territory's capital, and the main ports. Will Portugal be forced to hand over power to him?



MR HOLDEN Roberto



DR JONAS Savimbi

FNLA troops in bid to take Luanda

mercury 22/11/75

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LUANDA — Troops of the FNLA have pushed to within about 20 kilometres of the outskirts of Luanda, a Portuguese military source said yesterday.

The FNLA force, driving to capture the capital before the territory's scheduled independence on November 11, was being contained by soldiers of the rival MPLA, the source said.

Portuguese Air Force plane makes regular reconnaissance flights over the area.

A conciliation commission from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has just ended a 10-day visit to Angola during which it visited the headquarters of all three of the territory's nationalist movements in an effort to end the fighting.

The commission, comprising representatives from nine African States, will report to the OAU's chairman, President Idi Amin of Uganda, in Kampala.

Dr. Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, which controls Luanda, appealed yesterday to the OAU to condemn the use of mercenaries in Angola.

The enemies of the

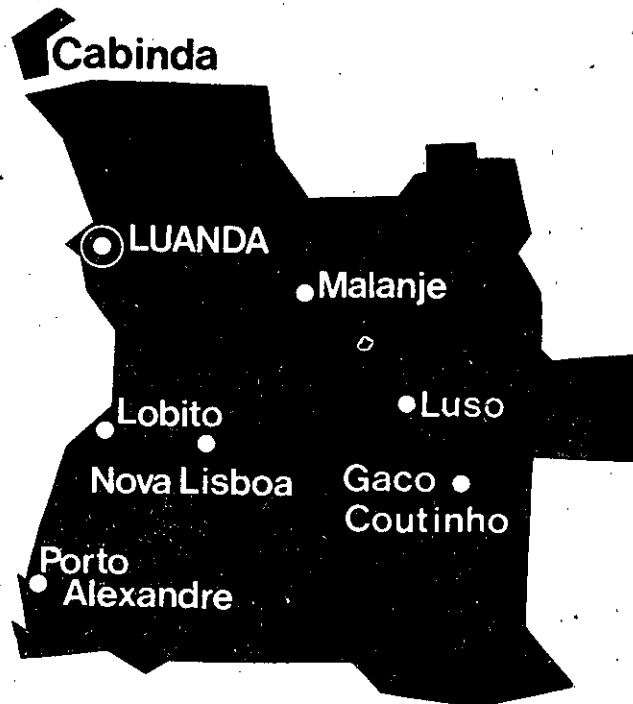
people were using mercenaries to transform Angola into a place of international conflict, he said in a communique released through the MPLA political bureau.

He added: "Independence is coming to us, accompanied by the grave perils and menaces of those who want to continue the regime of oppression and exploitation."

The MPLA has said on several occasions that mercenaries, including Portuguese volunteers, had intervened in the fighting. It paraded several prisoners, described as captured mercenaries, before the OAU commission.

The Portuguese military officer said Portugal would withdraw all its Army, Navy and Air Force units from Angolan ports before the end of the month. The remaining Portuguese forces in Luanda would leave on November 10, the day before independence. — (Sapa-Reuter.)

● WITH only 18 days to go before Angola becomes independent, an ominous calm has settled on the three feuding rival armies. The Portuguese — who plan to leave on the day before independence — see it as the lull before a terrible storm, writes REGINALD SHAY of the "Mail" Africa Bureau.



Angola: it's the lull before the storm

RDM
23/10/75



HOLDEN ROBERTO ... leader of FNLA

AN eleventh-hour pause has developed in the fighting around the Angolan capital and Portuguese military observers see it as the lull before the coming storm.

The storm will burst when Dr Holden Roberto's FNLA independence movement, whose 30 000 troops are massing north of Luanda, steamrollers south to make its expected bid to take the capital before independence day on November 11.

The FNLA's strategy is now emerging after two weeks of heavy fighting in

which large concentrations of its forces have made significant advances, punching holes in its rival's defensive network like an iron fist.

Roberto's forces are now spread out in a straight line stretching from the village of Quifangondo 7 km north of Luanda to the town of Samba Caju, 93 km to the east.

One pocket of rival MPLA troops at General Freire, 93 km north of Luanda, has been cut off by the numerous FNLA soldiers in

the area and is believed to have resorted to guerrilla tactics to survive.

During its advance the FNLA, according to Portuguese military observers, has taken the coffee road from Caxito to Carmona, giving the movement a direct supply route from the north.

Caught up in the fighting are about 35 000 fleeing African tribesmen who are expected to create a new refugee problem.

Although the National



AGOSTINHO NETO ... leader of MPLA



JONAS SAVIMBI ... leader of UNITA

Front forces are close to the capital they are not expected to drive on Luanda immediately — despite Roberto's claims to the contrary — but rather define their position, then move south-east of the capital to Lucala and Dondo, where they would cut the MPLA into three sections — around Luanda, in the south, and to the east.

The FNLA backed by neighbouring Zaire, has an advantage because its estimated 30 000 troops are confined to the north-west

and can move south with steamroller effect, when the time comes.

The Soviet-supported MPLA, conversely, has its 30 000 troops spread over much of the country, often with only a handful holding an important town.

It is also faced with the FNLA's ally, the Unita independence movement, which occupies the central cities of Nova Lisboa and Silva Porto.

Unita, with only 20 000 soldiers under arms — sup-

plies are now being flown in from Zaire — has until now played a relatively passive role, hoping for a political, rather than a military, solution to the Angolan problem.

The MPLA is now making a vigorous fourpronged drive on Nova Lisboa in a bid to oust Unita from the country's second-largest city. But a concentrated attack by the FNLA in the north could cause it to withdraw its forces to keep control of the capital.

Unita has made desperate and unsuccessful attempts

to wrest the railway town of Luso from the MPLA in a bid to gain control of the vital — but currently not functioning Benguela Railway, which stretches from Lobito through Zaire and Zambia.

But in order to gain the supplies it needs, Unita must also split its forces to drive west to Lobito, the country's largest port, which it lost to the MPLA over two months ago.

One of the MPLA's greatest strategic manoeuvres was taking all the west-coast ports from Luanda to Mocamedes in the south, which has enabled it to receive supplies by sea while cutting off those needed by Unita and FNLA troops fighting in Central and Southern Angola.

Two ships are known by the Portuguese to have landed communist-origin supplies recently at Bala Farta, south of Benguela. Two Cuban ships are believed to have docked with more supplies at Porto Amboim, south of Luanda.

One of the biggest problems facing the FNLA and Unita is that they are geared purely as military machines now with no political back-up once an area has been captured.

The MPLA, on the other hand, swiftly moves its political commissars into captured regions to begin indoctrination of local Africans.

Once indoctrination shows results, the population is supplied with arms and trained into a peoples' army. It is the presence of these 'people's power' cadres that has enabled the MPLA's regular troops to concentrate their efforts to gain control of the country.

The growing tear, both inside Angola and out, is the "internationalisation" of the war. The MPLA president, Dr Neto, this week broadcast an urgent appeal to his movement friends around the world to come to his aid.

Allegations have been made that both Frelimo troops from Mozambique and Cuban soldiers are fighting on the side of the MPLA, while it has counter-claimed that mercenaries from Zaire and other countries are backing the capitalist-oriented FNLA and Unita.

As Portugal plans to withdraw its last soldier on the day before independence, they should all have a clear field to resolve their various differences.

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UDI in *Star 23/10/75* Angola aim of FNLA

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — If the Popular Movement (MPLA) takes control of Angola on November 11 the National Front (FNLA) will declare UDI and form a government.

Reports from the Carmona headquarters of the FNLA say they have named some members of the government.

One is Dr Onofre Martins dos Santos, who will be Minister of Justice. He is a young White Angolan lawyer and worked as the FNLA legal consultant in Luanda on the formation of the new constitution when the transitional government still functioned.

800 MEET

About 800 White Portuguese demonstrated in a Luanda cinema last night in support of the MPLA.

Calling themselves the Association of Friendship Portugal-Angola, they plan to send a delegation to Lisbon to push the MPLA line of one movement for Angola.

The morning Press today totally ignored the presence of the Portuguese Minister for Co-operation with Former Colonies, Admiral Victor Crespo, because he reiterated the Portuguese official position of dialogue with all three movements on his arrival yesterday.

MADE CLEAR

The New York Bureau of The Star reports that the Russian-backed MPLA made it clear at the United Nations yesterday that it intends seizing power in Angola on November 11.

At a news conference, the MPLA Minister of Finance, Mr Saidu Minga, who has been conferring with African ambassadors at the UN, said firmly: "On November 11 the Portuguese flag will come down in Angola and we will put up our flag."

(See Page 23)

Nov 11/75
**Angolans
warned:
peace
or UN**

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUANDA — The Portuguese will not give control of Angola to any one movement. If fighting is still continuing on November 11, official independence day, they will hand over the affair to the United Nations.

This is the official view of the Portuguese High Commissioner in Angola, Rear Admiral Leonel Cardoso.

In an exclusive interview, Admiral Cardoso said: "We will not hand over sovereignty to any single party or movement. If the required conditions are not met on Independence Day I will continue sitting here, upholding Portuguese authority, while the whole affair is put in the hands of the United Nations."

Admiral Cardoso said the Portuguese had a duty to remain actively neutral but they "would not be humiliated in the final hours."

The statement was a clear warning to liberation movements who have threatened to attack Portuguese troops should they attempt to interfere in the fighting.

The admiral said all Portuguese troops would be out of Angola by November 11. The ships, guns, planes and facilities which were to be handed over to the new Angolan army would be given impartially to each movement.

MPLA 'the only movement' — Neto

Star 2/10/75. (5)

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — Attempts by the Organisation of African Unity to negotiate peace in Angola are merely imperialist tricks, because the "only movement in Angola is the MPLA." The others "creations of international imperialism to divide the people."

This was the message of MPLA president Dr Agostinho Neto to a mass rally celebrating "popular power" here last night.

Despite the denunciation, however, the MPLA is sending its Director of Information, Mr Luis de Almeida, a moderate, and Mr Jose Eduardo, a little-known but reputedly powerful member of the MPLA inner group which shapes MPLA policy, to the "conciliation conference" in Kampala.

UDI HINT

In another development top MPLA sources have hinted the movement, which controls Luanda and most of the civil administration of the country, was preparing ground to have a UDI by them recognised before independence in November.

When told the Portuguese High Commissioner in Angola, Rear Admiral Leonel Cardoso, had said the Portuguese would not accept such a move, the sources said:

"Independence is not something to be given and accepted. It is something you have to grab, to conquer."

Such a move would put the Portuguese squarely against the MPLA and in the camp of Unita and the FNLA.

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0222
0224
Cape Times: 7/10/73 (P) 316

Chissano slates SA — and USA

NEW YORK. — The Foreign Minister of Mozambique, Mr. Joaquim Chissano, yesterday said repression in South Africa had reached an unprecedented level, involving colonialist and Nazi practices.

In his first address to the General Assembly since Mozambique was admitted to the United Nations last month, he also sharply attacked the United States for twice vetoing the membership of North and South Vietnam in retaliation for the refusal of the Security Council to consider an application from South Korea.

"We vehemently condemn the abuse of the rights conferred on the United States of America," he said, referring to its veto power.

Condemning the United States attitude as "highly immoral," he also hailed the two Vietnamese for their glorious victories against the brutal aggression and systematic violation of their human rights perpetrated by imperialist forces headed by the United States of America.

Mr. Chissano told the 14-nation body "In the Republic of South Africa itself, enormous human sufferings are being inflicted by a minority on the masses of this country."

He continued, "Lately repression against its own citizens has been intensified to a level so far unknown in that country. Practices such as those taking place in South Africa take on the form of colonialism and Nazism."

Western countries had tried to "rationalize" their collusion by claiming that there had been change in South Africa, but these arguments were only manoeuvres to perpetuate white supremacy over the people of South Africa.

Mr. Chissano said that in South West Africa, repression was growing and people are being herded into so-called Bantustans, concentration camps.

The Foreign Minister claimed that South African troops had invaded Angola, which is due to become independent next month, and occupied parts of the Kunene province.

He said that Rhodesian forces, in their repression

5

FNLA in BOSS talks— report

Star
9/12/75

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LONDON — Early in July this year, General Hendrik van den Bergh, head of South Africa's Bureau for State Security (BOSS) held three days of secret meetings with Mr Daniel Chipenda, secretary general of the FNLA.

These talks, says Andrew Fraser in The Times, were held in Windhoek.

Shortly afterwards, Mr Chipenda hit the headlines, storming up the Angolan coast with the Chipenda Brigade, and, according to Fraser, although the brigade has now been disbanded, Chipenda remains a threat to the aspirations of Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, in the quest for ultimate power in Angola.

BALKANISING

South Africa's support role on the side of Unita and FNLA forces has apparently been exaggerated. Fraser reports Dr Savimbi as believing that if South Africa had really wished to help Unita, her force of arms could have won the war in three weeks.

"He suspects that South Africa's policy is one of Balkanising her neighbours for her own protection. By prolonging the civil war, South Africa can be sure of weakening all three parties in Angola to a point where they pose no threat," says Fraser.

He adds that Britain, France and Roumania are already giving aid to Dr Savimbi, that Franco-phone Africa and Zambia support him, and that only 12 of the 32 OAU members are officially against him.

CLAIM

Fraser claims that Dr Savimbi represents four-million of Angola's five-million people. He was bitterly opposed to the White Angolan exodus in July which turned into a stampede and denuded Angola of much of its technical expertise.

"Now Dr Savimbi would like to see a return of the Angolans who fled."

Desertion is said to be rife among the FNLA army and inefficiency the norm.

The Chinese, who formerly gave aid and advice to the FNLA, had pulled out and the United States advisers, who worked in some cases side-by-side with the Chinese, were expected to undergo a change of heart.

The MPLA remained Unita's most organised enemy and, although it had the support of no more than 500 000 Angolans, was being aided by Russia and Cuba.

Unita leaders estimate that 400 Russian technicians are with the MPLA, along with 3 000 Cuban regulars, says Fraser.

The MPLA was now fighting for some territorial gain that would give it more leverage in the settlement talks "that must eventually come."

OAU

man

Nov 13/10/75

accuses

SABC

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The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — The assistant secretary general of the Organisation for African Unity, Mr. Nourredine Djoudi of Algeria, last night criticised the SABC for its reporting on the Angolan situation. He also attacked the recent presence of South African troops in the territory.

In a Press conference in

Luanda following a five-hour meeting between the OAU's conciliation commission and the MPLA (Popular Movement), Mr. Djoudi said the work of the commission had not been facilitated by certain mass media.

"I and members of the commission have known for the past few days that there has been a lot of information, or so-called in-

formation, given by certain radio stations, particularly the Voice of South Africa," he said.

Mr. Djoudi said that South Africa was particularly interested in the fate of Angola. "Also, from official information I received from Lisbon which was confirmed by various sources, South Africa is at present occupying a small area in the south of this

country," he said.

Mr. Djoudi claimed that most broadcasts had been unfounded when they related to procedure to be followed by the commission. "This is particularly so when this news comes through the Voice of South Africa which cannot be considered by any means as being friendly either to Angola or to Africa as a whole," he added.

OAU men

Star
12/10/75
want
to quit

Luanda

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUANDA — The 60 members of the OAU mission to besieged Luanda — all wearing white hats with "OAU Conciliation Mission" lettered in red across them — are having second thoughts about going out to see the rest of the war situation.

Most of them just want to spend a decent interval to save face and then get out as fast as possible.

They spent the weekend talking with the Popular Movement (MPLA) president, Dr. Agostinho Neto, and other high-ranking MPLA political bureau people at Dr Neto's seaside villa.

They also visited MPLA libraries and social centres, talked to the Portuguese High Commissioner, and found time for a cocktail party at the plush Luanda Yacht Club.

WIVES

The mission was supposed to break into three groups and tour the areas controlled by the three movements.

The team also has another 20 people with it, mainly wives of delegates.

A communique from the National Front (FNLA) datelined Ambriz, a small port about 50 kilometres north of Luanda, claims they have taken Quibaxe, north-east of the key town of Caxito, and will now move on Dalatando, formerly Salazar.

FNLA leaders have expressed confidence they will be in Luanda before independence day on November 11.

On a visit to the stronghold of Unita, one of three warring Angolan groups, FRED BRIDGLAND is told by its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, that the rival MPLA and the support this group has received from Russia are to blame for the civil war.

5

Foreign arms will swing Angola

After 14/10/75

SILVA PORTO (Angola) — The war among three rival liberation groups for power in Portugal's last African colony may be fought increasingly with foreign weapons.

On a visit to this stronghold of UNITA, one of the three groups, its leaders told me that UNITA now was receiving a wide variety of military equipment from other countries.

UNITA recently sustained military losses to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the group which observers in Luanda believe is likely to emerge as the dominant force with Portugal's departure.

UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told me: "The Russians were the first to be involved here openly, and everybody has now seen how fast they were in supplying arms to the MPLA.

"When there is this type of civil war I don't think you can deter other people from coming in. Angola is a very strategic place because anything that happens here will have influence, positive or negative, on Zambia, Zaire and Namibia.

"So I don't think people will just watch Russia supplying arms and taking over without a word," Dr Savimbi added.

Asked how he thought he could convince Western democracies to involve themselves in Angola after they had been told for decades not to interfere in African affairs, Dr Savimbi said:

"I am not having any problem at all convincing Western countries that they should see to it that MPLA does not impose itself by force of arms."

French arms

One country believed to have provided arms to UNITA is France. Britain is also thought to have maintained close contacts with UNITA and supplies, at the very least, radio equipment.

The end of more than 400 years of Portuguese colonial rule over this vast and potentially rich West African country is scheduled for November 11 — though Portugal still does not know how and to whom it will hand over power.

The MPLA, dominant in the capital of Luanda, is striving to establish supremacy over its two rival liberation movements, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and UNITA.

There now seems little hope of a political solution before the independence date. The most recent attempt to bring together the three movements failed in Uganda.

In Lisbon, the Portuguese deny they are abdicating their responsibilities while the civil war in Angola escalates.

UNITA blames the MPLA and the support it has received from Russia for the civil war.

Limited support

In a visit he made to UNITA-held areas of Southern Angola, Dr Savimbi said: "If there is no political solution maybe the war will take two or three years, but definitely the movement that has the ability to mobilise the countryside will win."

Dr Savimbi said the MPLA had only limited urban support and that UNITA was strong in the countryside.

Dr Savimbi said: "We think it is true that we control about 2.5-million people (out of a total Angolan population of

nearly 6-million.)"

But even if Dr Savimbi's claims about the population and agricultural riches under his control are correct, his movement has had military setbacks and lost access to the sea.

The loss to the MPLA of the ports of Lobito, Benguela and Mocamedes was particularly serious, for these were UNITA's outlets to the sea.

At one time UNITA had also lost the important railway towns of Mariano Machado and Luso, but UNITA claims to have recaptured both towns.

Recaptured

A Portuguese army spokesman in Luanda confirmed the recapture of Luso and recently an American television cameraman said he travelled through Mariano Machado with UNITA forces.

Dr Savimbi gave this explanation of the MPLA's early successes: "MPLA does not have better trained soldiers. The fact is that they have better weapons, and they started long ago to get those weapons from the Soviet Union.

"Without that steady flow of arms from the Soviet Union, MPLA could not have won the victories it did," he said.

At a political rally in a forest glade near the small town of Bela Vista, Dr Savimbi, clad in a yellow toga, told a crowd of about 4,000: "Even though MPLA has the arms advantage now, we must remember that weapons haven't got any reflexes, they haven't got

brains . . . with people we can win.

"We've lost everything there was to lose. Now the time has come for the MPLA to start losing," declared the UNITA leader.

Dr Savimbi said the MPLA had also had support from the Portuguese armed forces. He said the Portuguese fought on the side of the MPLA against UNITA in Sa da Pandeira and that they had helped the MPLA bring in arms and soldiers to Lobito in contravention of an agreement signed by the three liberation movements and Portugal in Alvor, Portugal, last January.

Dr Savimbi said his forces would soon begin a drive to recapture Lobito. He would send armoured cars into battle to counter Soviet armoured cars used by the MPLA.

Biggest problem

He said he had 40,000 men, of whom between 10,000 and 15,000 were trained for battle.

UNITA's biggest problem in its attempt to regain lost ground will be in obtaining supplies. These can only come in by air or across many hundreds of kilometres of rough bush tracks from neighbouring countries.

"We need heavy guns," said Major Miguel Ouna, second-in-command to Dr Savimbi and secretary general of UNITA, at his military headquarters at Nova Lisboa, Angola's second largest city.

Dr Savimbi said there was no secret about the sources of arms UNITA was now receiving but that it was better that the heads of state involved should make the first announcements.

The only countries from which supplies could come to UNITA by land are Zaire, Zambia and South African-ruled Namibia (South West Africa).

UNITA planes make regular flights to Kinshasa, the Zaire capital, and Lusaka, the Zambian capital. Ammunition boxes I saw had come via the Zairean town of Thysville.—Reuter.

Big thrust in north by FNLA

Star 14/10/75

STAR 14/10/75

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUANDA—The FNLA is pushing down from its stronghold in the north and the MPLA has suffered several major setbacks in the area just north of the capital, according to reports here and from Kinshasa.

The FNLA claims to have captured key towns on the main road north from Luanda and now has virtually clear supply lines from its big base at Camona to the Caxito battle front near Luanda.

Observers here see the development as vital to the proclaimed FNLA drive into Luanda before independence on November 11.

Near Lobito the MPLA lost about 200 troops in a

battle with Unita when they tried to move towards Nova Lisboa, according to reports.

FRELIMO

Reports reaching here say about 700 Cuban troops landed at Lobito to assist the MPLA.

Some Frelimo troops were reported to be fighting with the MPLA near Luso in the south-east.

Three MPLA armoured cars were reported destroyed and a top commander captured in the battle near Lobito.

The MPLA cut power and water supplies to Nova Lisboa, Unita said.

In Luanda the OAU conciliation mission has decided to accept Portuguese High Commission assurances of safety and move out of the capital to inspect other areas of fighting.

They will probably split up and move to areas held by FNLA and UNITA.

'Zaire troops', die in Angola

LUANDA — An Angolan liberation movement said yesterday its forces had killed 26 Zaire and mercenary soldiers in a battle 300km east of Luanda.

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola has charged before that mercenaries were fighting in Angola, but this is believed to be the first time it has said soldiers of Zaire nationality were operating in the territory.

A communique from the MPLA's military wing said its troops took 10 prisoners and captured a Mercedes-Benz lorry loaded with arms and ammunition, including 60 bazookas, a mortar and rifles, as well as combat uniforms.

It said 200 Zaire and mercenary soldiers were involved in the clash around the town of Samba Cuja.

The MPLA last week reported fierce fighting in the area.

The communique said MPLA troops were in control of other areas of the country.

The MPLA on Monday showed a visiting OAU peace mission several prisoners described as captured mercenaries.

Their nationalities were not disclosed, but the MPLA has in the past said Portuguese were volunteering as mercenaries.

Zaire supports the FNLA, whose forces operate in the Uige highlands 300km north-east of Luanda. — (Sapa-Reuter.)

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RHODESIA WRITING ON WALL - MACHEL

Mercury Africa Bureau

22/10/75

LOURENCO MARQUES—Mozambique's President Samora Machel has urged Mr. Ian Smith to hand over power to Black Rhodesians, claiming Smith does not have the ability to resist guerrilla warfare the way Portugal did in Mozambique.

Mr. Machel gives his warning in the French magazine *Afrique - Asie*. He said armed struggle in Rhodesia would be "like a wildfire raging through a dry forest."

"Once the struggle breaks out, nothing will stop it and the only solution left to Smith is to hand over power to the people."

"Although the time is ripe for negotiations that might prevent the enormous loss of life in an armed struggle, the truth is that the Salisbury racists have not the capacity to resist as Portugal did."

On Angola, Mr. Machel urged Portugal to take action to prevent the "internationalisation" of the civil war.

"We know what happens when United Nations forces inter-

vene," he said. "We saw it in the Congo, in the Middle East, in Cyprus and in Korea. Wherever UN forces step in, division becomes recognised."

He said Mozambique gave its "full and effective support" to its brother movement in Angola, the Marxist MPLA. He urged Portugal to hand over power to the MPLA on November 11 — independence day — because it had effective control of the capital and the country.

Mr. Machel confirmed the recent purges in Frelimo party ranks — among them five senior military men. He said further purges could not be excluded. Comrades who were overtaken by events or who were "not fit to carry on" would be automatically discarded."

1 000

Cubans join

MPLA

24/10/75

Capt Times Correspondent

LUSAKA. — More than 1 000 Cuban mercenaries are reinforcing the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in the Angolan civil war.

New evidence from very reliable sources here suggests that Cuba, with the full backing of the Soviet Union, has sent in troops at the request of the MPLA in an attempt to tip the balance of power in the MPLA's favour before the Portuguese leave on November 11.

The Cuban troops are being landed in Angola with the assistance of the Congo, which is heavily influenced by the Soviet Union.

According to observers at least three Cuban ships have been operating in Angolan and Congolese waters.

OCTOBER

Two were reportedly sighted during the first week of October in the harbour of Pointe Noire, on the Congo coast, where military supplies for the MPLA from communist countries have been landed. The two ships transferred trucks, armoured vehicles and numerous crates to the Angolan vessel Luanda.

The Luanda also took on contingents of Cubans — mainly Black — wearing military uniforms. They described themselves to people in the port as "volunteers" on their way to Angola.

Between 500 and 600 Cubans are reported to have been involved in this operation.

BATTLEDRESS

A third Cuban ship, the La Playa de Habana, docked at Pointe Noire about October 12 and about 500 Black Cubans in battle-dress disembarked with 49 trucks and two tanks. The Cubans were billeted in the Congo before moving out in smaller contingents for different destinations in Angola.

The dock area where the ships arrived is now under Cuban supervision and access to it is restricted to Congolese military personnel.

Portuguese claim

SUN. TRIB. 26/10/75 (5)
MAD MIKE HOARE'S old Congo mercenaries are reported to be driving through Angola to thwart MPLA freedom fighters declaring a UDI on November 11 — the day the country gets independence.

This was claimed yesterday by the Portuguese in Luanda as the Marxist MPLA spread rumours in the city that South African forces were invading the territory.

In South Africa the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, dismissed the MPLA claim as "just another rumour" emanating from the confusion in Angola.

And a senior official of the Prime Minister's department said last night no South Africans were fighting in Angola as organised mercenary military units — and the Government would take active steps to prevent such units being organised here.

"There may be two or three individuals involved as adventurers, but no mercenary organisation has been formed here or departed from South Africa," said the official.

The Government is extremely careful to ensure that its policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries is immaculately observed, he said.

Portuguese sources claim the mercenaries joined the combined UDI (FNL) troops in an attack on Sa da Bandeira in the south, about 400 kilometres from the border with South West Africa.

River deadlock

A special correspondent reports from Luanda that the rival nationalist movements battling for control of the city were facing each other in apparent deadlock across the Bengo River yesterday following fierce fighting that one stage involved hand-to-hand combat.

In their drive to cut Luanda's water supply by seizing the pumping station on the river at Quiangondo, the FNLA were blocked by a massive concentration of MPLA troops.

The FNLA, halted in their drive down from the north, is now reported moving forces east and south of Luanda in an attempt to cut off the MPLA-held city.

The FNLA are thought likely to try to seize the power station at Cambambe Dam, south-east of Luanda as well as the pumping station, thus cutting off the city's electricity and water.

Meanwhile, Portuguese sources in Luanda claim that Colonel Hoare's Commandos are apparently driving towards the port of Mocamedes. If Mocamedes falls the MPLA's grip on Angola's southern ports would be broken.

Though the waterworks were still in the hands of the MPLA yesterday, thousands of people in Luanda were without water.

Crowds gathered in the stifling heat to collect drips from a broken fire hydrant.

The reason for the sudden cut in supply was not known. But last night the water was back bringing relief to the crowded slums where hundreds of thousands of Blacks depend on a few scattered taps for their supply.

OAU bid to stop arms supplies

Mbary 27/10/75

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KAMPALA — A conciliation commission of the Organisation of African Unity yesterday called on all OAU member countries to immediately cease supplying arms to the three rival Angolan independence groups.

The commission, which visited Angola two weeks ago and will present its report to OAU leaders, also condemned the use of mercenaries in the Portuguese territory.

But it said in a statement that evidence varied as to the extent of foreign interference in the pre-independence struggle between the warring groups — the MPLA, FNLA and Unita.

The commission said all three independence movements were against a Balkanisation of Angola, which could open the door to foreign interference.

They basically desired a peaceful settlement to the conflict, the statement said. But if no agreement was reached before the independence date of November 11, the commission recommended that Portugal should transfer the instruments of independence jointly to all three groups.

It also said the independence movements should agree to hold elections within the following 12 months.

Meanwhile, they should cease hostilities, keep to the territory they hold at the time of the ceasefire, and form a national union government to lead Angola into independence, the commission said.

Uganda President Idi Amin, this year's OAU chairman, has set November 1 as the date of the ceasefire and has invited nine Heads of State to Kampala for an emergency meeting on the same day.

"If we analyse the situation the MPLA and Unita are not very different," he said.

"MPLA leader Agostinho Neto was quoted on Saturday as saying he would never refer to Unita and the FNLA as liberation movements again.—(Sapa-Reuter.)

The Portuguese High Commissioner in Angola, Admiral Leonel Cardoso, was quoted in Lisbon yesterday as saying he thought it would be possible to bring about an agreement between two of the three warring Angolan liberation movements before the territory's independence.

In an interview with the weekly Lisbon news magazine, *Seculo Ilustrado*, published yesterday, the Admiral said MPLA and Unita shared a basic ideology, although their political programmes were different.—(Sapa-Reuter.)

Nov 27/10/75

Pressure on MPLA mounting

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The Star's Africa
News Service

The MPLA forces and resources in Angola are being stretched increasingly thin as its rivals, the FNLA and Unita, step up their attacks on several fronts.

In what appears to be a well-organised and co-ordinated drive, the FNLA-Unita forces are striking against at least six MPLA fronts and have gained several successes.

They are believed to be strongly backed by mercenaries and are apparently well officered by former Portuguese Army men.

This is the war situation as outlined by Portuguese Army sources here:

● The opposition has fully occupied the southern town of Sa da Bandeira

after sending the small MPLA garrison there in full flight.

They are now moving towards the Namib desert and the port of Mocamedes.

Unita had reached Alto Catumbela on the escarpment east of Lobito, close to the Benguela railway, and is reportedly in a position to cut the power to the city.

● Unita forces are reported to have reoccupied the town of General Machado.

● There is fighting in the Gabela-Quibala area not far south of Luanda.

● In the Luanda area, FNLA forces are now ranged north of the Dande River and the MPLA south of Porto Quipiri, leaving a no-man's land between.

● Fighting continues at Luso in east central Angola. The MPLA still holds the town.

● FNLA forces are attacking the border town of Teixeira de Sousa from Zaire.

(See Page 23)

Luanda's water flows again as shelling stops

D.D. 27/10/75

(5)

LUANDA. — Water supplies to the Angolan capital have been restored after a two-day interruption caused by an artillery exchange between rival liberation armies near the Quifangondo pump station.

Troops of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) were yesterday in control of the town, the source of Luanda's water, about 20 km north-east of the capital.

FLED

There were no signs that the pump station was damaged during two nights of shelling by troops of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). Government officials in Luanda said technicians at the station fled when they heard the artillery shots.

MPLA troops have blown up a bridge on the River Bengo, about four kilometres north-west of Quifangondo, on the road to the FNLA-held town of Caxito, 30 km away. Popular Movement troops were also seen patrolling in amphibious armoured cars on the road leading to the MPLA-controlled capital.

In Luanda, several thou-

sand people massed outside the government palace to pledge support for the MPLA and its policy of accepting power on its own when Portugal grants independence on November 11.

The MPLA and FNLA, together with a third movement, the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), are wrestling for control of the territory before Portugal withdraws.

Portugal has made a last-minute attempt to gather the movements round a table to seek a formula for a peaceful handover. Minister of Cooperation for Overseas Territories, Commander Victor Crespo, flew out of Luanda yesterday after a four-day effort to organise a conference.

CAPTURED

As he left, people in the capital were queuing at recruiting posts to volunteer for service with the MPLA as part of a general mobilisation announced last week.

The MPLA ordered the mobilisation when a joint force of FNLA and Unita troops captured the city of Sa da Bandeira, 1015 km south-west of Luanda. — Sapa-Reuter.

Stop the war, OAU asks Angolans

ADDIS ABABA. — The assistant secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity has appealed to the three warring liberation movements in Angola to establish a cease-fire by Saturday.

He also urged the movements to form a unity body to which the Portuguese authorities could hand over independence on November 11, the date set for the ceremony.

The appeal was made by Mr Nouredine Djoudi, who has just returned to the OAU's headquarters in Addis Ababa from a peace and reconciliation commission to Angola.

In an interview published on Saturday, Mr Djoudi

said the OAU's chairman, President Idi Amin, of Uganda, had decided to call a summit meeting, probably next week, of nine African heads of state to try to find a solution to the Angolan problem.

Mr Djoudi added that if the liberation movements — the MPLA, the FNLA and Unita — "do not settle their differences by November 11, there is an imminent danger of the dispute becoming internationalised".

He also claimed Angola's problems were being aggravated by the presence of more than 1,000 South African mercenaries. — Sapa-AP.

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FNLA men 'in SA'

Star
29/10/75.

LONDON — White Portuguese military commanders from the Zaire-based National Front (FNLA) have recently flown to Windhoek and Johannesburg.

The London Financial Times reports today that the flights are being made in small aircraft by Portuguese officers of the local FNLA command.

The information comes as Portuguese military intelligence is seeking to confirm other reports that British-made tracked armoured vehicles and British-manufactured Hunter jet fighters have appeared in the past few days at the Nova Lisboa base.

Nova Lisboa is under the control of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita but, as in many Unita bases, the FNLA have installed themselves in some strength in the city.

FNLA and Unita have refrained from fighting each other for some months now and are concentrating their efforts against Dr Agostinho Neto's Popular Movement (MPLA).

The Guardian reports today that Portuguese troops will leave Luanda on November 5 and the high commissioner will move into a frigate anchored in the bay ready to hand over power to an Angolan Coalition government on Independence Day, November 11.

Major setback to MPLA as port is lost

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUANDA—The FNLA-Unita movements in Angola have gained a vital new supply route and inflicted a severe setback against the rival MPLA by capturing the southernmost port of Mocamedes.

The port was taken in the early hours of yesterday by about 500 men

backed by about 20 armoured cars. Portuguese army sources here say the MPLA garrison gave almost no resistance.

The FNLA-Unita force, which last week took the southern capital of Sa da Bandeira and struck out for Mocamedes from there through the northern Namib desert, has now gained an important strategic base in the conflict for this country.

Mocamedes has a sizeable fuel storage tank farm and is the railhead for a line reaching inland as far as Serpa Pinto, through Sa da Bandeira, with a branch track forking south to the big iron mines at Cassinga.

The Portuguese army had a company of commandos at Mocamedes, to

provide security while almost all the port's White residents were evacuated to Luanda, but the troops might now have been withdrawn.

MPLA sources here still insist that the captors of Mocamedes and Sa da Bandeira included regular South African forces with helicopters but this is discounted by the Portuguese authorities.

It is believed Mocamedes was very thinly manned by the MPLA because they transferred troops to the front just north of Luanda last week when the FNLA launched a heavy attack.

All other major ports are still in MPLA control but the FNLA hold the small harbours of Ambriz and Sao Antonio do Zaire north of Luanda.

The FNLA and Unita are now expected to ship war material in quantity into southern Angola

through Mocamedes. They are reported to have seized a considerable amount of arms and equipment there yesterday.

Possession of the two major centres in the South gives the FNLA and Unita forces a strong base from which to strike north along the main road or along the coast road from Mocamedes at the ports of Benguela and Lobito, if they can hold the base against almost certain MPLA retaliation.

Meanwhile the MPLA has deadlocked the FNLA north of Luanda and is said to be close to taking Nova Lisboa in central Angola, the headquarters of Unita.

They already control Nova Lisboa's water supply and life in that city, where only some thirty White families are left of some 100,000 in the area before the civil war, is reportedly arduous.

MPLA 'will use Soviet warplanes'

for Mr. ... 20/10/75

LUSAKA — Dr Jonas Savimbi, president of Unita, claimed last night that the rival MPLA had a squadron of Soviet-built MiG-21 aircraft.

He told a news conference in the Zambian capital that the MPLA had between six and 12 of the aircraft which it intended to use against its opponents after November 11 — the date set for the independence of the Portuguese colony.

"The MPLA will start bombing our towns," he said. But Dr Savimbi said "Unita will not stand by and let this happen. We are already thinking of getting our own warplanes."

Dr Savimbi said his movement favoured talks between the three liberation movements — the third being the FNLA — to end the civil war in the country.

"We will be the instruments of those who manufacture the guns."

He denied MPLA allegations that South African troops had fought in support of Unita forces. "This is just propaganda," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

(See Page 29)

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KORJANOV R.W.
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DIVISION OF ECONOMICS

ECONOMICS II (page 2)

SECTIONS (14 sub)

IN ALPHABETIC
VTL MARKS

TOTAL

ANGOLA — cauldron of blood and hate

31/10/75 The Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — What once appeared to be little more than an internal power struggle — albeit a nasty, noisy, bloody one — for control of this rich and sprawling territory of Angola, has developed into a seething internationalised cauldron of bitterness.

It is East versus West, Capitalism versus the Left, with a few freebooters thrown in to complete the recipe for bloody chaos.

The Big Powers threw in their lot with one or other of the liberation movements a long time ago, and their contributions are escalating as the date for the territory's and independence — November 11 — draws near.

Russia and the Eastern Bloc supply the Popular Movement (MPLA) with arms and ideological bolstering.

The National Front (FNLA) has used Zaire as a base, headquarters and source of supply since it was founded more than 14 years ago.

Mobutu

And the Zairean connection has brought in constant but unproven charges of United States support for the FNLA.

Certainly, President Mobutu Sese Seko has long received favourable if not preferential treatment from Uncle Sam and friends.

Jonas Savimbi's National Union (Unita) is the 'blue-eyed boy' of the West too, and France, West Germany, and Britain are said to be supplying arms.

The European Economic Community was the source of Savimbi's arms for a long time, but the deals were cash. Now the terms of credit are said to be loose indeed.

The MPLA also has a number of Cubans working with them.

Estimates of their number range from 700 to 1200, and their jobs are said to range from field surgeons to mechanics, artillery trainers, instructors, and even combat troops.

Strolling

The MPLA completely denies the presence of combat troops. But, two were seen recently commanding a supply convoy of Czech and Swedish trucks coming from the south, and this week three of them were seen strolling, Kalashnikovs over the shoulder, down a Luanda street.

There are also reported to be some Cubans in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda. The oil is still flowing at the rate of about 40-million American dollars a month.

This is banked in the New York branch of the Bank of Angola.

The MPLA, being in complete power in Luanda, control the head office of the Bank of Angola, and hence the money.

ANGOLA — AFRICA'S PRIZEFIGHT

F.M. 31/10/75 (5)
Strife-torn Angola, with oil reserves equal to those of Kuwait and total exports that exceed by far those of either Zaire or Zambia, is a rich prize.

While the civil war and departure of up to 75% of the White population have wreaked havoc on the developing economy, surprisingly, Angola's biggest "industry" — oil production — is continuing pretty much as normal.

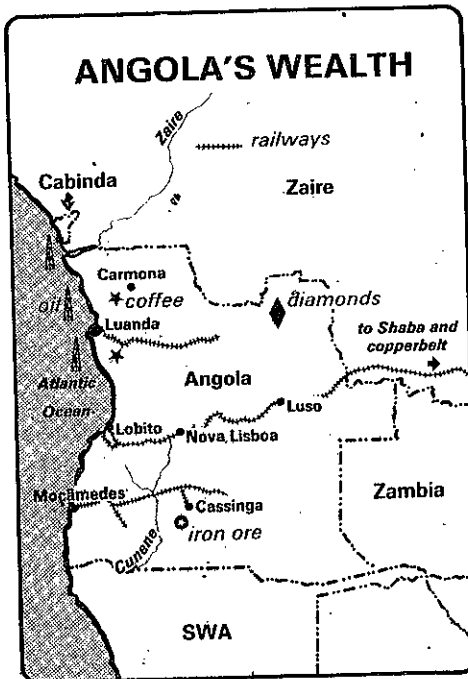
The Cabinda Gulf Oil company, whose 120 offshore wells should provide about \$420m this year in tax and royalties to Angola (40% of the national budget) continues to produce at least 150 000 b/d. Half goes directly to the US in tankers that never touch shore in Angola. The Soviet-backed MPLA nationalist movement is firmly in control of the Cabinda enclave and also controls the Angolan transitional government in Luanda into whose coffers go the massive oil revenues.

Petrangol, owned jointly by Belgium's Petrofina and the Angolan government, also continues to produce about 30 000 b/d, mostly in the FNLA-controlled Antonio do Zaire district just south of the Zaire river. This produces about \$4m/month which is deposited in an escrow account in Europe following an agreement by the company, FNLA and MPLA that the funds are not to be used by either movement. Petrangol is virtually the only company that manages direct co-operation with both movements and even now continues to operate charter flights daily from Luanda to FNLA territory for its personnel. Although the company's board of directors has not met recently, two MPLA directors have been appointed.

Petrangol also operates Angola's only refinery in Luanda. Although the operation is currently running at only 50% of capacity (the staff is down to 600 from the normal 1 400) it still produces enough petrol, aviation fuel and diesel oil to meet the requirements of the immediate area around Luanda. The refinery closes today (Friday) for a month in line with the current opera-

tions schedule of two months on-one month off that management has instituted to allow European personnel home leave.

The further, as yet unexploited, oil deposits off shore in Sa Zaire are not being worked due to the uncertain political situation. Many of the richest concessions there are held by America's Texaco and Petrangol.



Coffee, Angola's number two export (worth \$231m in 74), is indeed suffering from the civil war. Most is grown in the Carmona district and the FNLA has had difficulty exporting this year's reduced crop. Stockpiled coffee continues to be loaded in MPLA-controlled Luanda, however, even though the port is working at less than 50% of previous levels. Ships are now waiting up to five months in Luanda and Lobito (at press time still under MPLA control) is reported to be even worse.

The MPLA also controls the rich north-eastern Lunda diamond area and some work continues there.

Angola is normally the world's fifth largest producer of the gem and last year 115m carats were exported. The work force at the Diamang concession has been reduced to 6 000 from the usual 20 000.

The final major foreign exchange earner, iron ore, has been completely shut down by the war. The "mountains" of iron ore in the southern district of Cassinga (reputed to be one of the world's richest deposits — estimated 5bn/t — is under control of the Unita movement. The operator, Portuguese State-owned Companhia Mineira do Lobito, had previously removed most of the 20 000 workers from Cassinga in August. In 1974 CML earned Angola \$38m in foreign exchange from exports of 6m/t of iron ore.

Meanwhile the British-owned Benguela rail line, vital to landlocked Zambia (and Zaire) for exports of copper, remains closed. The line is losing \$125 000/day from the shut down and, barring an unlikely agreement between the movements or a Unita/FNLA capture of Lobito, the railway will remain closed.

Apart from an obvious political interest, SA has a vital economic stake in who wins the Angolan civil war. The R100m already invested in the Cunene hydroelectric scheme is at stake, as well as exports that last year, approached R44m, and substantial investments in mining. Virtually all of the SA-Angola economic ties are currently in limbo. General Mining and JCI, which have large prospecting concessions in the centre and south of the country, have long ago withdrawn personnel. The importation of Angolan coffee (long SA's dominant source) has all but dried up.

For Angola only time will tell the tale. It is unlikely that any clear pattern of who is to govern will emerge by independence on November 11. And it may be months or even longer until the direction of Black Africa's second-richest economy is made clear.

'Angola Day' is deadline

SUNDAY TIMES
2/11/75

BY FLEUR DE VILLIERS

A LEFT-WING coup to topple the Government in Portugal and which if successful could have a profound effect on events in Southern Africa is being planned in Lisbon to coincide with Angola's independence on November 11.

News of the planned coup was disclosed to the SUNDAY TIMES this week through sources close to the Portuguese Government in Lisbon and London.

Ringleaders have been named. They are said to be Mr. Vasco Goncalves — who was recently ousted from office as Prime Minister of Portugal — General Fabiao, Chief of

Staff of the Army, and Mr. Otelo Carvalho.

The coup, understood to be with the tacit consent of the Lisbon Government, has been planned for either the eve of Angola's independence on November 11, or a week before.

Sources said that the coup, which is not expected to last more than a few weeks, has been planned for the sole purpose of granting official Lisbon recognition to the Moscow-oriented MPLA movement in Angola as the rightful post-independence government of that country.

It is believed that the plot was hatched in Moscow, with the connivance of the Portuguese Communist Party, to enable Russia to deliver — without threat of diplomatic sanction — vast quantities of MiG fighter aircraft, missiles and other military arms and equipment to the MPLA.

These arms supplies are understood to be on the water en route to Angola, but cannot be delivered without international political reaction if the MPLA is not recognised by Lisbon on November 11, as the official government of Angola.

Because of a rumoured \$85-million loan (about R73-million) from the United States, the Lisbon Government is committed not to recognise the MPLA, and only a week ago said it would not give recognition to any single faction of the three warring independence movements.

The United States loan is said to have been conditional on non-recognition of the MPLA.

The Lisbon Government, it is said, believes that through its covert co-operation in the coup it can win the co-operation of the Portuguese Communist Party.

Since the outcome of the Angolan civil war is a key to South Africa's re-

lations with the Black north, and of vital importance to the future of Zaire and Zambia, the Lisbon plot is of primary importance in the problems of Southern Africa, and the future of detente.

A communist take-over in Angola, and the possibility of Angolan and Mozambique ports falling into the hands of Russian sympathisers could, observers point out, make a number of southern and central African countries pawns in a new "Balkan trap" which is now being organised in Africa.

Parallel

Anti-communist sources in Lusaka draw a parallel with the 1960 situation in the Congo before the fall of Patrice Lumumba, and emphasise the importance of Zambia as the remaining hope of an anti-communist front.

Forces of the extreme Left — including the Tanzanian Foreign Minister Malacela — are said to be coming to the fore, while there is a question mark over the roles of President Samora Machel and the Russian-orientated Marcelino dos Santos in Mozambique.

The Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, of the Rhodesian ANC, has now thrown in his lot with the extreme Left, and is unlikely to be acceptable in any future fruitful discussions on a Rhodesian settlement.

Moderate leaders, including President Kaunda of Zambia, are therefore said to be under extreme pressure to produce results in the detente exercise as an alternative to an armed struggle — especially as Zambia's major lines of communication could be in communist hands in the near future.

It is believed that Pretoria, therefore, regards it as imperative that a Rhodesian settlement be achieved.

Tension as Angola's 'D-day' approaches

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ftw
3/11/75

LISBON — A tense week lies ahead of the Portuguese Government in the build-up to Angolan independence on November 11.

There are risks of more extremist violence as the right tries to force the sixth administration's attitude on Angola towards neutrality, and the left tries to steer it towards outright recognition of the marxist MPLA as the sole representative of the Angolan people.

Showing further determination to crack down on the leftist militias, Portugal's Revolutionary Council has decreed that armed brigades in possession of military weapons will be tried before military and not civilian courts.

In a series of tough measures published during the weekend the council also set up special military courts for trying the former Pide — Caetano's political police — and for trying officers involved in the two unsuccessful Spinoist coups.

'Mass' raided

The council has also decreed the recruiting of more ex-soldiers into a new para-military prison guard.

Two former officers who were arrested in a Catholic seminary in Braga, both of whom were involved in the abortive March 11 coup and fled to Spain with General Spinoia, have now been brought to Lisbon's Caixas Jail for interrogation.

The circumstances of their arrest link Spinoia's clandestine Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (MDLP) with both the Catholic Church and Angolan refugees in Portugal.

Braga townspeople alerted the police and military after several "well-dressed" people entered a local church and an unusually timed Mass was held.

The church doors were shut and the "congregation" apparently adjourned for a secret meeting in the adjoining seminary, which is being used as a refugee centre.

Hid under beds

Police found the two officers hiding under Angolan refugees' beds in the seminary.

More searches are under way in the north to check reports of other Spinoists illegally entering the country.

The Angolan refugees who have flooded into Portugal ahead of the territory's independence on November 11 have organised themselves into associations and are putting out a weekly newspaper.

There is some fear they will clash today in London with a major demonstration organised by the left in support of the MPLA. Many of the refugees are said to support the other two liberation groups and are bitterly opposed to what they see as the risk of Portuguese Government recognition of the MPLA as the sole representative of Angola.

APN 3/11/75

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Angola truce follows plea by Amin

LUANDA — A ceasefire has been declared in Angola — just eight days before the country is due to become independent.

According to Portuguese sources, the ceasefire came into effect at 6 am on Saturday under the terms of a truce appeal by President Amin of Uganda, current chairman of the OAU.

Dr Lopo do Nascimento, Prime Minister of the transitional Government and a member of the left wing MPLA, had flown to Kampala for peace talks with representatives of the other two warring liberation movements, the FNLA and Unita. The talks also included Commander Vitor Crespo, Portuguese Minister for Inter-Territorial Coordination.

However, there was no confirmation that representatives from the other two movements had

arrived in the Ugandan capital.

The aim of the OAU initiative is to end the fighting between rival movements and allow for a peaceful transfer of power by the Portuguese.

So far, the ceasefire appears to be holding in the Luanda area. There has been no serious fighting between the MPLA and the FNLA, confronting each other about 28 km north of the capital, since late on Friday night.

However, there were unconfirmed reports that a joint FNLA-Unita column, headed by White mercenaries, was attacking the town of Benguela, about 640 km south of the capital.

COMMISSION

The ceasefire comes in the wake of a visit to Angola by an OAU conciliation commission representing nine African countries. During its 10-day visit last month it had talks with the leaders of the liberation movements in their respective capitals — Luanda (MPLA), Carmona (FNLA) and Nova Lisboa (UNITA).

The commission made a number of recommendations which are now under consideration in Kampala. These include an undertaking by the three movements that they will not advance beyond positions held at the time of ceasefire and that they should hold elections within a year of the November 11 independence date. — Times News Service.

(5)

Mercenaries lead bid to capture Angola

LUANDA. — Black nationalist forces headed by White mercenaries yesterday battled to oust the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) from the strategic Atlantic port of Benguela, diplomatic sources said.

The clashes began early on Saturday and stepped up the momentum of at-

tacks in the past week by nationalists opposed to MPLA control of the West African colony.

The MPLA has controlled the capital since August, when fierce street fighting decimated opposing forces who fled to tribal redoubts in the north and south. Most of the colony's former 500 000 White population has been

evacuated.

The sources said White mercenaries, estimated at 150 men, were leading troops of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), armed by Peking and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), fighting with arms from several European Common Market na-

tions. The two groups joined forces in August.

The battle for Benguela renews the westward thrust of the joint opposition, which has vowed to dislodge the Moscow-aided group from the capital by independence day, November 11.

Diplomatic sources said the Benguela fighting would probably spread to Angola's largest port of Lobito, 19 km to the north, completing the push to dislodge the MPLA from the entire southern part of the oil and mineral-rich territory.

Benguela, 400 km south of the capital, lies at the end of a 1 280 km railway through Angola, which has been the chief export route for Zambian and Zairean copper.

MPLA aims a broadside at South Africa

RDM. 4/11/75

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'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUANDA. — Anti-South African and anti-United States feeling ran high in the Angola capital yesterday as the MPLA-controlled newspapers and State radio pumped out critical propaganda.

As a result the United States consulate staff — except for the consul, Mr Robert Hultslander, and a skeleton staff — have been ordered by their government to quit the country.

The Americans, who are looking after the diplomatic interests of the British and Canadians as well, have urged citizens of all three countries to leave Angola.

Anti-South African feeling is generated by reports that South African mercenaries are fighting MPLA forces in the south

of Angola.

The pro-Soviet MPLA has also been strongly criticising the United States.

Foreign correspondents with South African newspaper connections have left the country. At least two of them — one a South African and the other a Canadian — left on refugee flights to Portugal.

The "Mail" Africa Bureau reporter, Roger Sargent, a Briton, who has been under detention in Luanda since the early hours of last Wednesday morning, had still not been released by last night.

Also in custody is Chris van der Merwe, a reporter of the Sunday Times in Johannesburg, who is a South African. Diplomatic moves have been made to secure the release of both men.

Meanwhile, Uganda Radio said yesterday that the Marxist MPLA intended taking over the Government of war-torn Angola and, with Soviet support, unilaterally to declare the colony independent of Portugal.

Uganda Radio said the Soviet Union, which has been supplying the MPLA with weapons, would recognise an MPLA Government, reports Sapa-AP.

The broadcast, monitored in Nairobi, said the MPLA would reject the co-operation of two other nationalist movements, FNLA and Unita, in governing the mineral-rich West African territory.

The MPLA and Soviet aims were set out in a message delivered by the Soviet Ambassador, Mr Andrei Zakharov, to Uganda's President Idi Amin.

Russia supports MPLA

Cape Times
4/11/75

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Own Correspondent

NAIROBI. — There were two major shocks to peace moves in Angola yesterday when the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) denied a report that the three liberation movements had agreed to a ceasefire — and Russia indicated it would intervene decisively on the side of the MPLA.

In Kampala, where a special OAU conciliation commission on Angola is trying to stop the fighting before independence on November 11, a Russian note of support for the MPLA caused considerable anger.

The note was handed in

LONDON. — Portugal's High Commissioner in Angola, Admiral Leonel Cardoso, said on a BBC television interview here last night that he would not hand over power to any one of the three warring liberation movements if they were still fighting when the territory became independent on November 11. — Sapa

at the meeting by President Amin.

The note, given on Sunday to President Amin as chairman of the OAU by the Russian ambassador in Kampala, fell into the conference like a bomb.

It stated that the Soviet Union would recognize a UDI in Angola by the MPLA.

"It is the intention of the MPLA to assume responsibility for the whole of Angola when the Por-

tuguese withdraw and to conclude an understanding with the USSR," said the note.

"Moscow intends to recognize Angola when the MPLA comes out with a declaration of independence and the Soviet Union will then recognize the new government."

The Soviet note added, with typical Russian cynicism: "There exists a real threat of intervention by foreign reactionary forces" and said the activities of National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) were "the result of foreign military intervention."

This is the first time that the Soviet Union has intervened directly in any African conflict, and African states are perhaps justifiably concerned.

The MPLA's ceasefire denial came in Luanda yesterday, Sapa-Reuter reports.

SA farmers' losses likely to be heavy

4/11/75
The Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Several South African farmers with substantial business connections in Angola are among those likely to suffer when the territory gets independence next week.

In Windhoek this week two men said they stood to lose at least R265 000 unless they are allowed back after November 11.

The cash represents money ploughed into five large farms totalling more than 50 000 hectares, herds of cattle and karakul sheep.

Burly Mr Pieter Steenkamp said: It represents the end after 13 years of hard work building up the business.

Together with partner Mr J. M. Hamman, who is also managing director of Suidwes Safari Motels, Mr Steenkamp sees the current power struggle in South West Africa's neighbouring territory as the thin end of the wedge.

BUFFER

He said: If we are forced off our farms — and ours lie between Sade, Banderia and Mocamedes on the coast — then surely southern Angola will never again be the useful buffer strip it has been for so long.

Mr Steenkamp said his farm managers and workers were forced from the land.

They didn't just get up and go. They heard there would be heavy fighting and when it came they got out quickly, he said.

His reference was to the taking of the town of Sade Banderia and the port of Mocamedes, apparently by Portuguese mercenaries and troops of the FNLA just two weeks ago.

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MPLA

loses

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ports

STAR 5/11/75 (5)

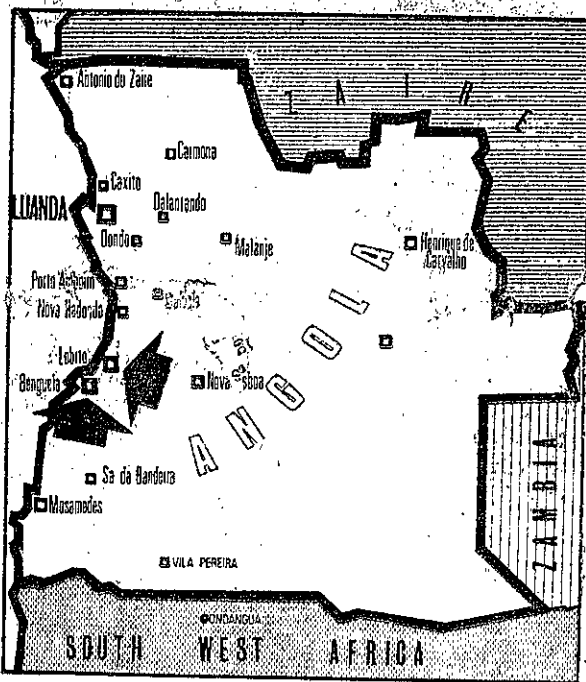
The Star's Africa News Service

The vital ports of Benguela and Lobito are reported to have been captured within the past 24 hours by a mystery attacking column from southern Angola.

According to unconfirmed reports reaching Johannesburg, the column, backed by armoured cars, first beat the MPLA forces out of Benguela and then moved about 30 km north to take Lobito.

Lobito is the port for the Benguela railway which is of extreme importance to Zambia's exports and imports.

The MPLA and other observers in the MPLA-held Luanda have been anticipating the fall of Lobito and Benguela to the attackers, since the column captured Mocimedes farther south a week ago.



The Angola ports of Benguela and Lobito ... reported captured from the MPLA in the past 24 hours. The map shows the main areas of war activity in the former Portuguese territory.

Mercenaries

Reports trickling into Luanda late last week through the rigid MPLA censorship said some MPLA troops in Benguela and Lobito were panicking after the capture of Mocimedes without a shot being fired.

The main reason for their panic was the news that mercenaries were in the column.

The make-up of this column is not known. It is believed to consist of FNLA and Unita forces and mercenaries with armoured cars.

Heavy fighting has also been reported immediately north of Luanda in what appears to be an attempt by the MPLA to prevent the city being surrounded by the FNLA before the November 11 independence date.

Angolan peace talks collapse

Mercury Correspondent

NAIROBI — Angolan peace talks held by the OAU Conciliation Committee in Kampala appeared to have collapsed yesterday after the Russian statement, in a Note to President Amin, that the Soviet Union would back a unilateral declaration of independence by the Marxist MPLA.

The Marxist-oriented movement has announced it will make a unilateral declaration on November 11—ironically also the anniversary of Mr. Ian Smith's UDI—confirming previous forecasts by foreign correspondents that it would do so.

Portugal, now not expected even to make a pretence of "handing over" Angola to any of the three feuding independence armies currently fighting for control. It will simply leave.

The Portuguese High Commissioner, Admiral J. Cardoso, has been brutally frank: "Shortly after midnight on November 10 I will haul down the flag, board a plane and simply fly away from it.

"I'll turn my back. It will be up to the Portuguese Government what action they take."

Any chance of a lull in the fighting—let alone a truce—has been negated by the MPLA's call yesterday for "guns and planes" to crush the "invasion."

The "invasion," they say, is by South African, Portuguese and Zaire mercenaries.

MPLA sources in Luanda have sent a letter to Field Marshal Amin spelling out its intentions.

The message was broadcast by Radio Uganda. Russia has already recognised the MPLA as legitimate rulers after independence on Tuesday, and said there would be links between their two countries.

The OAU committee has been trying vainly to halt the fighting between the MPLA and the FNLA and Unita. Representatives of the three movements are in Kampala, including Dr. Lopo do Nascimento the MPLA "Prime Minister" of Angola.

The Russian Note is plainly an encouragement to the MPLA to seize power, and has shocked many African nations who believe that the three groups should be persuaded to lay down their arms and work together for a united Angola.

There is profound concern in Kenya, where the three leaders came together under the aegis of President Kenyatta only a few months ago and signed a solemn pledge of co-operation.

The leader of Unita, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, has claimed the MPLA has a squadron of Russian Mig-21 jets; and Eastern Bloc countries are known to have shipped thousands of tons of arms, including tanks and armoured cars, to the MPLA.

Its major rival, the FNLA, is being supplied with similar weaponry by neighbouring Zaire, whose President Mobutu Sese Seko does not want a Communist State on his borders, so the civil war is likely to erupt into a much more serious conflict than it has been.

● See Editorial Opinion

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Mercury -
5/11/75

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MPLA makes bid for recognition

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R. D.M.
5/11/75

Mail Africa Bureau
LUANDA. — The Russian-backed MPLA independence movement has made a last-minute bid for acceptance by African states before it makes an all-out attempt to seize control of Angola next Tuesday.

The Marxist movement has announced it will make a unilateral declaration on November 11 — ironically also the anniversary of Mr Ian Smith's UDI—confirming previous forecasts that it would do so.

The MPLA has given the reason as an "invasion" by Portuguese and Zaire mercenaries, which it feels it must repel.

MPLA sources in the Angolan capital have sent a letter to Field Marshal Idi Amin, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, listing its intentions.

The message was broadcast by Radio Uganda. Russia has already recognised the MPLA as legitimate ruler after independence on Tuesday and said there

would be links between the countries.

Portugal is now not expected to make a pretence of handing over Angola to any of the three independence armies fighting for control. It will simply leave.

The Portuguese have said they hoped to hand over to at least two of the three movements—MPLA, Unita and the FNLA — but would not give power to any one movement.

The Portuguese High Commissioner, Admiral Leonel Cardoso, has been frank: "Shortly after midnight on November 10 I will haul down the flag, board a plane and simply fly away."

Any chance of a lull in the fighting, let alone a truce, has been negated by the MPLA's call yesterday for guns and planes to crush the "invasion".

The MPLA leader, Dr Agostinho Neto, accused the FNLA and Unita of working with mercenaries and a Portuguese Liberation Army to establish a "White Angola".

The leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, claims the MPLA has a squadron of Russian MiG21 jets and Eastern Block countries are known to have shipped thousands of tonnes of arms, including tanks and armoured cars, to the MPLA.

As its major rival the FNLA, is being supplied with similar weaponry by neighbouring Zaire, whose President, Mobutu Sese-Seko does not want a communist state on his borders, the civil war is likely to erupt into a much more serious conflict.

The MPLA has been desperate to secure pre-independence recognition. However, it has suffered setbacks. FNLA Unita columns, said to be aided and directed by Portuguese and other mercenaries, have captured some southern towns.

The MPLA's independence declaration on Tuesday is likely to be punctured by the sound of FNLA artillery from strongholds only 30 km north of Luanda.

Fighting rages in Cabinda

Cape Times 6/11/78
Sapa-Reuter

KINSHASA. — Heavy fighting is raging in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda, according to the Zaire news agency Azap, which quoted refugees as saying that Congolese troops had entered the oil-rich territory.

Azap said the fighting was between forces of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and those of the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (Flec) — a group seeking independence for Cabinda.

In Brazzaville, President Marien Ngouabi of the Congo told a meeting at the weekend that his troops would intervene in Cabinda on the side of the MPLA if "mercenaries" entered the enclave.

Alert

In Kinshasa, Azap reported that the Zaire Army's Seventh Battalion on the Cabinda border had been put on the alert to ensure security along the frontier.

Cabinda, a region wealthy with oil and minerals, lies on the Atlantic coast south of the Congo. It is separated from the main part of Angola by a narrow strip of Zaire territory along the Congo River.

Refugees interviewed by Azap at the west Zaire town of Boma said Congolese troops had entered Cabinda in strength near Belizem, Boco-Zau, and Dinge.

Azap said that on hearing of the Congolese intervention at least 600 MPLA soldiers of Cabindese origin had switched sides, going across to the Flec with their arms and equipment.

Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko yesterday accused the Soviet Union of deliberately stepping up the war between the three rival liberation movements in Angola.

Weapons

Azap quoted President Mobutu as saying the Soviet Union had supplied the most sophisticated weapons to the MPLA to "intensify the fratricidal war between the liberation movements".

This form of racism in disguise must be denounced by all peace and freedom-loving countries, the Zaire president said.

He also attacked a Soviet Note to President Idi Amin in his capacity as chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

"The memorandum recently sent by the Soviet Union to the chairman of the OAU constitutes no more and no less than a slap in the face for Africa," the President said, according to Azap.

CONGO SENDS TROOPS INTO WAR ZONE

*Uganda
6/11/75*

KINSHASA—Heavy fighting is raging in the Angolan enclave of Cabinda, according to the Zaire news agency Azap, which quoted refugees as saying that Congolese troops had entered the oil-rich territory.

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NEGOTIATIONS

Azap said that at least 600 MPLA soldiers of Cabindese origin had gone across to the FLEC with their arms and equipment.

Uganda Radio picked up in Nairobi yesterday said two of Angola's three nationalist armies were ready to negotiate a compromise in their civil war.

Delegates from the third Angolan faction, the MPLA, reached Kampala earlier and said the MPLA intended to proclaim itself as Angola's sole ruler.

President Idi Amin, chairman of the OAU, summoned the Angolans and African officials last weekend in an attempt to stop the conflict and create a unified national Government.

The OAU's defence commission, which seeks to promote military co-operation among African

States, was yesterday expected to hear an MPLA appeal for weapons to fight the reported incursions by Zaire troops and White mercenaries.

The radio quoted Dr. Agostinho Neto of the FNLA as saying during a meeting with President Amin: "What right has the Soviet Union to interfere and meddle in the affairs of an African country?"

But Dr. Neto said the FNLA was "prepared to listen and try to find a

workable arrangement in Angola," the radio reported.

Zaire's President Mobutu also accused the Soviet Union yesterday of deliberately stepping up the war among the three rival Angola movements.

Azap quoted him as saying the Soviet Union had supplied the most sophisticated weapons to the MPLA to "intensify the fratricidal war among the liberation movements." — (Sapa-
Reuter AP.)

5AR 6/11/75 (5)

US accused of aiding Unita and FNLA

in Sections A

s A and B.

in Sections A

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Charges that the United States is bolstering the FNLA and Unita through aid to Zaire and via the CIA have been made at a Senate subcommittee hearing here.



GENERAL MOBUTU



MR. CHARLES DIGGS

The charges were levelled at the US administration by the church-backed lobbying organisation, the Washington Office on Africa.

APER

Little was done by Acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Edward Mulcahy, to dispel what appears to be mounting evidence of this United States rôle in the strife-torn territory.

answers, as follows:

Testifying before the international Relations Subcommittee on International Resources, Food and Energy, chaired by Senator Charles Diggs, Mr. Mulcahy confirmed that US policy was one of non-intervention, but would not comment on whether or not the country was intervening.

on Cicero and Pliny in Sections A

on Vergil in Sections A and B.

ion C).

Aggressive

Washington Office on Africa, director Mr. Edgar Lockwood suggested the United States was aggressively interfering in Angola with the apparent goal of weakening the MPLA "by any available means."

PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATION UNIT

DEMONSTRATION TALKS

A demonstration talk is a type of speech, so your initial preparation and delivery should embrace all the rules of Public Speaking (refer to notes)

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PRESIDENT FORD
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PRESIDENT FORD

He also said there was evidence to suggest the CIA had been buying arms for the two liberation movements fighting the MPLA.

He said US support for these movements had been largely disbursed through the Zaire Government of President Mobutu.

Zaire's recent involvement in Angola was well documented and Hercules and DC-3 aircraft donated by the US were now apparently being used outside Zaire, he said.

"If they have been transferred to Angolan liberation movements, this would appear to violate congressional restrictions.

Presence

"If they are still being operated by the Zaire Government, their presence in Angola goes well beyond the purpose of maintaining internal security as well as providing defence against external threat," said Mr. Lockwood.

He urged the US Government to end its intervention in Angola.

Last week President Ford submitted to Congress a military aid bill with 41.75-million dollars (R46m) earmarked for Zaire.

"We feel all of this aid to Zaire should be stricken from the military aid bill to minimise the extent to which Zaire is used as a conduit for US military intervention in Angola," said Mr. Lockwood.

Mr. Mulcahy said it would be hard to see how any military equipment given Zaire could be of very much use for use in Angola.

He said the MPLA which made the charges of US aid had received a large amount of aid from the USSR and other countries. More recently Cuba had sent hundreds of military men to Angola.

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STAR 6/11/75

Angola armies in high gear

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUANDA — Angola's warring liberation movements switched their armies into high gear this weekend in their frantic efforts to achieve the dominant position by the time the new state gets independence at midnight on Monday.

The MPLA, holding the capital, Luanda, today claimed to have destroyed a large FNAL armoured column trying to smash its way into the city from the north.

It has been confirmed that Benguela and Lobito, the important twin ports midway down the Angola coast, have fallen to the mystery armoured column — claimed by Unita (National Front) — which has already taken Sa da Bandeira and Mocamedes port in the south and is striking fast towards Luanda.

DUG IN

But all eyes here are now focussed on the pistol-shaped Gabinda enclave just north of the Congo River — and its annual oil revenue for Angola of nearly R450 million.

Foreign observers arriving here from Cabinda say the MPLA has dug in on its side of the border but Zaïre troops are massing on their side for an attack with the Cabinda liberation movement, FLEC.

At last report Cabinda was quiet but the FNLA, FLEC and Unita are determined to break the MPLA's hold there to prevent it getting the money.

PINCER

Luanda seems likely to be caught in a pincer movement very soon, probably by Tuesday, between the powerful FNLA army to the north and the column in the south.

The "mystery" column is believed to be a combined FNLA-Unita force with mercenaries including South Africans handling its 20 or so armoured cars and more sophisticated weapons.

Angolan unity plan reported

R.D.M.
7/1/75

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NAIROBI. — Angola's three warring liberation movements have agreed in principle to form a government of national unity, Radio Uganda said yesterday.

The announcement was apparently in response to a call on Wednesday by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to the guerillas to stop their civil war and form a joint provisional government when Portugal grants the territory independence on Tuesday.

"The three Angolan liberation movements have agreed in principle to form a provisional government of national unity," the radio said in a brief item monitored in Nairobi. It gave no further details.

On Wednesday an emergency meeting of the political bureau of the 46-state OAU had urged the liberation groups to form a temporary government "pending the establishment of a permanent constitution."

The meeting also said Luanda should be demilitarised and policed by independent African troops of the OAU, but the radio announcement yesterday made no mention of this.

The political bureau ended its meeting on Wednesday and its recommendations were passed for action to the OAU's defence council which met yesterday.

Diplomatic observers said the agreement in principle was worked out by low level delegations of

the MPLA, the FNLA and Unita.

But it was unclear, they said, how the liberation movements in Angola itself would greet the news.

The MPLA controls the capital and it announced on Tuesday that with Russian support it would declare unilateral independence when Portugal finally withdrew.

Fierce fighting in various sections of Angola was reported to be moving slowly closer to the capital.

Although the MPLA said on Tuesday it would seize absolute power, spokesmen of the other two groups in Uganda had said they were still prepared to sit down and work out a political solution to Angola's problems. — UPL

US silent on its Angola moves

WASHINGTON.—A State Department official yesterday refused to say whether the United States was intervening in Angola but said there was no evidence of US military supplies being sent by neighbouring Zaire.

The acting Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Edward Mulcahy, told a House of Representatives international relations sub-committee the State Department was not aware that any material provided to Zaire was being transferred to Angola.

He said US military aid to Zaire consisted mainly of transport aircraft, land transport and communications material.

Press reports have said the United States has been funnelling aid to anti-communist factions in Angola, which is due to become independent next

Tuesday. Mr Mulcahy said the State Department did not comment on such reports.

He agreed with a questioner that US policy was one of non-intervention but said he was not prepared to comment on whether the United States was intervening in Angola.

In view of the delicate situation, he said, such matters should be discussed in a closed session of the sub-committee.

Mr Mulcahy said the United States had donated 225 000 dollars (about R191 000) for refugee aid in Angola and had evacuated 31 600 people to Lisbon aboard chartered planes.

He said the US was prepared to respond favourably to further requests from international organisations for contributions to relief and rehabilitation programmes within Angola.

He also said the US was encouraged by the Organisation of African Unity's initiative in trying to end the fighting and bring the rival independence movements together. — Sana Reuter

Big guns rock city of fear

RMD.
7/11/75

LUANDA.

ARTILLERY and mortar fire shook a suburb in the Angolan capital of Luanda yesterday, sending scores of White residents diving for cover in emergency underground shelters.

The bombardment occurred on the outskirts of the city and residents in touch with Johannesburg by radio said it was the heaviest military activity in weeks.

It could signal the long-awaited assault on the capital by two of three rival Black liberation movements determined to dislodge the Soviet-backed MPLA from the city, they said.

In Johannesburg, the Portuguese airline TAP announced that from today all flights from Jan Smuts Airport to Lisbon would be routed through Libreville in Gabon and not Angola.

Uncertainty over refueling in Luanda was given as the reason for the switch.

The South African radio operators could not say which sector of Luanda was under bombardment. The airport was also said to be under fire, reports United Press.

Shots were fired from the ground at an aircraft which flew low over the city and dropped FNLA leaflets.

Sapa-Reuters reports that Portuguese troops have been ordered to leave the docks to the MPLA after both sides had faced each other with guns at the ready.

This means the MPLA can now receive arms shipments by sea without Portuguese intervention.

Meanwhile, Dr Luis Almeida, the Angolan director of information, confirmed to the Rand Daily Mail's London correspondent last night that two South African-based journalists were being held in an MPLA prison in Luanda.

He said Roger Sargent, of the "Mail" Africa Bureau, and freelance journalist Chris van der Merwe were not in any immediate danger.

"They are in the hands of the security authorities who are studying their background and their reasons for coming to Angola," Dr Almeida said.

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Alert

In Brazzaville, the Congo Government has denied reports from neighbouring Zaire that its forces have entered the Angolan enclave of Cabinda.

Zaire said heavy fighting was raging in the oil-rich enclave and quoted refugees as saying Congolese troops had gone into the territory.

The fighting was between the MPLA and the Cabinda independence group, Flec, said the Zaire news agency, Azap.

But the Brazzaville radio station, denying intervention by Congolese troops, said the purpose of the Zaire report was "to legitimise the presence of foreign troops who have been operating in Angola for a long time".

Zaire said its troops had been sent to its border with Cabinda, but denied they had entered the enclave.

Angola achieves independence in five days when the Portuguese formally quit the West African colony.

● The chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Uganda's President Idi Amin, will visit Angola in a bid to unite the warring liberation movements, Radio Uganda announced last night.

President Amin was said to have expressed concern at the MPLA's attitude to the other independence movements, the FNLA and Unita.

Zaire joins Cape Times 7/11/75 (5) Angola war

Own Correspondent

SALISBURY. — Regular troops of the Zaire Army have joined the battle to wrest the Angolan capital of Luanda from the Marxist MPLA movement and are fighting with rival nationalist forces, it was disclosed yesterday.

At least two battalions of President Mobutu's infantry are backing up the FNLA force poised to launch an attack on the capital before the embattled territory attains independence on Tuesday.

Reliable sources say Zaire troops have been engaged in artillery and mortar duels with Cuban soldiers sent by Fidel Castro to help the MPLA defend Luanda.

The presence of Zaire forces indicates for the first time the extent to which President Mobutu is prepared to go to prevent the communist-backed MPLA gaining sole recognition after the Portuguese withdrawal.

There is speculation among military observers that President Mobutu might be prepared to commit his air force, with its Mirage jet air strike capability, to an attack on the capital.

REPORTS

Diplomatic reports and monitored radio accounts reaching London from Angola said yesterday that heavy fighting between the three warring guerilla movements was nearing Luanda.

Messages received by British authorities from

Luanda by telephone yesterday morning spoke of the boom of guns about 20 km to the north.

Meanwhile firing broke out in Luanda between Portuguese troops and soldiers of the MPLA on Wednesday night in what Portuguese officers described yesterday as "a random incident".

STATEMENT

A Portuguese Government statement last night said Portugal would go on recognizing all three Angolan nationalist forces — until independence.

Commander Vitor Crespo, Portugal's Minister for co-operation with former overseas territories, said in Dar es Salaam that both countries had proposed the formation of an Angolan Government composed of "independent personalities".

● There has been no further news of Africa Bureau reporter Roger Sargent, a Briton, R Chris van der Merwe, a South African free-lancer, in Luanda for the Johannesburg Sunday Times.

● Radio Uganda announced FNLA and Unita said yesterday they would jointly declare the area they control independent and form a government if MPLA chose to go it alone.

The broadcast, monitored in London, said delegates representing the two movements told President Idi Amin in Kampala that they now controlled three quarters of Angola. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Inside Mail

• Angola becomes independent in three days, after nearly 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule. It has been left a legacy of fratricide, anarchy, hatred and disaster.

Millions have been uprooted, thousands killed, farms and factories destroyed, and the economy ruined.

In the wings, neighbouring states look covetously at the oil riches of Cabinda, at the diamond mines and abandoned estates.

And orchestrating this deafening discord are the Super Powers who have made Angola a proving ground for their ideologies.

Nobody sees a quick end to the tragedy. Angola is being called Africa's Vietnam, the next cockpit for the struggle for domination between East and West.

DENNIS GORDON and STAN MAHER of the 'Mail' Africa Bureau report:

THE ceremony to officially declare Angola's independence, if there is one at all, may well be punctuated by the sound of artillery fire.

It is not clear what form the ceremony will take, or to whom Portugal's High Commissioner — the fourth incumbent of that post this year — will hand over the worthless documents.

A reasonable guess is that on Tuesday the Marxist MPLA will attempt to seize independence unilaterally — just as Mr Ian Smith did in Rhodesia exactly 10 years ago to the day.

But although the move will be welcomed by the MPLA's massive support in the capital, rival guns will be very close-by.

The Zaire-supported, pro-Western FNLA has been waiting patiently for the last of Portugal's peacekeeping force of 24 000 men to leave — and with their departure the war can begin in earnest.

The FNLA reportedly has a ring of steel around the perimeter of the MPLA's sphere of influence, stretching from Caxito and Carmona in the north to Luso in the east. At Luso, the FNLA joins up with Unita, the third independence movement, whose support is in southern Angola.

This ring is expected to slowly tighten to put the squeeze on the MPLA. Up to now, the Marxist movement's forces have been

thinly spread in an attempt to convince the world that it had de facto control of all key points in Angola.

This control has been challenged and badly shaken in the past few weeks. A mysterious motorised column is aiding the FNLA-Unita alliance in the south and has captured three key towns.

The MPLA say the column is composed of mercenaries. Other sources say it is made up of White Angolans who are fighting communism.

It's rival's successes in the south which sparked the MPLA's anxious call this week for "guns and planes" to repel the "invasion."

To survive, the MPLA should logically fall back and consolidate its forces where they have greatest support, which means immediately around Luanda.

But if it wants to hold on to present gains and control Angola, it can only do so with the help of outside forces. This is where the greatest danger lies.

It has long been feared that Angola would turn out to be a battleground for big power involvement, or as the current catch-phrase has it, a "Vietnam in Africa." Certainly the polarisation between communist and

non-communist forces is easy to see.

On one side is the capitalist FNLA, French-speaking, based on the northern Bakongo tribe. This week they formally signed an alliance with Unita, an African socialist movement which draws its support from the Ovimbundo (or Bailundo) tribe.

The FNLA is supported by President Mobutu Sese-Seko of neighbouring Zaire. Zaire itself, capitalist and bankrupt, is reported to have had massive American support and the CIA is said to be active there.

On the other side is the Marxist MPLA, closely related to Mozambique's Frelimo. Frelimo soldiers and Cubans are reported to be fighting with the MPLA.

For years the MPLA operated out of Congo Brazzaville, a totalitarian state closely linked to Red China. And President Marien Ngouabi of the Congo warned this week that he would not tolerate "foreign mercenaries" in the oil-rich Angolan province of Cabinda, which earned 640-million US dollars last year.

Congolese soldiers were reported to have moved into Cabinda, where the MPLA is said to be fighting the

Cabindan separatist movement FLEC. Zaire was said to have put its soldiers on a border alert.

Cabinda, the fountain of Angola's wealth, will be as bitterly contested as Luanda. It is flanked by the Congo and Zaire and either of them could overrun it at any time.

But the real fear is of big power involvement. China, the United States and several African and European nations have already warned of the danger.

This week the Soviet Union sounded their warnings and moved quickly to recognise the MPLA in advance as the rulers of a new socialist state with whom Russia will have close links after independence.

Russia and the Eastern Bloc countries made the civil war possible by shipping enormous quantities of sophisticated weaponry into Angola.

Handed out indiscriminately — even to trigger-happy teenagers — by the MPLA, the arms made it possible for the movement to make a mockery of the four-sided transitional government the Portuguese set up to steer the country to independence.

Instead, the MPLA put the

Angolan UDI — then a Vietnam



Angolan children pray for their country at a Red Cross aid centre. Together with a few journalists, the Red Cross are almost the only outsiders left in Luanda.

finger on the trigger to impose a direct military takeover.

Recent reports indicate that large quantities of arms have been reaching the FNLA and Unita from Zaire in American-supplied transport aircraft.

Unlike Mozambique, where Frelimo alone fought the Portuguese for 10 years and were winning, Angola's

"liberation" movements failed to liberate anyone in 13 years of skirmishes.

The MPLA fought only on the eastern front under a commander who has now joined the FNLA. The FNLA operated in the far north near the Zaire border after sparking the conflict with brutal massacres in 1961. Unita fought in southern Angola on a very limited

front.

Their rivalry during the anti-colonial war — on several fronts the MPLA and FNLA actually fought each other — made it easy for the Portuguese Army to contain the war to the least important areas of the country.

That was the old colonial tactic of divide and rule. Now the Angolans are doing it themselves.

among the very few journalists who have recently visited areas held by all three warring Angolan liberation movements, the MPLA, FNLA and Unita. He forecasts a protracted, bloody war, which in the end no single liberation movement can win.

stion.....
on both sides of the paper

No victor in this civil war

EVEN WITH the eleventh hour bid by the Organisation for African Unity and Portuguese authorities to find some form of compromise and reconciliation among the three Angolan liberation movements, indications are that there can be no immediate ceasefire, and there will be no independence on Tuesday.

Instead, there will be an intensification of the civil war after the Portuguese finally withdraw next week.

After visiting Luanda, Cabinda (MPLA-held) Nova Lisboa, Silva Porto (Unita) Ambriz and Carmona (FNLA) with the OAU conciliation commission, it was clear that only Unita's Jonas Savimbi was prepared to accept a compromise.

While the OAU in Kampala is suggesting another interim government before next week, the commission which visited Angola is acutely aware that Dr Agostinho Neto, the MPLA leader, is in no mood to compromise.

Even at this late hour, Dr

Neto still insists that he is going to declare UDI, because he feels the MPLA is the natural successor to Portuguese rule.

The uncompromising stand by the MPLA is due to the fact that up to August the movement was very strong militarily. The morale, both at army and civilian level was very high.

However, maintaining this level of morale became difficult by mid-October when FNLA and Unita started threatening from North and South.

According to Portuguese Army intelligence, there were several suppressed mutinies in MPLA forces in Benguela and Lobito.

In Luanda itself the MPLA is trying very hard to cope with a fast-deteriorating situation.

A week ago when there were heavy clashes between MPLA and FNLA forces, just outside the capital, panic was visible on the faces of the Luanda civilian population as they queued for their bread and meat.

The first hint that MPLA was suffering reverses and needed more help came with the announcement of the general mobilisation of all Angolans between the ages of 18 and 35.

The MPLA hopes to arm about 50,000 residents of Luanda should the FNLA and Unita invade the capital.

A serious problem that faces all three movements is that their soldiers were trained for guerilla warfare, and yet now they are having to fight a conventional war.

A Portuguese businessman pointed out: "The advantage FNLA and Unita have over MPLA is that these two have at their services White Officers who have been trained in conventional warfare."

The FNLA and Unita strategy is to surround Luanda, after taking as much ground as possible elsewhere, and then suffocate the capital by cutting off water and power supplies.

But the MPLA have vowed to fight to the last man to defend Luanda.

It has to be admitted that the problem Luanda has is that of food supplies.

The Carmona area, with a good rainfall and rich agricultural land, is self-supporting. The only problem FNLA has there is a shortage of fuel which has to come by road from neighbouring Zaire.

Food is also plentiful in Unita-held Nova Lisboa and Silva Porto.

According to official figures, about 80 per cent of Angola's wheat comes from around Nova Lisboa.

While it is possible to be told in Luanda one morning at breakfast that there is no bread, such a thing is unheard of in either Carmona or Nova Lisboa.

Because there is no food shortage some officials in Unita feel the war can go on for a long time. "The war can go on for six months, six years perhaps, but we will not surrender to MPLA," a Unita official said.

The next few days will witness a further massive build-up of war material supplies from the Soviet Union, Algeria and Cuba on the MPLA side, and from Zaire and China on the FNLA and Unita side.

There will be accusations and counter-accusations. But the naked fact is that many, many Angolans — men, women and children — will die in this war.

But there is one thing that the Portuguese can do before finally pulling out on Tuesday. To stop any further bloodshed, the Portuguese will be under an obligation to remove or destroy all weapons now at their disposal.

Many of the OAU commissioners have welcomed the Portuguese Government decision to take all helicopters to Lisbon.

Admittedly, this was a big disappointment to MPLA, who felt that they had prior claim to all the Portuguese war material in the areas held by them.

It would appear that even after next week when the Portuguese pull out "to leave the people of Angola to solve their own problems", the OAU should continue to mediate.

They should continue to seek a ceasefire to enable the three movements to find a basis for compromise, leading to an interim government which will finally result in free elections.

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Do not write in this margin



Mr. Van der Merwe, left, and Mr. Sargent.

MPLA urged to free SA pair

Cape Times 8/11/75
Own Correspondent

LONDON.—International pressure mounted on the MPLA in Angola yesterday to release the Cape Times Africa Bureau journalist Roger Sargent and South African reporter Christopher van der Merwe who have now been held for 10 days in a crowded former school building in Luanda while MPLA security police investigate their background.

They are being held with nearly 60 other detainees.

Reports of an impending clash between rival movements added urgency to the appeals that were despatched from Europe on behalf of the two men.

Amnesty International, the London-based organization concerned with the plight of political prisoners, were desperately trying to get the following telex message through to Dr. Luis Almeida, the MPLA Director of Information in Luanda, who is aware of the plight of the two men. "Concerned by reported detention of foreign nationals in Luanda including South African journalists Roger Sargent and Christopher van der Merwe by forces of the MPLA. Request information regarding any charges brought against them and details of their present condition. Respectfully request that they be freed immediately if they are not to be charged."

In Geneva the powerful International Press Institute was wrestling with a tenuous telex link to appeal for the men's release. They are operating through an unnamed intermediary. Also in the Swiss capital the International Red Cross were trying to contact their delegation in Angola to intercede.

"The situation is very difficult," said a spokesman. "The delegation has been trying for several days to solve the problem

of pilots from Zaire who had to land in the MPLA zone after losing their way in a storm. The delegation is still trying to make contact with the MPLA authorities.

The British Foreign Office, who, with the Por-

tuguese Embassy in London, have also interceded on Sargent's behalf (he is a British subject) said yesterday they had not yet had a response to their message to Luanda.

"Everybody is doing their best," I was assured.

JOHANNESBURG. — Portuguese Angola will die formally on Tuesday. Thereafter, thousands of Angolans may die in the bloody carnage of a civil war unprecedented in Black Africa.

An estimated ten thousand people, mostly civilians, have been killed in the past year. The figure is probably double that, with ten thousand in Luanda alone, and this is only a foretaste of what is to come.

Tuesday, November 11, is independence day when at zero hour in the morning Angola finally becomes free after five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule.

It will be unlike any independence Africa has seen.

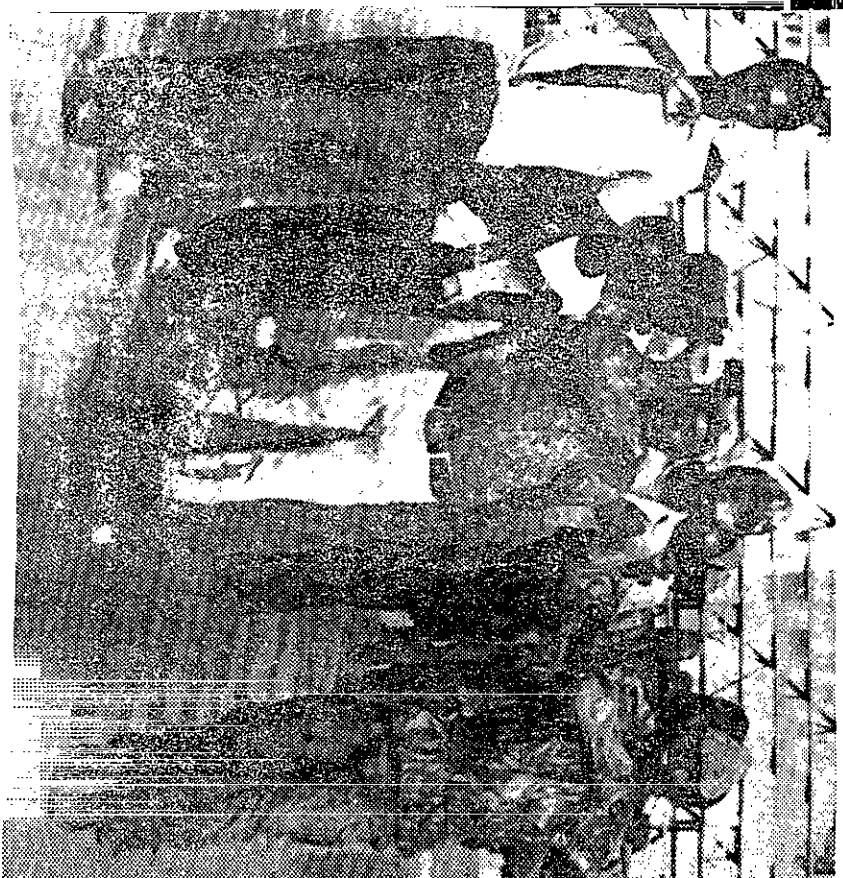
The last Portuguese authorities will not be there, having prudently sailed away in a frigate on the evening of November 10 after lowering their flag for the last time at the ancient, white-walled fortress of St Miguel overlooking Luanda, the capital.

Luanda could very well be in flames.

And the rest of Angola will be a morass of war. It is already.

Too late

A winner-takes-all is unavoidable now. Even if the contestants want to treat for peace—which they do not — it is too late be-



Angola nears its zero hour

Farmers of morte slaughter

The FNLA will certainly produce its own UDI, alone or jointly with Dr Jonas Savimbi's National Union (Unita), which shares a joint command with the FNLA in the war against the MPLA.

If not with the FNLA, the Unita will do a third UDI because although it has the weakest army, Dr Savimbi has probably the largest political following of all three in terms of numbers, though not area. His strength lies in the once-rich and populous central plateau of the Huambo and Bie districts of Angola.

Just to complicate matters the Zaire-based Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) declared independence for that small but oil-soaked territory some months ago, though it is held by the MPLA.

This could well be countered by a UDI by the other FLEC based in the Congo-Brazzaville. The wheel of war has spun furiously since August when, with Portuguese help, the MPLA kicked the FNLA and Unita garrisons and their members in the tattered visional government, out of Luanda.

It is spinning faster now but a fairly clear pattern is emerging.

not a clean-cut western desert-type confrontation but a series of hit-and-run battles and slashes at supply lines scattered wide through a country larger than South Africa.

Broadly speaking, the MPLA controls Luanda and the entire stretch eastwards along the main road to the Zaire border, plus a number of towns and villages in central Angola, mostly along the coast and perhaps still some in southern Angola.

Its political strength has always been mainly urban but there is not much left to hold. Once-prosperous little centres like Luso and Malanje have been virtually flattened to rubble in repeated firefights.

The MPLA's problem is that it tried to grab too much. Its forces were spread very thin and in some areas were easily beaten when its opponents, after months of gathering strength, retaliated.

The first blow came from the FNLA in the north, now well armed and led by such skilful White fighters from Angola and Portugal as former Lieutenant Colonel Santos Castro, founder of the crack special forces in Angola's anti-guerrilla war.

FNLA forces have reached the Bengo River only 32 kilometres north of Luanda and are in a position to shell the city's

only water supply station at Quiquangondo to pieces.

Courage

They are also fighting their way around the city to the east and south to cut all road links and reach the Cambambe Dam to the south-east which supplies all Luanda's power.

This week they are said to have infiltrated suicide squads into Luanda itself to spread havoc when they get the signal.

MPLA troops trying to keep open vital supply roads southwards to Gabuela and Novo Redondo are being harassed increasingly by Unita guerrillas.

Units are also doing battle with the MPLA at places like Luso and Malanje, while FNLA are attacking in the east and north-east through Portugalia and Isheira de Sousa.

Courageously, the MPLA are driving south towards the Unita strongholds of Nova Lusoa (which now has only some 30 Whites out of 30 000 and has had neither water nor electricity for weeks) and Silva Porto.

But this move looks doomed by events in the past fortnight which have given the MPLA its most serious setback yet.

which first blew the MPLA from the important southern capital of Sa da Bandeira, then captured the southernmost port and railhead of Mocimedes and are now attacking the mid-Angola ports of Benguela and Lobito — and have probably already taken them from the MPLA.

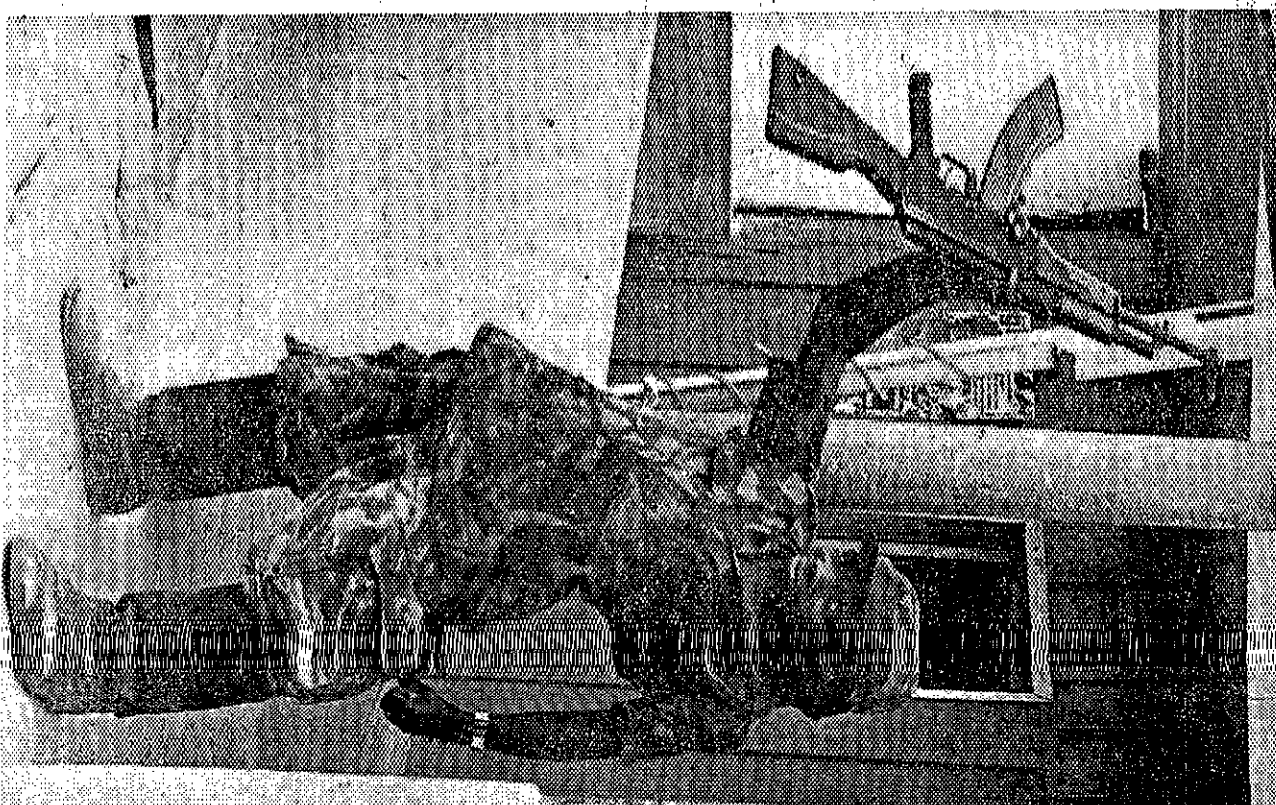
What is sure is that this column and its backer are tough, efficiently-led fighters. In a fortnight they have carved up a major slice of MPLA-held territory and, at this rate of progress, will soon be challenging Luanda itself in a pincer movement with the FNLA to the north.

Spread

By then, however, it will be the attackers who are thinly spread and the MPLA which is concentrated. The prospects for the survival of Luanda look dim.

They are not improved by foreign involvement in this civil war. Russia is pumping arms into the MPLA, including various kinds of artillery and heavy, cannon-carrying amphibious armoured cars with self-sealing tyres which can be refilled from inside the cabs (to the dismay of FNLA sharpshooters in the vehicles).

This is the appearance of a mysterious column of troops supported by at least a few tanks.



have joined the MPLA and helped to fire their artillery in recent battles across the Bengo River with the FNLA. Cubans are often seen in Luanda's streets, distinguished by their fatigues.

By a freak of African politics many of the FNLA weapons are the same as the MPLA's, like Kalashnikov automatic rifles, grenades and rockets—but supplied by China through Zaire.

Either China is following its usual policy of adding fuel to whatever fires look likely to warm China's interests, or China is tacitly siding with the West against Russia, its Enemy Number One.

So the FNLA also have Chinese-made 105 mm and 75 mm recoilless cannons, Katyushka rockets and mortars to supplement the arms and Panhard armoured cars it gets from Zaire.

Anyone watching the Angola tragedy is also aware that new arms and money are reaching the FNLA from America, which recently boosted its arms supplies to Zaire by about five

Aid for Unita from Europe, through Zaire, erected in unmarked Nov 2 and now Portugal and now to Sa da Bandeira.

Mocimedes a FNLA-Unita the south an arm supply point rail-way halwa south hem Angola Me aid possi through anti-Zaire and reciv very likely, fro Sou West Afr

The question com. Bantans are to ask is: What left for the winn

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WHITE fighting men are being recruited in Johannesburg to fight for the Peking-orientated FNLA liberation movement in Angola.

The Sunday Express discovered this during an exclusive interview with one of the key men responsible for banding the fighters together.

Speaking to me on the strict understanding that his identity would not be disclosed, "Mr X" admitted that about 150 men had been recruited and were already fighting in Angola.

He said they had spear-headed this week's devastating victories against the Moscow-dominated MPLA movement by capturing the strategic ports of Benguela and Lobito.

But Mr X angrily dismissed claims that the recruits were South African mercenaries as "MPLA propaganda."

He said: "Apart from being an excuse for retreating, this is an attempt to embarrass the South African Government and win the support of Black African states at the same time."

"The truth is that our men are not even South African citizens. They are

By
GORDON WINTER
Military Correspondent

all Portuguese subjects who recently fled to South Africa from Angola with their families."

He emphasised the men could not possibly be described as mercenaries "because they are not getting paid one cent".

Waving his fist in front of my face, he shouted: "Don't you understand? They are fighting for their own country which they love and are prepared to die for."

Mr X said the men now fighting in Angola had been grouped together at a main recruiting centre in Johan-

● To Page 10

nesburg. After a special screening process they were sent to Angola by various routes.

At this stage I asked why the men should wish to fight alongside the FNLA, which is armed by Peking and the United Nations. He explained that many of them had left farms, cattle and homes behind when they fled Angola for their family's sake.

"If the Marxist MPLA comes to power after Tuesday — when Angola gets its independence from Portugal — there's little doubt that all their properties will be confiscated.

"But the FNLA, which takes more of a pro-Western stance, has strongly indicated that Portuguese subjects who help them to win the war will be allowed to keep their properties afterwards."

Mr X was very reluctant to say any more because he was quite convinced my report would be unfavourable. "All you English-language Pressmen in South Africa never put our anti-communist point of view. Instead, you seem only concerned with encouraging the Black nationalist movements by making us out to be mercenaries or extreme rightwing fanatics."

Earlier, I talked to three men who were part of the latest group to be sent to fight in Angola. They left Johannesburg in great secrecy on Thursday.

I was warned that if I

s and FNLA

identified the men in my article today, I would be regarded as "yet another communist agent who would be dealt with later . . ."

● "Carlo", aged 28, was a barman in a Hillbrow hotel. His attractive wife is expecting their first child next week. I asked him if he would be travelling to Angola on forged travel documents supplied by a secret rightwing Portuguese group in Johannesburg.

He replied: "Rubbish. I am travelling on my own passport. I am going to fight for my property near Nova Redondo — and my unborn son's future." (He refused to consider that his unborn child might be a girl.)

● "Julio", aged 29, was a waiter in Joubert Park. He told me: "I'm fighting for my house in Angola, but also because I'm angry at the way the so-called socialist Lisbon Government is backing the MPLA against White Angolans like me, who have a deep hatred of communism."

● "Joe", a farmer aged 33, said he was going back to make sure nobody stole the 5 000 head of cattle his parents owned on a large estate near Vila Pereira.

The three men furiously denied they were being paid to fight. Julio said: "We are getting paid leita de pomba, if you really want to know."

His two comrades laughingly explained this was "pigeon's milk". Mr X later told me that

some of the men had travelled to Angola by road in their own cars. Others were flown to Windhoek, where they were ferried, in small chartered aircraft, to private airstrips in Angola.

He refused to name the organisation which arranged these secret trips because he did not wish to cause the South African Government "any possible diplomatic embarrassment".

But the activities of the "private army" have already brought embarrassment to Pretoria in recent weeks. In September, Portuguese officials in Lisbon claimed that "unidentified mercenaries" were using South West Africa as a base for infiltrations into Angola.

Last month, the MPLA spread rumours that "South African forces" were invading the territory. The South African Defence Force angrily denied this and warned South African newspapers that they could be charged under the Defence Act if they elaborated on such "blatant lies".

But the rumours started again this week when MPLA forces were pushed out of the ports of Benguela and Lobito. The MPLA claims that "White South Africans" were driving armoured cars in a mystery attacking column which helped the FNLA capture the two vital ports.

These claims, are repeatedly being made in public speeches by various African nationalist movements.

By WILF NUSSEY,
Editor,
and
ALLEN PIZZEY
Swa. Tribune Africa
News Service

9/11/75

ANGOLA will die formally on Tuesday. Another thousand will die in the bloody carnage of a civil war unprecedented in Black Africa.

An estimated 10 000 people, mostly civilians, have been killed in the past year. The figure is probably double that, with 10 000 in Luanda alone, and this is only foretaste of what is to come.

Tuesday, November 1, is Independence Day then at 0001 in the morning Angola finally becomes free after five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule.

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The last Portuguese authorities will not be here, having prudently fled away in a frigate the evening of November 10 after waving their flag for the last time at the ancient white-walled fortress of St Miguel overlooking Luanda, the capital.

Luanda could very well be in flames, its streets sotted with corpses and smells crashing to its scummy, teeming African suburbs.

And the rest of Angola will be a morass war. It is already.

A winner-take-all is unavoidable now. Even the contestants want to treat for peace — which they do not — if too late because now

5

AFRICANS It's a winner-take-all war

Big Powers are involved. Angola has become a mini-Vietnam, an East-West battlefield.

The commitments to war will be finally sealed by the event expected on Tuesday 11: At least two and possibly four Unilateral Declarations of Independence by the contestants.

First of these, and until recently the most military adept and successful, is the Marxist Popular Movement (MPLA) led by the poet, Dr Agostinho Neto.

Smallest

Its political influence extends to centres through more than half of Angola and as a trump card it holds Luanda, the politically

and psychologically important capital. Therefore it claims to be the only legitimate government and will declare itself thus on Tuesday.

But the National Front (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto is having none of this. Although its political following is the smallest

of the three movements, being confined largely to the Bakongo tribe in the north and north-west of Angola, it has the biggest and now possibly the toughest army.

Roberto is determined to be in Luanda by Tuesday, either to take it entirely or to cause enough chaos to disprove the MPLA's claim to full control.

The FNLA will certainly produce its own UDI, alone or jointly with Dr Jonas Savimbi's National Union (UNITA) which shares a joint command with the FNLA in the war against the MPLA.

Strength

If not with the FNLA, the UNITA will make a third UDI because although it has the weakest army, Dr Savimbi has probably the largest political following of all three in terms of numbers though not area. His strength lies in the once rich and populous central plateau of the Huambo and Bie districts of Angola.

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Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) declared independence for that small but oil-soaked territory some months ago, though it is held by the MPLA.

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frontation but a series of thrusts, battles and slashes at supply lines scattered wide through a country larger than South Africa.

Broadly speaking, the MPLA controls Luanda and the entire stretch eastwards along the main road to the Zaire border, plus a number of towns and villages in Central Angola, most along the coast and perhaps still some in Southern Angola.

Rubble

Its political strength has always been mainly urban but there is not much urb left to hold. Once prosperous little centres like Luso and Malanje have been virtually flattened to rubble in repeated firefights.

The MPLA's problem is that it tried to grab too much. Its forces were spread very thin and in some areas were easily beaten when its opponents, after months of gathering strength, retaliated.

The first blow came from the FNLA in the north, now well armed and led by such skilful white fighters from Angola and Portugal as former Lieutenant Colonel Santos E. Castro, founder of the crack Special Forces in Angola's anti-guerrilla war.

FNLA forces have reached the Bengo River only 32 kilometres north of Luanda and are in a position to shell the city's only water supply station at Quifangondo to pieces.

They are also fighting their way round the city to the east and south to cut all road links and reach the Cambambe Dam to the south-east which supplies all Luanda's power.

Mayoc

This week they are said to have infiltrated suicide squads into Luanda itself to spread havoc when they get the signal.

MPLA troops trying to keep open vital supply roads southwards to Gabela and Novo Redondo are being harassed increasingly by UNITA guerrillas.

UNITA is also doing battle with the MPLA at places like Luso and Malanje where FNLA are attacking in the east.

AFRO and thousands will die

Sam. TUGONE
9/10/75

and north-east through Portugal and Teixeira de Sousa.

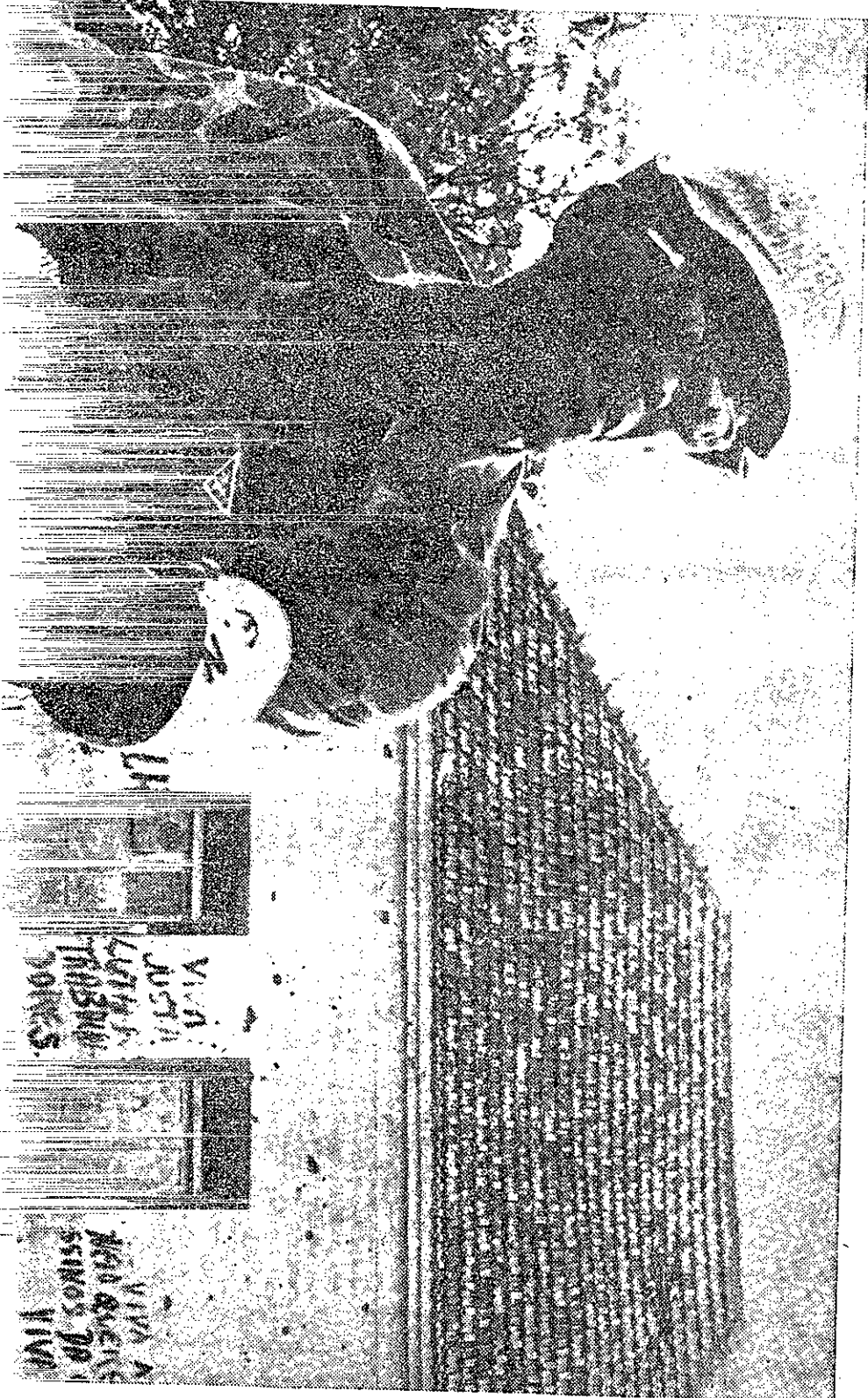
Courageously, the MPLA are driving south towards the UNITA strongholds of Nova Lisboa — which now has only 30 Whites out of 30 000 and has had neither water nor electricity for weeks, and Silva Porto.

Doomed

But this move loomed by events in the past fortnight which have given the MPLA its most serious setback yet.

This is the appearance of a mysterious column of troops supported by at least 20 armoured cars which first blew the MPLA from the important southern capital of Sa da Bandeira, then captured the southernmost port and railroad head of Mocimedes and are now attacking the mid-Argoia ports of Benguela and Lobito — and have probably already taken them from the MPLA.

Mercenaries



Mercenaries

The MPLA's propaganda machine in Luanda claims that the column consists of regular South African forces. The Portuguese military authorities say it is a combined FNLA-UNITA force backed by mercenaries, including South Africans, and French-made armoured cars supplied from Zaire.

The Portuguese garrison which was in command when the column took the port about a shot — the

MPLA's 100 troops fled on a fishing boat — also say it was South African officered.

Pretoria flatly denies any involvement.

What is sure is that this column and its backers are tough, efficiently-led fighters. In a fortnight they have carved up a major slice of MPLA-held territory and, at this rate of progress, will soon be challenging Luanda.

itself in a pincer movement with the FNLA to the north.

By then, however, it will be the attackers who are thinly spread and the MPLA which is concentrated. The prospects for the survival of Luanda look dim.

Red arms

They are not improved by the foreign involvement in the civil war. Russia is pumping arms into the MPLA, including various kinds of artillery and heavy cannon-carrying, amphibious armoured cars with self-sealing tyres which can be refilled from inside the cabs to the dismay of FNLA sharpshooters in the vehicles' first appearance in battle.

An estimated several hundred Cuban soldiers have joined the MPLA and helped to fire their artillery in recent battles across the Bengo

River with the FNLA. Cubans are often seen in Luanda's streets, distinguished by their fatigues.

By a freak of African politics many of the FNLA weapons are the same as the MPLA's, like Kalashnikov automatic rifles, grenades and rockets — but supplied by China through Zaire.

Either China is following its usual policy of adding fuel to whatever fires look likely to warm China's interests, or China is tacitly siding with the West against Russia, its Enemy Number One.

Rockets

So the FNLA also have Chinese-made, Russian-designed 105 mm and 75 mm recoilless cannons, Katyushka rockets and mortars to supplement the arms and Panhard armoured cars it gets from Zaire.

Anyone watching the Angola tragedy is also pretty certain that new arms and money are reaching the FNLA from America, which recently boosted its arms supplies to Zaire about five times.

Recruits

Aid for UNITA is coming from Europe, apparently through Zaire and delivered in unmarked Dakota and Hercules freighters to Nova Lisboa and Silva Porto — and now probably to Sa da Bandeira. Mocommedes also gives the FNLA-UNITA forces in the south an excellent arms supply port and a railway halfway across Southern Angola.

More aid possibly comes through anti-communist Zambia and recruits, it is very likely, from among the Angolans who fled to South West Africa.

FNLA leader Holden Roberto outside a bullet-pocked, slogan-daubed building during the fighting. RIGHT: A Portuguese soldier stands over the skeleton of a woman near the fort of Sao Pedro do Barra, outside Luanda, after a fierce battle between MPLA troops and the FNLA defenders.

The question even the combatants are beginning to ask is: What will be left for the winner to rule?

Already Angola has an economy so devastated it will take a decade or two and enormous re-investment to get functioning again.

Curiously, the only part of the economy still working normally is the clutch of oil wells off the coast of Cabinda run by the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, an offshoot of

the Gulf giant. None of the movements want to kill this golden goose and it is left pretty much alone.

Every month Cabinda Gulf deposits into the New York branch of the Bank of Angola the official Angolan Government share of the oil proceeds — about forty million dollars.

The MPLA, as a partner in the moribund provisional government, has been steadily helping itself to this massive wealth and the Minister of Finance, Saydi Mingas, an MPLA man, has just returned from New York.

Diamonds

It cannot be established whether the FNLA and UNITA members of the government have been doing the same.

If Cabinda Gulf's operation is being left alone it is because Angola's other giant sources of wealth have clogged.

One is the Diamang diamond mining operation in the rich alluvial fields of the north-east corner near Portugalia. Until war closed it, this was a bigger operation than even Oranjemund in South West Africa, though not as rich.

Rolling

Writes fleeing Angola are believed to have taken huge quantities of diamonds with them bought with the now useless local currency, on the illicit market.

The great Cassinga iron mine in Southern Angola has also closed.

The present coffee crop — Angola is one of the world's top three producers — is rotting on the bushes — and one effect is likely to be a rise in South African coffee prices next year.

Chaotic

The skills which ran the country have vanished with the roughly 400 000 Whites who have fled Angola, leaving behind only about 30 000.

Luanda airport used to have more than 25 air traffic controllers. Now it has only six and the airport is chaotic.

Luanda's court system used to employ about 400 people. Now it has about 40.

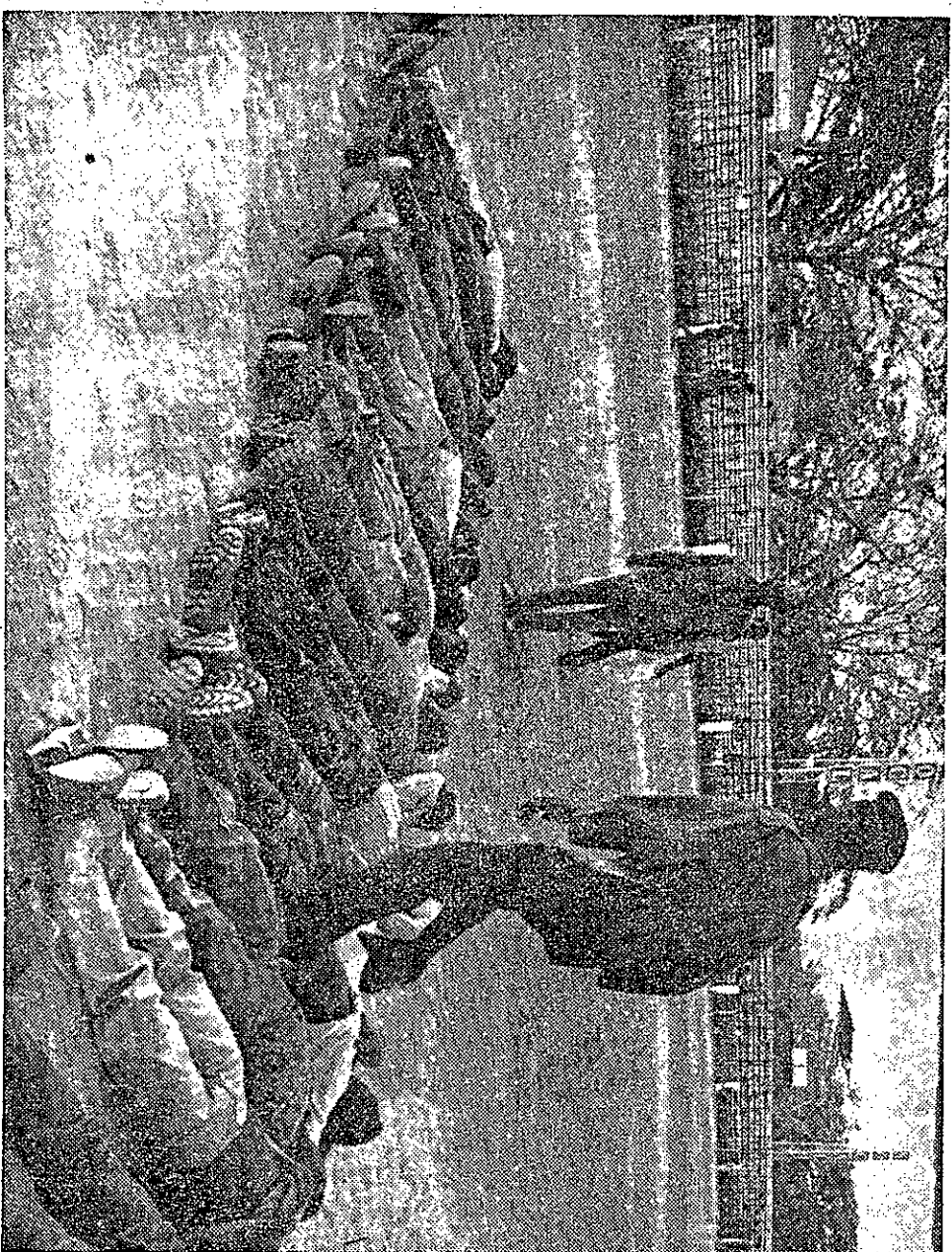
The few technicians running the Luanda refinery and water and power supplies are still there only because the MPLA has passed a law that vital technicians who try to leave are guilty of "economic sabotage". Some have managed to sneak out.

Starvation

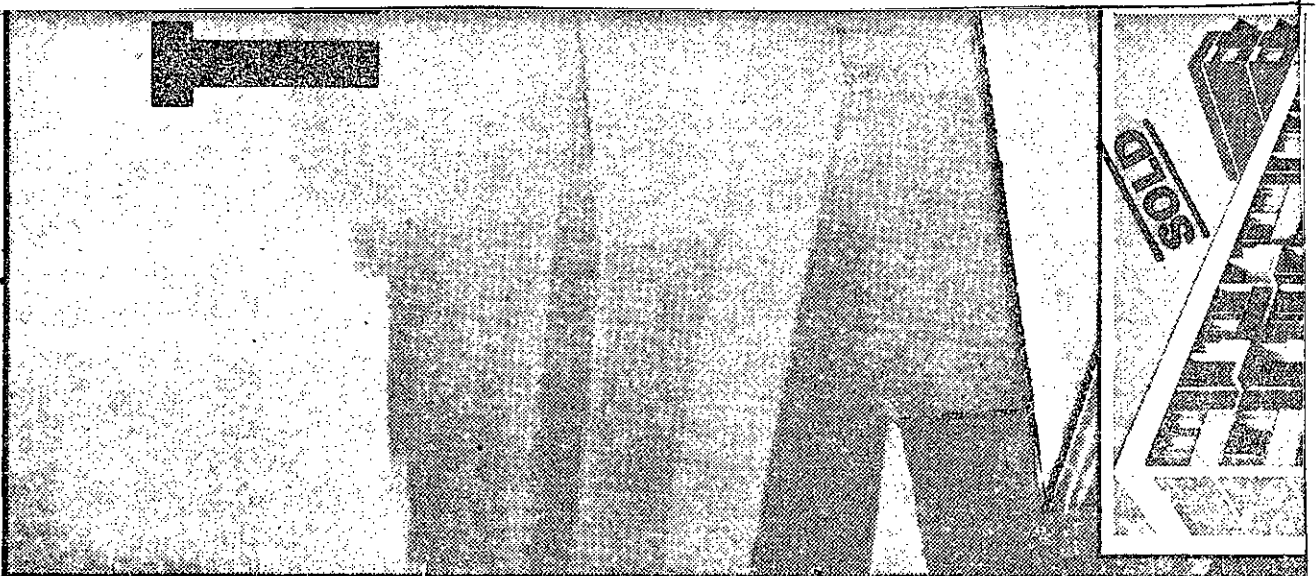
The Luanda port is as chaotic as the airport. One ship that formerly loaded coffee in six days has now taken more than four months and is not yet full. The threat of urban warfare has persuaded most skippers to sail.

The food supply system to and within Luanda is in a mess and starvation is a real threat as the FNLA-UNITA noose slowly closes.

Law and order are of the past. If any African wants a car, money, a watch or even an apartment now, he just takes it — whether the owner agrees or not.



An MPLA instructor runs over the stomachs of militia trainees in a toughening-up exercise



Journalist

freed

D.D.
8/11/76

LUANDA — Roger Sargent of the Daily Dispatch Africa Service was freed by Angola's MPLA independence movement on Saturday after spending 11 days in a Luanda prison.

Three South Africans are still being held by the MPLA in what was formerly Luanda's English School.

They are journalist Chris van der Merwe of Johannesburg and two Cape Town men, Mr. H. Bhikoo and Mr. Ismael Socoman.

Mr. Sargent is British and it is believed this is why he was released. An MPLA man at the school prison told him: "You are British, they are South Africans. Your problem is not the same as their problem."

However, the same official hinted the three South Africans would soon be freed. — DDC

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Build-up of troops on Angola borders

O.D. 10/11/75

LUANDA — Angola has entered its last day under Portuguese rule amid reports of large-scale troop movements in the country and on its borders.

As preparations went ahead for tomorrow's independence celebrations, reports were received yesterday that several thousand Zaire soldiers had massed on the border with the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda.

The enclave is held by the MPLA and is also to become independent tomorrow as an integral part of Angola.

Zaire supports the rival FNLA movement.

There was no further news yesterday on reports that the ports of Lobito and Benguela had been captured from the MPLA by joint forces of the FNLA and the country's third liberation movement Unita, aided by an armoured column of mercenaries.

But Eastern-bloc sources claiming to have reliable information said the armoured column was now heading north from Lobito to the MPLA-controlled port of Nova Redondo, 49 km from Luanda.

Troops of the MPLA were said to be moving south towards the FNLA-held town of Ucuva.

In Luanda, which is held by the MPLA, troops were standing with machineguns and rifles at street corners.

Pres Amin warned Russia not to dictate to him about what he should do for Uganda or Africa.

He said a national government in Angola would be formed by all three independence movements and not only by the MPLA.

Radio Uganda said yesterday Pres Amin had asked more than 40 African countries what troops and equipment they would contribute to a peace-keeping force for Angola and other trouble spots.—SAPA-RNS-AP.



Few prospects for peace in Angola

5

Even with the eleventh hour bid by the Organisation for African Unity and Portuguese authorities to find some form of compromise and reconciliation among the three Angolan liberation movements, indications are that there can be no immediate ceasefire and there will be no independence on November 11.

Instead, there will be an intensification of the civil war after the Portuguese finally withdraw this week.

After visiting Luanda, Cabinda (MPLA) Nova Lisboa, Silva Porto (Unita), Ambriz and Cammona (FNLA) with the OAU conciliation commission, it was clear that only Unita's Jonas Savimbi was prepared to accept a compromise. At lower levels, however, some officials are still crying for revenge against the MPLA for talking peace in July while secretly launching a savage attack on the other two movements, resulting in the collapse of the three-party transitional government.

While the OAU in Kampala is suggesting another interim government, the Commission which visited Angola is acutely aware that Dr Agostinho Neto, the MPLA leader, is in no mood to compromise.

"Only the MPLA will rule Angola," he has declared.

Even at this late hour, Dr Neto still insists that he is going to declare a UDI because he feels the MPLA is the natural successor to Portuguese rule.

The uncompromising stand by the MPLA is due to the fact that up to August the movement was strong militarily. The

D.O. 19/11/75

Angolan independence was due to take place tomorrow but the civil war has put a stop to that. JUSTIN NYOKO is among the few journalists who has recently visited areas held by all three warring Angolan liberation movements, the MPLA, FNLA and Unita. Although reconciliation and compromise are the idea, he forecasts a protracted bloody war, which in the end no single liberation movement can win.

morale, both at army and civilian level was high. All along the war was going in MPLA's favour.

However, maintaining this level of morale became difficult by mid-October when FNLA and Unita started threatening from the north and south.

According to Portuguese Army intelligence, there were several suppressed mutinies in MPLA forces in Benguela and Lobito. The fall of these two key ports to a combined FNLA and Unita force, has therefore come as no surprise.

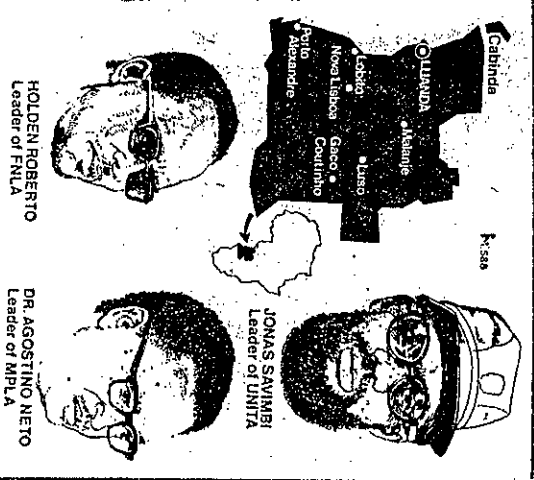
In Luanda itself the MPLA is trying hard to cope with a fast-deteriorating situation.

A week ago when there were heavy clashes between MPLA and FNLA forces just outside the capital, panic was visible on the faces of the Luanda civilian population as they queued for their bread and meat.

And in the Mussekas (township slums) terrified residents were discussing the thundering explosions of heavy mortars and pointing to the north where the sounds came from, and 12-year-old boys recruited for the People's Army were marching in the streets, some with proper AK rifles, and others with toy guns.

The first hint that MPLA was suffering reverses and needed more help came with the announcement of the general mobilisation of all Angolans between the ages of 18 and 35.

The MPLA hopes to arm about 50 000 residents of Luanda should the FNLA and Unita attack the capital.



While it is possible to be told in Luanda one morning at breakfast that there is no bread, such a thing is unheard of in either Cammona or Nova Lisboa.

Both FNLA and Unita use radio to communicate with the outside world from Kinshasa and Lusaka because the MPLA cut off their links with FNLA and Unita-held territory.

Because there is no food shortage some officials in Unita feel the war can go on for a long time. "The war can go on for six months, six years perhaps, but we will not surrender to MPLA," a Unita official said.

And this same sentiment was expressed by an ordinary Cammona citizen. "The war will take a long, long time."

"That the war will take a long time, there can be no doubt. The days before November 11 will witness a further massive build-up of war material supplies

from the Soviet Union, Algeria and Cuba on the MPLA side and from Zaïre and China on the FNLA and Unita side.

There will be accusations and counter-accusations. But the naked fact is that many, many Angolans — men, women and children will die in this war. Many people in the Mussekas and out-lying countryside are suffering, and will continue to do so for political purposes which they can neither control nor understand.

There is one thing that the Portuguese can do before finally pulling out tomorrow. To stop any further bloodshed, the Portuguese will have an obligation to remove or destroy all weapons now at their disposal. Many of the OAU commissioners have welcomed the Portuguese Government decision to take away all helicopters to Lisbon.

Admittedly, this was a big disappointment to MPLA, who felt that they had prior claim to all the Portuguese war material in the areas held by them.

I have seen the determination of all the three movements to wage the war to its final conclusions. However, I am convinced that none of the movements can win a military victory which assures the future well-being of all the people of Angola.

It would appear, therefore, that even after tomorrow, when the Portuguese are "to leave the people of Angola to solve their own problems," the OAU should continue to mediate, to seek a ceasefire to enable the three movements to find a basis for compromise, leading to an interim government which will finally result in free elections.

Africa must strive to find a solution to Angola, otherwise with the involvement of the major powers, Angola might just provide a battleground for the Third World War.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

APPLICATION FOR LEAVE OF ABSENCE

NON-ACADEMIC STAFF

A. (To be completed by applicant)

1. NAME.....

2. POST.....

3. TYPE OF LEAVE REQUESTED:

(i) ANNUAL: from..... to.....

(ii) SICK: from.....to.....

(Applications for sick leave in excess of 3 days must be accompanied by a doctor's certificate.)

(iii) SPECIAL: (please refer to item 4 below) from.....to.....

(iv) LONG: from.....to.....

4. REASONS FOR SPECIAL LEAVE

It is impossible to estimate the strength of the three armies. However, the MPLA is believed to have the most experienced officers, who received their training in Algeria and Cuba. At Ambriz, the FNLA military base, a senior officer boasted: "We have the strongest army, and we will be able to prove it by taking over Luanda." A serious problem that faces all three movements is that their soldiers were trained for guerilla warfare, and yet now they are having to fight a conventional war. As a Portuguese businessman pointed out: "The advantage FNLA and Unita have over MPLA is that these two have at their services white officers who have been trained in conventional warfare." The FNLA and Unita strategy is to surround Luanda, after taking as much ground as possible elsewhere, and then suffocate the capital by cutting off water and power supplies. This, according to the FNLA, will ensure that Neto will surrender and less blood will be shed. But the MPLA has vowed to fight to the last man to defend Luanda. But it has to be admitted that the problem Luanda has is that of food supplies. By merely visiting the market squares in Luanda, Nova Lisboa and Carmona, I was able to assess the food situation in the three areas. The Carmona area (FNLA) with a good rainfall and rich agricultural land is self-supporting. The only problem FNLA has is a shortage of fuel which has to come by road from neighbouring Zaire. And sometimes, when urgently needed for the army, it has to be flown in by jet, an expensive exercise. After allocation for use by the army and public transport there is little fuel left for the public, but in a war in which the people have been told they have to sacrifice all to fight against MPLA communists, everyone seemed to understand. Food is also plentiful in Unita-held Nova Lisboa and Silva Porto. According to official figures, about 80 per cent of Angola's wheat comes from around Nova Lisboa.

DISCHARGE OF APPLICANT'S DUTIES DURING ABSENCE:

DATE: _____ SIGNATURE OF HEAD OF SECTION _____

Card entered.....

RST/sw 9.6.72

Troops rally as MPLA wooos allies

Mercury - 18/11/75

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He said that if the Russians sent a low-ranking official, he would go ahead and break relations and expel Soviet experts here within 48 hours.

Zaire's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Bula Nyati, has also called Soviet involvement in African affairs "an insult to all African countries."

He said that for 11 years Zaire had helped Angolans to fight Portuguese imperialism, but had stopped giving military aid after Portugal promised independence.

Mr. Nyati said Angola and Cabinda were different territories and added that Zaire would support the Cabindan people in their struggle for self-determination.

British journalist Roger Sargent, of the Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg, has been released from detention by the MPLA which controls the Angolan capital.

Sargent, born in Surrey, England, said yesterday he lost six kilograms since his detention 11 days ago soon after his arrival in Luanda.

He said that, while he was not badly treated, "I am very worried about the three South Africans being held there."

One is Chris van der Merwe, a free-lance journalist working for the Sunday Times of Johannesburg. The other two are Indians — Shaiket Bhikoo and Ismail Sooman, both of Cape Town, who came to Luanda to look for a relative. — (Mercury Africa Bureau-Sapa-Reuter.)

LUANDA — Portugal's colony of Angola stumbles to independence tonight with Zaire forces massing on Cabinda's border, the marxist MPLA leader trying to form an alliance with Mozambique and other African states, and moves to form an Angolan peace-keeping force.

An Angolan administration spokesman yesterday confirmed that several thousand Zaire soldiers were on the border with Cabinda, a sliver of coastal land separated from Angola by the People's Republic of the Congo and held by the MPLA.

The spokesman said he did not know how many soldiers were massed in Zaire—which has supported the rival FNLA—but agreed they had not crossed into Cabinda.

The MPLA leader, Dr. Agostinho Neto, made a dramatic dash to Lourenço Marques on Saturday to form a military alliance with Mozambique and four other newly independent countries.

Dr. Nétzo, Mozambique's President Samora Machel and top officials from Guinea-Bissau, and the islands of Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, met urgently in Lourenço Marques yesterday.

A statement is expected announcing that the five countries are to use their military forces to fight with the MPLA in Angola against the FNLA and Unita.

Frelimo is believed to have about 10 000 combat-ready troops.

President Machel recently said that a take-over by the MPLA in Angola would "consolidate a revolutionary base from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans."

Uganda's leader, President Idi Amin, has asked more than 40 African countries what troops and equipment they would contribute to a peace-keeping force for Angola and other African trouble spots.

Many African States have already said a peace-keeping force would face insuperable political, logistical and command problems.

In Kampala, President Amin said Uganda would break off relations with the Soviet Union if he does not receive, within 48 hours, an explanation from the Soviet leader, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, about Soviet involvement in Angola.

Radio Uganda interrupted its regular programmes to report him as saying: "If the Soviet party chief does not reply to me and send a high-ranking Soviet official to discuss matters with me, Uganda will break relations."

Savage fight

See 10 11 75

for Luanda

The Star's Africa News Service

Luanda

MPLA forces have left the port of Novo Redondo in the face of a strike force of 1,500 mercenaries and other troops moving swiftly north to attack the capital itself.

The port had been used to land Russian arms and Cuban troops aiding the MPLA. This is the latest move in the Angola civil war which is concentrating on two main fronts and becoming increasingly savage as the country of five million approaches independence at midnight.

As the combined armoured column of FNLA, Unita and mercenary troops moves north, heavy fighting is reported 32 km north of Luanda between MPLA defenders and the main FNLA army.

The MPLA have also launched a counter-attack to cut FNLA supply lines from Carnoia in the north and are threatening a third town on the main road, Ueza, after capturing two others, Quiaxe and Piri.

Simultaneously, another liberation movement, the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC), have attacked the enclave north of Angola but were driven back across the border into Zaire by MPLA forces.

Zaire army

On the border, the MPLA troops came face to face with several thousand Zaire troops in a moment of tension, but no shots were exchanged. However, the Zaire troops are expected to invade Cabinda at any time.

Cabinda's oil earns Angola about \$350-million a year and the rest of Angola would be bankrupt without it.

The Portuguese flag will be lowered at sunset after five centuries before Admiral Leonel Cardoso, Portugal's High Commissioner, and his skeleton staff heard a frigate without formally handing the country over to anybody.

But foreign delegates to the MPLA independence ceremonies starting at midnight are beginning to trickle into Luanda — a city bedecked with MPLA posters and flags but also with armed soldiers guarding every street.

The attacking FNLA and Unita forces backed by mercenaries — South Africans among them — have said they cannot guarantee the safety of these delegates should street fighting begin.

See Page 7

The mercenary-led column of about 1,500 men with armoured cars which took Sa da Bandeira, Moredes, Benguela and Lobito in the past fortnight are now within 600 km of Luanda to the south after an advance of as much as 1,000 km in 12 days.

MPLA roadblocks have been set up all over Luanda today and all vehicles are being searched.

A South African freelance journalist, Mr Chris van der Merwe, and two South African Asians are still being held.

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R.D.M. 18/11/75

5

FNLA eyes Luanda at zero hour

By DENIS HERBSTEIN,
of the Sunday Times,
London

KINSHASA. — Ambriz is a pleasant fishing village 160 km up the Angolan coast from Luanda. In times of peace it is noted for the fine crayfish caught in its waters, but now there is no petrol to fuel the fishing boats.

Here Holden Roberto, president of the FNLA, one of the three independence movements vying to take over the colony when the Portuguese leave at midnight tonight, has his temporary capital.

Nothing could be further away from the vicious fighting in southern and eastern Angola, or the vast air and sea lift of arms now under way to all three movements by their Great Power friends.

I spent several days in Ambriz last week, as preparations were being made for the "big push" on Luanda, now held by Dr Agostinho Neto's MPLA.

The FNLA had promised four members of the foreign Press we would be in the capital by independence day. Last Tuesday a senior officer announced that "the countdown for the attack on Luanda has begun".

WAITING

FNLA soldiers talked of "the communist menace" in Luanda, which they feared might be renamed Agostinhograd. Occasionally the calm was disturbed by Zaire Air Force C-130 transport planes ferrying in troops, arms and petrol. Also waiting in Ambriz were 130 White soldiers, under Colonel Santos e Castro, an anti-guerrilla strategist in the days before the overthrow of Caetano.

These soldiers all claim to be Angolan-born or Portuguese with deep roots in the colony. They have all ready fought near Luanda and, I was assured, will be used again when the attack on the capital finally gets under way.

Despite the massive build-up of Russian and Cuban-aided defences around Luanda, the FNLA were confident of at least

Question.....
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Roberto fears that once the MPLA is recognised by the Soviet bloc and a dozen African countries, Russian "advisers" will flood in, with MiG jets, tanks and other war material.

This is already happening. Recently the MPLA were believed to be six months ahead of the FNLA and its ally, Jonas Savimbi's Unita, in its armoury.

However, in the past month there has been a dramatic change in the balance of firepower, mainly thanks to President Mobutu of Zaire supplying vast quantities of his own arms.

Though never officially admitted, Zairean soldiers are fighting on the side of the FNLA. With 1500 miles of shared frontier with Angola, they can cross virtually anywhere.

FRIENDS

Jose N'dele, Savimbi's deputy, assured me that if the Russians introduce MIGs and the latest tanks, "we have discussed the problem with our friends and they understand us well." "Friends", he said, were 20 or so African countries. But it is only the Americans who could provide an adequate military response.

Meanwhile a dangerous diversionary exercise has begun over Cabinda, the oil-rich enclave separated from Angola proper by Zaire.

Last week Zaire announced that the enclave's other neighbour, Congo Brazzaville — which supports the Marxist MPLA — had invaded Cabinda.

Mobutu posted his army on the border. One or other side could be setting the stage for a preemptive strike.

Even if the FNLA takes Luanda soon, and the MPLA is routed, a fight to the finish between Unita and the FNLA cannot be ruled out. For Portugal, the colonial power that stayed too long and left too soon, it is a sad tribute to five centuries of its "civilising mission."

Portuguese quit Angola



AGOSTINO NETO
MPLA leader

Cape Times 11/11/75 (5)

SAPA-REUTER

LUANDA. — Portugal proclaimed Angola independent at midnight last night and said it was leaving the war-torn territory without any sense of guilt.



President Amin

Amin kicks out envoy

LONDON. — President Idi Amin had asked for the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet Ambassador in Kampala, Radio Uganda said in a monitored broadcast last night.

The broadcast described the Soviet Ambassador, Mr Alexei Zakharov, as "a criminal", but said President Amin was still willing to receive a "high-powered envoy" from the Soviet Union with any message from the Communist Party leader, Mr Leonid Brezhnev.

President Amin's office said he had issued his ultimatum after Mr Zakharov had delivered a message demanding that Uganda should express solidarity with the Kremlin-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), one of three rival groups seeking power as the former Portuguese colony became independent last night.

MPLA tipped

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — On the eve of the withdrawal of Portuguese responsibility in Angola, the London-based Institute for the Study of Conflict predicted victory for the MPLA because of Soviet backing.

It said Russia's interest in establishing a pro-Russian Marxist regime in Angola lay in the value of its raw materials, oil especially, its position flanking the Cape route to Western Europe and as a base for further subversion in Africa.

The Daily Telegraph said that if Russia responded to an "official appeal" from the MPLA for direct military aid, "the result would be a challenge America could not ignore."

Last-minute exodus

WINDHOEK. — At least 1400 refugees, who had fled Angola before the territory's independence deadline at midnight last night, had been airlifted from northern South West Africa through the J G Strijdom Airport here since Friday, sources said

yesterday.

The airlift was continuing, with Safair aircraft flying the refugees from Grootfontein to the J G Strijdom Airport. Boeings of the Portuguese airline TAP were flying the refugees from here to Lisbon.

Water cut off

Own Correspondent

LUANDA.—Reports reaching here say that the FNLA has mortared Luanda's water-supply pipeline, causing severe damage.

The attack took place at 6.30am yesterday, but the water was not cut off till about midday. Engineers say the pipeline will take at least a week to repair.

According to one water engineer, Luanda uses 80 000 cubic metres of water a day, but has reserves of less than 60 000. A trickle of water may still come into the city as there is a secondary conduit.

The declaration, made here by the Portuguese High Commissioner, Admiral Leonel Cardoso, several hours before midnight, omitted to recognize any of the three warring liberation movements as the territory's new rulers.

Eleventh-hour efforts by Portugal and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to set up a government of national unity including all three movements fell through over the weekend.

"In the name of the President of the Portuguese Republic I solemnly proclaim — with effect from zero hour on November 11 — the independence of Angola and its full sovereignty vested in the Angolan people," Admiral Cardoso told a press conference.

The High Commissioner said he regretted he would not be able to take part in any ceremonies celebrating "the greatest hour of the Angolan people, since, in the present circumstances, this could be taken to signify Portuguese interference in the sacred right of any people: That of deciding its own destiny."

YEARS OF COLONIAL RULE

MPLA claims firm support

LISBON. — Four former Portuguese African colonies have agreed to recognize the MPLA as the government when Angola becomes independent today, according to a broadcast yesterday from Luanda.

Radio Clube Portuguese said this was announced by the MPLA chairman, Dr Agostinho Neto, after a visit to Lourenço Marques, where he met representatives of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe.



HOLDEN ROBERTO
FNLA leader

FNLA select Carmona

KINSHASA. — The president of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), Dr Holden Roberto, would proclaim and celebrate independence in Carmona, an important city in the north of Angola, according to a communique issued here yesterday by the movement.

According to the FNLA, the Alvor Agreement which fixed November 2nd as the independence date, did not specify where this independence was to be proclaimed. — Sapa-AP



JONAS SAVIMBI
Unita leader

third time

Will you be attending MORNING EVENING lectures

Degree for which register

Courses already completed (state SUBJECT, YEAR and CLASS obtained)

ECONOMI

OTHER COURSES

Courses being taken this year:

Signed ..

Date ...

Name of

Blame

The High Commissioner of Affairs in Angola on the transference of internal political positions and the progressive internationalization of the problem. He said events in the territory had begun to escape Portugal's control as internationalized and the quantity of war material being brought into Angola increased and its quality improved.

From Kinshasa it was reported that the MPLA was yesterday forced to abandon the coastal town of Nova Redondo, 150 km north of Lobito.

In a report from Luanda, quoting Portuguese military sources, said a combined force of the FNLA and Unita seized Nova Redondo yesterday morning.

The FNLA said it had also captured the coastal town of Porto Amboim, about 50 km north of Redondo giving FNLA and Unita forces control of the capital of the Cuanza Sul District. Azap reported FNLA troops were marching northwards towards Barré do Cuanza, just south of the Angolan capital, Cabinda.

In Cabinda, according to independent sources, fighting was continuing at N'zo between MPLA troops and either forces of the FNLA or the Zairean Army. The clash follows the crossing into Cabinda from Zaire on Sunday of a 400-strong Flec force which exchanged five MPLA troops at Tando Zaire, 10 km from the Zaire frontier and 35 km from Cabinda town.

...ing in the School of ... first time must show ... n subjects and symbols:

Hasty goodby to Angola

RSD-W.
11/11/75.

By REG SHAY
'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUANDA

THE Portuguese have left Angola, their last colony in Africa. They beat a hasty retreat yesterday afternoon, hours before they were expected to leave, marking the end of nearly 500 years' rule.

As they moved from the government palace and the imposing fort of Sao Miguel, armed MPLA civilian police immediately took up positions on the gates.

"I sincerely regret that it is not possible for me to take part in any commemorative ceremony at the greatest hour in the life of the Angolan people," said Portugal's last colonial high commissioner, Admiral Leonel Cardoso.

"But given the actual circumstances, that would mean an interference by Portugal in the sacred rights of that people to decide its own future."

Admiral Cardoso omitted to acknowledge any of the three independence movements as Angola's new rulers.

The flag-lowering ceremony at the palace was put forward by two hours to ensure that journalists would not be present.

Marines and paratroopers cordoned off roads and moved back block by block until they reached the narrow "island" which houses the naval dockyard.

"We just want to ensure there are no incidents," explained an army officer.

Luanda is now completely controlled by the MPLA and tonight the movement began celebrations at a large stadium in the city where they will lower the Portuguese flag and raise their own.

Suicide

The MPLA said it would declare its revolutionary poet leader, Dr Agostinho Neto, 52, first president of the West African Nation. UPL says the MPLA gave no details of the midnight

ceremony "for security reasons". The movement said last week suicide squads from the rival FNLA had infiltrated the capital to disrupt the celebrations.

Meanwhile troops of the National Front and the Popular Movement fought an artillery battle near Quifangondo, 19 km north of Luanda yesterday.

Reg Shay reports that the FNLA has blasted Luanda's water supply pipeline with mortars, causing severe damage.

Other reports, also unconfirmed, say that the FNLA and Unita, aided by mercenaries, have taken Novo Rodondo, the last port of any size en route to Luanda from Benguela.

Reports say it was taken by the armoured column which continues to press northwards along the coast, brushing aside all opposition in its path.

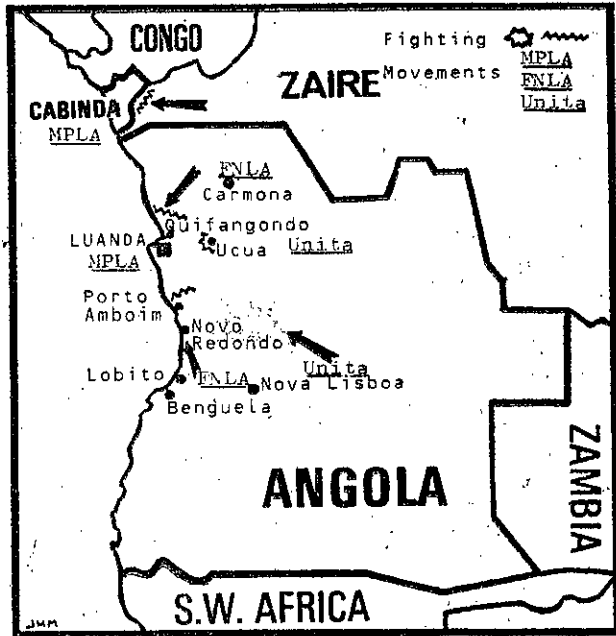
The Senegalese daily Le Soleil reported yesterday that six Soviet MIG-21 fighters had been delivered to the MPLA. This could be followed soon by a delivery of French Mirage jets to the FNLA, Le Soleil added.

Sapa reports that the president of the FNLA, Dr Holden Roberto, would proclaim and celebrate independence in Carmona, an important city in the north of Angola, the movement announced yesterday.

Portugal sneaks out of Angola

D.D. 11/11/75

5



LUANDA—Portugal yesterday declared Angola independent, leaving the territory it had ruled for 500 years to a bloody civil war.

The Portuguese flag was lowered at a quick ceremony at the Government Palace before the High Commissioner, Adm Leonel Cardoso, his staff and Portuguese troops packed up and left on a warship for Lisbon.

A harassed Adm Cardoso, resplendent in the full-dress white tropical uniform traditionally worn by Lisbon's colonial administrators, made the independence proclamation 12 hours earlier than expected.

In what must count the strangest ceremony of its kind in Africa's turbulent post-colonial history, journalists alone were present in his palace to hear the proclamation.

None of the three war-

ring nationalist movements was invited to attend, not even the Soviet-backed MPLA which controls the capital.

In taking his leave of the vast and potentially-rich territory, the admiral bequeathed the instruments of power to nobody.

He said: "Portugal is departing without a feeling of guilt or shame. It is leaving a country it is proud of and that the Angolan people can be proud of."

At midnight last night the MPLA ran up its flag over the palace and the fort of Sao Miguel and was due later to declare a constitution. But the constitution will be effective only in Luanda and other areas under MPLA control.

The MPLA leader, Agostinho Neto, will declare himself President of Angola and, presumably, Holden Roberto, leader of the rival FNLA, will do the same in his northern stronghold of Carmona.

Meanwhile, fighting between the three rival armies kept up yesterday on at least three fronts.

New fighting was reported from the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda, 480-km north-west of Luanda according to independent sources who are in daily contact with the area.

A Zaire-based force exchanged mortar and machine-gun fire with the MPLA, which controls the enclave.

Troops of the MPLA were also reported in action against the FNLA and Unita at Quifangondo, 30-km north-east of Luanda, around the village of Ucuia, 160-km east, and between the ports of Lobito and Novo Redondo in the south.

According to a report from Kinshasa, the MPLA was forced to abandon Novo Redondo yesterday.

Other reports said the FNLA had mortared Luanda's water supply pipeline, causing severe damage. Engineers said the pipeline would take at least a week to repair.

Now rescuers need rescue

JOHANNESBURG — As Portuguese consulate officials in Cape Town "washed their hands" of the Angolan visa fiasco, a mother and tiny boy sat waiting . . . for a man who went on a mercy mission and now needs help himself.

The man, Mr Ismail Soloman, 30, is jailed in Luanda along with two other South Africans, his brother-in-law, Mr Shauket Bhikoo, and Mr Chris van der Merwe of the Sunday Times.

Mrs Soloman prayed yesterday for her husband's and brother's safe home-

coming. "They only went to find my brother," she said. "They didn't go to fight. Now I'm so worried I can hardly sleep. I must just sit here and hope."

Mrs Soloman has a four-month-old baby boy. Mr Bhikoo is also married and has a small daughter.

The two jailed Capetonians went to help their relative, a drummer apparently missing.

"Yes, we gave them visas to go," the Portuguese consulate in Cape Town confirmed yesterday. "We couldn't refuse although we pleaded, 'don't go.'"

The FNLA also said it had captured the coastal town of Porto Amboim, about 550km north of Nova Redondo and that FNLA troops were marching northwards towards Barrodo Cuanza, just south of Landa.

In Lisbon, embittered refugees from Angola marched through the city last night in protest against Portugal's handling of the independence issue.

SAPA-RNS-DDC-AP

MPLA's campaign of hate against Western reporters

D.D.

5

11/175

LUANDA — Life for Western journalists here is becoming increasingly uncomfortable as the Soviet-oriented MPLA mounts a campaign of hate against the West.

It started when journalists from the United States and Europe were hauled out of bed in the early hours twice during the past week for a credentials check.

The Soviet journalists were left to sleep while the others had their press accreditation checked.

Western journalists have been accused of being "reactionary parasites who lie on sofas and drink liquor" by the local MPLA-controlled newspaper.

All reporters have been asked to sign a petition calling for recognition of the MPLA as the legal government of Angola and to give blood to MPLA soldiers wounded in fighting with rival movements.

The Eastern block correspondents organised the petition and are expected to donate blood.

The theme of the MPLA publicity campaign against the West appears to be aimed at embarrassing Western correspondents in the eyes of "the people". The buildup comes as no surprise. It is a continuation of attacks against the United States and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in particular.

Those attacks caused the US State Department to order the withdrawal of the US Consul General, Mr



MR ROBERTO

Tim Kilhoran, and his staff.

The unofficial reason for the withdrawal was that an American presence here would give tacit recognition to one of the three rival movements in Angola but there were also fears for the safety of the Americans.

There has been a steady buildup of propaganda such as the three-hour programme comprising music and jibes at the West.

To the beat of the samba the record of the month's lyrics are: "Holden Roberto and the CIA are in the north, the bandits of CIA and Savimbi are in the south".

The MPLA-run radio station gives the message loud and clear that the United States has not captured the imagination of the people.

One news report claimed the United States had increased its military aid to Zaire by five times and

most of the funds came from the CIA.

The "hymns of hate" against the United States were previously brushed aside by Mr Kilhoran and his colleagues.

But to speak English in Angola now raises deep suspicions among the people who have been told to report anyone who might be a "reactionary" to the authorities.

Meanwhile in Paris black journalists of a French magazine have claimed that a woman anaesthetist in Luanda was brutally killed by the MPLA because she exposed a trick they had played on white journalists in the city.

The men said they were able to follow up stories which whites could not because of MPLA antipathy.

They claim that the MPLA had told white journalists there had been a massacre by the rival FNLA and had shown them human hearts and kidneys, saying the "cannibal" FNLA troops had been planning to eat them.

When the anaesthetist said publically that the organs had come from the Luanda hospital laboratory specimens she was killed.

The magazine, "Jeune Afrique" also claimed that the FNLA and Unita troops were being commanded by a French educated Ovambo, Vacoulou Kouta who allegedly studied economics at Grenoble University. — DDC-SAPA-AP

MPLA LEADER MISSES BID TO MURDER HIM

Natal Mercury 12/11/75 (5)

LISBON — A Black gunman opened fire in Luanda yesterday on a car he presumed was carrying Dr. Agostinho Neto, head of the MPLA, the Portuguese Government news agency Anop reported from the Angolan capital.

The gunman, using a pistol with a silencer, fired from a first floor window near one of the city's main hotels, Anop said.

MPLA troops arrested the man after returning the fire and wounding him in the arm.

Dr. Neto was being sworn in as first president of the People's Republic of Angola, proclaimed by the MPLA early yesterday, at the time of the attack.

Anop gave no source for its report, but informed sources here said it had come from the MPLA "Ministry of Information" in Luanda.

An Angolan liberation movement leader forecast in Lisbon yesterday that the Left-wing "Popular Republic of Angola" set up in Luanda would be overthrown in a very short time.

Mr. Fernando Wilson Santos, a political bureau member of Unita, said that the Luanda regime set up by the MPLA would be recognised by only about a dozen African States.

But the rival administration set up jointly by Unita and the FNLA would be recognised by about 30 African countries, he said.

He condemned the Luanda-based government of the MPLA as divisionist and said: "We shall act with all violence against the MPLA armed forces until its leadership loses its arrogance. We shall not fall into the mouth of crocodiles who are lackeys of the inter-

national liquidation of popular liberty."

The Angolan side of the main border crossing into South West Africa was unmanned all yesterday, the District Commandant of Police in Owanbo, Captain B. van Niekerk, said last night.

He said that although the South African Police-controlled checkpoint at Oshikango was operative, nobody had crossed through the frontier post in either direction yesterday.

"As far as we could see from the South West African side of the border, the whole Angolan border village of Santa Clara — which is only 50 metres away — was deserted."

"There was certainly nobody in attendance at the customs and immigration offices, and it seems to me that anyone wanting to go into Angola would be able to go straight through," Captain van Niekerk said. — (Sapa Reuter-Mercury Reporter.)

STAR 12/11/75

Unita planning to get trade moving again

Trevor Grundy, of
The Star's Africa News Service

NOVA LISBOA — Leaders of Unita predict they will re-open the Angolan port of Lobito, and the British owned Benguela railway, to Zambian traffic within the

next four weeks.

At a mass rally here marking Angola's independence after 500 years of rule by Portugal, Doctor Jonas Savimbi the Unita president said he hopes to take the towns of Malanje and Texeira da Sousa within a week.

Malanje is a strategic stronghold of the marxist MPLA.

If taken by Unita and FNLA movements is could signal a turning point in the civil war, and the fall of Luanda.

Dr Savimbi told a cheering crowd of at least 20 000 people: "Even if we do not take Luanda next week it means that the MPLA will be isolated and will be forced to eat the beans the Soviets bring them."

Economics

A reopened Unita-controlled Lobito and Benguela railway would be the greatest economic blessing Zambia could have at the moment.

The railway was closed last August because of heavy fighting between the three Angolan organisations.

Before that it was Zambia's most important import and export port handling 50 percent of Zambia's 60 000 tons of copper production a month.

About 50 White soldiers were seen guarding strategic points at Lobito and Benguela.

A reporter asked a youthful fair-headed soldier where he came from. The reply was "from England."

Another White soldier described himself as a "mercenary." Both spoke with heavy South African accents.

Unita officials admit only to a South African military presence in the extreme south of Angola to guard the Cuhene hydroelectric project.

Understanding

There is speculation about a growing understanding between Dr Savimbi and South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr Vorster.

Today Huambo (Nova Lisboa) is quiet. Shops are shut, hundreds of cars are lying idle because there is no petrol. Pilots flying in small planes from Lusaka wonder how they will return home with the shortage of aviation fuel.

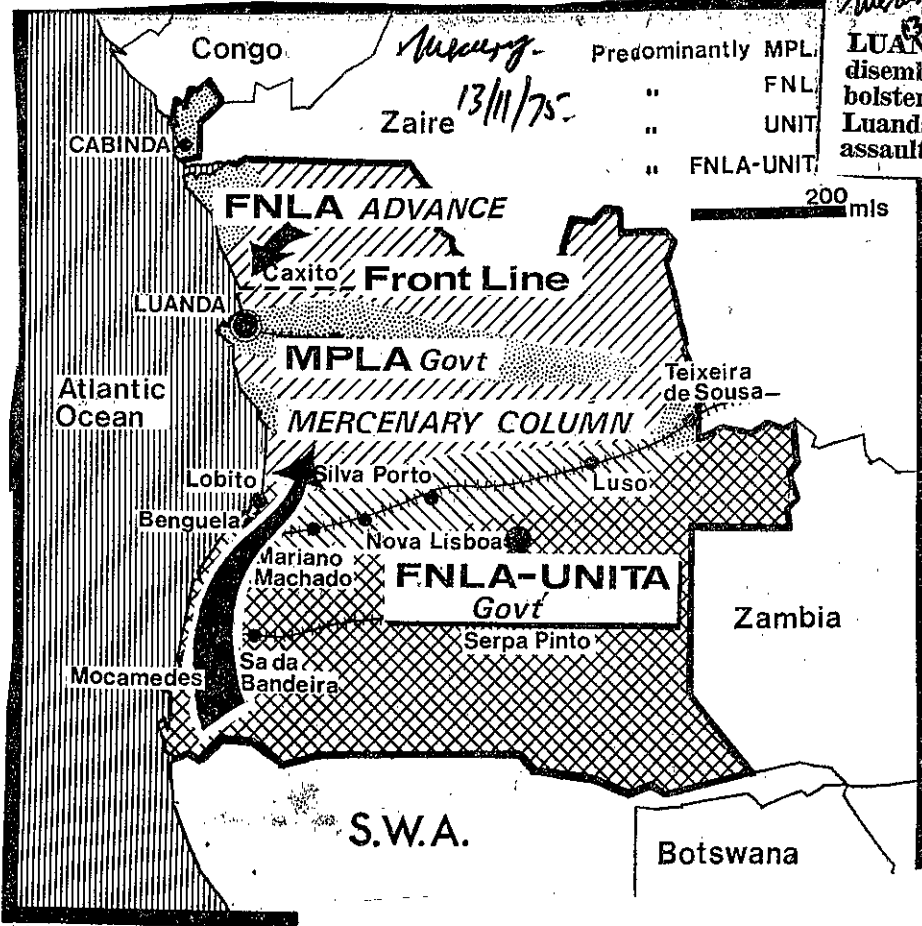
At the city's few hotels there is an unreal atmosphere. Everything seems to be free. No money is exchanged and everyone, from journalists to Unita militants in uniform, are the guests of the Government—for this week at least.

Maybe money simply means nothing any more.

Only three foreign journalists covered the independence celebrations here.

Heavy firing continued till nearly 1 am, just before the Portuguese flag was lowered to the music of a six-man brass band and a female UNITA chorus singing songs about Savimbi.

But in Lobito, traffic is moving, goods are on sale and petrol is being sold at garages. Ships are not yet moving but Unita leaders say that will happen within weeks.



Mercury 13/11/75 Mercury Africa Bureau
LUANDA — About 1 200 more Cuban soldiers disembarked in Luanda Harbour yesterday to bolster the two-day-old Marxist "Government of Luanda," now preparing to defend against an assault on three sides.

MPLA sources announced the new arrivals, who will swell 1 000 Cuban soldiers and 600 Cuban instructors already fighting with the MPLA's 25 000-man army.

In addition, 250 Fretilimo soldiers are expected from Mozambique, as the battle for Luanda appears about to begin.

The MPLA yesterday beat off an attack by the rival FNLA movement, whose soldiers tried to cross the Bengo River to enter Luanda, after first mortaring heavily at Quifangondo, 19km north of the capital.

The FNLA is 20 000-strong in the north.

The MPLA said it had repulsed the attack, however it has rushed troops — including Cubans — to points south of Luanda to hold off a combined FNLA-Unita advance.

GUNSHIPS

A fast-moving armoured column commanded by 1 500 former Portuguese officers and White mercenaries, is closing in on Luanda from Porto Amboim, 240km away. It is said to have armoured cars and helicopter gunships.

Diplomatic sources in the capital said the column was heading for Dondo, only 182km to the south east, where Luanda's hydro-electric control point is situated. Luanda would then be threatened on three sides.

Luanda Radio warned soldiers not to waste ammunition, in preparation for the coming siege. Artillery fire could be heard north of the city.

However, Luanda was generally calm, with life

ANGOLA

FROM PAGE 1

returning to normal yesterday.

The water supply, damaged by FNLA mortars on Monday, was restored, shops reopened and services were operating again.

Civilian MPLA police patrolled the city, Sapa-Reuter says. Western reporters were refused access to the front lines by the MPLA, although reporters from Eastern bloc countries were taken there.

Uganda's President Idi Amin yesterday claimed that Soviet-supplied arms had killed more than 30 000 Angolans since Portugal ended the colonial war.

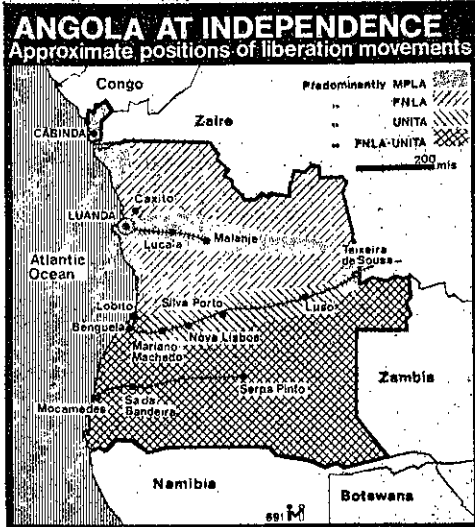
President Amin, who is chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, gave the death roll in a message sent to the United States, Britain and China. He expressed his gratitude and that of Africa for the three countries' "correct stand" on Angola.

Russia has said it will open an Embassy in Luanda and that staff will arrive soon.

Eastern European sources reported Cuban troops serving with the MPLA were regrouping closer to Luanda after withdrawing from positions near Novo Redondo.

From Accra it is reported that the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) has called on the United Nations to ensure that foreign troops quit Angola without delay.

TURN TO PAGE 2



Why stakes in Angola ⑤ are so high

Africa's two most disastrous wars have been in the Congo (now Zaire) and Nigeria, and the common denominator between them and Angola, which became independent of Portugal on Tuesday in the midst of a civil war is all too clear — they are the three richest black African states.

In the Cabinda enclave, both on and offshore, Angola has enormous oil wealth. America's Gulf Oil Company struck oil off Cabinda in 1966. Today output is 150 000 to 180 000 barrels a day with a projected peak of 300 000 barrels daily. In the south, Krupp of West Germany are mining iron ore at Cassinga, one of the world's richest known deposits, with Japan as the main customer.

And in the extreme north-east, near the town of Portugalia, there are diamonds, in which Harry Oppenheimer has a major interest: 27 claims covering 50 000 square kilometres yielded 2 400 000 carats in 1972 worth R48 million.

It was the late Portuguese dictator, Dr. Antonio Salazar, who in 1964 opened the door for the economic (and now political) scramble for Angola by allowing foreign investors into the colonies and remittances to be sent overseas.

The major Western investors have reason to fear what will happen if the communist-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which controls the capital, takes over all of Angola. On February 12 last year, ten weeks before the Portuguese coup, the

MPLA steering committee issued a press release naming eight foreign countries involved in oil extraction and 21 in prospecting. The statement bluntly said: "The MPLA states that with the inevitable independence of Angola all these companies which operate offshore or inland will be chased from our national territory and all their equipment and assets seized."

There have been reports that soldiers from Zaire have made incursions into the MPLA-controlled Cabinda enclave. Zaire admits that troops have gone to the border but denies that they have crossed it.

Yet it would be a serious error to see the struggle for Angola within the confines of economic interests.

Of equal, if not greater importance, is the geographical location of Angola. To the south there is a 1 700 kilometre border with South West Africa. To the north the border with Zaire is over 2 000 kilometres and General Mobutu Sese Seko, the main client of American assistance in Africa, has been working for more than a decade to prevent the MPLA coming to power.

American Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger also believes that it is imperative to prevent the MPLA from coming to power in Angola. The State Department and his own task force are known to be working on a new long-term African policy strategy paper.

Priorities are seen in three categories. The first includes South Africa and Nigeria, the second combines historical ties such as those with Ethiopia and Liberia with major economic interests including Angola and Zaire. The final category is limited to strategic interests including Kenya, Tanzania, Sudan, Somalia and Mozambique on the East African coastline where NATO countries fear Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean.

A few weeks ago Dr. Kissinger privately informed selected Senators that the Central Intelligence Agency was now covertly funding the MPLA's two rivals, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), which controls most of the south of the country, and the National Liberation Front (FNLA), whose support is rooted in the Bakongo tribe in the north-east and who have been supported for many years by General Mobutu. The money is being siphoned through the Zaire President to whom Kissinger is trying to persuade Congress to give a R50 million emergency aid infusion.

Unita and the FNLA, again through Zaire, are also known to be receiving considerable support from France. In July the French President, Giscard d'Estaing, visited Kinshasa. A source who travelled in his party claims General Mobutu indicated he intended to annex Cabinda and that the French leader agreed that in return for the enclave's oil he would supply weapons.

The final external factor in Zaire are the Chinese who have been arming the FNLA

and training the movement's officers. They came into the picture in 1973 at the request of some African leaders after the MPLA suffered a series of setbacks as a result of a Portuguese offensive on the eastern front and because of splits within the MPLA.

The Chinese were asked to support the FNLA at that time to prevent Portugal from transferring troops to the Mozambique war. But the indications are that China is embarrassed by its links with the FNLA and has not supplied any arms since last November.

Who comes to power in Angola is of considerable importance for Pretoria in terms of support for the South-West African Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO).

Russian support for the MPLA has already been well documented. They were the main suppliers of arms during the war to the MPLA although from 1971 there were difficulties and arms shipments did not resume on a large scale until May of this year after the FNLA pushed an estimated 10 000 troops into the country, including at least 4 000 into Luanda itself, from its bases in Zaire.

Smaller shipments of armaments have been sent to the MPLA by a number of

urers' Association
this letter returned.

Meeting or

African countries, including Mozambique and Tanzania, whose President, Julius Nyerere, after wavering towards Unita has decided to support only the MPLA while at the same time trying to bring about an agreement between them and Unita.

The prospect for the future remains very bleak. Neither Unita nor FNLA has any real control over mercenary columns in the south who are said to be led by former Portuguese officers who are members of ELP and English-speaking mercenaries.

Beyond that there remains the bitter legacy of hatred between the movements themselves. Their military wings in the war situation have assumed a dominating role over the political wings.

Yet if an agreement cannot be worked out, or does not hold, the war for Angola has the potential to turn Southern Africa into a new Indo-China. The protagonists have taken their places, committed themselves to the MPLA, or its rival coalition, and the longer the struggle continues the greater the dangers for Southern Africa. This is more than a war between rival Angolan movements; it has become a war of two worlds with differing ideologies. — OFNS

— David Martin

Mystery of White massacre

5
STAR 14/11/75

The Star's Africa
News Service
LUANDA — A report
that the MPLA this
week executed 200
Whites in Luanda
caused surprise when
it was heard here last
night on an SABC
newscast.

The news first came
from the SABC which said
an unnamed radio station
in Angola had broadcast
that the 200 Whites were
on an MPLA death list.
They were executed on
Wednesday and buried
yesterday, the station
alleged.

Another 600 Whites in
Sa da Bandeira were on
an MPLA roster of people
to be killed after inde-
pendence on Tuesday, but
the station gave no news
of their fate.

Shortly before indepen-
dence a number of MPLA
hotheads boasted one of
their first actions after
November 11 would be to
"kill the Portuguese."

But the MPLA is keen-
ly conscious of its inter-
national image, and ac-
tions of this kind are re-
garded as unlikely.

Reacting to the massacre
reports, a spokesman for

the Department of Foreign
Affairs said today there
was no way of finding out
how many South Africans
were still in the territory.

Since the independence
of Angola, South Africa
had had no contact with
any authority in the coun-
try. It was simply impos-
sible to tell whether any
South Africans remained
in the territory and what
had happened to them, he
said.

The consulate staff was
withdrawn some time ago
and South Africans were
advised at the time that
they should consider leav-
ing, he said.

CALL-UP

With a major battle for
Luanda imminent between
its MPLA defenders and
the forces of FNLA and
Unita, closing in from all
sides, the MPLA last night
began calling up civilians
to join its army.

The flying column of
FNLA, Unita and foreign
troops backed by armour
and, reportedly, helicopter
gunships which has swept
north towards Luanda from
Southern Angola has now
paused for reinforcements
and supplies about 400 km
from the city.

Inside Mail

5



Gunner's eye view from a Luanda roof

independence of war-torn Angola. ROGER SARGENT reports from Luanda.

This week saw the so-called WALKING along the Rua Guilherme Capelo, you pass the blue-faced apartment block just at the foot of a hill that runs up past rubbish-littered squares and red-tiled houses.

You can walk to the top of the hill, but you will have to go much higher to see it — the gun.

The gun went up on to the roof on Tuesday, taken there by a man preparing to withstand a siege as the sound of war came back along the wind to a city that lies waiting.

Meanwhile crowds in the square at the city hall listened to Dr Agostinho Neto/MPLA-proclaimed President of Angola talk of the victory that is to be in the war with rival liberation groups, FNLA and Unita. MPLA troops, the men Dr Neto says are "the national army of the Popular Republic of Angola" took the gun along

the Rua Guilherme Capelo. They passed the place where the kids ride battered bikes and play war games with wooden guns, and went up on to the roof, preparing for the war that is not a game.

From the sixteenth floor, you can see out across the sandpit that runs around Luanda's harbour and see the Atlantic roll in quiet and steady, washing clean the sand that until Monday evening had been Portuguese for 500 years.

You will see the same from the roof, but only MPLA now has the view from there.

The gun points towards the sky. Likely it will point towards the north, from where they expect FNLA to launch its offensive on the city and where they fear that the attack when it comes could be supported by aircraft supplied, and possibly flown by people from Zaire. — And that is why the gun is there —

MPLA's defence against aerial attack. There may be other guns on other roofs in the city — one will not be enough, you have to doubt that 20 will be enough.

Zaire has French Mirage fighters and if they come, they will come faster than the speed of sound. And they will not come from the north but from the east in the early morning or the west in the late afternoon.

And when you are sitting on a roof squinting into the sun looking for a speck that you will not see until it is overhead and gone, the reality of modern war may get through to you and you will know just how exposed you are.

The gun — and others like it — will not last long if the jets come, for they are manned by inexperienced men you will see mistreating the humblest rifle with no respect for the weapon. The gun may never be fired in defence

of the city, for it is on the ground, in the winding streets, reminiscent of Lisbon that the battle for Luanda, if it is fought, will be won.

It will be fought by the ragamuffin boy soldiers with boots that flop as they walk and who are wrapped in soldier suits tied up with string and wire.

As at Sa Da Bandeira, where MPLA fled it may be the grubby-faced urchins with Kalashnikovs, FNs and dubious shotguns, who will march out to fight the FNLA. They did it at Sa Da Bandeira and were slaughtered as they fired weapons they can barely carry.

On Tuesday, they stomped the streets, wheeling and drilling and the sweat was silver on their faces.

They believe in Neto and the MPLA the way children of their age — in other parts of the world — believe in Santa Claus.

Russian force lands at Luanda

Cape Times 15/11/75 (5)

Own Correspondent

LUANDA. — About 400 Russian military personnel — among them fighter pilots, tank crews and advisers — have arrived in Luanda to help the beleaguered MPLA Government to defend the capital against an expected three-pronged assault.

UPI quotes Eastern European diplomatic sources in the Angolan capital as saying the Russians disembarked in Luanda harbour on Thursday.

They would man tanks and MiG-21 jets and advise the MPLA on the best use of its 24,000-man army, the sources said.

There are already 2,400 Cubans stiffening the MPLA resistance to the pressure being applied on two fronts by its rivals, the FNLA and Unita.

The Africa Bureau reports that machine-gun posts were being mounted on the roofs of high buildings in Luanda yesterday as a fast-moving armoured

LUANDA. — Claims that Soviet combat troops had arrived in Luanda were denied here last night by a senior Russian correspondent. He said: "There are no Russian troops in Angola. Or certainly not at this stage." — Sapa-AP

column, led by White mercenaries, chased MPLA soldiers out of Porto Amboim, 240 km from Luanda.

The mercenaries, working with ex-Portuguese Army soldiers, are expected to divide their column in two. One section, using armoured cars and, it is reported, helicopter gunsh, is expected to take the coast road to Luanda, and the other to strike north-east to cripple Luanda's power supply at the town of Dondo.

Meanwhile the MPLA has dramatically announced that it will shoot any mercenaries who fall into its hands.

A senior Government spokesman told the Africa Bureau: "We are abiding by the Geneva Convention so far as ordinary prisoners are concerned. But we don't feel that this applies to mer-

Continued on page 2

Flying column's threat to Luanda

W/E ARGUS 15/11/75 (5)

From a Special Correspondent

LUANDA. — The flying column of FNLA, Unita and other troops which is one month has sliced dramatically through MPLA forces in Angola to turn the tables of civil war there, is now striking directly at the soft underbelly of Luanda itself, the MPLA's last major stronghold.

The column is 2000 strong, backed by nearly 60 armoured cars and at least one helicopter gunship, according to sources in the MPLA, whose troops have been rolled back like a carpet before this spearhead advance.

Meanwhile, Russian officials in Luanda have dismissed as 'nonsense' news agency reports that several hundred Russian servicemen had entered Luanda to fly MiG fighters and drive tanks for the MPLA.

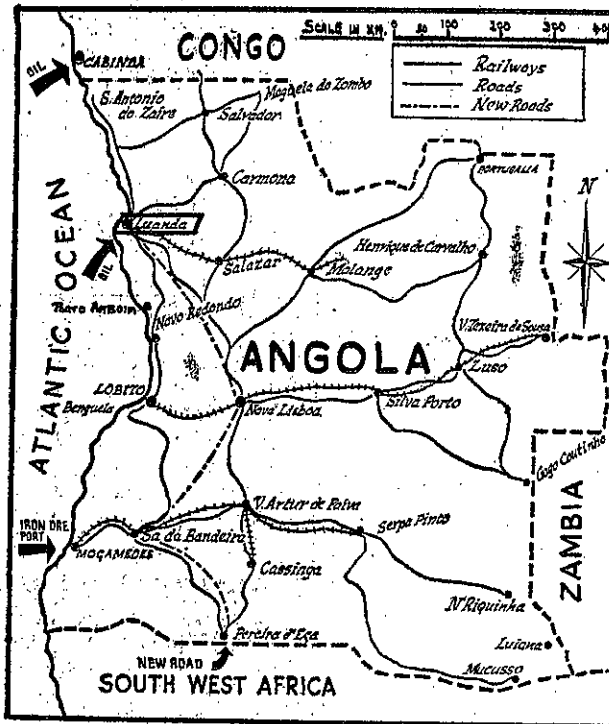
'If that were true, which it certainly is not, there would not be an MPLA retreat,' said one Soviet official here.

ARMoured

Until a month ago the Russians had sent only about 30 armoured cars to the MPLA, but the supply has been stepped up since then.

The Russians, however, discount reports of their tanks coming in, pointing out that except for the wheels, the difference between their tanks and armoured cars is not great to the untrained eye.

The cars they have sent are amphibious and have self-sealing tyres with a central pumping system inside the cars.



The Russians also deny unconfirmed reports that MiG fighters might be on their way to Luanda from Conakry in Guinea.

The FNLA-Unita column, in an astonishing drive

during four weeks, has advanced well over 1000 km, captured six towns, including five ports, and is now threatening the Cambambe Dam about 200 km south-east of Luanda near

Dondo — source of all Luanda's electricity from its hydro-electric station.

The column has already captured the port of Novo Redondo 492 km south of Luanda — to the shock of MPLA forces sent there to defend it after it had fallen.

And the column was given free passage through the next port, the small town of Porto Amboim, which has been totally evacuated except for one Portuguese who chose not to join 20 others taken off by a West German freighter.

MERCENARIES

According to MPLA sources, the column includes White soldiers from the right-wing Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP), former commandos with experience in Angola's 13-year independence war, and other mercenaries.

● The South African Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, who is in George for a meeting of the Afikaanse Sakekamer, was not prepared to comment this afternoon on any aspect of the present Angola situation. 'Closed shop' war in Angola. — Page 2.

Russians land to back MPLA

R.D.M. 15/11/75

(5)

LUANDA.

ABOUT 400 Russian military personnel — among them fighter pilots, tank crews and advisers — have arrived in Luanda, United Press International reported last night.

Eastern European diplomatic sources in the Angolan capital were quoted as saying the Russians would help the beleaguered MPLA defend Luanda against an expected three-pronged assault.

The sources said the Russians disembarked in Luanda harbour on Thursday. They would man tanks and MiG-21 jets and advise the MPLA on the best use of its 24 000-man army.

Sapa reports that airline sources in Johannesburg said Brazzaville airport in the Congo was closed to all flights to and from South Africa at midnight last night.

No reason was given for the closure, but informed sources speculated that the airport had been closed at the request of the Russians, who were planning to airlift troops through Brazzaville to fight in Angola.

Only two airlines are affected by the closure, UTA and KLM. Spokesmen for both airlines confirmed that their last flights through Brazzaville landed there last night.

Pressure

There are already 2 400 Cubans stiffening the MPLA resistance to the pressure being applied on two fronts by its rivals, the FNLA and Unita.

The "Mail" Africa Bureau reports that machine-gun posts were being mounted on the roofs of high buildings in Luanda yesterday as a fast-moving armoured column, led by White mercenaries, chased MPLA soldiers out of Porto Amboim, 240 km from Luanda.

The mercenaries, working with ex-Portuguese Army soldiers, are expected to divide their column in two. One section, using armoured cars and, it is reported, helicopter gunships, is expected to take the coast road to Luanda; the other is expected to strike northeast to cripple Luanda's power supply at the town of Dondo.

Meanwhile, the MPLA has announced it would shoot any mercenaries who fell into its hands.

A senior government spokesman told the "Mail" Africa Bureau: "We are abiding by the Geneva Convention so far as ordinary prisoners are concerned. But we don't feel that this applies to mercenaries. It is very important that we stamp them out."

He added: "If a man is a mercenary, White or Black, he must face the consequences."

Like its rivals, the MPLA has many Whites fighting for it, but they are not regarded as mercenaries, but as "dedicated revolutionaries."

Alleged involvement by mercenaries from South Africa is believed to be one reason for the continued detention in a Luanda prison of South African journalist, Mr Chris van der Merwe.

The government spokesman said Mr Van der Merwe's case was under review. If he was found to be "purely a journalist" he would be released and flown out of Angola.

Writing

"We believe he was doing additional work to that of writing for his newspaper," the spokesman said.

The spokesman denied an SABC report that 200 Whites had been shot by a firing squad in Luanda.

Both the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Brand Fourie, and Mr Chris van der Merwe's father, said last night they had been informed the Johannesburg journalist had already been released. Newsmen in Luanda, however, say he is still in prison.

● Top South African Defence Force personnel yesterday said they had received reports about the arrival of the Russian contingent in Luanda, but declined to comment.

AFRICA

LONDON — In addition to all the other uncertainties looming over Angola there are particular question marks poised above each of the rival governments — the Peoples Republic down on the coast in Luanda and the Peoples Democracy up in the interior at Huambo, formerly Nova Lisboa.

The doubt hanging over the heads of the MPLA regime in Luanda is as material a one as one might expect to find brooding above an administration led by such a fervent dialectical materialist as Dr Aghostinho Neto, Africa's latest president.

His major worry is food and water.

He can no doubt still get a great deal of coffee from areas where his writ runs but his water supply is terribly exposed and could become disrupted again.

A great deal of fish is caught off the Angolan coast and dried.

But a diet of dried fish and coffee beans is not one on which a victorious army can be sustained however many ferocious Russian weapons and Cuban advisers it may have. Obviously the troops of the new Peoples Republic

MPLA can't live on coffee and dried fish

must try to seize as much as possible of the main areas of rich agricultural land that their opponents now hold.

The 500 000 people in Luanda itself will certainly soon be urging them to do so as swiftly as possible.

For the leaders of the FNLA and Unita at Huambo the question is a more spiritual one — how much do they really trust one another and how long can their unity last.

Certainly Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi is a patriot, an African socialist of considerable conviction and a believer in constitutional rather than military solutions.

His opposite number at the head of the FNLA, Holden Roberto (born Jose Gilmore) is an ambitious opportunist and a businessman as much as a politician.

While Savimbi and that recent FNLA recruit from the

MPLA, Daniel Chipenda are both emotionally connected with the numerous Ovimbundu people, Roberto is a mulatto and probably not as deeply attached to the Bakongo relatives from whom he draws his strength.

Savimbi and Roberto have fallen out before, a decade ago when they both belonged to the FNLA and they could break up again.

There was a fracas among the two sets of troops of the Huambo regime on independence night — although celebrating troops do tend to get into fights — and this also raises doubts, however faint.

Confronting the common enemy should keep the alliance cemented but what happens when it wins. The MPLA propagandists will no doubt play upon this for all they are worth.

Apart from the provision of instruments of destruction the main international struggle for the minds and hearts of the Angolans or such Angolans as survive this global concern is at present centred on the OAU.

This battered continental body, at a moment when it could be said to have reached its lowest point in both African and world esteem, has suddenly been given a boost towards influence and respectability.

And it is being led in this miraculous recovery of prestige, amazingly enough by its present chairman, President Idi Amin of Uganda, the man who more than any other symbolised its moral and political decline.

Only a month ago he was abusing his position as chairman and making sense of an OAU resolution by giving strong support at the United Nations for the extreme Arab position by calling for the extinction of Israel.

Obviously the Russians believed that an OAU chairman who could be as

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• A crowd watches a jubilant MPLA soldier brandish his rifle during independence celebrations in Luanda.

casual about the organisa-
tion's resolutions as all that
would go any distance in dis-
regarding the responsibilities
of his office.

But this was a crude mis-
calculation which stung Presi-
dent Amin, into total revolt
against them.

The Soviet Foreign Office
either totally or insultingly
disregarded the devoted ef-
forts that the Ugandan leader
had been making to carry out
his job as Africa's chairman.

He was doing all he could do
to give effect to the OAU's
recognition of all three
Angolan nationalist move-
ments and its orders that they
should be reconciled.

When the Russian envoy
made the request that Presi-
dent Amin simply forget all
this and go ahead and
recognise the MPLA as the

sole legitimate government of
Angola, that bulky potentate
was almost as astounded as he
was furious.

He said of the bearer of the
bit of gratuitous Russian ad-
vice: "I thought the man was
suffering from an overdose of
vodka".

When he realised that the
Russians were suffering from
an overdose of arrogance and
said so in his accustomed
forceful language, the Soviet
Republic had really no alter-
native but to recall its ambas-
sador and some hundreds of
military advisers.

Unkind observers in Dar es
Salaam, capital of Uganda's
hostile neighbour, Tanzania,
refused to believe that Presi-
dent Amin's motives for this
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MORE JOIN UP TO FIGHT THE MPLA

Sun-Express

16/11/75

5

By GORDON
WINTER

ANOTHER 20 men were recruited in Johannesburg this week to join 150 already fighting on the side of the FNLA and Unita in the Angolan war.

None of the men is South African.

At least three of those previously recruited in Johannesburg were reported to have been killed in battles for the ports of Lobito and Benguela last weekend.

A Portuguese general is due in Johannesburg soon to have talks with the secret group recruiting local Portuguese for the war.

He is General Carlos Galvao de Melo, who is MP for the rightwing CDS Party (Central Democrats).

General De Melo played a major part in the April coup. He resigned as a senior member of the seven-man military junta when General Spínola fled to Brazil.

Rightwing Portuguese in South Africa and Angola worship the general. They say he is the man they would vote into power if the present Portuguese Government was toppled.

The reason for General De Melo's visit to South Africa has not been revealed.

He is expected to contact well-known Portuguese exiles now living in Johannesburg.

He also hopes to talk with the ringleaders of the underground movement which, as disclosed by the Express last Sunday, is recruiting local Portuguese to fight in Angola against the Marxist MPLA movement.

One of the men who died in Angola last week was Mr J. Mitra, 41, an Angolan en-

gineer who was recruiting men in Hillbrow less than one month ago.

Another Portuguese known to be fighting in Angola is the legendary Commandant Daniel Roxa, who was a thorn in the side of Frelimo in Mozambique.

He left Johannesburg six weeks ago and is now leading a column of armoured cars against the capital, Luanda.

Also fighting in Angola

are members of the underground Portuguese Liberation Army which is said to be responsible for the recent spate of bomb explosions in Lisbon.

The PLA is at present operating from a secret headquarters in Madrid, Spain.

They are said to be in touch with the mystery group in Johannesburg, which is recruiting men for battle in Angola.

Fate of reporter still in balance

16/11/75

Express Correspondent

LUANDA. — A South African journalist Mr Chris van der Merwe, of the Sunday Times, is still being held in a mosquito-ridden children's schoolroom in Luanda. His future lies in the balance.

According to an MPLA spokesman, Mr Van der Merwe's case is being reviewed and he now seems to face two alternatives—almost immediate release or trial by a People's Court.

Mr Van der Merwe and the Rand Daily Mail's Mr Roger Sargent flew into Luanda nearly three weeks ago and were hauled out of bed at gunpoint at the Tivoli Hotel at 3 am on the night of their arrival by military police of FAPLA, the MPLA's military wing.

Mr Sargent was released this week. The director of information, Dr Luis D'Almeida, told me today that Mr Van der Merwe's case was being reviewed by security.

When I told him that Van der Merwe was a known journalist, he replied: "It was suspected that he may have been doing something in addition to being a journalist. We have to be very very careful."

MiG air blitz thre

16/11/75

Sunday Times
Correspondent

LUSAKA, Saturday.

AN AIR WAR over Angola — what could be a blitz by Soviet-supplied MiG-21 fighters and bombers in support of the beleaguered MPLA holding the capital, Luanda — is expected to start at any moment.

Mr Jorge Sangumba, Unita Foreign Minister, said today that a force of Soviet MiG-21s has been deployed to Congo-Brazzaville, well within striking distance of Angolan targets. Others are being added from the big Russian base in Guinea-Conakry. Algerian, Cuban and

fly the MiGs in combat missions over territory held by Unita and the FNLA.

While concerned about the huge Russian intervention now taking place on behalf of the MPLA, the combined Unita and FNLA forces are optimistic that their ascendancy over the MPLA can be maintained.

The joint command has much weaponry at its disposal but has difficulty in some Russian pilots would

finding soldiers able to operate it. Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, has admitted that "White advisers" are serving with the Unita-FNLA forces.

Russia is reported to have sent 400 technicians to Brazzaville to service the MiGs and to train MPLA troops in the use of the weapons it has given in massive aid, including Sam-7 rockets.

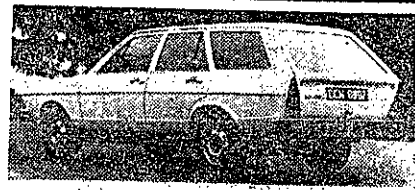
However, by this weekend MPLA leader Dr Ag-

ostinho Neto was president of a smaller part of Angola than he had been when he was sworn in on Tuesday.

His rivals, Dr Savimbi, of Unita, and Holden Roberto, of FNLA, had proclaimed their own government and militarily expanded their sphere of control.

The most serious MPLA setback came on Thursday when they lost the port of Nova Redondo, 482 km south of Luanda, to a column spearheaded by mer-

**R25 000
must be
won!**



**AND
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See
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at in Angola

**Mercenaries
fly to join
FNLA**

centuries. The column which in chides Portuguese former soldiers who are members of the Portuguese Liberation Army (ELA) and English-speaking mercenaries, have covered 1,064 km from the south.

Commander Juyu of the MPLA admitted that his army had offered little resistance because they did not have the weapons to fight a column equipped with 64 armoured cars.

The column is now heading for Dondo which supplies Luanda's electricity. This will threaten the area which supplies the bulk of Luanda's food and thereafter their next target may be Salazar which would cut the MPLA forces in two.

Overseas newspapers and news agencies are today publishing reports alleging significant new developments in Angola and earlier this week British TV viewers heard a reporter make certain allegations in connection with the civil war.

However, the Government, using its powers under the Defence Act, has refused to allow South African newspapers to publish anything about these reports.

MERCENARIES. From South Africa are being flown to Sa da Bandeira, Angola, to join the Unita-FNLA forces attacking the Moscow-backed MPLA holding Luanda. They are being flown from the Rand Airport, Germiston, in a Portuguese-owned aircraft. The last flight left on Friday night. It is believed the flights have been taking place for at least a week. Most of the mercenaries recruited are Portuguese, but some are former South African and foreign Congo mercenaries.

ANGOLA

THERE IS NAUGHT for South Africa's comfort in the situation in Angola. Even if the combined FNLA-Unita forces, with their White mercenaries and foreign backers, defeat the Russian-supported MPLA, the continuing instability in that country is bound to affect Southern Africa for years to come.

This is the legacy of Portuguese colonialism: a chaotic scramble by up to 400 000 Portuguese to get out of Angola, and a civil war between Blacks.

Angola is a disgraceful finale to the history of colonialism in Africa. In 500 years the Portuguese did nothing to create a common society: they made no attempt to unite the Blacks (to say nothing of uniting Blacks and Whites), they founded no common institutions to promote national consensus and they prepared nobody for the eventual transference of power.

If there is one overriding lesson to be learnt from Angola, it is that a country that does not prepare itself adequately for a transition from a power monopoly to power sharing is asking for trouble. This is the lesson Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa should all have learnt by heart by now.

The lesson of decolonisation in Africa has been that the longer that change is delayed and the less preparation is made for it, the more radical — and traumatic — it becomes. This is what happened in Mozambique: tens of thousands of Portuguese fled, leaving their possessions behind. The Angolan exodus has been even more tragic.

Movement

Are the Whites of South West Africa reading the warning signs from Angola? Some of them, apparently, are. Like Mr Dirk Mudge. But others, apparently, are not. Like Mr Jannie de Wet, who still tries to foist an Odenaal-type solution on South West Africa.

The hopeful factor in South West Africa is that, at least, there is movement on the scene. The constitutional conferences in Windhoek look unwieldy, and the spectacle of scores of officials working among the 90 000 Whites as political evangelists to prepare them for change raises smiles; but it all may lead somewhere.

The trouble is — will it lead there fast enough?

South West Africa's only real guarantee against guerrilla incursions from the Angolan side is to stabilise relations between its ethnic groups.

The White South-Westerners saw what happened to the Portuguese in Angola. They saw them pouring

across the border in South West Africa with their possessions loaded into any vehicle they could find with four wheels. Nobody foresees South-Westerners themselves cramming their possessions into a Mercedes and rushing for the South African border; but an exodus, whatever form it takes, is always a painful experience.

Not ready

Mr Ian Smith's Rhodesian supporters should be even more concerned about the future. For 10 years they have managed to evade a settlement. They turned down Tiger and Fearless, and now they are frittering away their last chance — the opportunity provided by Mr Vorster's detente policy.

A feeling is growing among the four Black Presidents who sponsored detente and a Rhodesian settlement (Kaunda, Nyerere, Khama and Machel) that Mr Smith is still not ready to settle, and that some bloodletting may be necessary to bring him to the conference table. There is talk of unleashing the impatient Black guerrillas in Mozambique and Tanzania.

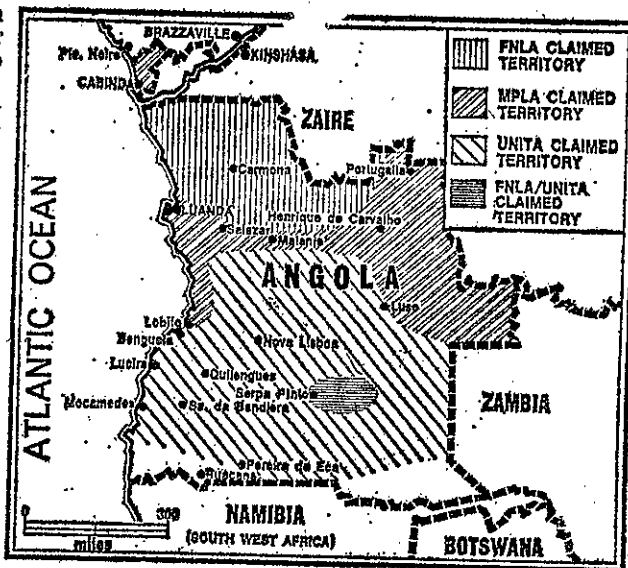
Is such a clinically precise operation possible, though? Would the four Presidents be able to stop a guerrilla war at will, once it had restarted? There are so many imponderables in the situation: if a bush war flares up again, could that be the end of detente, and the plunging of Southern Africa into a bitter and unending race war?

One of the most disturbing things about Angola is the way the three great ideologies of the world — Russian, Chinese and Western — are meeting there in conflict. As the chart on this page shows, Russia,

Sun Times 16/11/75

By STANLEY UYS

Naught for your comfort



HOW THE FOREIGN POWERS LINE UP

UNITA	FNLA	MPLA
USA	CHINA*	RUSSIA*
CHINA	USA*	PORTUGAL*
PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL*	(Left Wing)
BRITAIN	(Right Wing)	CUBA*
ZAIRES	BRITAIN	BRITAIN
NIGERIA	FRANCE	ALGERIA*
GHANA	SOUTH AFRICA	CONGO P.R.*
ETHIOPIA	ZAIRES*	LIBYA*
SENEGAL	NIGERIA	MOROCCO
CAMEROON	GHANA	MOZAMBIQUE*
KENYA	TUNISIA	GUINEA REP.*
SUDAN	DAHOMAY	GUINEA BISSAU*
LIBERIA	ETHIOPIA	TANZANIA*
IVORY COAST		

Neutral: ZAMBIA. Undecided: EGYPT, UGANDA.

*Active support.

the communist world and a dozen or so Black states are backing the MPLA; the United States, Britain, France and South Africa are backing FNLA-Unita — and so is China, through hostility to Russia. Angola has split the OAU, too, down the middle.

Has there been any other occasion in the decolonisation of Africa where the rest of the world have closed in so desperately to protect what they believe to be their strategic and economic interests? There must be a moral in this somewhere. It's almost

neo-colonialism. Is it that the Marxist struggle in Africa is sharpening?

For South Africa there should be a particular lesson in the civil war in Angola. If the Portuguese, for example, when they entered the great Congo kingdom at the river mouth in the 15th century, had continued to recognise it as an established state — it was the core, after all, of a homogeneous nation with its own social, economic and political institutions — would today's tribal problems in Angola, Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville have arisen?

Then there is the factor that, when anti-colonial opposition manifested itself in Angola from 1961 onwards, it tended to polarise around three ethnic catalysts: the Bakongo centred on Roberto Holden's F N L A, the Mbundu centred on Agostinho Neto's MPLA, and the Ovimbundu centred on Jonas Savimbi's Unita. Yet each group had to attempt to gain power over the whole country.

In South Africa the whole thrust of separate development is not only towards reinforcing tribal divisions, but to creating independent tribal states. If the policy works, and these tribal states are happy to live within their tribal boundaries, all will be well.

But if it fails, and they begin a scramble for South Africa, the chaos could be unimaginable. Then South Africa would have repeated the error of the Portuguese in Angola — of throwing up several claimants to a common territory. It could be calamitous.

Separate development really is a gamble. It's what punters call going for broke.



Flying gunship blasts Luanda defenders

SUN. TRIB
16/11/75

(5)

Tribune Africa News Service

THE FLYING COLUMN of FNLA, Unita and other troops which in one month has sliced dramatically through MPLA forces in Angola to turn the tables of civil war there, is now striking directly at the soft underbelly of Luanda itself, the MPLA's last major stronghold.

But now the column is 2 000 strong and is backed by nearly 60 armoured cars and at least one helicopter gunship, according to sources in the MPLA, whose troops have been rolled back like a carpet before this spearhead advance.

In an astonishing attack during four weeks, the column has advanced well over 1 000 kilometres, captured six towns, including five ports, and is now threatening the Cambambe dam, roughly 200 kilometres south-east of Luanda near Dondo, source of all Luanda's electricity.

The column has already captured the port of Novo Redondo, 492 kilometres south of Luanda — to the shock of MPLA forces sent there to defend it after it had fallen.

And they gave free passage through the small town of Porto Amboim, which has been totally evacuated except for one Portuguese who chose not to join 20 others taken off by a West German freighter.

The Luanda-based commander of the army of the Peoples Republic of Angola claims the colonel commanding the column is a South African.

Commander Juju, a short, stocky bearded White Angolan, said in an interview that three captured Portuguese soldiers said under interrogation that they had been recruited in Salisbury and Johannesburg.

Two of the four prisoners — the fourth is a Zairian — are in hospital.

According to MPLA sources, the column also includes White soldiers from the right-wing Portuguese liberation army (ELP), former commandos with experience in Angola's 13-year independence war, and other South African mercenaries.

The MPLA, whose forces have been retreating rapidly from the south into Luanda, say that only eight of the original 26 cannon-mounted armoured cars in the column were destroyed by them.

This admission lends credence to their theory that the vehicles have been fitted with a device which nullifies the MPLA anti-tank missiles. The original column has been reinforced by another 38 armoured combat vehicles.

Until today the MPLA's "Peoples Republic Government", which announced UDI on Tuesday night, has not admitted setbacks and the Luanda population has not yet been told of the loss of the strategic port of Lobito. The crunch for Luanda is coming against a background of mounting big power involvement.

Uneasy

Russia is pouring equipment in through Luanda and America and other powers, including neighbouring Zaire are supplying the FNLA and UNITA forces who are combined in an uneasy alliance against the MPLA.

Intelligence reports from Lisbon, quoted by the Washington Post, say that Russia has sent some 200 of its big T-54 tanks into Angola, most into the oil-rich Cabinda enclave.

Soviet officials in Luanda have dismissed as "nonsense" news agency reports that several hundred Russian servicemen have entered Luanda to fly Mig fighters and drive tanks for the MPLA.

"If that were true, which it certainly is not, there would not be an MPLA retreat," said one official.

Reds in Angola a 'warning to SA'

Nov 17/11/75

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John Patten,
Political Correspondent
Direct Russian involvement in Angola was a warning to South Africa to maintain her preparedness and her military deterrent, the United Party's chief defence spokesman, Mr Vause Raw, said today.

With Angola in danger of developing into another Vietnam, communist efforts on both the east and west coasts of Africa were creating a

threat to the Cape sea route and to all the countries of Southern Africa, he said.

Mr Raw was reacting to developments in Angola in which Russia has emerged as being a backer in arms and men of the MPLA in Luanda while at the same accusing South Africa of being involved in Angola.

POLICY

Mr Raw said of Russian allegations that South African policy was to defend South Africa, not to move against any other country.

"In the Angolan situation, I do not see any immediate threat of direct aggression against South Africa other than the terrorist operations we have been experiencing, but what I do see is an overall threat to the security of the sea-routes off Southern Africa," Mr Raw said.

This could affect all countries in the sub-continent. If the Russians established bases of influence across the whole of central Africa, this could also be a real threat to South Africa's detente efforts.

South Africa's military deterrent had to be strong, but he saw it still essentially as a deterrent to prevent any escalation into war or the resort to irresponsible adventures.

Mr Raw added that South Africa would not involve itself in Angola, because the Republic's credibility rested on its undertaking that it had no territorial ambitions.

(See Page 29)

PS 23.9.1975

SA troops on guard in Angola — Muller

5

ltw 17/11/75

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Reports by British journalists of South African soldiers and equipment seen many miles into Angola were purely speculative and to allow their reproduction in the South African Press could serve no purpose and might cause worry.

SA accused of Angolan 'hypocrisy'

Own Correspondent
MUNICH — The Soviet Union has accused South African Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller and his Government of "political hypocrisy" in their approach to the Angolan crisis.

The official Soviet news agency Tass, in a commentary monitored here, picked out a recent statement by Dr Muller in which he said that South Africa accepted the independence of Angola.

"Is not this an example of political hypocrisy?" Tass asked. It accused South Africa of launching an "armed aggression" against Angola on the eve of its independence.

Tass claimed: "The aim of the aggression was to prevent the emergence of an independent Angola, to partition the country, using for the purpose the secessionist organisation of the FNLA, operating in the country's South, and to capture the enviable natural resources of Angola."

This was the response of the South African Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller, when he was harried by a series of questions about reports of South African military involvement in Angola after he had addressed a joint meeting of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Royal African Society at Chatham House here yesterday.

One questioner after another threw at Dr Muller the reports that White men with South African accents and South African planes and armoured cars had been seen by British journalists in Angola.

It was started by Mr Ben Whittaker, former Labour MP. How many South Africans were fighting in Angola? He wanted to know.

CONFIRM

Dr Muller said he wanted to confirm what other members of his Government had said, "there are no South African forces in Angola."

A Financial Times reporter brought the subject back. There were a number of well-substantiated reports that South African men and equipment had been seen 500 miles into Angola.

Name (optional)

Test marks to date (1, 2 + 2, 3)

Degree for which registered

1. (a) Listed below are the various sub-courses given this year. We ask you to evaluate each sub-course in terms of the extent to which it enhanced your understanding of the basic principles and issues involved. Circle: 1. not at all 2. little 3. average 4. markedly 5. very greatly

Basic Microeconomics	1	2	3	4	5
Principles of Distribution	1	2	3	4	5
Macroeconomics	1	2	3	4	5
Money, Banking/Public Sector Economics	1	2	3	4	5
International Economics	1	2	3	4	5

(b) Please comment on those particularly liked or disliked

2. (a) We ask you to evaluate each

(A) delivery (voice, use of black

(B) clarity of material presented

(C) course organisation (outlines, references, etc.)

Circle: 1. very poor 2. poor 3. average 4. good 5. very good

Thomas	1	2	3	4	5
Kenny	1	2	3	4	5
Ehrlich	1	2	3	4	5

CONSPIRACY

Tass said Dr Müller's statement declaring recognition of Angolan independence "serves only as a cover for an imperialist conspiracy against the people of Angola."

The "racist intervention" was directed against the Moscow-backed MPLA, which Tass described as the "truly patriotic movement for the Liberation of Angola."

Tass claimed the MPLA was facing "an evil alliance of secessionists and White mercenaries, intensively supported by western monopolies and intelligence services of imperialist states."

Dr Müller tried again. Perhaps he should have said in reply to the earlier question, he said, that there were South African troops in Angola but that was no secret. They were there to defend the labourers, equipment and water supply from the Kunene River to Ovambo-land.

The Portuguese had been aware of their presence. It was a joint hydro-electric scheme.

South African planes had also been used to transport refugees from Angola.

In terms of the Defence Act it had been decided not to permit the South African Press to participate in this speculation.

It could have served no purpose, and might have caused worry.

in terms of:

No S.A. troops in Luanda war

SEN 17/11/75

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LUSAKA — White soldiers fighting alongside Unita troops in Angola were not South African but Portuguese the Unita office here reported.

"Both radio and Press have been presented with false reports that White South African soldiers were fighting alongside Unita," said a statement issued here by Unita.

"These reports are untrue and carry no background. It is very wrong to publish reports from unreliable sources and forward them to the Press and radio without confirmation."

It was important to remember that many White Portuguese born in Angola regarded themselves as Angolan and "had joined the liberation movements" the statement said.

"These White Angolans are now mistaken to be South African."

If there was "too much lying propaganda through the Press the Angolan people will lose faith in the entire progress of their country."

The statement also denied reports that the Unita leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi had visited the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, in Pretoria.

Dr. Holden Roberto, president of the FNLA, appealed to President Amin in his capacity as chairman of the OAU for the backing of all African States.

The FNLA has combined forces with Unita to attack the MPLA which controls Luanda.

"We are the responsible movements having effective control of nearly all the territory of all the true Angolan people," Dr. Roberto told President Amin in his message.

The Angolan Revolution Council and a National Union Government would lead the country, maintain its territorial integrity and restore peace.

In Pretoria the Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, last night reacted to the allegations by Russia that South Africa was interfering in Angola.

In a statement to Sapa, he said that as far as the Republic of South Africa was concerned, it was defending those borders for which it was responsible.

He could see no reason why he should reply to "the accusations of the self-convicted."

The Minister said: "Russia itself has said that it is interfering in Angola by recognising one of the combatant groups, namely the MPLA, and by the large scale supply of armaments."

"It is therefore certainly not necessary for me to reply to the accusations of the self-convicted."

The Minister referred to what he had said in Bellville, namely that Communism was making a military attack on Southern Africa in a bid to enslave the territory, and added:

"If the countries of Southern Africa wish to remain free, they, collectively and separately, will have to ward off this danger."

"As far as the Republic of South Africa is concerned — we are busy defending the borders for which we are responsible."

From Moscow Reuter reports that the Soviet Union and the Luanda-based Government of the MPLA have announced their decision to establish diplomatic relations at embassy level.

The Soviet Union recognised the Government by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) last Tuesday, the day the new nation gained its independence from Portugal. — (Sapa-Reuter.)

D.D.
18/11/75
Unita

isolate

MPLA

airfield

LUSAKA — Allied African nationalist forces opposed to the Marxist MPLA reported last night they had captured a strategic junction town east of Luanda and isolated the airfield.

Officials of Unita, the pro-Western nationalist movement which is leading the fight against the MPLA, said the iron ore mining town of Malange had fallen to advancing armoured columns of its soldiers.

This effectively divides in two the narrow corridor of the territory held by the Luanda-based "People's Republic."

More important, however, is that it cuts off direct road communications between the diamond town of Henrique de Cavalho, which boasts the best military airstrip in Angola and which observers believe was most likely to be used as a base for Soviet air operations in Angola.

Henrique de Cavalho would have been especially useful to the MPLA-Soviet axis because it would have placed the limited-range Migs within better striking distance of strongpoints held by Unita and the other rival nationalist movement, the FNLA.

Meanwhile, Western diplomatic sources in Lusaka said yesterday they believed Moscow was prepared to commit everything short of nuclear weapons to the MPLA cause.

They said latest intelligence reports confirmed the massive scope of Russian intervention and that this indicated the depth of the Soviet support for the MPLA.

Equally, however, the sources said it was clear the Unita-FNLA allied forces were also receiving substantial support for their cause and that thus far they had been able to match the Soviet intervention weapon for weapon. — DDC.

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Cape Times 18/1/75

Loss of town splits MPLA territory

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA. — Allied African nationalist forces opposed to the Marxist MPLA last night reported they had captured a strategic junction town east of Luanda and isolated the airfield.

Officials of Unita, the pro-Western nationalist movement which is leading the fight against the MPLA, said the iron-ore mining town of Malange had fallen to advancing armoured columns of its soldiers. This effectively divides in two the narrow corridor of territory held by the Luanda-based "People's Republic".

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Henrique de Carvalho would have been especially useful to the MPLA-Soviet axis because it would have placed limited-range MiGs within better striking distance of strongpoints held by Unita and the other rival nationalist movement, the FNLA.

In Washington yesterday, former Portuguese President Antonio de Spínola called on the West to support militarily anti-Soviet forces fighting for control of Angola, Sapa-teuter reported.

● Unita yesterday accused Dr Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, of enslaving himself to the Soviet Union. Unita said in a statement Dr Neto had "accepted the Soviet view of Africans as slaves".

Muller on 'speculating' reports on Angola

The Argus Bureau

LONDON. — Reports by British journalists of South African soldiers and equipment seen many miles in Angola were purely speculative and to allow their reproduction in the South African Press could serve no purpose and might cause worry.

This was the response of the South African Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller, when he was harried by a series of questions

about reports of South African military involvement in Angola after he had addressed a joint meeting of the Royal Institute of

International Affairs and the Royal African Society at Chatham House here yesterday

Questioners also wanted to know why the news was kept from the pages of South African newspapers. Dr Muller's replies obviously did not satisfy his questioners who returned again and again to the subject during a half-hour question session.

It was started by Mr Ben Whittaker, former Labour MP. How many South Africans were fighting in Angola? he wanted to know.

Dr Muller said he wanted to confirm what other members of his Government had said, there are no South African forces in Angola.

REPORTS

A Financial Times reporter brought the subject back. There were several reports, he said, that South African men and equipment had been seen 800 km into Angola and the strict censorship in South Africa strengthened suspicions.

Dr Muller said that perhaps he should have said in reply to the earlier question, that there were South African troops in Angola, but that was no secret. They were there to defend the labourers, equipment and water supply from the Kunene River to Ovamboland.

The Portuguese had been aware of their presence. They had agreed that the South Africans would stay until the Portuguese could take over. It was a joint hydro-electric scheme.

South African planes had also been used to transport refugees from Angola to South Africa.

CHARGES

The charges that there were South African forces in Angola had been made in the first instance and primarily by Russian spokesmen and here he would say that those in glass houses should not throw stones.

There had been much speculation and confusion about what exactly was happening. Some South African pressmen had been in trouble and they did not know how reliable these reports were. In terms of the Defence Act it had been decided not to permit the South African Press to participate in this speculation. It could have served no purpose and might have caused worry. This produced some scattered laughter.

After an almost equally sticky exchange about political prisoners — Dr Muller said there were none in South Africa — Mr Patrick Keatley of The Guardian returned to the attack.

CENSORSHIP

He quoted from a South African newspaper which protested at the censorship which stopped reproduction of the reports in South Africa. Will you tell us what it is you want to hide? Mr Keatley asked.

Dr Muller said the reports were all based on speculation and no purpose would have been served in having them repeated in the South African newspapers.

After one more break a young woman returned to the attack. Would Dr Muller say that the British reporters who had written of South Africans in the Unita column were Soviet agents? she asked.

Dr Muller said he did not know but he would not have thought this was so.

NYERERE

Asked whether he would see President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania who was on a visit to London Dr Muller said nothing has been planned about that.

Dr Muller earlier had an hour-long discussion with Mr James Callaghan the British Foreign Secretary.

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ARGUS
19/11/75

SA involvement in Angola denied

D. D. 19/11/75



The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, flanked by special branch men, arrives to deliver an address on detente in Southern Africa. He was greeted by a small group of demonstrators.

LONDON — South Africa's Foreign Minister, Dr Hilgard Muller, yesterday denied reports of South African troop involvement in the Angolan civil war.

He also warned that time was running out for a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia and issued one of his direst warnings yet of "unmitigated disaster" for Southern Africa unless peaceful solutions to its problems could be found.

Addressing the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Dr Muller was several times questioned by reporters and other members of the audience on a spate of British press reports alleging that South African troops were involved in the war against the Marxist MPLA in Angola.

Dr Muller said these reports were "speculation" which South Africa ignored. He reiterated the government's denial of the reports and said the allegation had been made primarily by a Russian spokesman.

He added: "There are

South African troops in Angola, but that is no secret. They are there to defend labourers, equipment and the water supply from the Cunene River.

He also admitted the presence of South African aircraft in Angola, but said these had been used to transport refugees from the country.

Questioned about South Africa's censorship of reports about South African troops in Angola, Dr Muller said there had been "a lot of confusion and a lot of speculation about what is happening in Angola."

Some South African press men had even landed in trouble and in terms of the Defence Act it had been thought "advisable" to ensure that the South African press did not participate in this speculation.

It could have a serious effect on the inhabitants of Ovambo and the neighbouring areas. Dr Muller said these reports "could not have served any purpose other than to upset people unnecessarily."

Questioned about Soviet involvement in Angola, Dr Muller said according to reports the Soviet Union was "interfering" in the former Portuguese territory and that if the Russians got a foothold there it would constitute a threat to Africa, the South

Atlantic and the Cape sea route.

Referring to Rhodesia, Dr Muller said the discussions currently being undertaken by Mr Smith and Mr Nkombo, leader of the internal faction of the ANC, were of the "utmost importance."

Time was running out for a peaceful settlement. "We hope they will soon arrive at a settlement which will be acceptable to their own people and also to others who have an interest in the future of Rhodesia."

Referring to South Africa's detente policy, Dr Muller said recent events in Southern Africa had undoubtedly made the need for peaceful solutions more pressing.

Violence in Southern Africa would lead to unmitigated disaster for all the people of the sub-continent. Once unleashed it would not easily be contained. We would not be dealing with a desultory guerilla war, but an all-out struggle for survival.

"Southern Africa could be devastated and only the jackals — of both animal and human varieties — would prosper."

Dr Muller's address was picketed by about 30 demonstrators.

He later met his British counterpart, Mr James Callaghan, for talks lasting one hour. — SAPA.

Aim of detente, page 5.

(5)

New troops

See 19/11/75

as town

Lusaka

Several hundred troops have been flown into Nova Lisboa to reinforce the FNLA and Unita attack on the diminishing MPLA-controlled sector of Angola.

More troops are expected, and arms and equipment continue to arrive by air to put more muscle into the allied onslaught closing in on the MPLA stronghold of Luanda.

The Unita office here has announced that its forces have captured Malanje just over 400 km east of Luanda.

If true, this means that the allies have effectively sliced the MPLA.

The main east road vital to the MPLA effort outside Luanda runs through Malanje to Henrique de Carvalho in the east. And this is the site of Angola's largest airfield and the reception point for quantities of arms being flown by Russia to the MPLA.

If Unita are able to hold Malanje against the MPLA counter-attack which is almost certain to come, FNLA forces attacking from Zaire will be able to mop up the eastern part of the MPLA sector against lessened opposition.

Meanwhile, from Washington the State Department reported that it had received information indicating that Russia was stepping up its weapons supplies to the MPLA.

Alignment

Fresh rumours have come that aircraft are now being used in parts of the fighting, but it is not possible to get confirmation.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuter reports from Brazzaville that Congolese President Marien Ngouabi today called on President Idi Amin of Uganda to resign as chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) because of his attitude to Angola.

In a message to Amin, President Ngouabi said the OAU leader's call to foreign governments not to recognise any of the three liberation movements as the new Angolan government would "compromise the independence of the People's Republic of Angola which is recognised by the international community."

"Your attitude, your excellency, appears to be an alignment with South Africa and Nato forces, that is to say, opposed to all the resolutions approved by the OAU," President Ngouabi said.

Call up

In response to inquiries today about a call-up of South African citizen forces and commandoes — including members of the Parabats — a spokesman for the Defence Force issued the following statement:

"There has been such a positive reaction among members of the Citizen Force and commando units that they have volunteered to do service over the Christmas period anywhere the SADF wants them."

"This includes the Parabats. The matter is under consideration by the Defence Force."

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And as the OAU see it

South African intervention in Angola may be turning the OAU against FNLA and Unita, writes JOHN BORRELL from Nairobi

As the OAU prepares to hold an extraordinary summit on Angola in Addis Ababa on January 10, it is becoming increasingly clear that South African involvement in the Angolan civil war has been largely counter-productive.

For although South African assistance has bolstered the pro-Western Unita and FNLA in their struggle against the Marxist MPLA, it has been insufficient to give them a clear-cut victory and it has alienated these two movements from a number of African states.

Recognised

As a result, 15 African States have recognised the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola — at least four of them, including influential Tanzania and powerful Nigeria, citing South African support for Unita and the FNLA as their reason for doing so.

Consequently, when the OAU heads of state meet in the Ethiopian capital next month one third of the organisation's 46 mem-

What the pro-MPLA bloc will argue is that South African assistance to Unita and the FNLA has made these two movements traitors to the African cause and lost them the right to represent the Angolan people.

Thus, they will argue, the OAU will have no choice but to withdraw its official recognition of the two movements which, in theory at least, would make it extremely difficult for countries like Zambia and Zaire to provide continued assistance.

This might seem a rather devious move considering that South African support for the two movements was only forthcoming after Cuban troops had been landed to help the MPLA and the Luanda-based movement started receiving huge quantities of Soviet arms.

But, as OAU Secretary-General William Eteki-Mpomotia has told a correspondent, "The OAU must support the idea of a government of national unity between the OAU member states which all foreign involve-

Those who believe a government of national unity is still possible despite the bitterness that the Angolan war has caused inside the country include such states as Zambia, Kenya, Tunisia and Zaire.

They want the OAU to call for the withdrawal of all foreign powers in Angola, form an interim coalition government and establish some kind of OAU observer force to ensure that proper elections are held.

But the MPLA has been aware ever since the provisional government was formed in January that it stands no real chance of winning power through elections since its Umbundu tribal power base is too small.

Angola's largest, single tribe is the Ovimbundu, which, following the departure of nearly all the country's Whites, probably accounts for 40 per cent of the total population. It is the power base of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita which would receive majority support in any reasonably fair election, and if the Unita-FNLA alliance was maintained, the two pro-Western movements could expect something

- aan verkers wie se kinders : skole bywoon
1. Hoe belangrik is dit vir u dat u kinders moet skoolgaan? Sal u die plaas wil verlaat indien daar nie 'n skool naby was vir u kinders nie?
 2. Ontmoet u ooit die onderwyser? Indien ja, spesifiseer.
 3. Besyreek u ooit die skool met u werkgewer?
 4. Is die skool wat u kinders bywoon op 'n plaas of nie? Indien nee, spesifiseer waar.

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Position

The MPLA's position is also being strengthened diplomatically by South Africa's continued involvement on the side of Unita and the FNLA and any military gains the South African backed-groups make are clearly being offset by the diplomatic reversals.

Indeed, South Africa may unwittingly be doing as much to help the Marxist MPLA as the Russians and, if South African involvement finally tips the OAU towards the pro-MPLA stance it will be the

Russia backs MPLA openly

MOSCOW—The Soviet Union has thrown the weight of its diplomatic prestige behind the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in an effort to help the pro-Marxist faction triumph over its two rivals in the war for control of the newly independent state.

The staunchness of the Soviet commitment to the Luanda government has surprised some Western and Third World diplomats here.

One Third World diplomat views the drive as reflecting a key stage in the Soviet-Chinese rivalry for the loyalty of the developing countries of Africa and Asia.

The Soviet Union appears to have recouped some of its African footing by announcing the restoration of diplomatic relations with Uganda.

SUSPENDED

They were suspended a week ago after President Amin refused to heed a Soviet request to recognise the Luanda government and demanded that Moscow explain its involvement in Angola.

The Soviet Union on behalf of the Luanda government took on momentum with Moscow's announcement over the weekend that it would exchange ambassadors. This followed Soviet recognition of the Luanda regime as Angola's legitimate government.

The Soviet Union has urged other nations to recognise Luanda rather than hold out for a coalition government including the two rival factions.

There has been no acknowledgement here of outside reports that Soviet and Cuban specialists have been serving with the Luanda forces.

The Soviet Press has merely conceded "all-round assistance" a euphemism for military aid. — New York Times News Service

6. Should the format of the class tests be that of the final exam. Yes/no. Comment

7. Should there be one or two final exams. One/two.

8. Do you feel every student should have examination at the end of the year. Yes/no.

9. At present tutorial exercises/essays count tests 20% of the final mark.

Fill in the % you feel each category should contribute to the final mark.

Tutorial exercises/essays :

Class tests :

Examination :

Oral :

100%

10. Should the system of block lecturing (i.e. v. sub-course) be completed before the next is begun retained? Yes/No

11. (a) How could present channels of staff-st communication be improved upon? (b) How app

MPLA hits back at column

Star 20/1/75

In a counter-attack on the forces pressing on Luanda, the MPLA has not only halted the allied drive on the capital from the south but is reported to be advancing on the FNLA stronghold of Carmona in the north.

While the allied advance on Luanda along the main coastal road has been halted, a second FNLA-Unita column has just taken the major town of Gabela, about 285 km south-east of the capital.

Reinforcements are being rushed in by the MPLA to stop this advance.

A splinter column of the allied advance from the south is reported to have been beaten off in an attack from Porto Amboim on the Cambambe Dam.

A heavy cordon of defence has been thrown around the installation by the MPLA.

"FATALLY DELAYED"

The dam is near Dondo, about 200 km south of the capital, and supplies most of Luanda's power.

The rapid progress of the main armoured column, which is moving up from captured Novo Redondo, has been "fatally delayed" as a result of the MPLA's blowing up six bridges along the route to Luanda, the Zaire news agency AZAP reports.

But the splinter column is pushing towards the key junction town of Quibala on the main north-south road.

The MPLA is rushing reinforcements to the town to stave off the impending threat, the Yugoslav agency Tanug reports from Luanda.

If Quibala falls to the allies, they will have a clear supply route from their headquarters in Nova Lisboa to the column which will head up the main paved road towards the vital Cambambe Dam.

The supply lines presently run the long way round through Lobito and Novo Redondo.

Unita also claims to have

To Page 3, Col 8

MPLA blow to column

From Page 1

take Malanje on the main east-west road.

The loss of Malanje would split the MPLA-controlled territory in two, and isolate Luanda from the huge airbase at Henrique de Carvalho in the east, which has been used to bring in supplies.

Meanwhile, an estimated 1,000 Cuban combat troops have been airlifted into Luanda to join about 1,500 Cuban infantrymen and "advisers" flown in over the last few weeks, sources in Luanda report.

The Star's Africa News Service, Correspondents, Sapa-Reuter-AP.

(See Page 29)

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States call for

Angola summit

Monday - 28/11/75

LIBREVILLE — Foreign Ministers from several Central African States yesterday called for a meeting of Heads of State to be convened here in Gabon, to review the situation in Angola.

They declared yesterday that the Angolan crisis threatened the peace and security of the African continent.

In a final communique issued after consultations here, the Ministers called for an end to foreign interference in the newly-independent State, "so that the Angolan people can solve their problems."

The final communique was not unanimously approved by the eight Ministers — from Cameroun, Congo, Gabon, Sao Tome and Principe, the Central African Republic, Chad and Zaïre.

Congo did not approve the communique because it regarded the condemnation of foreign interference in Angola as not explicit enough, it said, according to Sapa-Reuter.

Devastating

London correspondents reports that intervention by Russian MiG-21 fighters in the Angolan war would have a devastating immediate effect on the situation.

They carry a formidable load of weapons specifically designed to destroy advancing armour-supported columns.

Even if they are not already in Angola, as most observers seem to believe, they could be delivered as air or sea cargo. The MiG-21 is a versatile fighter, well-suited to both air-to-air combat and strikes against armoured columns or strong points.

It is easy to fly and maintain and equips about 20 air forces throughout the world — some of which are not noted for their flying, engineering or training skills.

The plane does not need highly-skilled experts to maintain it, for it has no advanced electronic equipment.

Its weapons, which include rockets, bombs and fast-firing cannon, are delivered by sight rather than by any difficult-to-maintain system of electronic navigational attack.

One particular weapons system carried by the MiG, which has a speed of over 1200km/h at ground level, is four under-wing pylon packs each carrying 16 57mm rockets which can be fired singly or in salvos.

One is enough to stop a tank.

The plane can operate from dirt strips no longer than 1000 metres or so, and needs little ground support equipment.

Its range is sufficient for missions all over Angola. The MiGs could be flown there from Russia in transport planes by a variety of routes over Africa.

See Editorial Opinion

Angola now East-West affray

ARGUS

21/11/75

The Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — The bitter Angolan civil war has escalated into an East-West confrontation situation that threatens to embroil the African sub-continent in a violent ideological and strategic melee.

At stake is not only one of Africa's richest territories, but a base in the big powers' battle for cold war advantage.

The original combatants, the three erstwhile liberation movements who were supposed to have

achieved 'freedom' on November 11, have been demoted to figurehead entities in the embroglio.

It is almost impossible to tell the players without a programme, but the programme is designed by an even more complicated ar-

ray of affected parties.

The Marxist-oriented MPLA, backed by Russia, has long been decrying the use of 'mercenaries' by the other movements.

But in the name of their ideology they have brought Russian advisers,

Cuban troops and technicians, Frelimo troops, former Katangese gendarmes and East European, Vietnamese and Algerian instructors into the fight.

The FNLA-Unita alliance is backed by a large number of volunteers including Portuguese, French, Germans, Americans and Belgians. Some of these may be called mercenaries.

The FNLA has long used Zairean troops in its army. Many former Portuguese officers and soldiers, including White Angolans, are fighting with all three movements. 'Mercenaries' is merely a question of semantics.

There is also the shadowy presence of the Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP) made up of officers loyal to deposed General Antonio Spínola. It has aligned with the FNLA.



Dr Jonas Savimbi



Mr Holden Roberto



Dr Agostinho Neto

The fighting factions — what they stand for

POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (MPLA)

Leader: Dr Agostinho Neto, medical doctor, poet.

Ideology: Marxist, close ties with Frelimo, heavily backed by Russia.

Army: Well-armed, field commanders reputed good, troops best trained of three movements. Top commander Henrique 'Iko' Correira, Minister of defence in MPLA Cabinet.

Arms: Russian-supplied, wide range from small arms to artillery, amphibious/armoured cars, rockets.

Support: Intellectuals and civil servants, Imbundu tribe of central region.

NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (FNLA)

Leader: Holden Roberto, brother-in-law to Zaire President Sese Seko Mubutu, Zaire based for colonial war.

Ideology: Basically African nationalist, non-aligned, but supplied by Red China and U.S.

Army: Large core of battle-hardened troops noted for ferocity. Fought the Portuguese for 14 years. Top commander Daniel Chipenda, former second man in MPLA, who goes to South West Africa for treatment for diabetes. Leads army of 3 000 former MPLA soldiers in south, which almost forms a second FNLA.

Arms: American and Red Chinese supplied through Zaire and other places.

Support: Narrow, political base, mainly Northern Ikongo tribe.

ARMS

Russia and her Eastern European allies arm the MPLA, which until recently, far outstripped the other movements in firepower. The arms come through Congo-Brazzaville.

But the arms balance has been dramatically shifted in recent weeks, with an inflow of Belgian, French and American arms to the anti-MPLA forces. Hercules, DC-3 and DC-4 transport planes bring the arms from Kinshasa.

They include armoured cars long-range artillery, huge quantities of FN rifles and ammunition and other small arms. Unita is rumoured to have received arms from pro-MPLA Rumania.

exts, ed. Enright & Chickera (Oxford Paperback)

Criticism (Penguin)

(Penguin)

(ed. C.J. Sisson) (Odhams Books)

NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (Unita)

Leader: Dr Jonas Savimbi, top man in original FNLA, pragmatist, popular in West.

Ideology: Moderate socialist with Western backing.
Army: Weakest of the three, least number of troops, not well trained and young.
Arms: Hodge-podge from European sources.
Support: Broad political base, especially in south, Ovimbundu tribal lines.

FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE ENCLAVE OF CABINDA (Flec)

Leader: Louis Ranque Franque, based in Zaire.
Ideology: Secessionist movement demanding independence for the 7 000 sq km oil-rich enclave, bordered by Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville.
Army: Small, now aligned with Zaire and FNLA troops.
Arms: Quantity unknown, but being supplied by Zaire.
Support: Said to be broad among the 80 000 people of Cabinda. A second Flec based in Congo-Brazzaville also claims support, but this not not broad.

band (Penguin)

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La Mode

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al spectacle; and the closing of the theatres.

ly to Pay Old Debts (New Mermaids - Benn)

w Fair (Revels, Methuen)

(New Mermaids - Benn)

The Malcontent (New Mermaids - Benn)

the Burning Pestle Regent's Plays (Arnold)

icobean City Comedy.

's A Whore (New Mermaids - Benn)

ware Women (New Mermaids - Benn)

n: The Changeling

The White Devil

Tournant: The Revenger's Tragedy.

These three plays collected in: Three Jacobean Tragedies ed. G. Salgado

HORRORS

The arms and allies have turned what was once basically bush war, albeit a vicious one in which thousands died, into a large-scale confrontation with all the horrors of sophisticated weapons and tactics.

The lesser powers of the sub-continent have thrown in their lot with one side or the other.

Zaire supported the FNLA throughout the 14-year guerrilla war and continues now.

Adamantly anti-communist, Zaire fears it may fall victim to the 'domino principle' if Angola goes red.

There are rumblings of discontent within Zaire.

RAIL LINE

Zaire has been hit hard by the closure of the Benguela Railway Line, which used to take its copper exports out through Lobito. Unless the line can be opened soon (which the anti-FNLA allies say they will do) Zaire will be in serious trouble.

Zaire also aids FLEC, the Cabindan Liberation Movement, to keep a hand in the treasure chest of Cabindan oil.

Congo-Brazzaville, virulently Marxist, supplies a jumping-off place for MPLA arms shipments and supports a second feeble version of FLEC.

Zambia supports the FNLA-Unita alliance (but mainly moderate Unita) also because of a fear of becoming a domino.

The Benguela railway line is more valuable to the Zambian copperbelt of the landlocked and politically shut-off economy.

SWA

Possibly the most endangered of Angola's neighbours is South West Africa, it is enmeshed in delicate negotiation for constitutional change which could be harmed by a pill-over of violence from Angola.

SWA guerrillas are taking advantage of the turmoil to step up their activities and a Marxist government in Luanda would give them aid and shelter.

Above all there is the danger of isolation for South Africa and threats to the vital Cape sea route if the MPLA wins and gives Russia a base in the South Atlantic.

The West recognises this, hence the supply of men and material to the anti-MPLA forces.

Plato,

COURSE

William

COURSE

B.

8.

7.

Angola now a big power battlefield

The Star's Africa News Service

The bitter Angolan civil war has escalated into an East-West confrontation that could embroil the African sub-continent in a violent ideological melee.

At stake is not only one of Africa's richest territories, but also a valuable base in the big powers' cold war.

The original combatants, the three liberation movements who were supposed to have achieved "freedom" on November 11, have thus been releg-

ated to mere figureheads.

It is almost impossible to tell the players apart without having a programme, and even then the "programme" reflects an even more complicated array of involved parties.

The Marxist-orientated MPLA, backed by Russia, have long been decrying the use of "mercenaries" by the other movements.



But in the name of their ideology they have brought Russian advisers, Cuban troops and technicians, Frelimo troops, former Katangese gendarmes and East European Vietnamese and Algerian instructors into the fight.

The FNLA-Unita alliance is backed by a large number of volunteers, including Portuguese, French, South Africans, Germans, Americans and Belgians. Some of these may be called mercenaries.

The FNLA has long used Zairean troops in its army. Many former Portuguese officers and soldiers, including white Angolans, are fighting with

all three movements. "Mercenaries" is merely a question of semantics.

There is also the shadowy presence of the Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP) made up of officers loyal to deposed General Antonio Spínola. It has aligned with the FNLA.

Russia and her Eastern European allies arm the MPLA, which, until recently, far outstripped the other movements in firepower. The arms come through Congo-Brazzaville.

But the arms balance has been dramatically shifted in recent weeks, with an inflow of Belgian, French and American arms to the anti-MPLA forces.

Hercules, DC-3, and DC-4 transport aircraft bring the arms from Kinshasa, and other neighbouring states.

They include armoured cars (mainly Panhards), long-range artillery, huge quantities of FN rifles and ammunition and other small arms.



Unita is rumoured to have received arms from pro-MPLA Roumania.

The arms and allies have turned what was once basically a bush war, although a vicious one in which thousands died, into a large-scale confrontation with all the horrors of sophisticated weapons and tactics.

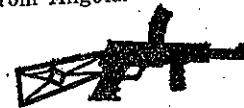
Zaire also aids FLEC, the ~~Zairean~~ liberation movement, to keep a hand in the treasure chest of ~~Zairean~~ oil.

Congo-Brazzaville, virulently Marxist, supplies a jumping-off for MPLA arms shipments and supports a second, feeble version of FLEC.

Zambia supports the FNLA-Unita alliance (but mainly moderate Unita) also because of a fear of becoming a domino.

The Benguela railway line is more valuable to the Zambian copperbelt of the landlocked and politically shut-off economy.

Possibly the most endangered of Angola's neighbours is South West Africa. It is enmeshed in delicate negotiation for constitutional change which could be harmed by a spill-over of violence from Angola.



Swapo guerrillas are taking advantage of the turmoil to step up their activities and a Marxist government in Luanda would give them aid and shelter.

For this reason South Africa has a stake in Angola too.

Above all there is the danger of isolation for South Africa and threats to the vital Cape sea route if the MPLA wins and gives Russia a base in the South Atlantic.

The West recognises this, hence the supply of men and material to the anti-MPLA forces.

That Russia could get this base has driven even Red China into the bed of the West.

The Soviets have a base at Guinea-Conakry and are entrenched in Somalia. The Chinese do not want them to get any more.

So Angola has been turned into a battlefield. Split into three sections by the war, its once rich economy has now collapsed. Its only commodity violence.

**Soviet
campaign
grows**

Own Correspondent

MUNICH — The Soviet Union has brushed aside official South African denials of military involvement in Angola.

The latest Kremlin attack — strongest broadside yet in a campaign which has been gaining in intensity since Angolan independence — also accuses the South African Government of preparing to make nuclear weapons and claims the republic is a threat to the independence of self-governing Black states in Southern Africa.

The Soviet attack appeared as a commentary in the Soviet Government's newspaper "Izvestia."

The "Izvestia" article — summarised by the official Soviet news agency, Tass, monitored in Munich — said the "crash of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa frightened the rulers of the South African republic and made them seek ways of maintaining their racialist regime."

The newspaper also claims that South Africa is "busy establishing the base for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction" and the commentary concludes: "The greatest danger to the sovereignty of neighbouring African countries comes from the regime established in Southern Africa."

The lesser powers on the sub-continent have thrown their lot in with one side or the other. Zaire supported the FNLA throughout the 14-year guerrilla war and continues to do so now.

Adamantly anti-communist, Zaire fears it may fall victim to the domino principle if Angola goes Red.

There are rumblings of discontent within Zaire, aggravated by its bankruptcy. Zaire has been hit hard by the closure of the Benguela railway line, which used to take its copper exports out through Lobito.

Unless the line can be opened soon (which the Unita-FNLA allies say they will do) Zaire will be in serious trouble.

of rumoured during the

5. (a) What in your view are the factors which will be felt by Zaire in the next few years?

actor? Yes/no

4. Are you satisfied with the comment?

3. Are there any topics you feel should be added to the course? dropped from the course?

Angola faces a war

Special Correspondent
LUANDA — The FNLA-Unita alliance against the MPLA is a "marriage of convenience" which will fall apart as soon as the common enemy is out of the way.

The separation will be voluntary, but no less painful for all that, and there is every possibility that Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi will set up his own "Angola" in the south.

The animosity between the two movements is simmering just below the surface and occasionally breaks out in ugly bubbles of accusation and open antagonism.

Observers close to both

movements believe that even if they succeed in eliminating the MPLA they will turn against each other in another war.

The armoured column which swept through the south and is threatening Luanda is apparently masterminded by the FNLA's secretary general, Mr Daniel Chipenda, a former ranking MPLA man.

Referred to as the FNLA-Unita column, it is in fact "entirely FNLA," the Chipenda people claim, and Unita soldiers only appear after the action to occupy captured territory and reap the profits.

Immediately after the capture of the vital port of Lobito, Dr Savimbi showed the international

Press around the town. On the same day, also in Lobito, Daniel Chipenda was stopped by an antagonistic Unita checkpoint, FNLA sources claim. The Unita soldiers were later arrested by FNLA soldiers.

Arrests

The bitterness between the two movements also resulted in arrests of troops by both sides in different parts of the south and unconfirmed reports claim that Unita soldiers had killed several of Chipenda's men, including some Whites.

In the south the FNLA and Unita forces act as two separate parties in spite of the much-touted alliance.

StW 25/11/79
*Victors may
out if MPLA*

In the northern provinces, traditionally under FNLA domination, there are no Unita soldiers or political delegates.

Unita has been pressuring the FNLA to leave alone the southern provinces which Unita considers its "natural zones of influence."

FNLA sources say arrests of their troops by Unita men and occasional "shooting sessions" are intended to intimidate

FNLA troops in the south.

The FNLA-Unita political alliance, to be ratified formally on December 1 with the installation of a government of the "Popular and Democratic Republic of Angola" (as opposed to the "People's Republic of Angola" of the MPLA), is supposed to lead to elections.

Savimbi could probably sweep the south, his home territory, in an election.



In spite of supposedly being one army, FNLA and Unita soldiers take great pride and care in identifying themselves as being from their specific movements. Here FNLA soldiers stand by a Panhard armoured car with their movement's initials crudely but boldly lettered on the sides.

without end...

fight it 1 falls

FNLA leader, Holden Roberto has practically no personal support in the south. His movement is regional and is mostly confined to the two northern provinces. But he does have Chipenda.

Umbundu-speaking, like Savimbi, Chipenda is a popular figure in the Lobito-Benguela area and commands considerable respect and influence in southern and eastern Angola.

A deep thinker with reputedly no racial prejudices, Chipenda is good-looking, a lover of the good life and charismatic enough to be a potentially serious rival to Savimbi.

The two have little love for each other.

Their animosity goes back to the early days of the eastern Angolan bush war when Chipenda, as a top MPLA commander, led an all-out war against Unita.

"He killed too many of our men," Savimbi once commented.

After Chipenda split with MPLA president, Dr Agostinho Neto, whom he denounced for working with the Russians, Savimbi tried at least twice to cut down Chipenda's political base.

But Holden Roberto integrated Chipenda into the FNLA with the important post of secretary-general and is counting on Chipenda to cut into Savimbi's support in the south and east should the elections ever materialise.

Notwithstanding Roberto's largesse, however, the 3 000 troops Chipenda brought with him from the MPLA are known as the "Esquadrao Chipenda" (Chipenda's squadron), much to the chagrin of FNLA leaders.

Chaos

When a foreign Pressman mentioned the "Chipenda squadron" to a top FNLA man in the north, he was told in acid tones that there was no

"Chipenda" — only the FNLA.

The Chipenda troops keep to themselves and have a different style and mentality from the other FNLA soldiers.

But in the end there probably will not be any elections for Chipenda to take part in. The countryside is in chaos and administrative facilities for elections and normal processes of government do not exist.

There are signs that Unita is taking on the mantle of the defeated MPLA in the south and distributing arms captured from the MPLA "Popular power" to their civilian supporters.

A 'second Vietnam' looming

STAR

21/11/75

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The Star Bureau

LONDON — The situation in Angola has all the makings of a second Vietnam with the threat of splitting Africa from top to bottom, the United Nations High Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Sean MacBride, has warned here.

A long and protracted war could follow and the African states could be as divided as was South East Asia, he said.

It was hard to avoid the suspicion that South Africa was not interfering in Angola to pursue its own aims — "or at least to divide the African liberation movements and the African states as well."

INVOLVED

Questioned during the annual minority rights group lecture, Mr MacBride, who is also United Nations assistant Secretary General, said the situation in Angola was difficult to put before the

Security Council because most of the big powers were directly involved.

The African states themselves could find no solution, nor could the Organisation of African Unity, he added.

Multinational companies with investment in South Africa and South West Africa also came under heavy attack for their "exploitation of forced slave labour."

IMMORAL

A questioner said that in one sense, it was an immoral act to invest in "this type of society," but was it not also immoral to withdraw investment because it denied people jobs??

Mr MacBride replied: "I suppose by doing away with slavery certain slaves were deprived of security."

"What in effect the multinational and national companies are doing is exploiting slave labour conditions in Namibia in order to make higher profits."

"I think this is a matter in which the churches should do more than they have," he said.

Sunday TRIBUNE

23/1/75

A ARMS RACE

TO THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FORCES

FNLA has been the guests of President Mobutu of Zaire since it was formed in 1962. Roberto's forces have been advancing on Luanda from the north.

An American source said the airlift was "the biggest CIA operation since the Congo in the '60s". It is thought the Starlifters, which can carry 154 troops and 32 000 kilograms of equipment, are staging through the US base in the Azores, still owned by the Portuguese.

But no troops have been sent to reinforce the 12-man American military advisory unit in Zaire.

Of particular concern to the US at this time are the R202 500 000 Gulf Oil Investments in the Cabinda

enclave which is outside the Marxist MPLA control. Gulf is currently producing 120 to 140 million barrels of crude oil a day from the off-shore rigs and it is part of the CIA's intention to protect these interests by channelling aid to Zaire.

From Luanda comes reports that reinforcements sent out from Luanda, including Cuban troops, and heavy equipment unloaded from a Russian ship only days before, are containing the thrust from the south by the FNLA and UNITA forces.

The tide of the Angolan civil war seems to be turning after the first victories by the anti-Communist troops whose advance column is being held 320 kilometres south east of the capital.

Last week a Cuban and two Russian ships unloaded large amounts of war material for the MPLA at Luanda. It included 80 and 100 mm mortars, 105 mm howitzers, recoilless rifles and hand-fired rockets.

There were also reports that a shipment included Russian 40-tube rocket launchers and the latest in SAM guided missiles. If this is true, it represents an escalation of the war. All unloading work is heavily guarded by Cuban soldiers.

There are persistent rumours that Russian Mig jet fighters are being assembled at the airport, but the MPLA have denied this.

In Luanda, the real fear of a FNLA attack has been dissipated. But food supplies are running short and if the MPLA does not regain territory lost in the South it will soon be hard-pressed to feed the city. Part of the shipments from the Russian ships this week are reportedly rice.

In a television interview in London broadcast in Johannesburg last night, Foreign Affairs Minister Hilgard Müller said South Africa was hoping that the free world would succeed in applying their influence to terminate that infiltration in Angola of Russians and highly sophisticated armaments and troops from Cuba.

Dr Müller was asked whether South Africa would take any steps to prevent the Russians becoming too heavily entrenched in Angola.

Mr Müller replied that South Africa was no match for the Russians but South Africa would do everything in her power to stop the Russians from coming into

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ANGOLA

CIA FLY ARMS

NEW YORK: The CIA is using huge US Air Force Starlifter transports to fly weapons and supplies into Zaire to boost the anti-Communist Angolan forces.

Equipment worth tens of millions of dollars has been flown in since the beginning of the year and the airlift is being increased with this week's reported arrival of 3 000 Cuban troops and Soviet weapons in Angola's capital, Luanda, held by the MPLA.

The American arms are destined for the forces of Holden Roberto, whose 15 000 strong army of the

The day I met the man from

By GRAHAM LINSKOTT

Sun TELSONE
23/11/75

IGOR OUVAROV, the top-ranking Soviet KGB officer now at the heart of the MPLA's war effort in Angola, made his first appearance last November in the guise of a journalist.

He mingled freely and urbanely with Western correspondents, introducing himself as a representative of the Soviet news agency, Tass, and took it in good part when he had his leg pulled as "our man from the KGB."

This week, the rival Unita movement named Ouvarov as an expert in colonial warfare and apparently second-in-command of the Communist forces in Angola. A communique said he was attached to Russian military intelligence.

This was confirmed by security forces in South Africa, who said Ouvarov was a senior man in the Russian KGB politico-military security police. They said his name cropped up regularly in trouble spots, particularly in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

I first met Igor Ouvarov when he booked into the Tivoli Hotel, in Luanda, just before control of the territory was handed to the ill-fated Provisional Government, which was an MPLA-Unita-FNLA coalition.

A stolid, powerfully-built man, bald and

with thick spectacles, he approached me in the hotel foyer and asked for a lift to the High Commissioner's palace for the swearing-in of the new government. He spoke good English but said he was more at home in French.

He did not turn up for the lift, but at the palace I ran into him again, looking on with disdain and quiet resignation as weapon-toting guerilla fighters jostled one another sweatily in the main hall.

He lamented the lot of journalists being sent to out of the way places like Luanda and said he would like to be back in Algeria, where he was based. Or better still Paris, which was one of the finest cities in the world.

That evening he joined a group of journalists for drinks and inevitably the KGB jibe came out.

"Old Igor has a hard time," somebody said. "Everybody says he's from the KGB."

Ouvarov shrugged. "Yes, I get it all the time. Do I look like a KGB man?"

And he threw back his head and laughed.

"You should come to Russia some day and I will show you around. We get so many foreign tourist these days and Moscow is a beautiful city."

Over the next few days we saw quite a bit of him, in and around the Tivoli. The whole affair seemed a bore to him but we did notice some odd quirks. He would refuse to go into any bar or restaurant which was crowded with Blacks.

Once I saw him deliberately turn his back on a Black man who approached him to ask directions. We all assumed he was providing some sort of official feedback to Moscow, but had no reason to suspect that he was not a journalist as well.

Yet when Dr Agostinho Neto, leader of the MPLA, made his triumphant arrival in Luanda, Ouvarov did not even trouble to go to the airport.

"What for? All those crowds . . ." He gave the Russian equivalent of "Ugh!"

the KGB

Later he told me he would be leaving us to go on an MPLA-sponsored flight to Congo-Brazzaville.

"You know how it is," he said plaintively. "Our people support these people so I have no choice. I have to go on their tour."

Congo-Brazzaville turned out later to be the main supply source for the MPLA arms which were used to wreck the Provisional Government and drive the FNLA and Unita from Luanda.

And it was during Ouvarov's stay at the Tivoli — he apparently returned after most of the foreign Press corps had left — that slogans urging the population to revolt against the Provisional Government began to appear on walls all over Luanda.

Ouvarov seemed to show complete lack of interest in the fact that several of the journalists he saw every day were South African-based.

And when the talk came round to political developments in the territory, he made it clear he was more interested in good wine and genuine Scotch, which were becoming more difficult to get by the day.

Russian guns tip Angola balance

The Star's Africa
News Service

Sophisticated weapons poured into the hands of the Marxist-inclined MPLA by Russia appear to have turned the tide of the anti-communist alliance push. The question now is: will the Americans match the Russian weaponry?

Cuban and Russian ships apparently off-loaded large amounts of war material for the MPLA at Luanda last week including 80 and 100 mm mortars, 105 mm howitzers, recoilless rifles and hand-fired rockets.

It is also believed that one shipment included Russian 40 tube rocket launchers and the latest SAM guided missiles.

The dockyard operation was heavily guarded by Cuban soldiers.

AIRLIFT

There are also persistent reports that Russian MiG fighters are being assembled at the airport, but the MPLA has denied this. And from Luanda, it is said anti-aircraft guns are being mounted on the roofs of tall buildings.

On the other hand the CIA is reported to be using giant US Air Force Starlifter transports to fly weapons and supplies into Zaire to boost the anti-communist Angolan forces.

Equipment worth tens of millions of rands has been flown in since the beginning of the year, and the airlift — described by one source as "the biggest CIA operation since the Congo in the '60s" — is being increased with last week's reported arrival of 3,000 Cuban troops in Luanda.

MPLA jets no

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Both the South African Air Force and the Aviation Society of Africa doubt that the Russian Mig - 21 jet fighters could be effectively used in the present Angolan conflict.

Mr. A. G. Heape, secretary of the Aviation Society said even with three external fuel tanks, the Migs have enough fuel only "for a 400-kilometre range mission from Luanda and return — hardly enough to go beyond present MPLA territory."

Commandant R. Blake, public relations officer of the SAAF agreed saying: "This is true with most fighters. Their main purpose is to deliver weapons within a certain limited range."

He added that Migs' range would be circumscribed by the lack of good runways in Angola. Mr. Heape pointed out that the planes require a tarmac runway of 2000 metres with only partial flap and it is impossible for Mig - 21s to operate

Mercury
24/11/75
use,
say
experts

from 1000 - metre long dirt strips.

Commandant Blake said that because of the sophistication of modern jet fighters, their pilots require a high degree of advanced technical knowledge. He doubted that the Angolan pilots had, or could be taught the necessary skills.

Mr. Heape said that even if the USSR succeeded in training Angolans to fly these aircraft, "short range flights from Luanda on ground attack missions using air to ground rockets is about the best that could be hoped for and a high rate of loss through accidents can be expected."

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'Paltry' Western arms to anti-Reds

KINSHASA — Western arms being supplied covertly to two anti-communist liberation groups fighting in Angola are "paltry and ineffective" compared with what the Soviet Union is pouring into Luanda for the faction it is backing.

"While we can only buy weapons in parts on the open market and assemble them, the Russians bring shiploads of tanks, missiles and armoured cars into Luanda," says Demba Paka Ola, director of external affairs for FNLA.

His group is one of the two anti-communist Angolan factions that, since 1963, have maintained a base here under the friendly sponsorship of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

Sitting in the compound that serves as an embassy, a military staging area and a retreat for National Front troops, Mr Demba insisted that the arms obtained by his movement and by Unita, were far inferior in quality and quantity to those shipped by the Russians to the Popular Movement for Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which controls Luanda.

IN THOUSANDS

"They have missiles by the thousands and we have none. They have armoured cars, tanks and jeeps coming every day. Meanwhile, our friends in the West and in Peking hesitate," Mr Demba said.

His assessment of Soviet-supplied arms was largely confirmed by Western diplomatic sources here and by first-hand observation in Luanda. There, convoys of trucks could be seen leaving the port carrying anti-aircraft guns and dozens of batteries of 122-mm rockets.

These rockets have been the most important weapon with which the MPLA has kept the advancing FNLA-Unita force away from the outskirts of the capital and out of mortar range of the city's vital water-pumping and electricity stations. The rockets, which are said to

be fired by Cuban technicians, have a range of 20 km.

Western sources here said the Popular Movement's build-up had intensified sharply since November 11, when the Portuguese officially left Angola.

As for arms coming from the West, no one here will categorically deny that there have been covert shipments to the anti-communist faction,

but sources are unanimous that no American arms have been sent to the two groups in Angola.

Instead, they suggest that Belgian and French weapons, some possibly bought with US funds, have gone to both the National Front and the National Union.

These weapons are described here as consisting of Belgian machineguns and some Panhard tanks and personnel carriers.

Mr Demba denied that his side had accepted aid from South Africa and insisted that it would not do so. As to published reports that newsmen heard members of the motorized column speaking with strong South African accents, he said they were Angolans of Afrikaner background who had never learned Portuguese. — New York Times News Service.

US senators hold up aid for FNLA

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — Senate critics are delaying United States plans to channel anti-Russian aid to Angolan liberation movements through Zaire.

The State Department is apparently encountering resistance to its multi-million dollars military aid request for President Mobutu despite attempts to persuade Senators this is necessary to maintain the balance of power in Africa.

Senate committee sources have now disclosed that the State Department is telling them privately that the United States can not just allow the Russians and Cubans to impose themselves on Angola by piling up support for the MPLA.

But Democratic Senators Dick Clark of Iowa and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota are doubtful and have delayed authorization of the aid package until after the Thanksgiving recess which starts tomorrow afternoon.

AFRAID

They are afraid, according to one Senate source quoted in the Christian Science Monitor, that this aid could involve the United States in a new East-West confrontation.

This follows reports that US intelligence sources have confirmed that funds are available to swing a massive arms lift in behind the FNLA to

expedite defeat of the MPLA or counter a sudden and effective increase in Soviet support for the guerrilla movement.

Diplomatic observers point out that the Angola affair is a reversal of what has long been the pattern in such matters. Previously American supplies moved openly to anti-communist forces while Moscow supplied its clients indirectly or clandestinely.

In this case Soviet supplies have come ashore at Luanda openly while aid to the anti-Soviet forces is unofficial, indirect and more or less clandestine.

INTEREST

CIA interest in Holden Roberto's FNLA group dates back to about 1965 but the quantities of US support have been small until recently.

Now, suddenly, the Great Powers are focused on Angola and it has become the cockpit of nations with American aircraft reported landing cargoes of guns at Kinshasa while the Russians unload via Luanda and Congo-Brazzaville.

The big hope this week in Washington — as the US Government anxiously awaited the effects of a large influx of Russian supplies — was that Angola's rival groups would be able to beat the Soviet backed MPLA.

The direct involvement of Russian troops is thought among Angolan watchers here to be unlikely, although it is not ruled out.

Some State Department Africa specialists are said to be wary of giving more aid, but Secretary of State Henry Kissinger apparently feels the US cannot sit idly by while the Russians move in.

(5)

Peking cuts off FNLA arms flow

Star 25/1/75

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Big power involvement in the Angola war has taken a dramatic turn with an American warning against Russian and Cuban military intervention and an announcement by China that it is stopping arms supplies.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger warned last night that "the United States cannot remain indifferent" to the Soviet and Cuban intervention.

Continued intervention could have serious consequences for East-West detente, he said.

(See Page 23)

China's announcement at the United Nations that it has halted arms supplies could, if fully implemented, be a severe blow to the FNLA which has received most of its light weaponry from Peking.

There could be increased pressure on the US to provide more arms to the FNLA and its Unita ally to counter the Soviet and Cuban intervention.

Dr Kissinger's warning followed a massive escalation of Russian arms supplies to the MPLA to help it beat off the FNLA-Unita attack on Luanda, the MPLA stronghold.

Dr Kissinger's warning considerably stronger than

a statement he made on the same subject last week, apparently reflects growing concern by the Ford Administration over the continuing buildup of Soviet arms supplies and the involvement of Cuban fighting men in the MPLA forces.

"We will be flexible and co-operative in settling conflicts," he said, "but we will never permit detente to turn into a subterfuge of unilateral advantage."

Meanwhile, the Portuguese mission to the UN has denied a statement by the South African Defence Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, that South African troops crossed the Cunene River into Angola in August with the previous knowledge and authorisation of the Portuguese Government.

"The matter was brought to the attention of the Portuguese Government by its embassy in Pretoria on August 12 after the violation of Angolan territory had already taken place," the Portuguese UN mission said.

Cape run for Red arms shipments

ROM 26/11/75

'Mail' Africa Bureau
CARMONA. — Portuguese intelligence sources report that several hundred tons of sophisticated Russian weapons are being loaded at Dar es Salaam for shipment to Luanda.

Ships carrying arms for MPLA are due to sail past Cape Town in the next few days, opening another supply route for the build-up of Russian strength in Angola.

Sources close to the FNLA Command reported Chinese instructors training FNLA troops in Zaire had been withdrawn.

The Chinese pull out reportedly follows serious accusations levelled by FNLA and Unita joint command that Chinese advisers showed far more interest in spreading their own brand of communism than in providing military training to the troops fighting the Russian-backed MPLA.

The MPLA last night broke its official silence to give its version of the politico-military situation in the country — and promised daily radio bulletins from today.

In its first report, Commander Juju of the MPLA's military wing, FAPLA, said that 80 enemy soldiers had been killed in a clash in the Uebo area of Cuanza-Sul province.

On the central front, MPLA troops had halted the advance of mercenary forces, the communique added.

On the eastern front, rival forces had claimed to have taken Malanje and had said traffic on the Benguela railway would be resumed along the entire route, the communique said.

The MPLA claimed that most of Malanje province was under its control and that no military operations had taken place in the area, except for an abortive attack in the southern part of the province.

In Mexico, the situation was "back to normal, after the defeat of the fighting forces which made several attempts to capture the eastern town of Luso", he said.

Fierce fighting was re-

ported on the northern front and the MPLA claimed to have beaten back FNLA attempts to take Quifangondo, where Luanda's pumping station is housed.

● Meanwhile a "home guard" is being raised by Dr Agostinho Neto's People's Republic of Angola. Hundreds of Africans of all ages are being told by the MPLA regime to prepare, because there could still be invasion at any time.

Special training centres have been set up for the Home Guard on the outskirts of Luanda, where volunteers are being drilled and trained in the use of the MPLA's Russian-made arms.

"Discipline and organisation will make us invincible", is the slogan.

In a plea to the people to cooperate, the MPLA said: "The enemy remains able to attack and it is your duty to be ready for them at any moment, to take them on and to advance the people's revolution".

TODAY . . . John Vorster spells it out

QUESTION: Do you anticipate an early end to the Angolan problem?

ANSWER: I'm afraid I don't foresee a solution soon to the trouble in Angola. I think we'll be saddled with that problem for a long, long time. Unfortunately this must undoubtedly have an effect on neighbouring countries like Zaire, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa.

WOULD YOU welcome the presence of another great power, say the United States, to replace Britain at Simons-town?

As far as Simons-town is concerned, we have created facilities beyond our own needs and those facilities are there for countries of the free world to make use of. We are not hawking the facilities. All we're saying is that we have provided the facilities and they are there.

DO YOU REGARD the allegations made in the United Nations by the US delegate, Mr Clarence Mitchell, that people are detained in South Africa because of their opposition to apartheid as a serious setback for US-South African relations?

No, I don't. But it is a matter that must be cleared up. The gravamen of the charge as put by Mr Mitchell was that people are detained in South Africa solely for their outspokenness against apartheid. In other words, you can be detained in South Africa for that reason alone.

That is not true and I was perfectly entitled to say it was a lie. It is perfectly true that in the past people have been detained, and at present people are detained, for questioning. But throughout the reign of the National Party no man has been arrested for speaking out against apartheid.

And no man will ever be. There are thousands of people in South Africa who speak out against separate development and the Government and they have no fear of being arrested. People are detained for questioning if and when certain acts are committed. I'm not referring to individuals at the moment, but the principle of the thing.

For the first time since civil war erupted in Angola, Mr Vorster has commented directly on the situation there. Today the SUNDAY TRIBUNE publishes his comments — plus the Prime Minister's thoughts on the development of detente, the appearance of the new alignments in opposition politics and a categorical assurance from him that no one in South Africa will be detained for opposition to apartheid.

This far-ranging interview was published this week in the Financial Times, London, and the Toronto Star.

I don't foresee a solution soon in Angola. We'll be saddled with that problem for a long, long time

It is a pity that a representative of the United States, without any proof whatsoever, made this very, very serious allegation against a friendly country like South Africa.

IN THE LIGHT of recent developments in Southern Africa, do you foresee the development of an "economic community" on the sub-continent?

I think the chances of reaching agreement with responsible African states are good, because one must judge Africa and African leaders by the standards set by General Idi Amin.

There are responsible leaders in Africa and economic realities will force African countries and their leaders, as they have forced European countries and leaders, to have a closer look at each other. The economic position at the moment is such that economic realities demand that countries buy in the nearest and best market.

communication opened that will stand the test of time.

As more realism comes into the picture, more progress will be made. But I am not a prophet who can say how fast progress will be. All I am prepared to say is that the graph is on the up and up. It will take a dip now and then, but that doesn't worry me because I know the tendency is upwards.

DO YOU THINK there will be a new militancy in opposition politics now that the Progressive Reform Party is established?

As far as the opposition parties are concerned it is more or less a struggle to see who is the best opposition — not a question of being the alternative Government. I don't think it will affect the Government at all.

WHAT WILL BE the status of the citizens of the Transkei working in South Africa when the Transkei becomes independent next year?

Exactly the same as the citizens of independent Lesotho, and there are more than 100 000 working in the Republic; exactly the same as the citizens of Mozambique and the citizens of other countries working in South Africa.

WILL THEY be subject to South Africa's race laws?

They are citizens of the Transkei first and foremost, and naturally when they come to South Africa our laws will apply.

WHAT ABOUT the status of the Transkei Premier, Chief Kaiser Matanzima? Will independence mean more status for him than Chief Gatscha Buthe-lezi will enjoy as leader of the people of "dependent" KwaZulu?

It stands to reason independence will make a difference. Chief Matanzima will be head of an independent government, whereas other homelands leaders, who are not independent yet, will speak from a lesser platform.

HAS THE ASSASSINATION of Chief Elifas in Ovambo meant a setback to the negotiations in South West Africa?

It is a pity it happened. Chief Elifas was the elected leader of the Ovambo people. But it has not set back the negotiations.

I want to make it perfectly clear that these negotiations are being carried out not by me but by the people through their elected leaders. I must stress it is not South Africa's action. It is an initiative taken solely by the people of South West Africa — White, Black and Coloured — to solve their own problems and decide their own futures. And these negotiations have made very great headway.

ARE YOU any nearer a solution to the Coloured question?

It is not a question of the Government finding a one-sided solution. It is a matter of the Government sitting around a table and trying to find a solution.

As far as the Government is concerned I have made my offer of a Cabinet council and appointments to the various boards and committees which deal with the everyday life of all the citizens of South Africa, White, Coloured and Indian. It is for the Coloureds to decide whether they are prepared to accept that or not. I am waiting for them to come back to me on that question.

DO YOU THINK the National Party will absorb the bulk of United Party supporters and public representatives, as has been suggested?

I don't think it is a question of the National Party assimilating the bulk of the UP. It is a question of individual members of the UP joining the National Party. The question of coalition is out altogether. Apart from the fact that the UP has no bargaining power, there is a difference in principle and policy. The UP, for example, believes in federation of a sort and we don't believe in that at all.

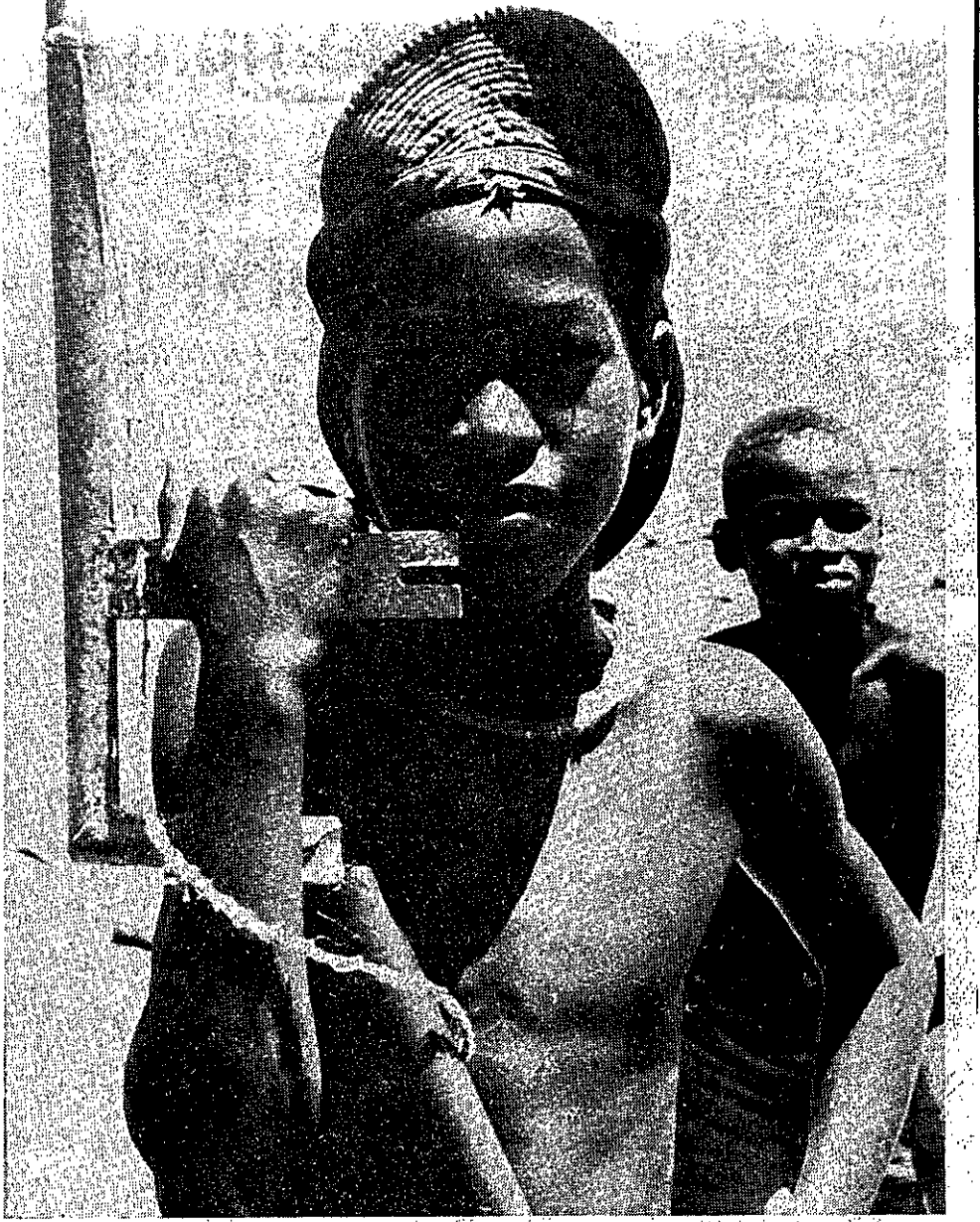
HAVE YOU SETTLED entirely the differences arising from Mr Smith's remarks about your delaying a settlement in Rhodesia?

That matter is fully resolved.

DO YOU anticipate a settlement?

That depends on many circumstances. Looking at it from the outside, the first question to be decided is whether there is the necessary goodwill on both sides. They won't get a settlement unless that goodwill exists.

To a very great extent it also depends on whether the Black people of Rhodesia can resolve their own internal problems. It is very difficult at the moment to say who is speaking on behalf of the Black people.



Getting them young . . . an MPLA recruit with his crude replica of an AK 47 combat rifle.

5

War game that became real thing

What Russia wants in Angola

RDM 24/11/75-

'Mail' Africa Bureau

IN LUANDA, children believe in Dr Agostinho Neto the way children elsewhere believe in Santa Claus.

Dr Neto's Marxist MPLA movement believes in getting them young. Between the ages of 10 and 15, when children in other countries are somewhere in between fairytales and blue denims, Angola's children play with guns.

Some are wooden toys, crude replicas of the Russian Kalashnikovs they have been handed out — free — to their bigger brothers by the MPLA.

POPULAR

Short on soldiers, as well as popular support outside the country's central area, the MPLA earlier this year handed out thousands of rifles to untrained civilians and called it "Popular Power".

Like them, the children want to carry guns, want to boast the gold star insignia of the MPLA and wear camouflage uniform, if they can get it.

PLAYED

That was why, when the armoured column spearheading the rival FNLA-Unita advance on the capital captured towns in southern Angola, they came face to face with the children.

Dead children whom they had shot. Children who played Dr Neto's war game to the last, pulling the triggers of their Kalashnikovs, thinking their heroes in the MPLA were standing beside them.

But they weren't. Western journalists reported from Luanda last week that the MPLA abandoned their posts and fled. They left the children to fight — and to die.

Own Correspondent LONDON. "As for the Soviet Union, like all genuine friends of the oppressed people, it will not remain indifferent to the destiny of Angola."

That was the conclusion of a Soviet Government statement which has a contemporary ring about it. It was issued on May 26, 1961, more than 14 years ago.

If nothing else, it illustrates the depth and duration of the Kremlin's interest in Angola.

The statement also prophetically warned that "one cannot close one's eyes to the fact that Portugal's action in Angola creates a serious threat to the peace and security of peoples of Africa, and not only of Africa alone."

In the intervening years, not heeding the warning, Portugal has

It's a lie says Russia

MOSCOW. — Reports that 20 Russian soldiers had been captured by Unita troops in Angola were described by the Soviet Tass news agency yesterday as "a provocative forgery."

It went on: "this monstrous lie, that was too readily taken up by reactionary propaganda, has already been refuted by an MPLA representative, who described it as pure propaganda."

Tass said the Unita claim was intended to mislead world opinion and divert attention from the intervention in Angola by "the South African racists, the Maoists and other imperialist forces."

Unita had said the Russians were captured when its forces took the town of Malane last week. Sapa-AP.

brought itself to ruin and the empire it boasted of has crumbled into chaos.

Angola has become a threat to peace in Africa because of foreign intervention in the civil war, and it is having a divisive effect on African states.

But the Soviet position is not in doubt. From the beginning of the guerilla struggle in the late fifties it has backed the Marxist MPLA.

Now that the MPLA has formed a government in Luanda, this backing is open and visible.

Nevertheless, Moscow is extremely concerned about the fact that the MPLA government is not recognised by many African countries, that it is opposed by such diverse enemies as the United States, South Africa, China, Zaire and most of the West European countries which have economic interests in Angola's mineral wealth and the vital railway lines to its ports.

These governments would like, the Russians argue, to see a compliant government in Angola which would play ball with them.

It is recognised in Moscow, though reluctantly, that the MPLA government in Angola is facing overwhelming odds and may not be able to survive.

The immediate Soviet interest, therefore, is in providing the MPLA with as much help as it can. But this help will remain restricted — Moscow is not willing to get its men directly involved.

The long-term Soviet interest is more ideological. It wants it to be seen in Africa that friendship with Moscow pays, even when the West is ranged against a particular country.

Therefore, if the MPLA can survive, Soviet prestige and influence in Africa will climb.

Such a victory would also establish Soviet presence, in a political and diplomatic sense, in a region which it considers is likely to be the scene of tremendous upheavals because of the presence of South Africa.

The Russians believe the war and intervention in Angola is being used by the South Africans to divert attention from the South West Africa crisis.

If Angola were to fall under the sway of Unita and the FNLA, then South Africa would be able further to strengthen its hold on South West Africa.

In its support for the leftist government in Angola, Moscow is working not so much in the hope of any gain for itself on the continent as in the hope of disrupting and weakening the West's hold in Africa in the hope of a long-term radical swing.

The Cuban connection

RDM 27/11/75

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SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT: Havana

THE CUBAN armed forces, seriously committed now to the defence of the MPLA (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), are facing their toughest test in more than a decade of often shadowy activity outside the island. Backing the Russian ambitions, perhaps the best-known Cuban military operation outside Cuba was the small-scale attempt to spark off a revolution in Peru and Bolivia in the mid-1960s. In 1973 Cubans were identified in Syria helping to fight Israel.

Cuba has also been active in South Yemen. As well as training the South Yemeni army, the Cubans may be assisting the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf, which is waging a guerilla war against the Sultan of Oman and his British and Iranian allies.

They may also be helping the Eritrean guerillas against Ethiopia and some of the Palestinian groups.

Nor are the Cubans strangers to Africa. In December 1969 Portuguese forces captured a Cuban army officer serving with guerilla forces in Guinea-Bissau. He was jailed for 10 years but after the Portuguese revolution last year he was released.

The Cubans have been able to intervene quickly in support of the MPLA in Angola because for some years they have maintained an important presence in neighbouring Brazzaville, the capital of the former French Congo.

There too, the Cubans have supplied instruction for the forces of the Leftwing President Marien Nguabi.

Ngouabi was in Havana some weeks ago for an official visit during which the prospects in soon-to-be-independent Angola were discussed. From their positions in Brazzaville the Cubans moved quickly to help the MPLA to dominate the oil-rich Cabinda enclave. The Cuban training ship Vietnam Heroico has been reported off Angola.

The Cubans are expensively fitted out by Russia and are able to man their equipment without Soviet aid.

As might be expected in a country which has felt the need to guard against any repetition of the US-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961, the forces have a position of privilege in Cuban society.

Their ranks are constantly replenished by recruits from special academies which boys can opt to join at about the age of 11.

Now these forces may hold the key to the control of what is potentially one of the richest countries in Africa.

MPLA hits back amid talks hope

STAR 26/11/75

(5)

LUANDA — The MPLA military spokesman here, Commander Juju, claims that the MPLA has inflicted substantial losses on the mercenary-led FNLA-Unita forces in fighting around Ebo in Cuanza-Sol Province.

He added in an official communique that the MPLA had taken a number of prisoners — “including Black South Africans” — and that a large amount of enemy equipment, including eight armoured cars and three troop-carriers, had been captured.

Commander Juju said that the enemy dead after the fighting on the southern front numbered more than 80, among them “some South Africans.”

On the northern front, he said, the MPLA has undergone no attacks on Cabinda since November 10 while the fighting on the “Coffee Road” north towards Cabinda continues to go well for the MPLA forces.

He denied an FNLA-Unita claim to have taken Malange, adding: “Most of Malange Province is under MPLA control.”

STALEMATE

A military stalemate in Angola will force the warring movements to open talks soon on unifying the country, a top nationalist official has predicted in New York.

Mr Jorge Sangumba, chief representative in Lusaka of the National Union (Unita), said that if talks were arranged United Nations observers would have to be deployed in Angola to supervise a ceasefire.

Speaking to reporters at the UN, Mr Sangumba said he understood that some top officials of the Popular Movement (MPLA) were considering making approaches to Unita and its ally, the National Front (FNLA).

In a flurry of international diplomatic activity over Angola, African leaders are reported to have agreed to a summit meeting of the OAU to discuss the situation.

AMIN MOVES

A senior official of the US State Department has delivered a special message from the American Government to the OAU chairman, President Idi Amin, according to a Uganda Radio report.

The radio said President Amin, after receiving the message from Acting Assistant Secretary of State Edward Mulcahy, had told him he strongly supported the US stand on non-interference in Angola by outside powers.

Uganda Radio also said an OAU summit meeting on Angola had been agreed to by African leaders who are in Kinshasa for Zaire's anniversary celebrations.

In Lagos, the Nigerian Government announced that it will recognise the MPLA as the “only legitimate government” of Angola.

Mozambique's Foreign Minister, Mr Joaquim Chissano, speaking in Lusaka, has asked the FNLA and Unita to report to him if they find any Mozambiquan involvement on the side of the MPLA in the Angolan war.

Last week, Unita claimed they had captured 20 Russians, 35 Cubans and 15 Mozambiquans.

(See Page 5)

MPLA cannot be crushed in Luanda says Unita official ⁽⁵⁾

D.O. 24/11/78

UNITED NATIONS — The Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola could never be crushed in its home base of Luanda, the foreign secretary of one of its warring rivals said here.

But he warned that it could never win the "useless war" either and

that the longer it lasted the greater foreign intervention would grow, with disastrous consequences for the future.

Predicting a stalemate, Mr Jorge Sangumba of the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola suggested a UN observer force would be needed:

Mr Sangumba said he was "shopping around" for military aid from any nation that would give it and warned the MPLA: "for every 20 tanks it puts in Angola we are going to put 40 tanks."

"Angola was unbelievably rich. It would be no problem to buy 50 Mirage jets through

arranging to sell diamonds to Mr Oppenheimer," he said.

Mr Sangumba said that it was "not possible to crush MPLA in Luanda" because at least 90 per cent of the population supported it. On the same basis the MPLA could never achieve victory in Lobito, where the people were 99 per cent behind Unita.

He said that South Africa's presence in Angola was limited to its occupation of the Cunene Dam site. "It is not involved in the fighting." No South African troops were supporting Unita. He later added that "neither confirm nor deny" that a South African regiment was attached to the FNLA forces.

Asked why the FNLA and Unita had not opposed the South Africans on the Cunene, he replied: "We can't fight two at once. Let's deal with the Russians and Cubans and later we shall see."

He said it would not be possible for the UN to be called in until the fighting stopped and even then it should be limited to an observer status.

The FNLA and Unita would be willing to accept the MPLA in a provisional government for up to 18 months. Then elections could be held, with the UN and the Organisation of African Unity providing technical assistance. — DDC

(3)

We're winning, claims MPLA

COM 27/11/75

'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUANDA.—The Marxist, Soviet-backed MPLA claimed yesterday that it is winning "on all fronts" in the battle for Angola.

The claim came amid reports of fierce fighting between the rival nationalist movements, the MPLA, the FNLA and Unita.

The MPLA successes—if the claim is correct—represent the first major stand by the Luanda-based regime of Dr Agostinho Neto's "People's Republic" since independence on November 11 and the first since the combined FNLA and Unita forces began advancing on the capital more than a month ago.

There is no doubt, however, that fighting has intensified and at the tiny port of Porto Amboim, French doctors have radioed for urgent medical supplies and for more doctors.

The radio message specified the need for surgeons able to amputate—an indication that there have been many serious casualties in the fighting.

The reports indicate that the MPLA has launched a counter-offensive on two fronts—one at Porto Amboim in the south, and the other at Malanje in the east.

According to diplomatic sources in Luanda, the MPLA offensive is led by Cuban regulars who, with the help of tremendous Soviet-supplied firepower, have forced the Unita-FNLA troops to fall back from recently won ground.

Reports indicate that the massive Soviet arms build-up has enabled the MPLA to shell the FNLA posi-

tions to saturation level under the direction of the Cubans.

The Radio Luanda communique claimed, too, that the MPLA had driven an invading army—which they alleged included troops from Zaire—back across the River Dande, 65 km north of Luanda.

From Belgrade Sapa-Reuters reports that in a message to President Tito of Yugoslavia, Dr Agostinho Neto blames the civil war in Angola on "foreign interference and aggression".

And in Washington the United States is becoming increasingly concerned that its standing in Africa will be damaged if the present level of Soviet and Cuban involvement in Angola continues.

Sargent's story

AUGUSTO pretends to blindfold himself, points an imaginary rifle at you and says: "Bababababa... babababa... you South Africans, you die Good, eh!"

But after a week Augusto isn't funny anymore.

Roger Sargent, of the "Mail" Africa Bureau, arrived in Luanda on October 28 to report on the independence celebrations. Three hours later he was arrested.

He was released 11 days later. Now safely back in South Africa, he tells his story in Saturday's Inside Mail.

AR64528/11-75 (5)

PRETORIA.—South Africa has troops in war-torn Angola and is providing advisers and logistical support to anti-communist forces fighting the Marxist-oriented Popular Movement (MPLA), authoritative sources reported.

The sources also said MPLA troops in the former Portuguese territory are being led by Russian and Cuban officers in clashes against the Western-supported National Front (FNLA) and National Union (Unita) movements.

Other nations

The source said there was no doubt that the free nations of the world — which he did not identify — are operating in Angola but added South Africa would like to see more active American participation. He said the Western nations involved in Angola do not want to admit it.

Russia was in a bad position she had long lines of communication in this instance. The West, with many friends in Southern Africa and potential friends could establish itself in a very strong position and make it impossible for Russia to infiltrate into Southern Africa, the source added. — Associated Press.

South African troops have clashed with African troops in Southern Angola in recent weeks but the sources said it was not always clear whether they were forces of the MPLA or of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo).

Reports similar to this were sent abroad last night by about nine newspapers and news agencies and were used prominently in the British Press today. The report was the main foreign news item in the Times of London.

The sources said the South African troops were based at Calueque, about 30 km inside Angola, and conceded that South African forces were prepared to penetrate more than 320 km of Angolan territory as part of its recently adopted hot pursuit policy.

No details

The source said there was a company of about 150 South African troops in Calueque with armoured cars but would give no details on the number of advisers or others in the territory.

Calueque is the site of the multi-million rand hydro electric project on the Kunene River largely built and paid for by South Africa.

The source added the South African presence in Southern Angola had the approval of Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the Unita movement, which controls most of the territory south of the Benguela railway stretching from the port of Lobito in the east to the Zambian Copperbelt.

And in this case we are in good company because we find ourselves in the company of the 'big free nations of the world,' the sources said.

Russians fighting in Angola — Botha

Cape Times
28/4/76

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Russian military personnel are taking an active role in the Angolan civil war by leading Black Marxist troops, according to a UPI report quoting South Africa's Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha.

The Russians, said Mr Botha, were leaders and commanders actively leading MPLA troops. Cubans were similarly involved.

Mr Botha said the Soviet Union's new presence on the west coast of Africa was a direct threat to the security of the Cape sea route, endangering the oil and trade routes between the Persian Gulf and Nato countries.

According to UPI, other authoritative sources said South Africa had joined Western nations in on-the-spot logistical support for the two liberation movements — FLNA and Unita — attempting to oust the Marxist regime which had taken control of Luanda.

The Africa Bureau reported from Luanda last night that the Marxist MPLA yesterday claimed

to have captured its first White mercenaries in fierce fighting around Luanda. If the claim is true the prisoners face immediate execution under a recent MPLA ruling.

The claims came as the MPLA was locked in a bitter struggle with the rival National Front (FNLA) and the National Union (Unita) for control of Angola.

The MPLA claimed that it still holds the key town of Malanje and that it had retaken Caxito which had been held by FNLA for more than a month.

The MPLA claim followed an earlier one by Unita claiming victory in Malanje and the capture of Russian and Cuban prisoners.

These, the MPLA said, were "blatant lies".

With correspondents still in Angola denied access to the battlefronts it is impossible to verify the counter-claims being made by the rival groups.

The MPLA target appears to be the FNLA stronghold of Caromona and observers feel that the Marxist movement's battle plans are being dictated by the growing food shortages in Luanda. Caromona is a key town and is the centre of the northern cattle-rearing and coffee plantation region. And the MPLA needs the produce of the region to feed the 2.5 million people under its control.

Meanwhile in Washington, diplomatic observers feel that the Soviet involvement in Angola is the "big try-on" that has been awaited since the United States pulled out of Vietnam. They believe that the Kremlin is probing to see how far it can go before the West reacts. United States officials predicted the Soviet strategy after the collapse of South Vietnam.

Unita gets steam up on the vital Benguela line

5

28/11/75

The Star's Africa
News Service

NUAMBO — Top priority is being given by Angola's Unita and FNLA movements to reopen the Benguela railway from Lobito at the coast to Luso 800 km inland as a first step to moving Zambian copper shipments.

All this territory is now in Unita hands and re-laying of a 20 km stretch of line near Huambo which was torn up by Unita earlier in the fighting in the face of an MPLA advance.

The lines sections were carefully numbered and hidden in the bush.

The rest of the line appears intact and stretches of it are already being used.

FLED

Attempts are also being made to persuade railway workers who fled into the bush two months ago to return to their posts.

Railway marshalling yards are being repaired and organised and Unita is negotiating with oil tankers anchored offshore at Lobito to buy diesel fuel necessary to run the big diesel-electric locomotives on the rail.

Only wood-burning locomotives are now being used, and the 130 km rail journey from Huambo to Luso takes 12 hours, the engine crew stopping periodically to cut firewood from trees at the side of the track.

The 400 km of the rail beyond Luso to Teixeira de Sousa at the Zambian railhead also had a 20 km stretch torn up by Unita forces, but they are unable to replace it because much of this area is controlled by the MPLA.

immobilise tanks and armoured cars and the same kind of guerrilla tactics which have been taught some of the estimated 3 000 Cubans now in Luanda to spearhead the MPLA's Russian-backed bid for power.

The chief training officer is a tough, young Portuguese, known only by the name of Henrique. A former conscript in the Portuguese Army in Mozambique, Henrique is

paratroop and commando trained.

Between commando training sessions his troops get ideological lectures aimed at creating a national consciousness.

Henrique says he'll back his Unita commandos against anything the MPLA, Russia or Cuba can put against them in Africa. Only 60 out of each 450 troops who begin his three-month course finish it.

FORTUNES

While fortunes in the war to the west of Teixeira de Sousa are fluctuating, the MPLA remains firmly in control of the railhead itself. But Unita spokesmen have claimed their forces will take the town soon, so opening the line to Zambian copper.

They say only they know where the missing 20 km stretch of the line and its sleepers are hidden.

The western end of the line is expected to function soon as a vital supplies artery for Unita and FNLA forces.

SPEARHEAD

Commandos of Unita's army have meanwhile started intensive training for special operations against the Cuban mercenaries now packed into the

At a former MPLA army camp they are learning hand-to-hand combat and street fighting, how to

Stalernate in Angola war.

is possible

28/11/75

The Star's Africa News Service

HUAMBO — Increasing signs of a stalemate in the Angolan civil war are becoming evident here following a series of Unita-FNLA successes to the south and east of the MPLA-held capital, Luanda.

While Unita leader Jonas Savimbi continues to deny South African military involvement on his behalf, and FNLA leader Holden Roberto remains strangely quiet on the issue, there are indications that the Russian-organised, Cuban-manned armoured flying columns of the rival MPLA have sufficient punch to contain further Unita/FNLA advances.

Reports reaching here, the capital of the Unita territory, reveal that in the past few days Unita forces and the "Portuguese Angolans," whom Savimbi claims are the White men fighting with them, have suffered two important reverses as the result of massive Russian armour recently unloaded in Luanda being thrown into the struggle.

Savimbi's forces are believed to have been ousted from the strategically important town of Gabela 250 km south of Luanda and Malanje, 400 km to the east of the capital. Both these towns were captured in mid-November by Unita.

IMPORTANT

Malanje is particularly important because, while Unita held it, it controlled the only supply route to MPLA forces spread out eastwards from this point across the whole of central Angola.

Malanje's continued occupation by Unita forces was vital to its strategy of capturing the area triangled by Inuso, Henrique De Carvalho and Teixeira

De Sousa on the Angola-Zambia border, which is still controlled by MPLA, along with a 250 km stretch of the Benguela railway line.

For the past week Savimbi and Roberto have neglected the war while they have held secret talks in Kinsbass to form a joint "Angolan Government" to rival that already set up by the MPLA.

Unita sources say the bargaining was tough and almost broke down over the FNLA's initial insistence that it be given all the key ministries.

PRECLUDED

The two leaders are understood also to have discussed the possibility of Daniel Chipenda, leader of the FNLA wing in southern Angola, being appointed chief of the combined armed forces but fundamental differences between the movements precluded any union.

Despite their union against the common MPLA enemy, Unita and FNLA are still so far apart that Angolans talk openly about an inevitable power struggle between them when the MPLA are defeated.

AGREEMENT

Unita troops complain that FNLA troops are strutting, insufferably truculent, trigger happy braggarts and looters whose idea of independence is to destroy everything built up over 500 years of colonialism, and who are better armed because they have sold out to the West.

Savimbi keeps his own forces on a much tighter rein, and it is said here that there are more Unita soldiers guarding buildings and movables against FNLA soldiers than finding their way to the front.

There is general agreement that Unita has the support of about half the

5.5 million population, including the vast mass of peasantry, and that FNLA and MPLA share the balance equally.

While Unita is staking its long-term future on the holding of free elections the other two parties are banking on a long period of military government — theirs.

Savimbi is widely regarded as the most intelligent, most forceful of the three leaders but is trusted less by the West than Roberto and still has sufficient misgivings about the wisdom of accepting Western support against Russia to try to cover it up.

WEAKNESS

He receives much of his aid from the US and therefore through President Mobutu of Zaire and the FNLA, thus weakening his bargaining position.

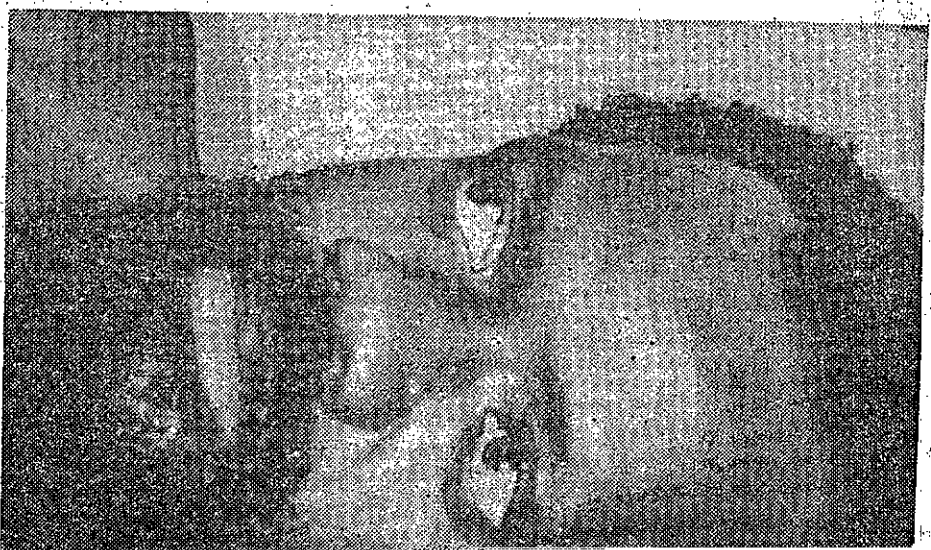
Savimbi has other weaknesses — he is reluctant to delegate authority. He tolerates a vast bureaucracy of high level incompetents and he does not understand public relations beyond his undoubted appeal to the humble masses.

Since November 11 his victory claims have gained a reputation for unreliability, and he has gone to considerable lengths to keep the handful of foreign journalists covering the war on the Unita side away from the front.

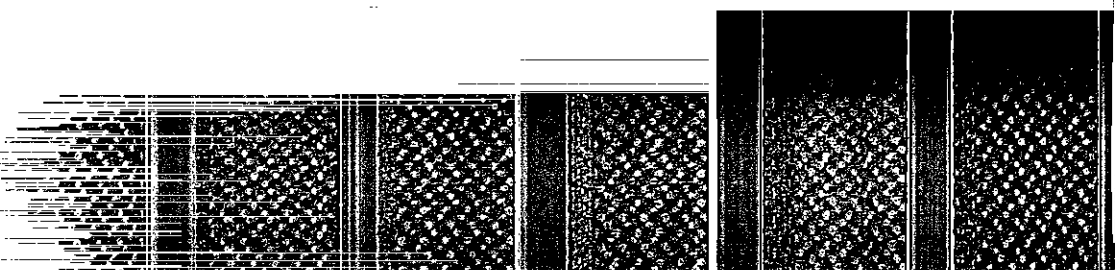
For the past week the three Western journalists remaining with Unita have been held virtual prisoners in Nova Lisboa.

With conventional military successes being stalemated by the weight of Russian armour, any new escalation must be in aerial warfare. The MPLA has Russian MiGs and foreign pilots to fly them.

Savimbi says he, too, can get foreign airpower if he needs it.



Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi



FNLA gets ⁵ Idi warning on SA

ROM 29/11/75

LONDON

THE Ugandan President Idi Amin, this year's chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), has warned the leaders of two liberation movements in Angola about the consequences of reported South African participation in the present fighting there, Radio Uganda said yesterday.

"The majority of the OAU member-states may have to review their positions on the Angolan situation and their attitude to your two parties in particular," President Amin said.

President Amin told the leaders of the FNLA and Unita to let him know at once "whether it is true or not that the White racist South Africans are assisting your two parties in fighting for political power in Angola."

But in Pretoria the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, said last night he did not know who was advising the different movements in Angola or providing them with logistical support.

The Minister was commenting on foreign news agency reports, published in South African afternoon newspapers, that South Africa was providing advisers and logistical support to the FNLA and Unita. The reports quoted authoritative sources in Pretoria.

Mr Botha said last night: "We in South Africa must expect confusing propaganda to cloud the Russian-Cuban interference in the affairs of Angola."

"The Republic carries responsibilities which we were asked to accept by the representative and responsible government of Owambo and Kavongo, to support them in maintaining order and the integrity of their borders."

"This is in our own interest too," the Minister said. "At Calueque, Angola, there are pumping stations providing water for the people and animals of Owambo. South African capital is at stake in the development of the Ruacana hydro-electrical scheme. Any threat to these interests must be effectively opposed."

"We deeply regret that the South African Defence Force has lost valuable lives in supporting those interests," Mr Botha said. "However, those who have attempted to endanger our borders have sustained greater losses than they would care to admit. Large numbers of them have been killed. Furthermore, we have succeeded in capturing large quantities of weapons and ammunition."

Mr Botha also told the Rand Daily Mail's Durban correspondent: "We are not taking part in the war. We are interested only in safeguarding our own interests."

Earlier yesterday Mr Botha had told a news conference South Africa would be prepared to join the Western world if those countries were prepared to drive Russia out of Southern Africa.

"If we have to fight, we will fight on our borders to the last man but South Africa is not fighting the free world's cause to the last South African."

In Addis Ababa last night, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said the reported involvement of South Africa in Angola had changed Ethiopia's assessment of the situation.

"South Africa has never supported anywhere the cause of Black Africa, and there is no reason to believe now that it is interested in the cause of the Angolan people's independence," he said. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Angola trap faces SA in 'anti-Red war'

SOUTH AFRICA'S admitted presence in Angola this week puts her in the front line of a desperately dangerous war. There are growing signs that she could be trapped alone in her support for the anti-communist forces.

The United States and Russia went into the weekend eyeball-to-eyeball over the Angolan crisis, and there was every sign that the climax to the major East-West confrontation was approaching fast.

As Pretoria fires off anxious appeals to the United States and Nato to move openly in its support and save South Africa from being found alone in a dangerous war with monumental political repercussions, there are indications that South Africa's involvement has

scared off states that were prepared to help in the anti-Russian campaign.

It has also become an embarrassment to the United States as it seeks to rally support from African nations for its ultimatum to Russia to back down in Angola.

Documents purporting to list military details of the South African involvement are being scrutinised by diplomats at the United Nations.

Earlier this week South Africans read of the presence of their troops at Calueque in southern Angola 39 km from the border to protect the pump stations there while the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, told a Press conference that South

Africa would be prepared to join other Western countries to drive Russia out of southern Africa — but would not "fight to the last South African on behalf of the free world."

But reports from London and Washington indicate that South Africa could be left to fight alone. Her presence also appears to be tipping the diplomatic scales in favour of the Russian-backed MPLA.

In the past week:

- Nigeria — a key centre of Western interest — has recognised the MPLA "government" because of South Africa's Angolan presence.
- China has withdrawn her support for the FNLA.
- Ethiopia has said her

future moves will be determined by the fact of South Africa's involvement.

● President Amin of Uganda, chairman of the OAU, has warned the FNLA and Unita that the OAU member states may have to review their position.

Protest

Dr Henry Kissinger, United States Secretary of State, confirmed at the weekend that he had been in direct contact with Moscow to protest against Soviet military intervention in Angola. With the reported arrival in Luanda a week ago of 3 000 Cuban troops and more Russian weapons, the CIA is understood to have stepped

up its airlift of arms to the FNLA using big air force Starlifter transports.

The aircraft use the American base in the Azores as a staging base, and the airlift is said to be the biggest CIA operation in Africa since the Congo.

Nevertheless, the signs are that neither America nor any other Western nation will — despite South Africa's appeals — move into open support of her against the MPLA.

Dr Kissinger is known to believe that the Russians are deliberately, trying to show up America as a broken reed unable to help its non-communist friends in Africa.

They had been looking — reports Guy Bernard from Washington — for a soft spot to apply the

● To Page 2

SA may be on her own

● From Page 1

pressure, and found it in Angola.

America's present mood of doubt and self-criticism is hampering its policy-making and strengthening the Kremlin's hand; nor, with a presidential election looming, does the White House dare to em-

bark on a military adventure in Africa to check Russia, and America seems powerless to do more than issue statements of disapproval.

Also behind the stalemate appears to be the fear that the conflict could escalate into a major air war.

Nato, Washington and

Peking strike a bizarre alliance with their charges that Russia is making a bid for a base with which to challenge the West in Southern Africa and the South Atlantic. Nato analysts at the United Nations say that Russia is intent on a pincer movement with Angola in the West matching its Indian-Ocean base in Somalia.

Whoever wins, Angola loses...

HUAMBO: Reliance by the MPLA on Russian arms

Instead of the vote to win power in Angola has escalated the war between the rival movements until it threatens to become a big power confrontation, with Angola the inevitable loser, says UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

He claimed MPLA leader Agostino Neto was so committed to seeking power through Russian military might, regardless of the price Angola would have to pay for it later, the UNITA had been forced to call in outside help, which in one way or another would also have to be paid for.

"They are escalating the war and as a result we are both becoming the prisoners of somebody," he said. "First we agreed to hold elections throughout the country, and while we were organising the elections, the MPLA was getting arms from the Russians. When they started the fighting they were well armed with

Tribune Africa News Service

small arms while most of our troops had nothing at all. "So we sought and obtained small arms and the MPLA started getting armoured personnel carriers and bazookas.

"Now we also have these weapons and are pushing them back. They are getting Russian tanks and hundreds of thousands of experienced Cuban fighters and hundreds of Russian advisers. Who is driving the Russian carriers? I can assure you they are not Angolans."

UNITA was being pressed to accept air cover from outside to match the menace of the Migs. "I staked my military reputation on being able to take Lobito. I was offered air strike capacity but I turned it down and we took Lobito without it, and Benguela also. "UNITA will never take the first step to escalate the war. But the minute one of their Mig raids this

Corruption cripples the mighty FNLA

KINSHASA: Corruption, arrogance and ineptitude are seriously weakening Holden Roberto's much-vanted FNLA.

Because of this the FNLA is being labelled the military cripple in its uneasy alliance with Dr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA against the MPLA, which is now entrenched in Luanda and beginning to counter-attack.

By the last Portuguese intelligence count, about two months ago, the FNLA was rated the largest army of three. Its force then totalled 30 000 to 35 000 men against the MPLA's 25 000 to 30 000 and UNITA's 18 000.

Since then the MPLA, whose hard-core troops are rated as the best

trained and most highly motivated, and UNITA have been expanding their armies.

Observers who have been with the FNLA in northern Angola say its Black troops, though well trained in guerrilla bush warfare, have little stomach for the conventional warfare which has developed in Angola.

Though their ability with small arms like Kalashnikov automatic rifles matches that of the other two armies, they are hopeless with the more sophisticated hardware being pumped in by the West: armoured cars, artillery, rockets and the like.

White Angolans with experience in the old colonial wars in Africa and Whites recruited elsewhere are handling

these weapons. The FNLA also has expert war advisers but increasingly refuses to take their advice, with the result that it has made some serious strategic blunders.

Roberto's men are choosing to take the advice of Zaire army officers, whose knowledge of this kind of fighting is limited.

The prime example given of the FNLA's strategic innocence is its failure to penetrate Luanda, or even capture its vital water pumping station 32 kilometres from the city centre.

FNLA troops recaptured the town of Caxito north of Luanda in July — and then stopped. The MPLA defenders have had time to reinforce their lines, get

huge quantities of Russian arms and even attack the FNLA flank, putting them on the run.

Had the FNLA followed through with its drive in September, it could have broken through the then thin MPLA defences, with the prospect of causing a panic which might have given them the city.

Many FNLA soldiers, says one reporter, are more interested in profit than fighting. Many of the supplies being sent to Zaire and then on to the FNLA front line are pilfered en route.

One FNLA figure is known to have sent out of Angola huge sums of money which came under his control during the brief life of the provisional government for-

place — Nova Lisboa is now known as Huambo — we will bring these aircraft in and hit back.

"And if the MPLA puts tanks in the field we will also bring them in. Don't blame UNITA for mercenaries, pens in future. If anyone blames us for mercenaries, I am not listening. If anyone wants to make civil war, it is because they do not have the support of the people.

"We do not want our country to become a ground for confronting foreign powers, but we are determined to resist."

Angola would accept help from wherever it could get it. "Neto is a prisoner of the Russians and the Cubans. We have reacted by asking Western countries to help us."

Asked about UNITA's relations with its FNLA allies, he said the two parties had a basic difference in their war strategy. "The FNLA wanted to take Luanda but UNITA wanted to take the country except Luanda, isolating the capital and denying it water and electricity.

med by the three movements.

The MPLA also has its feeble soldiers: the thousands it has recruited to reinforce its hard core in Luanda. Most have been given the most rudimentary training with their new guns and are likely to turn tail when the fighting gets hot.

But they have been beefed up by 3 000 Cubans.

The UNITA army is also small and ill-trained, but its recent spectacular successes in southern and central Angola have been due to the Whites it has hired to advise and to spearhead the attacks. UNITA takes their advice.

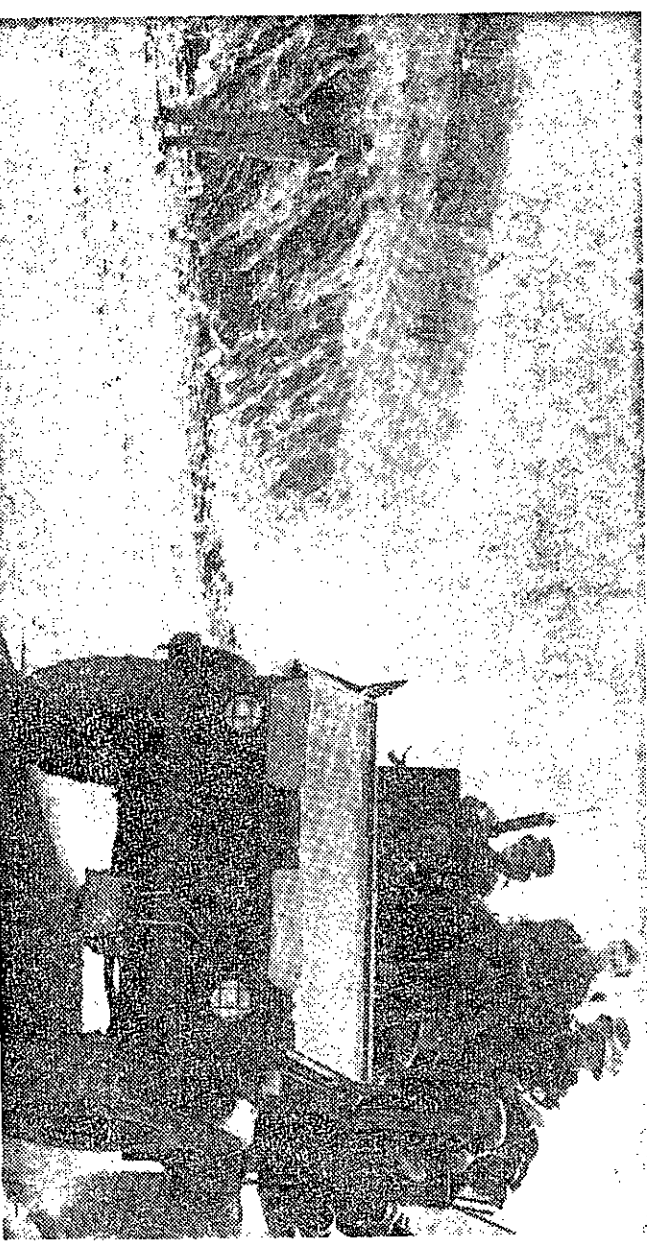
The two also differed in their approach to Angola's problems. While the FNLA leaned on the decisions of its president, Holden Roberto, UNITA believed military strategy must spring from political under-

standing. Savimbi said he was not interested in entering a race for the Angolan presidency. UNITA could not agree with Neto because he was an agent of the Russians. Neither could it agree with Holden Roberto if it meant destroying democracy.

South Africans on guard in Angola . . .



A South African soldier stands guard at the hydro-electric power station near Calueque in Angola. South African troops moved into the area last August to defend the project, built jointly with the former Portuguese authorities.



South African soldiers on patrol in a troop carrier on the South West African side of the Angola border.

South African-based foreign correspondents returned last night from a 48-hour trip into Southern Angola to see how South African troops are guarding the hydro-electric and irrigation schemes near Calueque.

On an official tour organised by the Defence Department, the correspondents were taken to South African camps about 20 kilometres north

of the South West Africa border.

These pictures were taken by correspondents in the party.

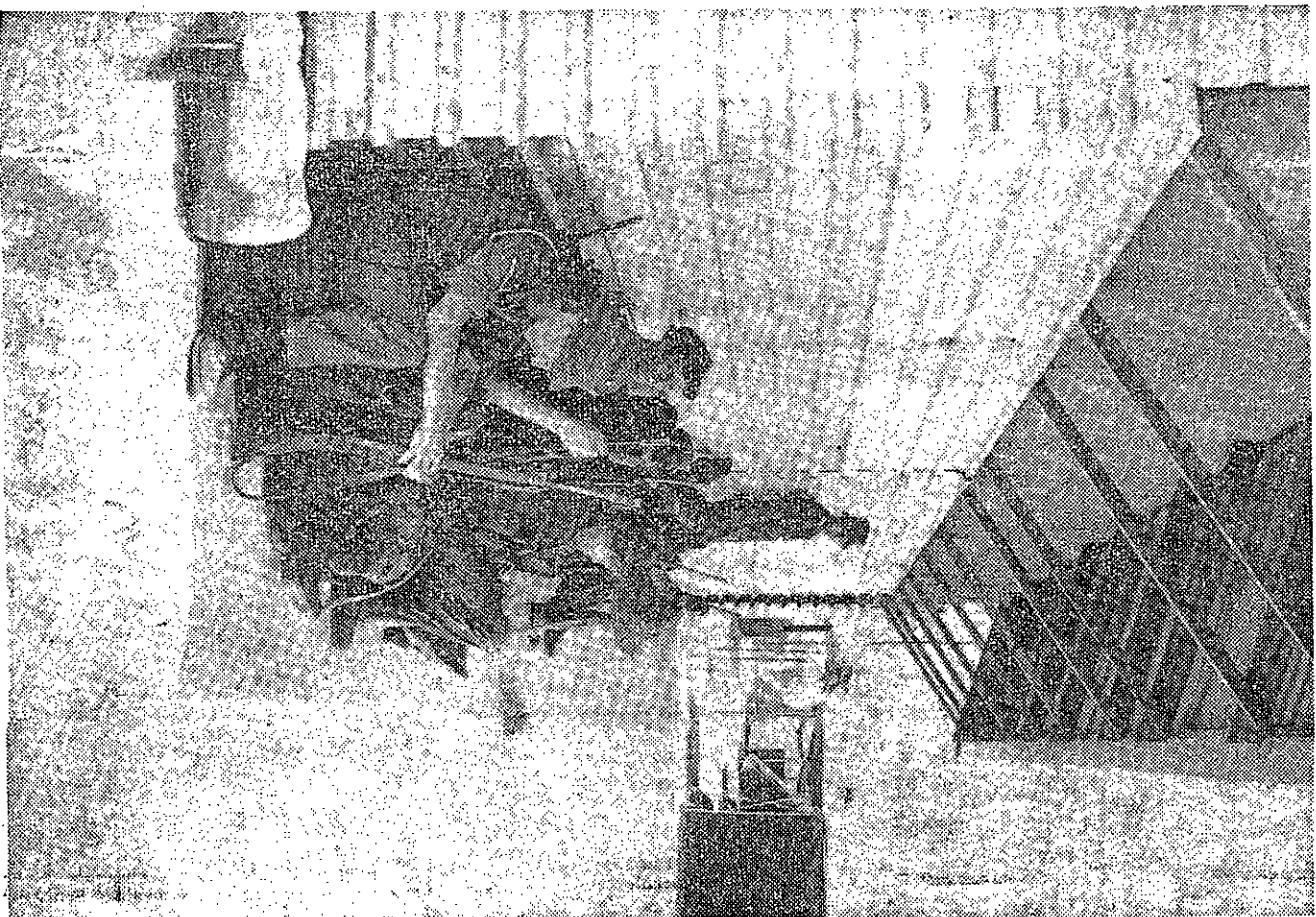
The party included representatives of The Times of London, The Los Angeles Times, Associated Press, Reuters, the BBC, the Daily Telegraph, European news agencies and Australian newspapers.

The correspondents were also shown a village in Angola occupied by refugees from the fighting in the territory.

South African forces moved into the area some time ago to protect the huge hydro-electric project at the Ruacana Falls, which had been started as a joint operation with the Portuguese authorities in Angola.

It is intended to provide power and water for a large area in the northern part of South West Africa as well as in Angola.

The project is due to be completed within the next two years.



Left: South African soldiers rest in the shade during a break from duty near the Angola-South West Africa border.

ROGER SARGENT (right) of the "Mail" Africa Bureau flew to Angola on October 28 to report on the independence that country was to celebrate on November 11. He arrived in Luanda at midnight. Three hours later he was arrested by FAPLA, military wing of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and spent 11 days in detention at their military headquarters—

Luanda. He was released on November 8. No explanation was given for Sargent's arrest and detention, nor for his release. Chris van der Merwe, the Johannesburg journalist arrested with him, is still in jail. This is Sargent's story.

THE SMELL at Luanda Airport is one of despair—the sweet sickly smell of unwashed bodies and clothes, of sweat and urine and rotten food and vomit. You can see where the Portuguese have lived in the airport building, waiting for planes to fly them to the motherland thousands have never seen. When the immigration officer has read your health documents—upside down—and the customs man has turned out your bag, you step into the street where the teenage boy says:

"Escudos kamernade kamernade escudos!" You ride past the wrecked cars, the shattered shops, the posters everywhere and daunted walls and windows. And you end up at the Tivoli Hotel. The desk clerk says: "I must have your passports for the police."

"No," Chris van der Merwe keeps his, too. It is 2 a.m. An hour later there are five of them standing in the dim orange light outside the door of Room 25. Two are Fapla—just boys nervously licking their lips and fingering Kalashnikovs—and two are whites—

Chris van der Merwe and the fifth man is



Eleven days in a Luanda schoolroom

to borrow money from his bank manager and he wonders if the man is fretting about him.

Shanket talks about his Indian restaurant and we all talk about the time when we will go to Cape Town to eat at his home. "When will we be questioned?" asks Shanket. "Why don't the bastards question us? Why not give us a good hiding even and then let us go."

You can only speculate why you are there and as the days pass you find it easier to lie back and say: "It's up to them . . . there's nothing we can do."

Until one midnight a Fapla official we knew only as "Mr Nasty" came and stood in front of us with three friends and



From the cars you are walked along a narrow passage between two small buildings. The civilian says: "In . . . I could see you two when you came in," Fred Dorton of the BBC Panopticon Team said later. "Your mouths dropped open and I could see you were thinking: 'What the hell's this?' I tell you, I thought the same when I came through that door."

"Get stuffed!" And he would nod and you could laugh and another day would begin.

Ahead was a wire fence, just three strands. Much of the wire was broken and you could have walked through. But you did not.

There are many things you can do in detention but walking through a Kalashnikov 7.62 mm bullet is not one of them.

There were guards like the two who slept on the other side of the fence in a disused Land-Rover. "Christ, I didn't know those guys were there."

Who knows who else might be sleeping in the cars and trucks down there in the gully? The airport control tower looks no more than two miles away but with the gullies, trees and ankle-breaking rocks it would be like walking three . . . if you were Black you might have made it but with roaming MPLA patrols . . . and it worries you that there are guards in places you know nothing about.

Beyond the gully is the Fapla headquarters and a football pitch. In the morning you see men playing soccer and you wonder if you will play again. Military vehicles and unmarked cars ride the road all day. For much of the time you lie on your mattress, starting at the ceiling, or you play chess with a set Chris has made with plasticine and a piece of hardboard. There is one book in English. It is "The Right Fuse" by Barry Cuff—about suburban sex in a small American town. You read it twice. The first time for entertainment.

The mosquitoes hang under the desks and tables. At night you hear men snoring and clapping and for the first few nights you can catch them. But soon they are too fast and you are too slow and one morning you count 34 bites on one hand and 22 on the other.

You scratch till the blood runs out, but you have stopped the itch and that is all that matters. It was Tuesday, November 4, and the sound pours through the room—Babababba—three shots that in the echo of the passageway separating the jail room from the laboratories sound like 10.

You will never see 36 men and one woman move in unison like that again, ever. The small MPLA doubler who had called a meeting to uplift the morale of the prisoners who, he said, had a role to play in the revolution of the progressive movement in the struggle against reactionaries, capitalism and fascism, leaps the table just as you are kicking it over and pulling



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heads appear above table tops and from behind the pillars. "We are sorry," he says, "but the guard outside accidentally pulled the trigger."

And everyone laughs and the fear is gone even though we have a guard who waddles the passageway with a bullet in the barrel and the safety catch off.

And in the morning you see the holes made in the concrete by bullets that came out of the rifle muzzle at 900 miles an hour.

The guard shouts but you do not understand what he says. "He is saying you must not throw your food there," says Augusto. "You must throw it over the fence."

So the guard says nothing as you walk to the fence carrying a plate of macaroni and sardines. Down there where the flies swarm over the rusting tins and the growing pile of rejected food, you scrape it clean.

You wash the plate and put it in one of the small desks and the bent fork and the spoon with half a handle goes there too. Then you wait for dinner. And when dinner comes the Fapla man ladles your plate high with macaroni and sardines and your stomach rejects what you see and the sardines smell and you walk down in darkness to the fence, wash your plate, put it away and wait for breakfast. The breakfast you can eat. The rolls are good and the coffee sweet. The idea is to get two rolls, to say you are collecting one for a friend. That way you will have something at lunchtime. Issy and Shanket, if they get a spare roll, will share with you, but not everyone shares. They sat in front of us, might after night, the group that grabbed the

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Shanket, Binkov, both of Cape Town. Stretched out on a bench is Richard Lindley, BBC reporter. They just came to the hotel and told us to go with them, says Issy. "What is this place?"

"I has the look of a prison," says Chris. If a man has just been confined in Mozambique for 46 days you feel he should know. "Are you fellows journalists?" asks Lindley. "Yes, South Africa," says Chris.

"Don't be offended if I don't shake hands," says Lindley. "I don't want to appear too friendly." He tells you of being arrested the day before with four other BBC Panorama men. "They told us we were Scotland Yard," said Lindley. "I was damn glad to see you blokes come in," says Fred Dorton. "You can believe I was glad to see you as well."

And get your passport. It will be just 30 minutes.
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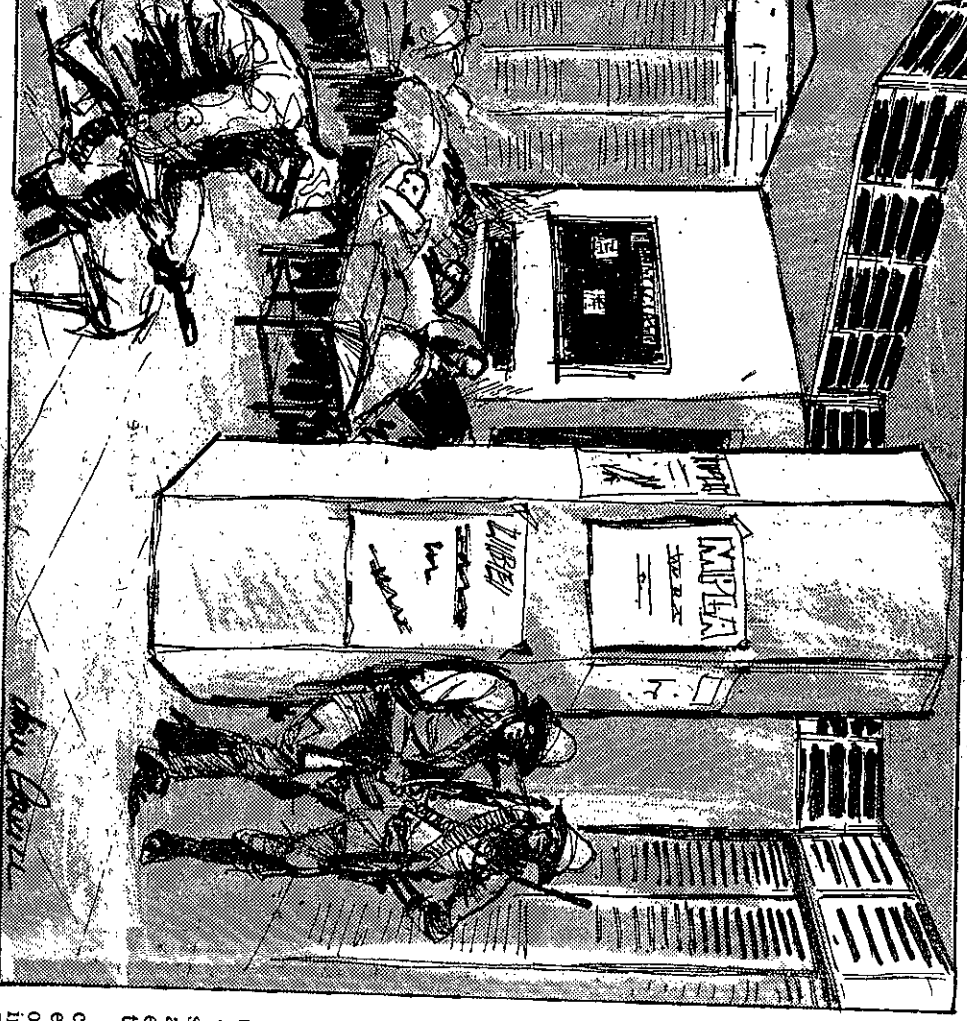
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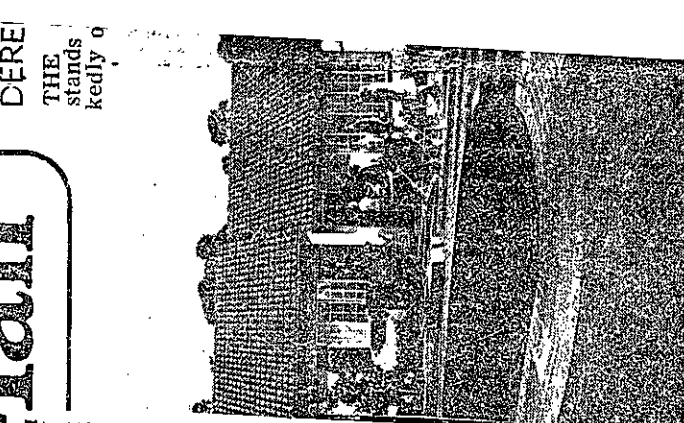
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- Novel (4)
- Swift, *The Man of Mode* (Arnold)
- Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe, Part 1* (Penguin)
- Austen, *Emma* (Penguin)
- Dickens, *Bleak House* (Penguin)
- Elton, *George Wickham* (Chatto and Windus)
- James, *The Ambassadors* (Penguin)
- Hardy, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (Penguin)



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Huge artillery bombardment by MPLA ^{RDM} 1/12/75

Own Correspondent

LUSAKA — Russian-backed MPLA forces in Angola are now using massive artillery attacks — sometimes firing as many as a thousand shells an hour — to drive back the moderate Unita and FNLA forces from the approaches to Luanda.

Unita sources in Lusaka who are in close touch with daily developments on the various battlefronts, claimed last night that the saturation shelling of single targets, which has been mainly responsible for halting the rapid advance to Luanda, follows the offloading in seven days of 13 Russian cargo ships in Luanda harbour.

The effects of what is claimed to have been a new infusion of artillery material for the MPLA's Fapla forces, say Unita officials, was seen at the end of last week when FNLA forces were driven from the junction town of Caxito and forced to fall back along the vital road to Ambriz, military headquarters of Dr Holden Roberto, the FNLA leader.

The retreat from Caxito came after Fapla forces, led mainly by Cuban regulars, had mounted an artillery barrage lasting three hours, during which 1 000 Russian 122 mm rockets an hour were fired

against FNLA positions.

Perhaps of even greater immediate concern, however, is the diplomatic furor caused by reports of South Africa's involvement on the side of Unita and the FNLA.

Unita leaders have, in particular, been stung by Nigeria's recognition of the MPLA, particularly since Lagos said this was accorded because of the South African presence on the side of Unita and the FNLA.

There are fast-growing signs of mounting hostility throughout Africa towards the South African role, and clearly it is Unita's standing that is suffering in the eyes of Black Africa.

Meanwhile, the "Mail" Africa Bureau reports that observers are forecasting increased foreign involvement in the war in the next few weeks. They point to Nigeria's recognition of the MPLA and expect more African states to recognise Dr Agostinho Neto's government.

The observers expect Russia to capitalise on the embarrassment reports of South African involvement have caused Unita and the FNLA by rallying more support to the MPLA.

This, in its turn, is likely to result in the United States stepping up aid to the FNLA and Unita.

Angola—war that ca

STAR 2/12/75

a sub

continent

The future shape of the whole of Southern and Central Africa now depends critically on the outcome of the war in Angola.

If communism wins, South Africa is likely to find itself, finally, in total isolation on the continent's southern tip — fenced off by Black states controlled or manipulated by Russia, forced to maintain strong defences against terrorist attack along its entire border, and taking even more draconian action against internal subversion.

But if the West wins, victory could usher in — on the way already paved by detente — an unprecedented degree of economic and political co-operation between South Africa and nearby Black Africa. And with it, peace.

The East-West stakes in Angola are large.

For Russia, chief stoker of the fires of war, the first is a valuable Atlantic Ocean strategic base in return for the relatively small investment, in global terms, of arms and advice for its protege, the MPLA.

It is also an excellent stepping stone for the subversion and domination of Angola's vulnerable neighbours — Zaire and Zambia — and a useful source of raw materials.

For the West, the stakes are stability in the highly strategic Southern African region with its important mineral resources, security for the vital oil shipment route around the Cape which a Russian base in Angola would make very precarious, a drastic loss of prestige in the Third World if the communists win, and continuing pressure necessary for the dissolution of apartheid.

The stakes for the states of Southern and Central Africa — unwilling pawns in this sideplay of the big powers' game — are far higher. And Russia has picked its moment beautifully to intervene.

Thanks partly to detente, largely to economic problems and primarily to Portugal's chaotically botched flight from Africa all occurring simultaneously this area is in its greatest state of flux since the great colonial carve-up of the latter 1800s.

A look at each of the area's components reveals the fragility of the whole.

Wilf Nussey, Editor
The Star's Africa News Service

ZAIRE

Although President Mobutu is reputedly the world's seventh richest man, his country, America's African pet, is virtually bankrupt.

Low copper prices, stifling bureaucracy, totally illogical nationalisation and rampant corruption have brought it almost to a standstill, sent living costs into orbit and sowed widespread dissension among his long-suffering people.

President Mobutu is deeply committed to aiding his relative-by-marriage, President Holden Roberto of the Angolan FNLA movement, probably because President Mobutu has eyes on the Cabinda enclave's oil and a greater Zaire coastline.

But if he commits more of his unruly troops — many of whom resort to

banditry because they have not been paid for months — to aiding Dr Roberto instead of holding down his people, he risks internal revolt.

ZAMBIA

For the first time in 11 years of independence, ordinary Zambians are now openly and angrily criticising President Kaunda for Zambia's economic doldrums which are close approaching bankruptcy.

It is not entirely his fault. Zambia has lost vast sums through its public-backed, high moral stance against Rhodesia's UDI, from plunging copper prices beyond its control, and from appalling import-export transport blockages — not the least of them caused by the Angola war.

But in the middle of this he chose to take nationalisation still further — to a point where it is fast destroying foreign investors' confidence, has left commerce and industry merely marking time and imposed serious additional living costs.

Zambia's administration is inefficient and at the important rural level it is inadequate. Militarily, Zambia is feeble, certainly not able to cope with the kind of subversion and guerrilla attack Rhodesia is experiencing.

President Kaunda has one last plum left to appease his people and save his land from ruin. And that is a re-opening of transport routes through Rhodesia and a realistic economic co-operation with Rhodesia and South Africa.

The plum is swiftly becoming attainable with the new moves towards a Rhodesian constitutional solution and with the progress of detente with South Africa.

It would give Zambia the best chance, among Angola's Black neighbours, of surviving communist pressure from there.

RHODESIA

If the present settlement moves produce a genuinely non-racial society — and the best hope for this is that most Black leaders are terrified of a repetition of Angola — then its chances of survival are reasonable.

But a purely Black-ruled Rhodesia, or the continuation of guerrilla war which would inevitably follow a collapse of the settlement efforts, would suit Russia equally.

Whatever happens, Rhodesia simply does not have the military or economic capacity to withstand the kind of sustained subversion and pressure which communism based in Angola and Mozambique could build up within five to 10 years — particularly if Zambia collapsed and South Africa refused to help.

SWA

Like Rhodesia, its capacity to withstand communist pressure depends heavily on the result of its present constitutional negotiations.

A communist Angola would undoubtedly support the external Swapo guerrillas already making use of the Angolan chaos to step up their attack.

With less than a million inhabitants, most of them unsophisticated and spread over a vast tract of harsh land which has a long and wild border with Angola, South West Africa would be extremely hard put to block subversive infiltration or attack.

Even after independence, expected in three to five years, it would have to depend on South Africa for its defences.

BOTSWANA

Sparsely populated, still heavily undeveloped with an infant economy and sharing a long and wild border with Angola, Botswana, would have little choice but to compromise with a communist neighbour as it has done with South Africa.

SWAZILAND

When King Sobhuza goes, his government based on anachronistic tribal tradition is expected to go through a period of enormous flux in which the modernists and the African nationalists, most socialist-inclined, will grab for power.

What the outcome will be is not perceivable at this stage through the curtains of intrigue shrouding the devious political manoeuvring.

But indications are that the ambitious modernists are making a strong play, which could lead to the kind of anarchy which favours communism — conveniently based right next door in Mozambique.

MOZAMBIQUE

A communist win in Angola would give enormous boost to the morale and prestige of the Frelimo regime and possibly lure it out of its present cold co-existence with South Africa.

Mozambique's economy is decisively dependent on South Africa and Rhodesia for port and rail traffic, migrant labour income, sale of Cobara Basa power and, ironically, the supply of electricity to Lourenco Marques.

Under the pressure of such arch-Marxists as Marcelino Dos Santos it could well sacrifice its economy in communist fervour to step up Zanu's guerrilla attack on Rhodesia — and subversion in South Africa.

The Russian objective in Angola, then, is not Angola alone.

In the longer term it could be seen as the start of a project to build a bridge right across Africa which would cut off South Africa and Rhodesia, to be plucked later.

Examination of the states involved shows this could be done progressively and with no great effort. After Angola, Zaire, and then perhaps the somewhat more difficult target of Zambia.

Zaire would link communist Angola to Tanzania which, while not communist is so socialist and so anti-the-White South, it would complete the bridge.

If Zambia crumbles, the link is established direct to an even closer and more strategic country. Mozambique, so Rhodesia and South Africa, South Africa alone if Rhodesia goes wrong will be hemmed in north and east, with the likelihood

SA's proof of Cubans in Angola

Cape Times 2/12/75 (5)

PRETORIA.—Further proof of Cuba's involvement in the Angola war was provided here yesterday by the Chief of the Defence Force, Admiral H H Biermann.

Military training handbooks giving details of Russian arms and training techniques were displayed at a briefing given by Admiral Biermann yesterday.

The books were found on the bodies of Cuban soldiers killed in Angola.

And from Washington, Guy Bernard reports that a Cuban general who is close to Prime Minister Fidel Castro is handling Russian arms being poured into Angola.

United States intelligence reports say the general is Brigadier Julio Casas, who till recently was one of Castro's Cabinet ministers.

Unconfirmed reports say that at least one other Cuban general is leading troops of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in the field.

Advisers

Last night Unita sources in Lusaka reported that thousands of Cubans and hundreds of Russian "advisers" were involved in the conflict, assisting the MPLA against the FNLA, Unita and other anti-communist forces.

The Cubans are reported to be particularly active south of Luanda and many have been captured or killed in and around Novo Redondo, a coastal town about 300 km south of Luanda.

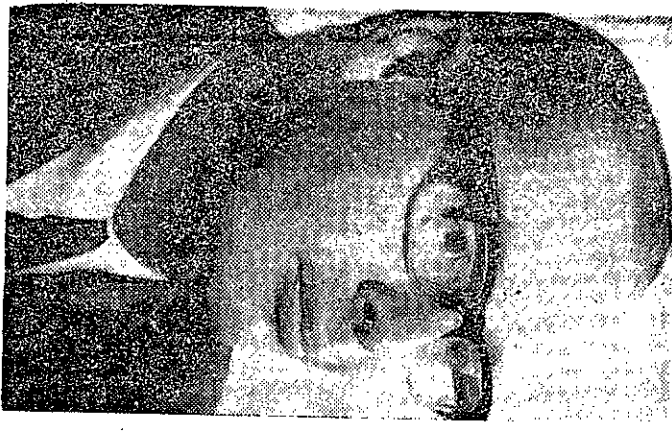
US intelligence has reported at least six shiploads of men and equipment and 19 airlifts from Cuba to Angola and estimates that there are some 3 000 Cuban troops already landed.

In Moscow the Soviet Union brushed aside Dr Henry Kissinger's charges that Kremlin involvement in the Angola fighting threatened east-west détente. It said détente did not mean "a halt to the anti-imperialist struggle."

● The United States State Department yesterday acknowledged in Washington that US weapons might be reaching Angola from neighbouring Zaire. But a spokesman insisted the United States was not directly assisting any side in the war. The US is supplying Zaire with 3.5m dollars (about R2.9m) worth of arms.

● Yesterday Tanzania, supported by Somalia, called for an emergency summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to discuss South Africa's alleged involvement in the Angola war. However, a broadcast by Uganda Radio, monitored in London last night, said that Dr Holden Roberto, leader of the FNLA, denied South African presence in his army. — Sapa-Reuter-AP and Own Correspondents.

The funny Vikings hacks it up through Angola



Henry Reuter

HUANBO — A funny thing happened to me in the middle of Angola the other night. I met this Norwegian.

There he was, with a great thick wad of Angolan funny money, buying me Scotch, reminiscing about home, and saying how funny he was.

He was blond, blue-eyed, about 2 m tall and almost as thick through. He had a deep suntan which made him a walking tribute to the Land of the Midnight Sun, a solid Walker F38 strapped to his hip and a Portuguese pilot who flew him around in a little Cherokee and respectfully called him "Commandant."

"I've just flown in to see Savimbi. What's it like here man? I saw some Press at the airport, so I ducked," he hissed with

his tongue stuck firmly to his palate.

I shot a jaundiced glance at his pistol and let it travel over his camouflage suit.

"Iss alright man. I'm a Norwegian mercenary," he volunteered.

I looked him straight in the eye.

"And I," I replied, "am a journalist working for the A R G U S Norwegian newspapers."

Us Vikings having established a rapport, he chewed the end of a long, fat liberated Cuban cigar, spat it out on the floor and gave me a lecture about how "these people" needed leadership, organization and a few lessons in marksmanship before they were ready to fight a war all on their own.

"Us Norwegians is reckoned as a force here man," he boasts. "And all

HENRY REUTER of The Star's Africa News Service meets the "Commandant" from Norway . . . and finds there's something about blue-eyed blond's.

I have for a power base is 30 paratroops. Just imagine that."

I imagine the savage Viking hordes with their double handed, choppers hacking their way up Africa.

I am then given a picture of the main Viking base, in a southern Angolan town which, unlike Huanbo, is chockful of beer and biltong.

The reference reminds him to excuse himself.

In his absence the pilot takes up the monologue. "They are very fine shots, he confirms. "They

go tat-tat-tat-tat and all the bullet holes are in a straight line next to each other. That's how they got this plane.

"They captured it when it was flying arms for the MPLA. The Portuguese pilot and his wife tried to escape, and tat-tat — he was dead and his wife was cut in half.

A Portuguese doctor who has run away from the MPLA in Luanda joins our party.

"Talking of language troubles, those MPLA troops are barbarians. When they kicked out the FNLA from Luanda they cut off the earlobes of

captured soldiers, made them put them between their teeth, and told them to say 'kwacha'.

"And if you think that easy, just try it," he said.

Two tall, lean, hungry-looking men come in, waving their Russian Kalashnikov rifles, their Cuban cigars and another bottle of whiskey.

They look tired. Their paratroopers sets are busily. They greet the Norwegian like a longlost brother. They turn out to be Portuguese from Mozambique with a big thing against the communists, and an apparent attachment to the Exército da

Libertacao de Portugal, commonly known as ELP.

"How's it down your way? Up our way is hell.

"Units not so bad, but the FNLA troops just fire two rounds into the air and run," they tell the Norwegian.

"Iss tough all over," he commiserates.

We are joined by a native young Danish journalist who immediately starts asking ardent questions.

"Look 'ere man," says his fellow Scandinavian. "If you write anything about me I'll seek you out, wherever you are, and I'll cut your head off."

This decided me.

In the interests of humanity I would not pass on to him the news that I had picked up earlier in the day about the Russian

sailor who was walking around in the heart of the Norwegians' Angolan stronghold.

He had nothing to do with the war. He fell ill when his ship docked at Mocamedes, was taken inland to hospital. His ship sailed without him and there he is — lying low and speaking not a word of anything except Russian.

In any case, I was more interested in Norwegians.

"We talked till 2 am on subjects ranging from 'What do you think of these Swapo men — eh?' To the possibility of getting a bit of land in Angola after the troubles.

I decided that Norwegians were very nice people — even if, as my friend pointed out every time he bought the drinks: "I'm the funniest mercenary you ever met."

NEW TITBIT

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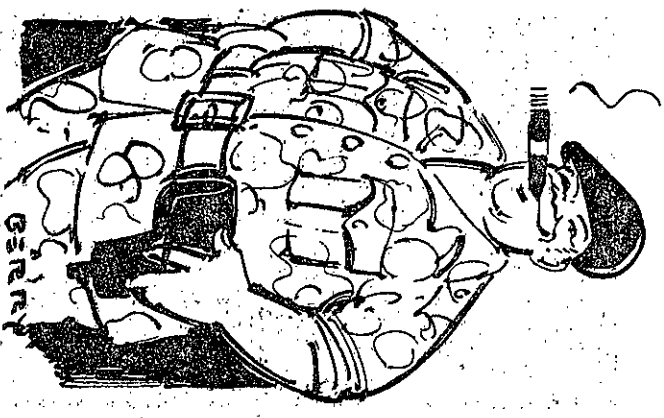
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Henry Reuter

Dr K's bid to solve Angola stalemate

STPR 3/12/75

The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — The Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, is expected to fly to Moscow within three weeks to seek a breakthrough in the stalled Strategic Arms Limitation talks coupled with talks on the Angolan crisis.

He will do so to a background of increasingly sharp exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union over the Angolan war which is seen here as moving into a stalemate position between the pro and anti-communist forces.

Kremlin rejection of repeated United States warnings against continued involvement in Angola has now drawn a strong accusation from United States Ambassador Mr Daniel Moynihan that the Soviet Union is trying to "colonise Africa" using military force where necessary.

But with the outlook in Angola being a stalemate, the United States will be looking for a relaxation of tensions with the Soviet Union and a negotiated resolution of the conflict.

Tensions

Dr Kissinger has made it clear his first priority is to relax tensions and not increase support — either covertly or overtly — to the anti-Soviet FNLA and Unita liberation movements.

Washington Star columnist James Kilpatrick has suggested that the US take the lead and recognise the FNLA-Unita Government at Nova Lisboa (Huambo).

This follows suggestions from the Washington Post that the United States should either take the matter to the international community or come out with modest but open support for "its friends in Africa."

Colonise

Speaking at a foreign relations conference in Washington, Mr Moynihan said the Russians had already been partially successful in a campaign to colonise Africa.

But he said the Russians were hindered by opposition from another communist power and by the fact that the US would call attention to any open military operations.

The Russians had in effect landed Cuban troops and Russian supplies on the south west coast of Africa even as

they were consolidating military facilities on the north east coast of the continent.

Washington analysts say the stalemate situation in Angola means that the rush from the south by Unita and from the north by the FNLA, has failed. The MPLA counter-offensive similarly will be unsuccessful because of distance and difficult terrain.

These are the conclusions in spite of some advantages currently enjoyed by the MPLA.

While Russian assistance to Agostinho Neto's MPLA is increasing aid to Holden Roberto's FNLA and Jonas Savimbi's Unita is lagging because of political considerations.

In the south, mean-

while, Savimbi's Unita movement finds itself embarrassed in African eyes by South African support.

Hopes that diplomatic solutions may yet be found are nourished by the view that the three main leaders know each other from the days of Portuguese rule and previous attempts to unify them.

They believe, from past experience, the Russian foothold in Angola is likely to be brief.

Meanwhile the Washington Post report says the Angolan civil war is rapidly becoming a mini-Vietnam for White-ruled South Africa and it has already created a major dilemma for its carefully engineered policy of detente toward Black Africa.

Big bangs are key in battle

3/12/75
STAR

HUAMBO — Russian rocket launchers which fire 15 rockets and are operated mainly by Cuban soldiers mounting saturation bombardments for the MPLA against Unita-FNLA forces in Angola have been a key factor in the past two weeks in stopping the Unita-FNLA northerly advance, according to on the spot accounts, reports Henry Reuter of The Star's Africa News Service.

Thirty-nine wounded Unita troops brought to the Huambo hospital last Sunday said the weight of fire was overwhelming.

Because of it, say Unita sources, the MPLA has forced an FNLA retreat from its positions 20 km from the capital — Luanda — to a point more than 160 km to the north beyond the coastal town of Ambriz.

Combined Unita and FNLA forces which captured the key town of Malanje at the junction of three main roads some 500 km east of Luanda have been ousted and driven south and fighting is now concentrated around Cela, 400 km

south of Luanda and 200 km north of the Unita Capital of Huambo.

In the east of the country, despite the Unita claim three weeks ago that it would be able to reopen the whole of the Benguela railway from the Zambian border to Lobito within four weeks, the MPLA still controls the key railway town of Luso and the 300 km of territory beyond it to the border town of Teixeira de Sousa.

About 500 km of the railway — from Lobito to Silva Porto — is to be reopened this week. One of its first functions will be to carry much needed diesel and petrol supplies to Unita-FNLA forces inland.

Unita is understood to have negotiated for at least one oil tanker to put into Lobito with a full load this week.

STALEMATED

Mercenaries advising the Unita-FNLA forces are claiming that the war is becoming stalemated. They say that as soon as their troops send out a flying column to capture an area, a massive MPLA counterattack, spear-headed by armoured cars driven mainly by Cubans, recaptures it.

The war, they say, is becoming a war of decibels.

African troops on both sides tend to run as the bangs get louder, and victory goes to the side which makes the most noise.

The Russians have not yet thrown into the action their MiG 21s believed to be in Luanda and handily available in the Congo Brazzaville, and some army officers fear that the mere noise of a low-flying supersonic MiG if uncountered by similar support for the FNLA-Unita troops could become a turning point in the decibel war battles.



Captured MPLA weapons, including a recoilless rifle, in Huambo, the FNLA-Unita capital. Huambo was formerly known as Nova Lisboa.

STAR 3/12/75

Cabinda oil flows for MPLA

CABINDA — When heavily armed troops of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) invaded Gulf Oil's huge plant here last month, the Americans and almost all other foreign workers fled.

But the 132 wells on Cabinda kept pumping into the tanks of Gulf Cabinda Company and the coffers of the MPLA, reports the Los Angeles Times News Service.

Mr Sidney Anderson, the Canadian who heads Gulf Cabinda, told the MPLA that the foreign workers who keep the Angolan plant operating would not return until all men with guns had left. On November 16, four days after the occupation, the troops were withdrawn and the oilmen returned.

They are still here, facing MPLA soldiers through a fence, producing oil which is the financial mainstay of the

communist-supported forces who rule Luanda.

With Angola's economy disrupted by civil war, Gulf's contribution is close to 100 percent of the Treasury's income.

The United States is supporting Unita and the FNLA but Gulf, with its multinational viewpoint, sees nothing unusual in financing the other side.

Foreign and defence ministers of the major Western Powers appear set to

collectively express their views on what action — if any — should be taken to block Russian interference in Angola, reports Tim Patten from Brussels.

The session of Nato ministerial meetings, which begin on Monday, will be the first opportunity for the allied countries to review in detail the aims and actions of the Russians in Angola since independence.

Proposals for a restruc-

turing of the International Red Cross operation in Angola to facilitate a flow of food and medical aid into the country have been submitted to Geneva by officials in Huambo, Angola, reports The Star's Africa News Service.

The move comes when sorely needed Red Cross activities throughout Angola are grinding to a halt because of suspicions, bureaucratic inefficiency and active hostility to relief measures shown by

leaders of the Unita, FNLA and MPLA movements.

It has been suggested that by launching locally autonomous Red Cross operations for each of the three movements to replace the present single nationwide operation, the way would be cleared for relief convoys to reach areas held by the FNLA and Unita by road from South Africa and South West Africa, instead of through the MPLA-held port of Luanda.

Scores of American mercenaries are fighting in Angola and hundreds more are expected to be signed up in the United States in the next few days.

This was revealed today by FNLA and Unita sources who say they are involved in the recruiting or have first-hand knowledge of the growing mercenary operation.

Former American soldiers are being offered contracts, worth up to \$1,000 a month, depending on the length of the contract and their background.

Mercenaries have become a big business here and a former Special Services Officer who fought in Vietnam, Major Robert Brown (41), has launched a magazine called Soldier of Fortune.

The first edition was a sell-out and he says he gets continual inquiries from ex-soldiers who want to fight in Southern Africa.

Screening

One of the recruiters is Mr. David Bufkin, a former paratrooper with the 11th Airborne Division, who says he works through connections in New York, Johannesburg and Salisbury.

"My job is to screen applicants to make sure they are what they are," he says. "I pick out the best guys and pass them on to somebody else who hires them."

"I have moved almost 25 men and I have another 60 who could move in two weeks."

Another unidentified recruiter had received a contract to hire 450 Americans and is expected to complete the deal after a meeting in New York on Tuesday, he said.

A former Marine who fought in Vietnam, Mr. Bart Bonner, is the founder of the now defunct Veterans and Volunteers for Vietnam, which had a membership of more than 2,000.

"Some of our guys," Mr. Bonner said, "have gone to Rhodesia. Two of them were caught in Botswana." (These are Craig Acheson and Joe Balisario).

Of the Angola war he said: "Our main purpose there is to help the South Africans. . . If we don't we are going to lose another country."

He said he did not know who was offering contracts to mercenaries. "We don't know who is bankrolling this thing. . . There are a lot of potential sources — South African, Zaire and Portuguese businessmen . . . and somewhere along the line there may even be some American money."

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Handwritten notes and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page, including names like "Mr. Bonner" and "Mr. Brown".

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Mercury 5/12/75
Red Cross to the rescue

KAMPALA — Angola's warring liberation movements have agreed that the Swiss-based International Committee of the Red Cross treat their casualties, according to Radio Uganda.
The radio report said the regional delegate for the Eastern Africa ICRC, Mr. Ulrich Badat, had briefed President Idi Amin of Uganda on the

activities of his organisation inside Angola.
Mr. Badat told President Amin that Unita, operating in the south, its supporting FNLA in the north, and the rival MPLA around Luanda, had all co-operated.
They had agreed to have Red Cross teams with them and to allow a Red Cross plane to travel

around the country freely on its humanitarian missions, he said.
President Amin, chairman of the OAU, said he had been assured by the three Angolan movements that they would exchange prisoners of war.
He said it had been agreed during the OAU political and defence commission meeting in

Kampala in September - October attended by representatives of Unita, MPLA and FNLA.
They had promised to brief him on developments in the war, but he had had no reports so far, President Amin said.
On receipt of any he promised to inform the ICRC immediately. — (Sapa-Reuter).

Handwritten notes and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page, including names like 'Mr. Badat', 'President Amin', and various dates and locations.

40 White MPLA

The Star Friday Dec 5 197

solaters killed says Unita

The Star's Africa
News Service.

As the MPLA claims large advances on the northern warfront, the FNLA-Unita allies are battling their way towards the eastern MPLA stronghold at Henrique de Carvalho.

Unita has already pushed the MPLA out of Luso, a vital town on the Benguela railway line, and is moving into Henrique de Carvalho where the MPLA hold a huge former Portuguese air force base, the Zaire news agency Azap quote a Unita spokesman, Mr Rubin Chitacumba, as saying,

Forty "White mercenaries" with the MPLA were killed in the battle for Luso, Mr Chitacumba said.

From Luanda an official MPLA communique said the northern battle line had been pushed back more than 100 kilometres from Luanda (it was stalled about 32 km from the capital for nearly two months), and the MPLA now occupies towns well north of the key Caxito crossroads.

RIVER DELAYS

The MPLA also claims to be pushing the FNLA troops up the coast road towards the FNLA military headquarters of Ambriz, and to have occupied Quibaco on the north bank of the Lifune River.

In the south the MPLA says it is holding off the allied forces attempting to push north to the towns of Quibala and Gabela.

The hundreds of rivers that flow down from Angola's high central plateau to the coast and inland to the Zaire basin are halting advances by both sides, particularly as many bridges have been protectively dynamited.

The International Red Cross has announced that the three warring movements have agreed that the Swiss-based international committee may

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STAR 5/12/75

SA battalion 'controls Cunene'

CALUEQUE — Substantial South African troop concentrations are in the border zone of South West Africa and Southern Angola to guard the massive Cunene River hydro-electric and irrigation project.

They are in total control for at least 25 km on the Angolan side as far as Calueque where a massive 3 km barrage and pump-works across the river three-quarters complete. Commandant Ernst

"Tiny" Nel, army commander of the zone, officially designated No 5 Sub Area of No 1 Military Area, said troop strength is "at about battalion level."

Foreign correspondents who returned from the area last night noted that large and heavily guarded army camps have sprung up since May when news-men were last allowed in the area.

About 32 km downstream at Ruacana, where another

section of the Cunene water and power scheme is being built, the South African troops have established a camp astride the border, called "Fort Louis," in Angolan territory.

At Chitado, on the north bank of the Cunene River, some 40 km further west and 10 km inside Angola, the South Africans are in daily contact with the 600-odd Portuguese refugees in the town.

A South African contact

man is stationed at Chitado which appeared to be an armed refugee camp. Most of its original inhabitants fled when the Soviet-backed MPLA opened hostilities in Angola last August.

The South Africans supply food, tents and a doctor once a week, but apparently no weapons for the refugees.

The FNLA man who runs the camp, a bearded 28-year-old White former Portuguese Army officer,

known only as Lieutenant Paul, said the South Africans played no defence role there.

"But if it was not for the South Africans, we would have starved. No other country has done anything for us. They (the rest of the world) would let us be taken over by the MPLA," he said.

A foreign correspondent who was taken into the area by the South African Defence Force yesterday

To Page 3, Col 7

1.5
J. 250

said an FNLA force of about 80 men, mainly White, guard the refugee area, a former cattle market town whose occupants fled some time ago. Another 30 patrol the bush.

Mr Jannie de Wet, Commissioner General for the Indigenous Peoples of South West Africa, said Swapo was not a problem in the area. South African troops killed in border actions recently had not been in the Ruacana-Calueque area, he said.

Mr de Wet said the troops were sent in on August 9 at the request of the Owambo Cabinet.

The dam and irrigation scheme are said to be vital to the welfare of the people of Owambo. The entire project is being financed with South African money.

Major General Jack Dutton, chief of Army Staff (Operations), who accompanied the Press said the South African troops would leave Calueque if the FNLA and Unita could give guarantees about the safety of the dam. — Sapa-AP, The Star's Africa News Service.

Why our troops are guarding that Angola dam

RDM 6/12/75

CALUEQUE (Southern Angola).—A Vickers machinegun which last saw action with Allied forces in North Africa during the Second World War stands atop the mass of concrete and steel of South Africa's precious investment in Angola.

The Calueque Dam, which has risen majestically out of this barren territory in little more than two years, was conceived and started when Angola was a Portuguese African territory.

The fact that it is 25 km inside Angola arises strictly from civil engineering considerations. Engineers on the site say no place in northern South West Africa would have been suitable.

When completed in 1977, the dam will provide water for parched Owamboland and electricity for the whole of South West Africa and part of South Africa too.

The Angolan civil war reached Calueque six months ago when the 1 000 Black Angolan workers on

the dam site formed pro-MPLA, FNLA and Unita factions.

Fighting broke out. Intimidation was rife. The dam construction company appealed to South Africa for help.

In August, 150 South African troops supported by armoured cars moved across the border and took up positions in and around the site. There has been no serious trouble since.

This week, the South African army brought in a small party of foreign correspondents for a first-hand look at its presence.

Chitado, on the north bank of the Cunene River, appears to be an armed refugee camp. Most of its inhabitants fled when the MPLA opened hostilities in August.

The South Africans supply food and tents for refugees.

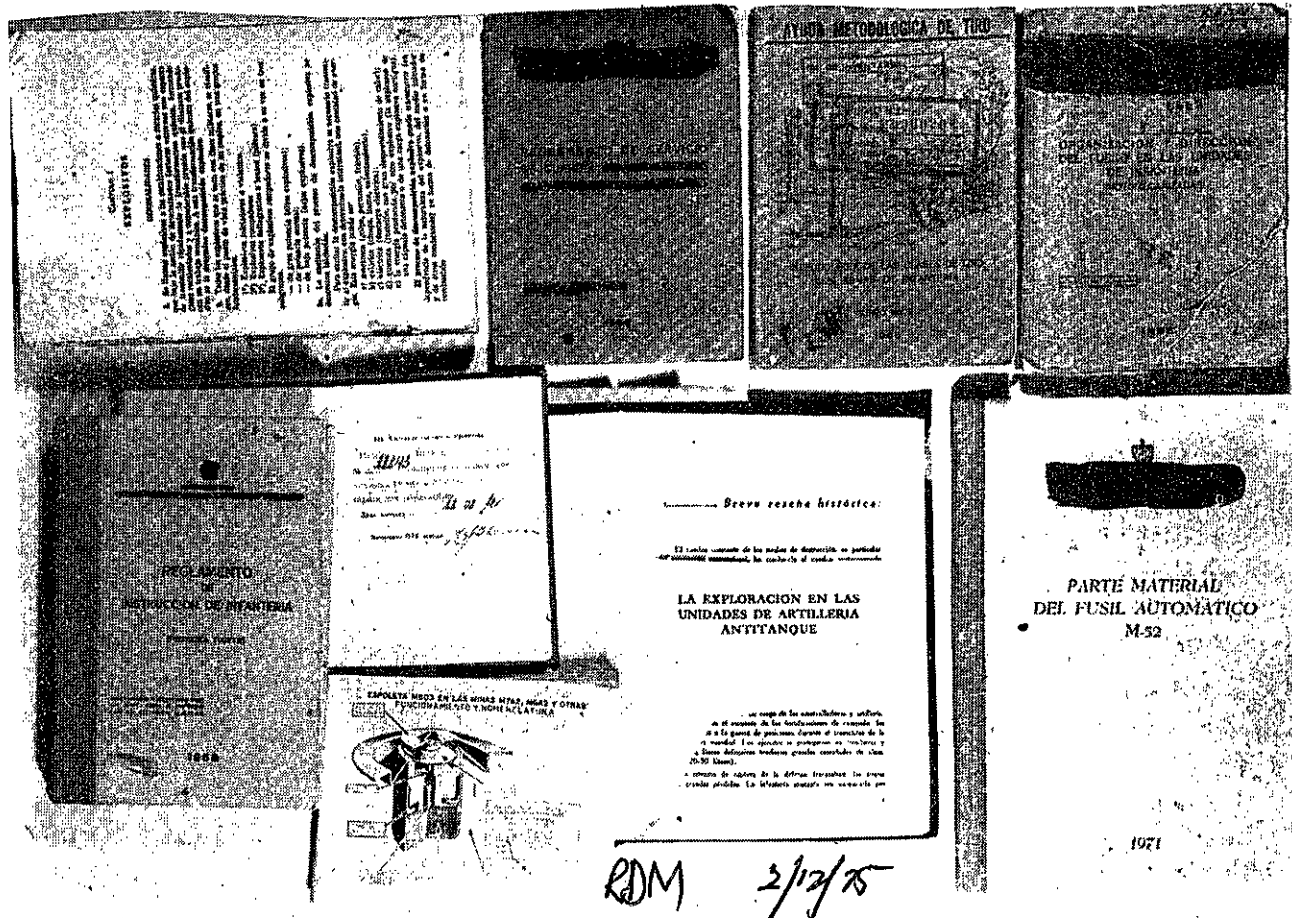
IDENTIFY

FNLA troops who control the town are commanded by a bearded former Portuguese army lieutenant who would identify himself only as Paulo. They carry an assortment of captured Chinese and Soviet weapons.

The MPLA — 1 000 km to the north — are no threat. The 10 South Africans killed in the last six weeks were all victims of clashes with Swapo terrorists, believed to be operating further east.

The announcement that a police combat unit is to be sent to the area appears intended to free more troops for the defence of the Cunene project — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

1. 5
2. 256



RDM 2/12/75

First pictures of training handbooks found on dead or captured Cuban soldiers fighting in Angola near Novo Redondo. There are books on explosives, drill, shooting training, mechanised infantry, Russian arms history, anti-tank training and musketry.

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The books that show how to kill

Military Correspondent
MILITARY training handbooks, giving details of Russian arms and training techniques have been found on the bodies of Cuban soldiers killed by anti-communist forces fighting in Angola.

At a briefing in Pretoria yesterday for South African military correspondents by the Chief of the Defence Force, Admiral H. H. Biermann, it was confirmed that Cuban soldiers were in action in Angola using sophisticated Russian weapons and that there had been casualties among them.

Military correspondents were told: "In an effort to disguise their presence in Angola, Cubans either remove the covers from their military training handbooks or attempt to obliterate incriminating titles".

Last night, thousands of Cubans and hundreds of Russian "advisers" were reported to be involved in the Angola conflict, assisting the MPLA.

No chance for united Angola — MPLA

(5)

file 3/12/75

A government of national unity is not possible in Angola, Dr Agostinho Neto, president of the Marxist-oriented MPLA said last

night.

Dr Neto virtually ruled out any chance of a peaceful settlement to the vicious fratricidal war when he said proposals that Angola should be united and the war stopped were not based on reality.

The Yugoslav news agency Tanjug quoted Dr Neto as saying "fascist" ideas could not be linked with "progressive" ideas.

And in Lagos, MPLA Prime Minister Mr Lopo do Nascimento told reporters the involvement of certain forces and Portuguese mercenaries added a new dimension to the civil war, and "rendered impossible any meaningful negotiations with the FNLA and Unita."

He appealed to African states to provide MPLA troops with arms. The MPLA had enough men to fight the war, and only needed military hardware, he said.

Mr Nascimento, who has just held two days of talks with Nigerian leader Brigadier Murtala Muhammed, said it was unfortunate the OAU was split over Angola.

Those countries opposed to the MPLA are committed to South Africa and "other imperialist countries for selfish ends," he said.

There was no official word from the Nigerian Government on the talks, and Mr Nascimento left for Luanda aboard Brigadier Muhammed's personal jet.

CONDEMNED

The Portuguese airline TAP has extended its policy of not landing at Luanda on trips between Lisbon and Johannesburg, a spokesman for the airline said.

No reasons for the extension of the ban, which was to have ended last month, were given.

In another development, the Ghanaian Government has strongly condemned South African involvement in Angola and called for the withdrawal of South African "troops and mercenaries" from the territory.

Ghana also called for an OAU summit on Angola.

And in London it is reported that White technicians of Benguela Railways, evacuated from Angola earlier this year, are on standby to return as soon as the 1,340 km line can be reopened.

Unita now claims to control the entire line which takes copper exports from Zaire and Zambia to the port of Lobito. — The Star's Africa News Service, Sapa-Reuter.

● On the military front in Angola a radio Luanda broadcast, monitored in London, quotes MPLA military spokesman Commander Juju as saying the MPLA are advancing on all fronts.

(See Pages 7 and 29)

SA army rings

SUN EXPRESS 7/12/75 5

Angolan dam site

By JOHN PLATTER

UNITED Press International's Johannesburg bureau chief who was one of 25 foreign correspondents who were taken on a tour of South African outposts in Southern Angola.

SOUTH AFRICAN troops are in total control of strategic positions around giant hydro-electric and irrigation projects in southern Angola, military officers said on Friday after inspecting the area.

Farther north, the battle for supremacy in the oil-wealthy West African territory continued inconclusively into its fourth week since Portugal quit its colony without ceding power to any of the three warring groups.

General Jack Sutton, South African Army Chief of Staff (Operations), flew to the area a few kilometres north of the South West African border with Angola at Calueque and Cunene, where the joint Portuguese-South African dam is nearing completion.

General Sutton and earlier, the Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha said the South African forces who moved in August at about battalion strength and with armoured vehicles, were guarding the R148 500 000 complex without the harassment, as in the past, from Black communist-armed guerillas.

Farther west from the Cunene River, newsmen who accompanied General Sutton saw close contact between South African army personnel and White and Black Portuguese and Angolan workers.

Both Pretoria and the anti-communist National Union alliance have denied South African involvement in the Angolan conflict.

South Africa says it is protecting the dam project because of its own investment there and to ensure the ir-

rigation of arid South West Africa's cattle pastures.

The Russians have gained their first foothold in Southern Africa with heavy military support for the Marxist Popular Movement, still firmly esconced in the port capital of Luanda.

Two Western-backed liberation groups, the National Front and the National Union are fighting to crush the self-styled People's Republic of Angola set up by a Marxist group on November 11.

Western military strategists say Russia wants to set up its first naval facility in the South Atlantic at Luanda.

In its latest broadcasts, the Popular Movement (MPLA) claimed its forces had thrown back National Front (FNLA) troops about 98 km from the capital.

The Russian-armed group,

aided now by 3 000 experienced Cuban combat troops, admitted the loss in action of a popular war hero, Commander Joao Antonio Matius. He was killed on November 26 while defending the northern township of Bulatunda against an assault by "mercenaries" fighting with the National Union.

The Popular Movement also said it had taken Caixito, 64 km north of Luanda, which has changed hands four times in the civil war. It said its forces were attacking Ambriz, long a National Front stronghold. The civilian population had been evacuated.

The National Front-National Union (Unita) alliance announced on Friday from its rival seat of government at Huambo, in the heavily-populated inland highlands, that complete military integration of their forces would be undertaken shortly. Together they can muster an estimated 50 000 men under arms.

The Marxist movement maintains its firm grip on the oil-producing enclave of Cabinda in the north. — UPI.

- Angola: what should SA do?
- The Red bear is looming large.
- Let's have more facts please.

— Pages 6 and 7

FNLA forces falling back

6/12/75
The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The anti-communist allied forces and the MPLA are locked in a bitter battle between Novo Redondo and Porto Amboim south of Luanda with heavy losses on both sides, according to reports reaching here.

The allied forces are attempting to reach the Cambambe Dam near Dondo, south of Luanda.

They are being held up at Gabela by the MPLA and the approach to the dam has been at least partially blocked by the blowing up of three key bridges. The country is mountainous with deep gorges.

Unita claims to have captured several Cubans in the fighting.

There has been no word on a large armoured column attempting to slice towards the MPLA eastern stronghold of Henrique de Carvalho.

The Star's New York Bureau reports that African countries are divided on whether to request a Security Council debate on the war.

Latest reports indicate that the FNLA has begun

to evacuate its headquarters at Ambriz, 115 km north of Luanda, under mounting military pressure from the MPLA.

Both Western diplomatic sources and an FNLA spokesman confirmed that a partial evacuation was now in full swing. But the spokesman quickly added: "We are not going to abandon Ambriz. We are going to fight."

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MPLA success 'a threat to SA'

RDM 8/12/78
OWN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON.
ALMOST every report and broadcast in London yesterday on the Angolan war claimed gains for Dr Agostinho Neto's Russian-backed MPLA forces.

The reports reflect increasing shyness by the West to become more deeply implicated, which must have serious implications for South Africa.

The reports suggest the real, though not immediate, threat of an MPLA victory, meaning the possible establishment of a radical socialist government, directly under Russian influence, on South Africa's borders.

And, reinforcing the possibility of the MPLA victory, was a comment yesterday by Mr Jorge Sangumba, the Unita Secretary for Information, that Unita had been "dragged into the war so a political solution could be found, and there would be a ceasefire immediately the MPLA called for it."

In Pretoria yesterday the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Hilgard Muller said he was keeping a close and constant watch on the situation in Angola.

And in London the British TV current affairs programme "Weekend World", which has been consistently accurate on the progress of the war, yesterday said the implications for South Africa were dark.

The programme predicted that America would ignore South Africa's pleas to come in and counter the Russian influence on the war.

Political analysts say the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, would rather see the Russians firmly in Angola than threaten Middle East peace initiatives.

Squabble

Experts on the programme said South Africa had made an even greater blunder than was first thought by becoming involved, however this is explained in Pretoria.

The choice between South Africa and Russia was the choice between two devils—but because of South Africa's racist essence Africa preferred the Russian devil.

Reports from Luanda said MPLA morale and spirit were high—while refugees from the south claimed squabbling, including shootings, between Unita and FNLA groups.

Meanwhile, Unita said yesterday it had offered military bases in Angola to the South West African People's Organisation as far back as 1968.

Mr Sangumba said this when asked to comment on persistent reports that Unita was getting military support from South Africa.

He said South African military presence was confined to protecting the Kunene dam and called on the MPLA to prove claims of South African involvement.

Unita's leader, Mr Jonas Savimbi, arrived in Lusaka yesterday to brief President Kaunda on the latest war situation in Angola.

Bishop's ANC backs MPLA

8/12/75
The Star's
Africa News Service
SALISBURY — Russians, Cubans, and Mozambiquans supporting the MPLA in Angola are "democratic forces fighting alongside the MPLA to truly liberate the people of Angola," says a document circulated by the Muzorewa faction of the Rhodesian ANC.

The remarkable document — the first public exposition of the faction's views on Angola — further states that the USA, Zaire, South Africa, Britain and Zambia who between them support the FNLA and Unita are "capitalist, neo-colonialist powers involved in a reactionary deal to enslave and exploit the Angolan people."

The document which was handed out to delegates at the Muzorewa faction's national assembly meeting here supposedly represents the views of the faction's leaders.

The document says if the "neo-colonialist" strategy is successful the people's liberation war in Angola will be lost and the country will be divided into two states — an FNLA Government in the north and a Unita Government in the south.

MANIPULATORS

Rhodesia is only a pawn in a bigger game in which the manipulators are the Western powers, says the document.

The Muzorewa faction, which has not been consulted in any of the "preliminary settlement talks" between rival nationalist leader Mr Joshua Nkomo and Mr Ian Smith, said in a statement after the meeting:

"The fact that Mr Smith continues to talk to a man who broke away from the true ANC indicates that Smith is not serious about settlement talks."

The assembly dissociated itself from "current and future negotiations between Mr Smith and Mr Nkomo or any other group other than that led by Bishop Muzorewa."

Any agreement between Mr Nkomo and Mr Smith would not be binding on the Rhodesian people, the statement said.

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'A mercenary army could save Angola'

8/12/75

The Star's Africa News Service

Only an immediate and massive mercenary move can save Angola from the clutches of the pro-communist MPLA, a former Congo mercenary leader said in Johannesburg today.

And it appeared that South Africa could provide the vital springboard, he said.

In an exclusive interview before leaving Jan Smuts for Europe, Major Sam Cassidy said:

"I feel that if there is not a private army recruited now on behalf of Jonas Savimbi's Unita and Holden Roberto's FNLA movements, then the communist stranglehold will become so strong that it will become very difficult indeed to dislodge."

A former arms instructor in the British army and second in command to Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare of Five Commando in the Congo, Major Cassidy denied he had been recruiting in Johannesburg.

"I have been out here for two weeks looking up some of my old army buddies," he said.

WAR MACHINE

"I do not think you have the calibre of man needed for the action contemplated in Angola. The type of soldier required for that sort of situation should be a highly proficient one-man war machine, recently out of the services and trained to handle the type of sophisticated weaponry currently flooding into Southern Africa."

Major Cassidy slammed the Johannesburg-based Wild Goose Club — which he helped found in July last year — as having been reduced to "a few old men who gather every Friday night to down a few beers and relive the glory days of the Congo."

The type of soldier worth recruiting was readily available in Britain, Australia and in the United States.

He estimated an initial force of 2 000 mercenaries would be required to counter the effects of the Cubans already in action, with a steady build up from time to time.

Major Cassidy, who was asked to leave Rhodesia a year ago after allegedly trying to recruit mercenaries in Salisbury, said he did not believe a big-power showdown was imminent.

As long as the US refused to become actively engaged in the struggle for Angola, it made sense to counter any potential threat such as that created by the Cuban presence with an outside force.

"A suitably trained force of mercenaries could help defuse a very serious situation."

Only last week it was reported from New York that large-scale mercenary recruiting of former Vietnam veterans was taking place in the US, Europe and South Africa.

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'Quiet' US aid in Angola

RAM 8/2/75

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(5)

By RICHARD WALKER
NEW YORK.—The US is giving as much aid as is needed to FNLA and Unita—while keeping it quiet back home to avoid the kind of action that developed over Vietnam, says a US mercenary recruiter.

The recruiter is Mr David Bufkin, who says only prime quality Vietnam veterans are being accepted for service in Angola.

A tough-talking 38-year-old Californian who recruited men for Biafra, Mr Bufkin says his special talent is to know good mercenary material when he sees it.

Recruiting agents say already about 300 men have been sent to Angola, but their claims vary wildly.

Mr Bufkin's own tally is 25, recruited, he says, by word of mouth and a list of about 1500 names obtained through old Vietnam contacts.

"My job is to screen them, get rid of the bums, know-nothings and maybes and pass the good ones on to my connections. I know what's real and what's phoney."

What's real, he says, are all Vietnam veterans, all Green Berets, Pathfinders and so on.

It's a round trip deal

and starkly simple — just over R1 000 a month plus the two-way air fare, but the recruit's passport and the return half of the air ticket are taken from him while he serves.

Mr Bufkin says there are no problems with the US authorities: "There's no investigation. No nothing," he emphasised, another difference from the more amateurish Rhodesian recruiting campaign, which has the State Department deeply embarrassed and threatening dire penalties — although so far taking no action.

This week Mr Bufkin expects to meet a man he describes as a major Rhodesian recruiter. What could result is a joint operation.

Mr Bufkin talks bluntly and sees himself serving the US national interest. And he makes it plain that he believes the US Government sees it that way too.

The Central Intelligence Agency actively supports FNLA and Unita, and there are US military advisers, he suggests, but he cautions that there would not be any contact between them and the mercenaries so as not to embroil the US too deeply.

Mr Bufkin also believes that the US is unlikely to intervene directly in the fighting.

R450-m for MPLA

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Gulf, the American oil giant operating in Cabinda, is now paying about R450-million a year in royalties to the MPLA in Luanda, say New York reports.

This is believed to be close to 100 per cent of Angola's income now that the fighting has ravaged the rest of the economy.

Gulf has long been seen

as an opponent of the leftist, Moscow-backed MPLA and its Cabinda investments have been cited as one of the reasons the United States supports the rival FNLA and Unita factions.

"We are not working with the MPLA, we are working with the group in charge in the area of our activities," says Gulf's Cabinda chief, Mr Sidney Anderson.

Assault begins against MPLA stronghold

RJM 8/12/75

LUSAKA. — Forces opposed to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) said they had launched an assault on the MPLA stronghold of Henrique de Carvalho in eastern Angola.

Mr George Sangumba, foreign secretary for Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), said that Unita and FNLA (Front for the National Liberation of Angola) forces were fighting for the town after repulsing a major MPLA attack on the eastern war front.

He said he expected the MPLA to be forced out of the town, which controls an important junction on the main road to Zaire, some 700 kms west of Luanda.

Mr Sangumba, who arrived in Lusaka from Angola, said MPLA forces had been pushed from the towns of Luso and Cangumbe on the Benguela railway in southern Ango-

la which they occupied last week.

Mr Sangumba said the Luanda based MPLA had put 1 000 men — three-quarters of whom he said were Katangese mercenaries — into the eastern attack. Cuban troops had also appeared for the first time in the east, he said.

The MPLA had used 122-millimetre multi-warhead Soviet rockets during their advance — the first time Unita-FNLA forces had encountered this newly-introduced Soviet weapon, Mr Sangumba said.

"It created some panic in our ranks, but after two days we re-grouped and found the means to counter-attack," he said.

On the western war front, fighting was going on around the towns of Porto Amboim, Quibala and Gabela, he said. All were in dispute and constantly changing hands.

He said the pro-Soviet MPLA had halted the Uni-

ta-FNLA armoured advance in the west by destroying all bridges across the strategic Cuanza River. FNLA-Unita were now moving heavy concentrations of infantry and commandos into the battle area via mountain passes.

Mr Sangumba said Unita-FNLA forces were now encountering Soviet T-54 tanks, driven by Cuban soldiers, and Soviet SAM-7 heat-seeking missiles.

"Our problem is to counter each Russian weaponry escalation," he said.

"If the Western countries gave us weapons with the same speed as the Soviet Union gives weapons to the MPLA, and of the same quantity and quality, the MPLA would lose."

"The people of the Western world have to make up their minds whether they want the Soviet Union to take over Angola. We would like the West to do more," he said.

Mr Sangumba said the only nation which could properly contain the Soviet Union in Angola was the United States.

"Unfortunately the US has domestic problems following the trauma of Vietnam and Watergate," he said.

The strategically vital town of Caxito, on the Angolan northern front, is reported to be very firmly in the hands of the Marxist MPLA regime. The one-time farming centre is now a busy garrison town where reserve troops and armour gather to take up positions on the front on the road to Ambriz.

Caxito is also the point 31 miles north of Luanda where Dr Agostinho Neto's Russian-armed troops, backed by Cuban military expertise, are beginning to push north east along the "coffee" road to Carmona, capital of Dr Holden Roberto's FNLA.

One of Dr Neto's commanders said their target now was the coastal town of Ambriz, while at the same time forces headed for Carmona. The capture of Carmona is the key to unlocking meat and grain supplies for the Luanda area. — Sapa-Reuters.

Angolan peace talks plan denied

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Unita spokesmen here have denied any knowledge of reports that Dr Jonas Savimbi, head of the organisation, is to go to Kampala for peace talks aimed at ending the Angolan conflict.

Dr Savimbi, who is here for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda, is expected to come out strongly against alleged South African involvement in the war when he speaks to the Press.

Claims of Unita-South Africa co-operation have proved embarrassing for Unita.

As part of his "I'm no friend of Pretoria" campaign Dr Savimbi reportedly recently offered Swapo the use of Unita bases in southern Angola.

A Swapo leader here last night described the offer as "laughable."

"We've had bases in southern Angola for years and we used to let Unita use them," the Swapo man said.

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FNLA in BOSS talks— report

Star
9/12/75

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LONDON — Early in July this year, General Hendrik van den Bergh, head of South Africa's Bureau for State Security (BOSS) held three days of secret meetings with Mr Daniel Chipenda, secretary general of the FNLA.

These talks, says Andrew Fraser in The Times, were held in Windhoek.

Shortly afterwards, Mr Chipenda hit the headlines, storming up the Angolan coast with the Chipenda Brigade, and, according to Fraser, although the brigade has now been disbanded, Chipenda remains a threat to the aspirations of Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, in the quest for ultimate power in Angola.

BALKANISING

South Africa's support role on the side of Unita and FNLA forces has apparently been exaggerated. Fraser reports Dr Savimbi as believing that if South Africa had really wished to help Unita, her force of arms could have won the war in three weeks.

"He suspects that South Africa's policy is one of Balkanising her neighbours for her own protection. By prolonging the civil war, South Africa can be sure of weakening all three parties in Angola to a point where they pose no threat," says Fraser.

He adds that Britain, France and Roumania are already giving aid to Dr Savimbi, that Franco-phone Africa and Zambia support him, and that only 12 of the 32 OAU members are officially against him.

CLAIM

Fraser claims that Dr Savimbi represents four-million of Angola's five-million people. He was bitterly opposed to the White Angolan exodus in July which turned into a stampede and denuded Angola of much of its technical expertise.

"Now Dr Savimbi would like to see a return of the Angolans who fled."

Desertion is said to be rife among the FNLA army and inefficiency the norm.

The Chinese, who formerly gave aid and advice to the FNLA, had pulled out and the United States advisers, who worked in some cases side-by-side with the Chinese, were expected to undergo a change of heart.

The MPLA remained Unita's most organised enemy and, although it had the support of no more than 500 000 Angolans, was being aided by Russia and Cuba.

Unita leaders estimate that 400 Russian technicians are with the MPLA, along with 3 000 Cuban regulars, says Fraser.

The MPLA was now fighting for some territorial gain that would give it more leverage in the settlement talks "that must eventually come."

Diamonds for the MPLA from Western company

The hippos rose and sank, snorting, in the diverted waters of a muddy river 8 km from the Zaire border. Alongside lay the churned gravel of the original river bed, an old diamond mine worked out by Diamang, the Angola diamond mining company which has moved on to richer deposits further south.

There is nobody to be seen in this part of the bush in Lunda Province. It is out of bounds to guard against diamond smuggling, and used to be patrolled by Diamang's private army, with helicopters, armoured cars, bazookas and machine guns.

Lunda, in eastern Angola, is inhabited by about 400 000 people in its grassy uplands. It is larger than Portugal, and crossed by rising rivers which flow down into the Zaire diamond and copper belt.

The diamonds found in the basement rock in Angola are richer than those

washed across into Zaire and have kept Diamang busy mining since 1921. Roughly 70 percent are fine gemstones found not only in river beds but also in kimberlite funnels and even in cauldron formations in the rock, salt eroded potholes filled with high concentrate diamonds.

Diamang, like Gulf Oil in Cabinda, which like Lunda, is MPLA-controlled territory, has been paying its royalties to MPLA for the past few months.

Exports of diamonds and oil from the two companies make up 86 percent of Angola's foreign exchange earnings. Diamang's contribution is 26 percent of national exports or around R57,6m a year.

It is mining highly concentrated deposits now,

centred around the washing and selection plants. At Andrada we are shown a portion of the day's production — gleaming, uncut gems, quickly locked away in the huge

Diamang needs to go on mining — with MPLA forces taking on security tasks of the defunct private company army. It is a curious modus vivendi, particularly given the

gle largest concentration of workers in Angola — about 20 000 people, which partially explains MPLA's success in mobilising the Lunda population.

The other part of the story is the formerly iron rule of Diamang. Company housing, in neat red brickwork, contrasts with the wooden, cement, and palm shacks of those not employed by the company, or those not sufficiently high up to be given company housing.

Schools, hospitals, public transport, water and electricity are all supplied by the company at cheap rates. Under a 1921 contract with Portugal, all consumer durables are imported into the company enclave duty free.

When the "state within a state" comes to an end — as both parties agree it

Diamang in Angola goes on producing on the Zaire border as it negotiates to give a majority shareholding to the Marxists.

steel safe where strongboxes are stacked awaiting the bimonthly special company flight to Lisbon.

Production figures are hard to come by. It seems that production has fallen by 40-50 percent since the majority of Portuguese technicians fled to Lisbon. But judging by the number of gemstones coddled in brown felt at the selector's elbow, and the stack of strongboxes in the safe, a great deal is still available.

The Cafunfe and Luapa high concentrate mines, scattered further afield from Andrada in the company's 50 000 sq km of concession, are doing quite nicely.

More is at stake in Lunda for MPLA than mere revenues, however important they are to it. MPLA needs a stable Lunda. Strategically placed along the Zaire border it is a prime target for infiltration and conceivably for an attack designed to link up with the FNLA-Unita stronghold around Huambo.

high proportion of capital held by Belgian, South African, American and British interests, which at first sight would appear more natural allies of the rival Government in Huambo.

The mines have the sin-

must — there will be obvious difficulties persuading the workers and their estimated 150 000 dependants to go back to paying normal prices for services and goods.

The change will create difficult political problems, and MPLA will have to prepare the political ground carefully. In the meantime, both sides are reasonably happy: there has been no fighting in Lunda for weeks.

The company is running its own show, though increasingly along MPLA lines and it is negotiating with Lunda for a new contract which will give majority capital control to the Angolan State in line with the State share in profits which already is 54.5 percent of the pre-tax earnings.

Diamang is transferring company headquarters from Lisbon to Luanda. The problem of the associate diamond cutting and polishing company Dialap, also in Lisbon and controlled by De Beer's central selling organisation, will be a thornier one, and so far at least no firm proposals have apparently been made by either side. — Financial Times.

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② 218

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Fortune soldiers from S A in battle

Mail Africa Bureau

CAXITO. — Fifteen South African mercenaries were among the 2 000-strong force which unsuccessfully defended this strategic north Angolan town against the Marxist MPLA in a fierce battle over a week ago, according to an MPLA spokesman.

Caxito, 31 miles north of Luanda and now shell-scarred, fell to the MPLA after a 48-hour battle, which, according to the MPLA, left 30 anti-MPLA troops dead.

The army spokesman said that, according to information from a number of deserters from the anti-MPLA forces, the town had been defended by a force of about 2 000, including 1 200 men from Zaire, 150 Portuguese, and 15 South African mercenaries.

The figures for dead and wounded seem remarkably small. The spokesman said that all the dead were enemy troops.

"We had only a few minor casualties. Many of the enemy were killed or wounded in the early stages when we knocked out nine of their armoured cars and 48 trucks near the river."

Superior Russian-supplied fire power broke the opposing defence line on the narrow bridge over the River Dande five miles south of the town. A machinegun house-to-house battle followed.

Caxito is strategically vital in the northern battle and has become a garrison town for the Marxists now pushing north in two directions — along the coast road to Ambriz, and north-east along the coffee road to Carmona, which holds the key to a region rich in foodstuffs urgently needed in Luanda.

● See Page 9

CHINA LASHES 'POWER GRAB'

McClary - 9/12/75

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HONG KONG — China has accused the Soviet Union of aggression in Angola, the New China News Agency reported yesterday.

The agency quoted an article in the official People's Daily which said: "The criminal aims of the Soviet revisionists' aggression against Angola are to plunder rich African resources, grab strategic positions and undermine the unity of African countries and their just cause of opposing imperialism."

"The Soviet revisionists have left no stone unturned in trying to place Angola under their control so that their fleets can use the excellent ports along its coastline of over a thousand kilometres," the People's Daily said.

The newspaper, quoted by the agency, noted that most of the Middle East Gulf oil going to Western Europe still had to be shipped around the Cape and through the South Atlantic, even though the Suez Canal was open again.

"Soviet control of Angola would have planted a snag in the vital oil supply line to Europe."

"The Soviet revisionists' activities in Angola are thus closely related to their aggression and expansion in Western Europe," the newspaper said.

"Another purpose of the Soviet revisionists' aggression against Angola is to reinforce their position in contending with the other superpowers in the South Atlantic to realise their ambition for world domination," the People's Daily added.

Meanwhile, from Kinshasa it is reported that Mr. Johnny Eduardo Pinnock, Prime Minister of the "Democratic Republic of Angola," has said that his Government's top priority was to reunify the country.

Mr. Pinnock said on Sunday his Government was ready to make peace, but that the FNLA would not beg any favours from its rival — the MPLA — Government in Luanda to achieve this.

The Democratic Republic Government comprises representatives of the FNLA and Unita and is based in Huambo in Angola's central highlands.

Commenting on a peace plan recently proposed by the Unita Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Marques Kakumba, Mr. Pinnock said it could go beyond the provisions of his Government's constitutional Act.

The Act stipulated that such a problem was the responsibility of the revolutionary council, of which Mr. Kakumba was not a member, he said.

Yes/no

Mr. Kakumba told a Press conference in Dakar that his plan called for the creation of buffer zones in Angola by the Organisation of African Unity, the demilitarisation of Luanda, the holding of elections and the setting up of a provisional government of national unity.

On military operations, Mr. Pinnock said the FNLA-Unita alliance had captured all MPLA-controlled zones to the north and south of Luanda.

And in New York the New York Times hinted in an editorial yesterday that the U.S. might stop sending wheat to Russia if the Kremlin continued to interfere in Angola. — (Sapa-Reuter-AP.)

UNITA DENIES S.A. SUPPORT IN ANGOLA

Mercury Correspondent

LUSAKA—Angolan nationalist leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday categorically denied that his movement, Unita, was receiving logistical support from South Africa in the Angolan civil war.

And more than that, he said Unita was actively assisting members of the South West Africa People's Organisation which is fighting South Africa for the liberation of South West Africa.

"How can I be with South Africa and with Swapo?" asked Dr. Savimbi, who was speaking at a Press conference here.

Unita was allowing Swapo to make use of its bases in southern Angola, said.

Dr. Savimbi admitted that there were South African troops in Angola but that they had been invited in by the Portuguese long before independence. They were there to guard the Cunene Dam.

He said that the whole issue of South Africa was an emotional one in Africa and their supposed assistance to Unita was a clever piece of propaganda by the Communist-backed MPLA which wanted to turn attention from the fact that the MPLA itself was receiving powerful support from Cuba, Russia and other East

European countries.

It was this involvement by Communist countries which had caused the outbreak of civil war which neither Unita nor the third Angolan movement, the FNLA, had wanted.

Unita had no plans to attack the old capital of Luanda, and was fighting only because it was forced to by continued MPLA action. Dr. Savimbi's hope was that the MPLA would soon realise that neither side could win the war and would agree to go to the conference table.

Answering a question on the Chinese involvement, Dr. Savimbi said: "The Chinese are not involved in the Angolan war in any way and now that we have Western military support, we shall not need Chinese assistance."

The Unita leader who admitted he trained as a guerrilla in China, said at one time the Chinese had sent a consignment of military weapons to Unita, but the consignment had been impounded by an independent African country he did not name.

Answering another question on whether he would ask for military assistance from South African Premier John Vorster, he said: "We will not ask Mr. Vorster to come to our aid for Western countries are coming to our aid."

He added that Unita was now in possession of radar equipment to hit at MPLA's Soviet-made missiles and that more military equipment was coming from Western nations.

Unita has been forced into the war by MPLA, but in the end the leaders of Unita, MPLA and the FNLA would end up as "pawns" for foreign powers, he warned.

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Reds in Angola war row

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New York
 China and Russia have clashed in bitter exchanges in the United Nations General Assembly over support for rival independence movements in the Angolan civil war.

The Soviet Ambassador, Mr Jacob Malik, accused China of collusion with the United States and South Africa in an attempt to overthrow the legal government of the former Portuguese colony.

He also said Russia's support of the Luanda-based MPLA was a selfless defence of the Angolan people. He asserted that only the MPLA could solve the problems of Angola.

Mr Malik spoke after Chinese Ambassador Lai Ya-lin had accused Russia of having started civil war in Angola through its "one-sided support" of the MPLA.

Mr Malik also attacked the United States Ambassador, Mr Daniel Moynihan.

He said Mr Moynihan had read to the assembly "a didactic lecture" based on "the words of journalistic hacks in Zionist newspapers."

'Contemptible'

China had only helped the imperialist, pro-racist forces in Angola and was working side by side with advisers from the US Central Intelligence Agency, Mr Malik said.

Mr Malik said a "contemptible clique of South African racists" had taken up arms with Portuguese fascists and riff-raff in Angola.

"Poor Mr Moynihan," he said. "I am sorry for you that from the rostrum of the General Assembly you were forced to tell an untruth. Poor, helpless CIA, after all, it knows everything and sees everything throughout the world, but the intrusion of the South African racists it has not noticed so far."

'Fabrication'

Chinese Ambassador Lai has condemned Russia and the United States. He said Washington had not lagged far behind Russia in its involvement in Angola.

He rejected as a "sheer fabrication" a charge by Mr Malik that the Chinese Vice Premier had spoken in favour of dialogue with South Africa.

"The Soviet Union has become a monger of death, discord and confusion," he added.

An African move to condemn South African

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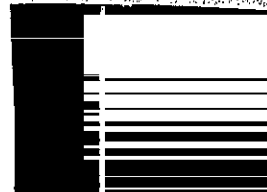
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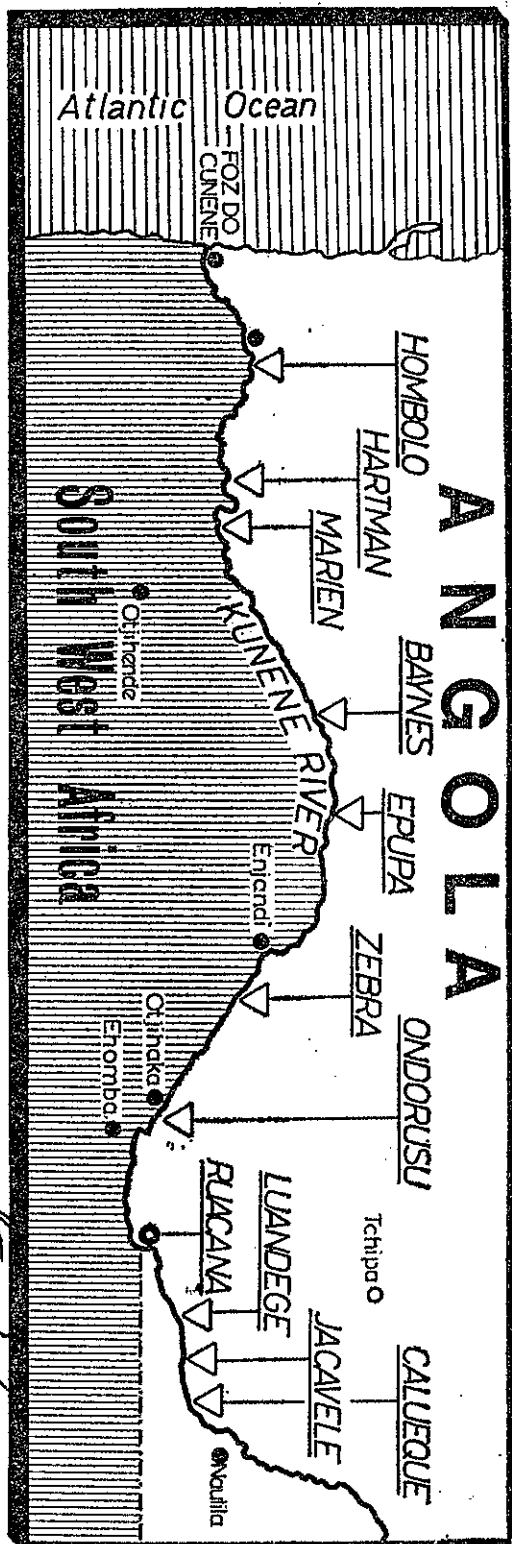
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From Calueque to the Atlantic, 11 feasible dam sites can generate over 2 000 MW of electric power. The potentials are — Calueque 20 MW, Jacavele 60 MW, Luandege 195 MW, Ruacana 320/400 MW, Ondorusu 70 MW, Zebra 60 MW, Epupa 445 MW, Baynes 260 MW, Marlen 300 MW, Hartman 140 MW, Hombolo 195 MW and Mcha 90 MW. There is further potential upstream in Angola.

Why SA defends Kunene scheme

Ivan Philip

What moved South Africa to run such big political risks by putting up a strong defence line along the Kunene River that borders South West Africa and Angola?

The reason is near at hand: the whole future development of SWA depends on a R1 000m string of hydro-electric and water supply projects dotted along the river's course.

No perennial rivers flow through SWA and the Kunene and Okavango are thus the only permanent rivers anywhere

near the main centres of population.

When the Kunene is fully developed, no less than 11 electricity generating projects between Calueque and the Atlantic will pour out over 2 000 MW of power, and on this power depends the future development of mining and industry throughout the country.

To strike a comparison, in the first phase of the Cabora Bassa project, South Africa will be supplied with 680 MW, rising to 1 500 MW in 1980, while the present total output of the giant Cabora dam is 600 MW. Besides electricity, the pumping station at Calueque, in Angola, is supplying water through a

canal system to Owamboland that will make possible vast irrigation schemes.

When the new Calueque dam is complete, together with the Gove

South Africa is playing high political stakes by sending troops to defend the Kunene River along the Angola border. **IVAN PHILIP finds out why.**

dam, located just south of Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa), it will make possible the development of the entire river down to the Atlantic by controlling its flow.

For the future, it is estimated that the entire Kunene development and

complementary works on the Kavango river could cost about R1 000m — an investment in SWA's future of a magnitude comparable to the Sasol 2 project.

Already, SWA is beginning to be affected by a slowdown in mining development resulting from shortage of power.

Some idea of the contribution that the Kunene could make to the country's progress is given by the massive flow of the river and the number of places where it can be dammed to generate power or to irrigate land. The run-off of the Kunene is calculated at 5 000m cubic metres a year.

The development of South West Africa's power resources is in the hands

of the SWA Water and Electricity Corporation, known as SWAWEX.

The corporation was set up by South Africa's Industrial Development Corporation following the report of the Odendaal Commission in 1964, and became rapidly involved in the establishment of a grid and the planning of the Kunene projects.

The present threat to the projects may be the most serious, but it is not the first. It has previously been nominated as a prime target for terrorist action by the World Council of Churches.

As far back as 1972, Prime Minister John Vorster promised the Owanambo Executive Council that the Kunene projects would be zealously defended.

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No Nato move on Angola

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John Patten

BRUSSELS — Nato Secretary General Dr Joseph Luns has made it clear on the eve of a meeting of allied Foreign Ministers here that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation will play no collective part in blocking the massive Soviet intervention in Angola.

But while doing so he did not rule out the possibility of action by individual member countries on the side of the joint FNLA-Unita forces — and he may actively encourage the United States to increase its involvement.

Dr Luns said at a Press conference that the Angolan war was "outside Nato's area of activity, and therefore they can take no collective action."

But he added that he would favour individual member countries "taking whatever action they deem necessary" in the interests of western defence.

It is clear that the foreign ministers will devote considerable time during the next two days of talks analysing the aims of the intensified Soviet intervention in Angola.

The foreign ministers will also examine the political problems created by the covert South African intervention in the newly independent territory, and the complications it creates for Western countries in coming to the aid of the FNLA and Unita forces.

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Angola: US

credibility

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crucial test

How should the United States react to Russian and Cuban communist intervention in Angola? The question is perplexing, even bemusing, Americans. It has cropped up suddenly, unexpectedly, in a country few have heard of and in a continent that has rarely stirred the interest even of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The timing is difficult in the extreme. Seemingly never-ending new reports reveal Central Intelligence Agency plots to assassinate foreign leaders and undermine even constitutionally elected foreign governments.

And this on top of the still agonising wounds suffered from involvement in Vietnam, which divided the country more bitterly and near disastrously than any other foreign issue in history.

It comes also at a time of approaching make or break for the Administration's cherished policy of detente with Moscow — and easing of tensions, a further agreement on the limitation of armaments.

Low profile

Prospects of involvement in any costly new project are also unsettling when the Administration is running a budget already in deficit to the tune of scores of billions of dollars.

prospect is, there is a greater. America, chased out of Indo-China by native opposition on top of domestic US division, is now losing its credibility as a counterweight to communist imperialism.

As White House officials have disclosed, a perceived hesitation by Washington to stand up to the Russians accounts for a new coolness in American relations with China, in spite of President Ford's just-completed visit.

And in spite of Ambassador Moynihan's blunt honesty, it is only America's Security Council veto that stands in the way of United Nations crippling of American policy concerning Israel, with countries ranging from Latin America to Africa and the East showing a willingness now to bite the hand that has fed them so freely in the past and that continues in many instances to do so today.

Cynical moves

Mr Ford and Mr Kissinger have shown themselves to be aware of the dangers of having America regarded as a paper giant. There are signs now that others, even in liberal circles, are beginning to share that view.

Most of America was shocked at the way in which the Nixon White House and CIA plotted to undermine the Government of Chile under President Allende, drawing the distinction that though he was Marxist he had attained office by completely constitutional means.

Thus reaction generally, in Congress and among commentators, has been somewhat cautious. The communist initiative has been deplored, but demands that it be forcefully opposed are so far muted or even absent.

Congressmen tend to call for more official information and assessments of the situation before they adopt a stand or stance.

The New York Times editorially labels the Russian action as "this double-think sham" when held up against the policy of detente. But as for action, it suggests little more than that "the Zaire proposal condemning all foreign intervention would be a useful first step for the (UN) General Assembly to take."

The White House has shown a better appreciation of the gravity of the situation that would have to be faced if Angola were to become the latest Russian satellite.

Chinese cool

Mr Kissinger, while maintaining as low a profile as possible, has admitted that America is indirectly helping the two non-communist Angolan parties with indirectly-channelled arms. And he has publicly admonished Moscow in tones that suggest he could become much tougher. So far, however, Moscow has not been dissuaded from its course.

Mr Kissinger and America itself may find they have no option but to take a stand. More is at stake than the prospect of Russian military bases in Angola menacing the South Atlantic, just as the Russian military facilities in Somalia could menace the Suez Canal and Indian Ocean.

Frightening though the

Now it is the communists who have shocked that American opinion. First was the blatant rejection of democracy by communists in Portugal, who tried by every means, fair and foul, to take over the country although winning only 13 percent of the votes in the elections.

Now there is the cynical Russian and Cuban intervention in Angola.

Stop grain

And then there are matters such as those disclosed by recently sacked Secretary of Defence James Schlesinger in a television interview that commanded wide attention. He said that Russia — while professing support for detente — was outspending Americans by something like half in strengthening its military might with everything from new warships to missiles.

The liberal New York Times, normally no lover of the "military industrial complex" or of high spending on armaments, commented that perhaps Congress should re-examine its demand for defence cost cuts.

Direct American intervention in Angola is not foreseen. But America could react sharply enough in other ways. A cancellation of grain sales to Russia; an end to its policy of giving away more than its fair share in seeking detente; a generally tougher military stance and build-up; financial and weapons aid for foreign mercenaries...

America can hardly stand by and see communist bases established in Angola and her own credibility immeasurably harmed.

Unita claims victory in new offensive

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11/12/75

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Unita claims its forces have captured the town of Luso on the Benguela railway line and are pushing north to attack the MPLA-held airbase town of Henrique de Carvalho in eastern Angola.

'Dawn of new era' - Khama

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — The African sub-continent is at the dawn of a new era of political order, and the forces of oppression are gearing themselves for the final confrontation with the forces of freedom, Botswana President Sir Seretse Khama said.

In a message broadcast to Botswana to mark International Human Rights Day yesterday President Khama said it was up to Botswana to establish "conditions under which it will be possible for freedom to triumph."

He said Botswana had laid the foundations for a unique non-racial society.

In southern Africa, a human being "cannot demand his rights without being labelled a communist or a terrorist," he said.

The international community had to band together to wipe out the shackles of servitude which had for so long marred Southern Africa, he said.

Luso was taken by the MPLA some weeks ago, pushing the Unita-FNLA allies about 100 km back towards Huambo.

However a Radio Luanda report monitored in London quotes the MPLA military spokesman, Commander Juju, as claiming the MPLA is driving the FNLA-Unita forces back towards Cangumbe, west of Luso.

The report says there is heavy fighting in the area.

Unita sources in Lusaka say their biggest concern is that the retreating MPLA will blow up a major road bridge across the Cassai river on the way to Henrique de Carvalho.

Blown bridges are becoming an important factor in the seesaw Angolan war.

BACKING

Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita has so far declined to name his "friends," although he claims Unita will match every weapon the Soviet Union gives to the MPLA.

It is known that some Western countries and multi-national companies are backing the FNLA-Unita allies. But Dr Savimbi has denied South African troops are aiding his movement.

There has been no confirmation of reports that aircraft have entered the Angolan battle and it seems highly unlikely that MIGs have entered the combat at this stage.

Meanwhile the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity is to meet to discuss the Angolan situation next week.

African heads of state will follow this with a summit in January, according to informed sources.—Sapa-Reuter-AP.

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Foreigners in Angola: Nato takes tough line

Savimbi
warns
OAU
on Reds

The Star's
Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, left here last night for Angola to investigate reports that the MPLA had turned the ground war into an air confrontation backed by the military might of the Soviet Union.

Before leaving he told newsmen that the Soviets wanted naval bases in Angola to control shipping routes round the Cape. He said what affected Angola today would hit both Zaire and Zambia tomorrow.

NOT AFRICANS

He warned that if the OAU failed to live up to its responsibilities others would solve the problem in Angola but added: "They will not be Africans."

"This is the biggest challenge the OAU has ever faced," he said.

In his talks here he met Dr Kaunda and representatives of several Western embassies and high commissions and made it perfectly clear that he would like a kind of "detente" between his organisation and the MPLA.

He also expressed confidence that he could meet the MPLA weapon for weapon but declined to reveal who in the West was supporting him.

NOT CLEAR

But the exact military situation in Angola is still not clear. Last night a senior Unita man claimed that Dr Savimbi's troops had retaken the strategic town of Luso (Central Angola) and Dr Savimbi said he was confident that the Benguela railway — leading to the key port of Lobito — would reopen "soon."

But Dr Savimbi's strategy is not to take the capital of Luanda — still in MPLA hands.

He wants to starve it and its inhabitants into submission, but an air war against FNLA and Unita could change that overnight.

SENSE

At last Dr Savimbi had the political sense to counter stories that he was being backed by Pretoria.

He acknowledged a South African presence in Angola but said they were in Angola before independence as guests of the Portuguese to safeguard their Cunene Dam project and complex.

proposed that Nato member countries support Organisation of African Unity (OAU) attempts to force an end to all foreign intervention.

He said the West should jointly lend its support to the formation of a "government of national unity" without any outside pressure.

He urged the 15 member countries to form a "common approach" on the vexed Angolan problem, and to speak with one voice in its demands.

The Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Max van der Stoel, roundly condemned all intervention but did not support Mr Callaghan's proposals that Nato take a joint stand on the issue.

He argued that Angola was outside Nato's area of activity, which ends at the Tropic of Cancer, and may in itself be regarded as intervention.



DR KISSINGER

China backs SA detente, UN told

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The Communist Chinese leadership told a high-ranking delegation of African politicians in Peking recently that it supported moves towards detente with South Africa.

This surprising assertion has been made in the General Assembly by Soviet ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Yakov Malik, during the stormy debate on South Africa's alleged intervention in Angola.

Although Mr Malik's statement was made in the course of an attack on the Chinese delegation — which had earlier condemned Soviet and Cuban involvement in the Angolan war — there are plausible grounds put forward by diplomats at the UN for taking it seriously.

To begin with, they point out, Mr Malik himself has rarely made emphatic statements which are easily denied, though some of his lesser officials

have done so.

Also, the Soviet Union usually has reliable sources of information on events and statements in Peking — often based on playbacks from third world visitors to the Chinese capital.

But, while all this might be true, diplomats are cautious about placing too much emphasis on what is purported to be the real Chinese attitude towards detente.

"Presuming that the Soviet assertion is true, or even faintly true, one would really have to know at what decibel level the Chinese expressed satisfaction with detente to even begin to assess their real attitude," an experienced Western diplomat said.

"Also, it would be interesting to know who the African leaders were. If they were those already involved in detente, the purported Chinese statement would have very much less importance than if it were addressed to countries at that stage uninvolved in the exercise," he added.

Tim Patten
BRUSSELS — Major Western powers in the Nato military alliance have strongly condemned the Soviet Union's intervention in Angola, and have demanded an immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops — including South African.

The demand, voiced initially here yesterday by British Foreign Secretary Mr James Callaghan, was supported by American Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger, and the majority of NATO member countries.

It is the most concerted Western demand for withdrawal yet made, and is regarded in diplomatic circles here as a clear sign of a toughening attitude against the military aggression in Angola which threatens to drive a wedge between East and West.

Warning

Addressing NATO foreign ministers in closed session, Dr Kissinger repeated his warning to the Soviet Union that the United States would not stand by and watch the balance of world power being upset by the Russians gaining a foothold in Africa.

He accused the Russians of "stepping far beyond their normal area of interest" by intervening in Angola, and warned that detente was being seriously jeopardised in the process.

Dr Kissinger rejected, in forthright terms, the concept of Russia being allowed free passage to establish themselves in Africa.

Although he said the United States was not against the natural birth of communism in Africa, it would not allow this doctrine to be imposed on countries against the political will of the people.

Communism, he said, was clearly being thrust on the people of Angola against their will.

A political system would be acceptable if it grew out of the political will of the majority of the people. The MPLA was clearly a weak political force in Angola, but was gaining in strength purely because of Soviet intervention, Dr Kissinger said.

Earlier Mr Callaghan

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US injects R47 m into Angola war

Star. 12/12/75 (5)

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The Star Bureau NEW YORK — The United States has sent R23.5-million in arms and support funds to Angola over the last three months, says a high-ranking Government official in Washington. It plans to

send another R23.5-million in supplies to counter the large-scale military intervention there by Russia and Cuba. The official said that the first R23.5-million was distributed by the Central Intelligence Agency, mostly through Zaire, which

has a 750 km frontier with Angola. He said the secret US operation was an attempt "to create a stalemate" in the Angolan civil war. The official told the New York Times that Russia had sent 27 shiploads of military supplies since the spring and, since October, has flown 30 to 40 supply missions with huge AN-22 cargo planes. He said there were about 200 Soviet military advisers in Angola.

that no Americans were involved in the ground fighting. However, he said that the United States had supplied five artillery spotter planes that flew into the Angolan battle zones, returning to bases in Zaire. "They fly in and out," he said of the US pilots.

The official said that the additional R23.5-million worth of weapons and support funds to be sent to Angola would exhaust the CIA's funds for such contingencies.

He said additional military equipment was being sent from western Europe for the forces fighting the MPLA. But he did not disclose which countries were the suppliers, or the nature or amounts of the supplies.

"But the Soviet-Cuban involvement is far in excess of anything we or the Europeans, are doing."

The official said President Ford had authorised the R47-million supply operation because "the Russians are in to win" all of Angola.

The Zaireans are reported to be fighting alongside the FNLA. Weapons had also reached the southern-based forces of Unita.

IN COMBAT

Since mid-October, Cuba has sent infantry weapons and troops to Angola. As of last week the administration estimated there were 4 000 Cuban soldiers in combat there.

Another high-ranking official said that today there was evidence that Cuba now had "close to 5 000" men in Angola.

Intelligence reports reaching Washington say the most effective weapons supplied by Russia are 24-barrel anti-personnel rocket launchers and tanks.

These launchers for 122 mm rockets and the Soviet T-54 tanks are manned by Cubans, the official said.

ROCKETS

There was a report last week by Luanda Radio of artillery practice on the outskirts of the city, which the MPLA has declared its capital.

American military supplies have consisted mainly of portable infantry weapons, the official said, including large numbers of anti-tank missile launchers and anti-personnel rocket launchers — "The kind you hold on your shoulder that you could use with a minimum of training."

"There are no American advisers in Angola, either civilian or military," he said. He added

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Black recruitment in US

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This follows reports that FNLA and Unita agents are signing hundreds of Americans to fight in Angola. They are said to be earning up to R900 a month. It is pointed out in Washington, however, that previous similar recruitment schemes announced by Mr Innes have failed to materialise.

State department sources said that all information about mercenary recruitment in the United States was being passed on to the Justice Department for investigation and pointed out that technically, any US citizen swearing allegiance to a foreign army can lose his citizenship or face prosecution.

or any other government agency has had anything to do with it. Mr Innes said the men will serve as a "police force" on behalf of the Organisation of African Unity attempt to mediate the Angolan war. He added that he hoped to raise money from the Black community to pay the proposed force.

Quoting US intelligence sources, the newspaper said the Congress of Racial Equality has been interviewing Black American military veterans as prospects for service in the civil war. The chairman of the organisation, Mr Roy Innes, has admitted the recruitment of Black veterans but denied that the CIA

The Star Bureau WASHINGTON — A United States civil rights organisation has been recruiting Black mercenaries to strengthen anti-communist forces in embattled Angola. The Long Island newspaper Newsday says this is being done on behalf of the Central Intelligence Agency.

daughters children MHDRIH on Sund 10.15 an place at 8 52 10th-av CHILEWITZ father and peacefully mourned and loving son, Ja Jeffrey, Gavin MHDRIH CHILEWITZ — Leon, passed peacefully December 12. Rest in Peace, Mylam CHILEWITZ — Leon, passed away peacefully December 12. Rest in Peace, Minnie and Peter. CHILEWITZ — Leon, passed away peacefully December 12. Deeply mourned. Billy and Joe Seeff. CHILEWITZ — Leon, passed away peacefully December 12. Deeply mourned and sadly missed. Joe and Kay Gavshan. CHILEWITZ — Leon, passed away peacefully. Rest in Peace. Dave and Roslyn Harris and family. DAL-BIANCO — Armando, passed away peacefully December 11 1975. Beloved husband of Sabela and dearest father of Franco, Bruno and Marco, father-in-law of Patricia and Renata, and grandfather of Vicki and Alessandro. Deeply mourned by all. DAL-BIANCO — Armando, in loving memory of dear uncle, passed away on December 11 1975. You are always in our thoughts. Piero, Cynthia and family. DAL-BIANCO — Armando, in lo-

to Edo, Graham, Corinne and family. Howard, Sandra, Cuper and family. LYNCH — Roma Marchant, beloved mother of Jill, passed away suddenly December 12. Ever remembered. MAYHEW — James Oliver, beloved husband of Rhoda and father of Carol and Alan, passed away December 9 in Pretoria. Funeral arrangements later. McKie — James Ross, passed away peacefully on Tuesday December 9. Fondly remembered and will always be sadly missed by his wife Frieda, Bubbles, Joyce and Mac. MURPHY — Francis John, passed away December 9, ever remembered by Margaret, Dominic and boys. MURPHY — Francis John, passed away December 9. Ever remembered by Jeannette, Peter and family. MURPHY — Francis John passed away December 9 after a long illness bravely borne, andly missed. Always you will be remembered by your brother-

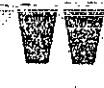
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Francis John, late of Belgravia, will take place at Hobkirk-Doves West Chapel, 10 Jorissen-st, Braamfontein. Mon Afternoon, Dec 15. Service commencing at 2 pm. No flowers please. Suggest donations to Cancer Association of SA, Box 2008, Jhb. HOBKIRK-DOVES. Tel 724-1851. STEERS — The funeral of William Edwin Steers, late of Janie Fourie-st, Pretoria North, will leave the NG Church, Eufraes-st, Pretoria North on Saturday after a service commencing at 10 am proceeding to the Pretoria North Cemetery. VAN DER GROBBELAAR & SONS (PTY) LTD, 374 Princes Park-ave, Tel 48-7127, Pretoria. STEFANIS — The funeral cortege for Sitrath Stefanis, late of The 1901 Johannesburg, will leave the David Cook Funeral Chapel, 23 Jorissen-st, Braamfontein on Monday afternoon at 2 o'clock and proceed to the Greek Orthodox Church, Walmaranast for a service commencing at 2.30 pm, after the interment at West Park Cemetery. WILMOT COOK & SONS: Tel 724-8501. VAN DER MERWE — The funeral of Pieter Ruelo, late of Crown Mines, will leave the Dutch Reformed Church, 4th-ave, Mav-fell, Wednesday afternoon, December 17, after a service commencing at 2 pm and proceed to the West Park Cemetery. HOBKIRK-DOVES: Tel 724-1851. ZE-LINGA — The funeral service for Ailda Martha Zeilinga, late of Greyfont, will take place at the Dutch Reformed Church,



Angola—Some expect the

Asst. Sec. of State

Increasing public hints in the US of American involvement are seen in some quarters as a possible softening-up process for a more substantial announcement of action by the Ford administration, reports EUGENE HUGO of The Star's Washington Bureau.

The Star's Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON—The House Intelligence Committee chairman, Mr Otis Pike, has said here there is no question that the United States is already involved to a degree in Angola.

And Congressman Pike is in a position to know because his committee has been investigating United States intelligence operations abroad, which includes the hearing of testimony by the most senior State Department and CIA officials.

But Mr Pike refused to disclose what he knew, saying he was "not free to talk." He did know of United States involvement but he was denied permission to disclose this because of security restrictions.

VERY TRICKY
I think it is a very tricky situation over there. Very touchy. But there is no question about it. We are involved to a degree," said Mr Pike on a CBS news broadcast.

houring countries" and a senior official claimed that United States assistance had prevented a Soviet-backed takeover in Angola in July.

Dr Kissinger, like Congressman Pike, has refused to explain what steps the United States is taking to counter Russian and Cuban intervention in Angola.

But increasing public hints of American involvement are seen in some quarters as a possible softening-up process for a more substantial announcement of action being taken by the Ford administration.

The Secretary of State's comment about US help for "some neighbouring countries" has been interpreted here as the first acknowledgement that assistance is going to more than one African neighbour of the former Portuguese colony.

Zaire has been receiving US military aid and it is now widely accepted that some of this has been channelled to anti-Soviet forces in Angola.

The aid to Zaire has been causing some anxiety in the US Senate to the extent that a number of senators have sought Congressional control over any future moves by the administration to funnel aid to the FNLA and

Unita liberation movements.

Following an amendment introduced under the Foreign Assistance Act by Senator Dick Clark, which seeks to directly control aid to Angola, two other senators have now introduced amendments seeking to prohibit countries that buy US arms from transferring the weapons to another country or using them to train military forces of other nations.

The amendments were sponsored by Senators Clifford Case and Gaylord Nelson for consideration when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee marks up the military assistance bill the US Administration is requesting of Congress—a bill which includes a massive \$45.9-million aid package for Zaire.

Both Senators Clark and Case are members of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee.

TO MOSCOW

Senator Case has meanwhile sought to influence Dr Kissinger to take up the Angolan issue with the Russian leader Mr Leonid Brezhnev when he goes to Moscow in four or five weeks' time.

In a letter to Dr Kissinger he says he appreciates the importance of the Sec-

retary of State's forthcoming talks in Moscow on the SALT issue and hopes that Dr Kissinger will have the chance to discuss the "disturbing" conventional arms race in such sensitive areas as the Middle East and Angola.

"In particular I hope you will take the opportunity to do your utmost to urge Russian officials to halt the flow of weapons to Angola."

The senator said it would be best if all outside powers stayed out of the Angolan conflict and terminated whatever assistance they might have been giving to the various factions.

He said the Russian intervention raised serious questions about Moscow's willingness to abide by

the non-intervention principles of the Helsinki Agreement and apply the spirit of detente.

"As long as the Soviets seem to think US-Soviet detente does not inhibit them from adventurism in regional conflicts such as the Mideast and Africa, the Russians should be reminded of the growing Congressional concern about detente and the recent US-Russian grain deal and other efforts to obtain economic benefits from the US," Senator Case wrote.

INVOLVEMENT

Meanwhile, US News and World Report analyses the causes and effects of outside intervention as follows (summarised):

● Soviet: So far it seems clear that Moscow considers the chance to set up a genuine client state in Africa is worth the risk to Russia's prestige if the effort fails or the risk to detente if it succeeds. The Soviet intervention in Angola with sophisticated weaponry looks like part of a larger design—to create a wedge of Soviet bases extending across the heart of Africa.

● Whoever controls Angola is in a position to influence events everywhere in southern Africa.

● Cuban: American analysts believe that Fidel Castro's dispatch of an estimated 3 000 to 4 000 combat troops was designed to enhance his import-

ance as a revolutionary leader on the world stage. Dr Castro has repeatedly stated he puts more weight on Cuban participation in "liberation movements" than on Havana's hopes for a breakthrough in relations with the US.

DR CASTRO

Using Cuban soldiers is a plus for Moscow. African nations tend to admire Dr Castro because he supports "liberation" and defies his powerful North American neighbour. Africans would fear and resent a sizeable number of Russian troops stationed in their lands, whereas Cuba is considered a small country with no capability of taking over the reins of power.

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1975 COURSE EVALUATION - ECONOMICS IB

Name (optional) _____

Test marks to date (2+, 2- etc.) _____

Degree for which registered _____

1. (a) Listed below are the various sub-courses given this year. We ask you to evaluate each sub-course in terms of the content (1 = good, 2 = average etc.)

Basic Microecon
Principles of I
Macroeconomics
Money, Banking
International

(b) Please do
you partic

Right now many of the African leaders lean toward anti-Moscow Angolan groups. If South Africa

South Africa: This move has had two unexpected consequences. Peking has cut back its strong support of the Anti-Soviet Angolan forces, and some Black African states have abandoned the Angolan groups that accept South African support. Neither Peking, which sides with the Third World against western industrialised nations, nor most of the Black African nations wanted to be in bed with White South Africa. One authority says further South African intervention in Angola would mean that "all bets are off in Black Africa."

DR. FIDEL CASTRO ... admitted in Africa.

Short range: Continuing civil war in Angola, further intervention by the Soviet Union, deeper involvement on the part of South Africa.
Long range: Even sharper divisions between the Black Africans and White-ruled southern Africa, with all that that implies for racial war in Africa.



US to act

The Star Friday Dec 12 1975

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2. (a) We ask you to evaluate each lecturer as objectively as possible in terms of presentation

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Kenny
Ehrlich

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world's highest peak — in general the biggest and the best of the physical world, etc. thank heavens, says Mr. ...
sleep to be taxing. Even with fluoride 13 percent of Britons have ...
genre Macmillan, his publishers have done hard-back reprints in two of

Early Angola talks demand by Tanzania

Star 12/14/75 (5)

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DAR ES SALAAM — Tanzania has sent a telegram to the secretary general of the Organisation of African Unity insisting that a heads of state summit meeting on Angola be held before Christmas.

The Foreign Ministry telegram was in response to a message sent to all OAU members by its secretary general, Mr

Mboumoua Eteki, suggesting that a council of ministers meeting be held from December 19 to 21 and then followed by a summit meeting after Christmas.

Tanzania said postponement of the summit meeting after December 20 "would be incredible and lacking in seriousness," reports Sapa-Reuter.

"Tanzania thus insists that the summit meeting must be held before Christmas and December

20 is the best day. The council of ministers can meet from December 17 to 19 or even earlier," the telegram added.

The Daily News quoted diplomatic sources in Dar es Salaam as saying that Somalia, which originally suggested the meeting, had also rejected Mr Eteki's suggestion.

An editorial in the Daily News asked today: "On whose behalf is the secretary general trying to delay the summit? On behalf of Africa's friends?"

d be added to

ZAMBIA GOING

It added: "The situation does not call for the kind of lacklustre approach that the secretary general wants to adopt. It is a war situation calling for resolute and brave actions."

The Star's Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that Zambia will attend the OAU foreign ministers' meeting and subsequent summit meeting on Angola scheduled for Addis Ababa.

A spokesman for Foreign Affairs said today: "We have all along advocated and supported the holding of such a meeting."

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4. Are you satisfied with *y* Comment

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(b) Do you feel these goals were achieved during the year?

Russian ships go — FNLA

8/17/75 (5)

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The Star's Africa News Service

Soviet reconnaissance ships have been withdrawn from anchorages off the FNLA-Unita-controlled ports of Mocamedes and Ambriz after action by his movement, top FNLA commander Daniel Chipenda claimed in Kinshasa.

Speaking at a news conference prior to leaving for an unspecified destination in Angola, Mr Chipenda also questioned the validity of recent reports that aircraft had been used against the allies by the Marxist-oriented MPLA.

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"I believe this is lying, fabricated propaganda put together by the MPLA," he said. "But if it is true our forces will be capable of sighting any enemy aircraft and dealing with it."

Mr Chipenda appealed to African nations to unite and seek a solution to Angola.

DIVISIONS

Meanwhile Uganda has turned down a request to host an extraordinary meeting of African states on the Angolan situation because such a meeting would highlight divisions on the continent, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Paul Etiang, said.

The OAU could not afford to take sides in an issue that required a political and not a military situation, Mr Etiang said.

In Washington the US State Department said the withdrawal of an amendment in the United Nations condemning South African intervention in Angola was a rebuff for the Soviet Union and its allies.

In another development an editorial in London's Daily Telegraph says a "dumb palsy" seems to have gripped Western leaders on the issue of Russia's dangerous involvement in Angola.

"The West Europeans of course, have been keeping their heads down and hoping the US and South Africa will take the necessary unpleasant action," the editorial says.

But the US is hamstrung by a baulky Congress, and only South Africa is prepared to be counted, although the Americans are channelling supplies to the anti-communist forces.

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Angola upset balance — Dr K

Mercure
11/11/75

Reds in World

BRUSSELS—U.S. Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger told the Nato Foreign Ministers yesterday that massive Soviet armament and intervention in Angola were disturbing the world balance.

re
ises

(5)

Dr. Kissinger accused the Russians of stepping far beyond their normal area of interest and said the balance of power should be maintained.

At the same time, he assured the Allies that detente would survive in the long run because the Soviets had an economic interest in accommodation with the West.

And as Nato heard of U.S. fears over Russia's support for Angola's MPLA, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, Angolan nationalist leader, accused the Soviets of using Dr. Fidel Castro's Cuban mercenaries as "cannon-fodder" in the civil war.

Our correspondent reports that shortly before leaving the Zambian capital of Lusaka, the Unita leader said that the Russian and Cuban intervention had caused the civil war.

"It was not Neto (leader of the rival MPLA) who asked the Cubans to come to Angola. It was Russia, which is now using the Cubans as cannon-fodder."

He said that his movement was ready to take Cuban and Katangese prisoners to the OAU ministerial meeting later this month.

"Some of the Cubans are ready to expose their own country to the OAU and tell how co-operation was made between Cuba and the Soviet Union to invade Angola," he said.

"The face Russia is showing in Angola should be a warning to the continent. It should remind us of the Soviet interventions in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. If it was not for the Russian tanks, the democratic and liberal system they wanted would not have failed.

"This is a serious warning for Africa when, for the first time, Russia is not acting with caution at all. They are openly coming in, sending their arms and sending their personnel.

"Their aim is very clear and I hope it will be clear to other people who like freedom."

Dr. Savimbi attacked those African States which have recognised the MPLA as the government of Angola and said this was encouraging civil war.

"The OAU has to condemn all foreign intervention in Angola because if foreign troops are allowed to intervene freely no one can assure us that tomorrow they will not intervene in another independent country.

"No one can clear the MPLA of having started the war with Soviet arms," he said.

Dr. Savimbi said that in fact 450 Cubans arrived in Angola to join the MPLA even before August 5 when the first clash between Unita and the MPLA took place.

mmment

Invasion

"This gives us the idea that the MPLA and the Soviet Union were preparing with Cuba the invasion of our country," he said.

"We want to remind Africa that if the OAU does not find a solution for Angola the whole world will just sit back until Neto has killed the country. That is why I think the next meeting of the OAU is one of the biggest challenges the organisation has ever faced," he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports from New York that the confusion about the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Daniel Moynihan's seeming reference on Wednesday to Cubans being in South West Africa was cleared up when the UN met yesterday.

It was established that Mr. Moynihan meant to refer to Tanzania and not SWA, as the sixth African country harbouring Cubans.

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De Beers watches Angola

By ADAM PAYNE

DE BEERS Consolidated Mines, as consultants to the large Diamang diamond mining company in Angola, will be closely affected by the outcome of negotiations for a new contract between the MPLA Government and Diamang.

The major interest in the company is held by the State, which formerly meant the Portuguese Government. Private interests include Belgian and American capital.

Now that the MPLA has taken over the Lunda province, where the company's mines operate, it is expected to negotiate with Diamang for a larger State participation.

The company already pays tax of more than 50 per cent on profits.

Output from the mines has fallen 40 per cent to 50 per cent since the civil war, because of the flight of Portuguese skilled personnel and technicians.

But the MPLA has made a point of not attempting to take over the management of the mines, except that its police now replace the company's internal security police.

Diamond exports from Diamang and oil from Gulf Oil's Cabinda wells, also controlled by the MPLA, make up more than 80 per cent of Angola's foreign exchange earnings.

Angola peace call in Kenya

Nov 15/11/75

The Star's Africa News Service

Nairobi
Presidents Kaunda and Kenyatta today issued a joint call for an immediate ceasefire in Angola pending a political solution to the conflict with a view to forming a government of national unity.

In a joint communique after a three-day State visit to Kenya by Dr Kaunda the Presidents said they had also reviewed the situation in Southern Africa.

President Kaunda told a news conference he would like to attend an OAU summit on Angola. He believed a political solution in the country was the only way.

"If we are serious about wanting peace in Angola we must find a political solution. The issue is one of human life.

"Ideology serves man and not the other way round."

The three parties could fight politically and not militarily, he said.

Asked to comment on reports that South Africa had agreed to disengage itself from Angola, Dr Kaunda said this would be encouraging if South Africa's involvement was the cause of the conflict.

"If it is not, we are dealing with the effect rather than the cause."

Rhodesia

Asked to state the conditions under which Zambia would reopen her border with Rhodesia, Dr Kaunda said: "We want a clear indication that majority rule is coming."

From New York Sapa-AP reports that the United States ambassador to the United Nations says Soviet interests will succeed in taking over Angola if they manage to "pin a South African label on resistance" to their efforts.

This was because of Black Africa's hatred for South Africa, he said.

Mr Daniel Moynihan said in a telephone interview that control of the vital shipping routes between Asia and Europe was at stake in the struggle over Angola.

The US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, has said there is no US contact with South Africa on the issue, but Mr Moynihan conceded that in opposing the MPLA, the two countries' policies have converged.

Willing

From Lusaka Sapa-Reuters reports that Angola's Unita leader is willing to begin talking with the communist MPLA over forming a national government out of the civil war.

This is reported from diplomatic observers in Lusaka, as Dr Jonas Savimbi launches his diplomatic offensive with a trip to see the OAU chairman, Idi Amin of Uganda.

The Star's Political Correspondent, John Patten, reports from Pretoria that more effective avenues for channelling United States arms into frontline fighting in Angola are understood to have been found — greatly strengthening allied forces against MPLA.

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Everyone wants 'Angolan' oil

15/11/75

Conflict, contradiction, confusion mark the fight for control of the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda. ALLEN PIZZEY of The Star's Africa News Service examines the Cabinda connection.

The steamy, jungle-covered little enclave of Cabinda has produced one of the most confused jumbles of strange bedfellows and conflicting allegiances in the chaotic history of African independence.

The only certain thing in Cabinda is that everyone with even a remote connection to it wants a slice. And not without good reason.

The 120 offshore oil wells pour forth nearly R500-million worth of royalties to Angola every year. They are all the almost ruined Angolan economy has going for it at the moment.

The wells are owned by Cabinda Gulf, a subsidiary of the American Gulf Oil Company.

In spite of the fact that the marxist-orientated MPLA controls Cabinda, and considers almost everyone with an American connection to be a CIA agent (and in fact the CIA is repeatedly running much of the Zaire based action of the FNLA against the MPLA) Cabinda Gulf has been left more or less unhindered.

They claim no political affiliation, which is probably a good thing considering how many other people want to take over their area of activity.

Zaire would like a piece of Cabinda, but is in a complicated position of supporting both the FNLA, which claims Cab-



The quarrel for Cabinda has created complex alliances.

inda is an integral part of Angola, and one faction of Flec, the secessionist movement led by Henrique Tiago Nzita, which wants complete independence for the tiny territory.

A second Flec is based in and supported by neighbouring Congo-Brazzaville, which is strongly Marxist.

This in spite of President Marien Ngouabi's support for and aid to the MPLA, which naturally says Cabinda is Angolan territory. (One of the MPLA's many slogans is "From Cabinda to the Cunene").

There is little doubt that Ngouabi is casting envious eyes at the Cabindan oil wells for himself as well.

The Congo-Brazzaville Flec is ineffectual and not likely to pose a serious threat.

Nzita's Zaire-based faction has been trying for several months to infiltrate the deep Cabindan forests with the aid of Zairean troops, but the MPLA has easily contained them.

The movement is small, poorly armed, and badly organised, but reports from the enclave say it has widespread grassroots support. Radio Cabinda broadcasts from Kinshasa are avidly monitored by the locals, according to reports.

Flec bases its claim to an independent Cabinda on the 1882 Simulambuco Treaty, signed by Chief Puna, traditional ruler of Cabinda.

He granted trading rights to the Portuguese in exchange for protection from the encroaching Belgian colonisation in the Congo.

The treaty was valid for

100 years, but in 1958 the then Portuguese dictator Dr Antonio Salazar incorporated the protectorate into Angola.

Flec claims this illegal action was taken because Gulf Oil Inc released a positive seismic survey of the region.

There is little likelihood of the Cabinda question being solved by legal means, however.

And if it were to be done that way the most likely claimant to the riches would be Unita, whose secretary-general N'Zau Miguel Puna is the lineal descendant of the Chief Puna who started the whole thing.

Cabinda is the third largest oil producer south of the Sahara. Nearly 50 percent of its oil goes to the United States, followed by Portugal, Canada, Japan and West Germany.

But if the Russian-backed MPLA takes over Angola, this supply to the West will probably be cut off.

There is even more oil under the waters south of Cabinda off Santo Antonio do Zaire on the Angolan mainland at the mouth of the Zaire River.

This field is not fully developed, and is expected to be a rich one. It is owned by Petrangol, a company owned jointly by Belgium's Petrofina and the Angolan government, whatever that may be. Part of the fields are also owned by America's Texaco.

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Angola: US 'is backing a loser' dispute

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — A sharp dispute over US operations in Angola has bitterly divided the State Department and resulted in the resignation of the head of its Bureau of African Affairs.

New Vietnam is the fear

WASHINGTON — An influential Democratic leader in the US House of Representatives has vowed that no American troops or advisors will ever be sent to Angola.

He said the Congress would not stand for US involvement in Angola mushrooming into another Vietnam-like situation.

The House Intelligence Committee had asked the Ford administration to explain exactly what role it is playing in Angola, he said.

Mr O'Neill said recent reports that the United States had supplied 25 million dollars (about R21 million), and was prepared to supply another

25-million dollars to pro-Western factions in the Angolan civil war, had "really caught the House by surprise."

He said the Intelligence Committee chairman, Mr Otis Pike, "is asking for a report within 48 hours." The Administration was being asked to explain, "How did we get in the position we're in? What do we do about it? Where are we going from here?" Mr O'Neill said.

In an appearance before the Intelligence Committee on Friday, the CIA director, Mr William Colby, while refusing to confirm the 50-million dollar figure, said no Americans were involved in the fighting in Angola. — Sapa-AP.

Government sources said that the Bureau head, Mr Nathaniel Davis — now Ambassador to Switzerland — resigned in August after Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger rejected his recommendation that the United States seek a diplomatic solution in Angola and play no active role in the country's civil war.

One of Mr Davis's main objections to US involvement was that Jonas Savimbi of Unita and Holden Roberto (FNLA) "couldn't fight their way out of a paper bag. It's the wrong game and the players we have are losers."

DAMAGING

Secondly, an official quoted Mr Davis as having argued that should the United States effort end in failure, it would be extremely damaging to the two leading African moderates who are American supporters, Presidents Mobutu of Zaire and Kaunda of Zambia.

Finally Mr Davis argued that by backing "certain losers," the US would end up with "racist South Africa" as its only African ally.

A number of sources told the New York Times, that Mr Davis resigned a few weeks after a high administration body, acting upon the strong recommendations of Kissinger and Mr William Colby, director of the CIA, authorised the covert shipment in mid-July of up to 10 million dollars (R8,5 million) worth of arms to two factions in Angola.

R42,5 M AID

The CIA has since been authorised to provide at least 50 million dollars (R42,5 million) worth of arms to the FNLA and Unita.

Officials said the first significant decision on Angolan policy was made in the spring, when the Administration authorised the CIA to supply about 300 000 dollars (R255 000) in military arms and aid to Jonas Savimbi.

The funds were authorised after the CIA formally began reporting the increases in Soviet military aid to the MPLA.

The CIA has also been aiding the FNLA since the early 1960s, mainly through neighbouring Zaire, headed by President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Face-off

One official recalled that Mr Davis argued in the spring that "once you put Savimbi in the game and once you continue to help Roberto through Zaire, that's a signal to the Russians that we're going to face them off."

Large Soviet shipments did not begin, an official said, until after the United States decided to help supply Savimbi,

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Star
15/12/75

STAR 16/12/75

The Star's Africa News Service

Anti-communist forces have taken a dramatic initiative and are driving the MPLA forces back after bloody battles in the war for Angola.

Bayonets aid allied victory

The Star's Africa News Service

HUAMBO (Nova Lisboa) — Fierce hand-to-hand fighting, at one point with bayonets, finally gave the Unita-FNLA allies their victory in the battle for Luso.

The attack started with a heavy artillery bombardment, followed by an armoured car thrust and then an infantry charge.

Unita's commander-in-chief Tchiwale wept openly for his fallen comrades after the battle. Many of those killed had been fighting with him since 1965 in the guerilla war against the Portuguese.

"WON'T BE BACK"

"This time, the MPLA will not be back in Luso," he told Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and his secretary-general, N'zau Puna, when they landed on the practically undamaged runway at Luso airport.

From the bush where they had been hiding during the fighting, thousands of Africans emerged to surround the Unita leaders.

Unita buttons and flags, carefully hidden during the MPLA occupation of the town, were brought out and displayed.

MEETING

An impromptu meeting was organised by the traditional chiefs. The town's small square was packed. Among the crowd were a surprisingly large number of Whites — about 200.

When Savimbi started his speech with the traditional shout of "kwacha," the townspeople and soldiers responded with an emotional roar.

SYMPATHIES

The sympathies of the local population appeared clearly to be with Unita.

But for the allies, the capture of Luso has far more than emotional significance. If they take Teixeira de Sousa they will be in a position to reopen the whole of the Benguela railway.

But first they must hold their positions against a possible MPLA counter-attack.

Combined FNLA-Unita forces, backed by Western allies, have taken the strategic town of Luso in the east killing an estimated 300 communist troops, and have broken through the heavily defended MPLA positions south of Luanda.

The allies are also reported to be advancing towards Malanje, east of the capital.

From Luso, following one of the bloodiest and strategically most important battles of the Angola war, the allies are driving north towards Henrique de Carvalho, site of a major air base, and east towards Teixeira de Sousa, where the Benguela railway enters from Zaire.

Battle toll

Unita reported losing 128 men in the battle for Luso and to have killed at least 250 of the enemy, including most of the former Katangese gendarmes serving with the MPLA.

The allies claim to have broken the military stalemate south of Luanda, where the armoured column that drove spectacularly up the coast from Sa da Bandeira had been halted south of Gabela.

After fierce fighting in the general area of Gabela, Quibala and Cela, the allies claim to have taken the village of Catofe, 16 km from Quibala, and to be advancing on that town.

Their apparent objective is Dondo, near which is the Cambambe hydro-electric station on the Cuanza River which supplies MPLA-held Luanda with its power.

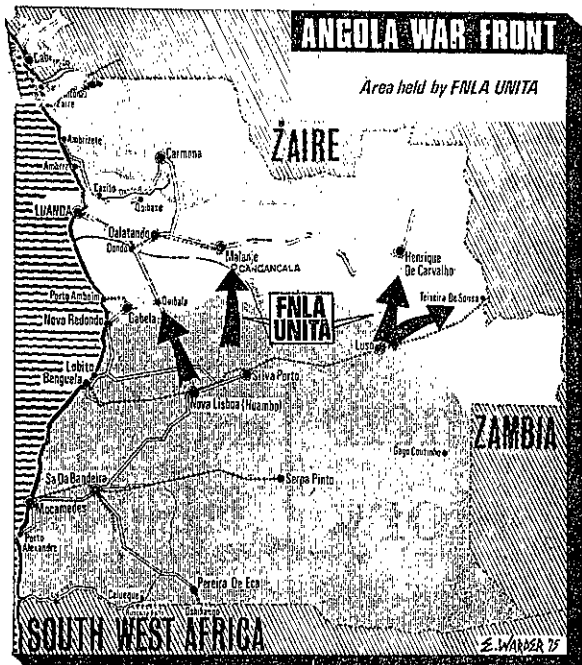
Pursuit

In another action the allies claim to be threatening Malanje after crossing the Cuanza River and taking Cangandala, 30 km south of Malanje.

Following the battle for Luso, the MPLA is said to be blowing bridges along the railway line as its forces retreat. But the FNLA-Unita forces are reportedly in hot pursuit along the tarmac road.

More than 30 tons of weapons were captured at Luso, including Russian Katyushka rockets. Also taken was a six-wheel command vehicle equipped with radio and a field teleprinter.

In the battle in the Gabela area Unita claimed to have wiped out most of a truckload of Cubans



This map shows the new four-pronged thrust by the Unita-FNLA troops which is sending the MPLA in retreat.

Soldier died trying to save friend

Defence Correspondent The deaths of three South Africans in the operational area bring the number of soldiers killed in action on the Angola border to 16.

According to Defence Headquarters, 61 of the "enemy" were killed in the engagement. No details of place or time were released.

The three South Africans killed were Rifleman David Herculaas De Wald Marais (18), of the farm Kromdraai, near Potchefstroom; Sapper Bobby Willemse (19), of Bergville, Natal; and Sapper Udo von Schmettau (19), of Walvis Bay.

It is understood that Sapper Willemse died from injuries he received while trying to save the life of a comrade who was shot in the chest.

His death came three weeks after he had been sent to the border area.

Before leaving for the zone he visited his parents in Bergville. They have two other children — Marieta (15) and Karin (4).

Mr D H D Marais of Potchefstroom said today



Rifleman David Marais. This photograph was taken shortly before he left for border duty where he was killed last week in a skirmish with terrorists.

his son "did his duty as he should have.

Rifleman Marais, one of seven children, was due to complete his year's military training in three weeks after spending four months at the border.

Two elder brothers have completed their military training and one has been to the border.

Sapper von Schmettau had started his military stint in February and was the second eldest of five children of Mr and Mrs E von Schmettau of Walvis Bay.

Mr von Schmettau said his son had been very keen to do his military training.

The Defence authorities had not said how and where he was killed.

Former GIs in Angola

The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — American mercenaries are now being recruited by six different sources in this country and nearly 500 former servicemen have al-

ready left to fight on the side of Unita and FNLA in the Angolan war.

This information was provided yesterday by a California crop duster, Mr David Bufkin, who claims

to have "moved" 150 men himself and says he is closely connected with the mercenary operation.

Mr Bufkin invited inquiries from combat veterans in a recent newspaper advertisement carried in California and has been quoted several times recently by leading newspapers here.

None of his statements have been refuted by American Government officials.

According to Mr Bufkin the recruitment drive — which is illegal — follows the successful negotiation of mercenary contracts with FNLA and Unita agents here and in Africa.

MPLA rout

(From Page 1)

with a single shot from a recoilless rifle.

Two survivors interviewed by a correspondent of The Star's Africa News Service said about 3000 Cubans were fighting on the front line with the MPLA.

The advance on Malanje is reported to have been preceded by an abortive attack launched prematurely by over-eager Unita commanders.

They were sent reeling back, and disciplinary action was taken against them. In the subsequent full-scale attack, however, Unita claimed to have inflicted heavy casualties.

The MPLA is reported to have strafed three villages with a light aircraft and five helicopters — all rocket equipped.

The FNLA claims three villages near its front lines north of Luanda were attacked last Thursday with heavy casualties among civilians.

This is the first report of warplanes being used in Angola.

● In Dar es Salaam last night the Presidents of Zambia, Mozambique and

Tanzania held talks believed to have centred on Angola and Rhodesia.

Unita leader Dr Savimbi left Lusaka yesterday for talks in Kampala with OAU chairman President Idi Amin.

Dr Savimbi is starting an African tour to drum up support for his movement and repair damage to its image in African eyes caused by allegations that it has South African support.

Dr Savimbi is also due to attend the OAU summit if it comes off as scheduled in Addis Ababa on December 18.

In Lusaka, Unita has claimed that the MPLA is doing business worth many thousands of rands with the De Beers-affiliated diamond company, Diamang.

In Paris the controversy over United States involvement in Angola has had fuel added by a statement by a senior US official that President Ford personally ordered American arms to be sent to the allies in Angola at the urging of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

FORECAST

He also forecast that foreign aid and arms to FNLA and Unita would be stepped up substantially "very, very soon" and named as his source a mercenary close to the FNLA top echelon.

It has already been reported that the United States has sent about R28-million worth of arms and support funds to Angola during the last three months and plans to send another R28-million shortly.

In addition, Mr Bufkin said, money and arms are coming from three other sources. He could not, nor would not, name them.

Mercenaries, according to Mr Bufkin, earn from about R900 to R1350 a month, and receive return air tickets to either Johannesburg or Kinshasa.

ASSISTANCE

At the same time the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has started signing up Black combat veterans to serve in Angola.

The Christian Science Monitor reports Mr Arthur Fitzjohn, head of CORE's international department, as saying up to 600 volunteers are being recruited to provide medical assistance. CORE is a civil rights movement.

Army kills

61, loses 3

Rand Daily Mail 16/12/75 - (5)

By **BOB HITCHCOCK**
Military Correspondent

IN ONE of the biggest skirmishes yet involving South African troops in the "operational area", three more South African soldiers have died and 61 of the "enemy" were killed.

Defence Force spokesmen in South Africa last night declined to give details of the battle.

The three South Africans killed in the skirmish were National servicemen. This brings the toll within the past few weeks to 14.

Border victim 'loved the Army'

Staff Reporter

POTCHEFSTROOM — Mr and Mrs D. H. D. Marais, of Potchefstroom, were yesterday still being treated for shock after hearing that their youngest son had been killed while on border duty.

Mr Dawie Marais, 18, died in action after serving on the border since August 15.

His parents were last night eager to hear more details of their son's death from the Defence Force.

Mr Marais, a miner who was called from underground at the Hartbeesfontein Gold Mine in Stilfontein to be told the news, said: "All I know is that my child was killed in an incident at the border."

He said he was asked by Defence Force officials not to discuss the matter with the Press.

Mr Marais said his son went to school at Stilfontein and Klerksdorp, and left for Walvis Bay soon afterwards last year for his military training.

He visited his parents in August during a short leave, and then left for the border.

"He was eager to do border duty and said he loved his military training," said Mr Marais.

The Marais couple has two other sons who completed their military training earlier this year. One had also done duty on the border.

Their daughter, a qualified nurse, is staying with them.

The term "enemy" was used in the official communique.

The South African national servicemen killed were: Rifleman D. H. D. Marais, son of Mr and Mrs D. H. D. Marais of the farm Koekemoer in the Potchefstroom district; Sapper U. K. von Schmettau, son of Mr and Mrs E. F. E. von Schmettau of Walvis Bay and Sapper A. R. Willemse, son of Mr and Mrs R. A. Willemse of Bergville, Natal.

South Africa has a number of troops on the South West African-Angola-Zambia border.

South African troops are also guarding the power plant some 30 km inside Angola near Caleque.

Most of the South African casualties in the past few weeks have been ascribed to anti-insurgency operations in the South West Africa-Angola border zone.

Second visit

It has been claimed by South African official sources that in the past year most South African casualties in the "operational area" have been victims of Swapo.

Last night, official sources declined to specifically name the "enemy."

The Minister of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha, returned yesterday from his second visit in a few weeks to the "operational area." He made no official statement.

On his return from the area a few weeks ago he said that he found morale among officers and men to be high.

On that occasion he warned news media in South Africa to "pay attention only to authoritative and official statements on defence matters, issued by Defence Headquarters."

Panic reports

He said at the time he was sorry to see certain news media contravening the Defence Act by publishing panic reports, especially ones from communist sources.

Towards the end of last month, the Rand Daily Mail reported that terrorist suicide squads based in Zambia and Angola were responsible for some escalation of skirmishes in South Africa's northern operational area — and that the same terrorists were responsible for the increased number of casualties among South African troops serving in the area.

It has been officially stated that hot-pursuit tactics are being employed by the South African Defence Force in situations in which terrorists cross the border into South West Africa.

Savimbi:

'Help me

5 TAR
17/12/75

kick

(S)
'out SA'

KAMPALA—Dr Jonas Savimbi is reported to have asked African states to help his Unita movement drive South African troops from Angola.

Radio Uganda quoted Dr Savimbi as telling Uganda's President Idi Amin before leaving for home yesterday.

"By asking African countries for assistance, this proves that I am not collaborating with the racist South African regime."

The Unita leader was reported to have said South African troops had advanced about 150 km into Angola — and denied they were fighting alongside his own troops against the MPLA.

Those who condemned him would find out that he was not in the pockets of any "imperialist powers," whether from the East or West, the radio added.

Dr Savimbi told Amin he faced two enemies — forces from the rival Luanda-based Marxist MPLA in the north, and the South African forces in the south.

He said that militarily he could deal with the South African forces but in the north the MPLA had sophisticated arms from the Soviet Union and were also aided by Cuban mercenaries.

But he added he was not against Moscow.

Warning by OAU

NAIROBI — The Organisation of African Unity's secretary-general, Mr William Eteki, said today the 46-nation body must do everything it can to drive South African mercenaries from Angola — even if it means military intervention.

He said no "substantial" progress had been made in forming an OAU peace-keeping force Angola.

Noting that several African states had recognised the Soviet-backed MPLA government in Luanda, he said the OAU could not dictate to its members on such an issue.

South Africa, he said, was not only dangerous to the Angolan people but also posed a threat of victimisation on the whole of Black Africa.

"If the South Africans establish a base in Angola then our efforts to liberate the rest of Africa south of the Sahara will be a failure," he declared.

Asked to comment on the Russian involvement he said he found it possible to understand why they "had" to intervene.

"They had all along been helping the African freedom fighters there," he explained.

No split — Kaunda

Argus Africa News
Service

LUSAKA — Tanzania's recognition of the MPLA in Angola and Zambia's neutral position and call for a Government of national unity in no way strains relations between the two country, says President Kaunda.

Dr Kaunda returned here yesterday afternoon after a three-day official visit to Kenya where he and President Jomo Kenyatta discussed big power involvement in the Angola war, and fresh developments in Rhodesia.

All newspapers here today carry pictures of Presidents Kaunda, Machel and Nyerere with arms around one another.

Captions and headlines emphasise that the three men are still the best of Friends.

Four SA soldiers held in Luanda

Pretoria Bureau
Four SA Defence
Force men are prison-
ers of the MPLA in
Angola.

The four were paraded
for the Press in Luanda
yesterday and today. De-
fence Headquarters ack-
nowledged that they are
missing, believed captured
while recovering a dis-
abled vehicle in No. 1
military operations area.

The four are Corporal
J. G. Terblanche, Privates
R. Wilson, R. H. Wiehann
and G. E. Dannea, all of the
Technical Services Corps.
A statement issued to-
day by the Minister of De-
fence says the men were
on logistical duties only
and "it is assumed that
they became lost while
fetching an unserviceable
vehicle and were taken
prisoner by MPLA forces."

PROTECTIVE

"It is generally known,"
says the statement, "that
we have taken protective
steps on the northern bord-
er of South West Africa
and at the hydro-electric
power station at Caluque."

"This protection was
provided at the invitation
of the Government of
Ovambo and Kavango and
was approved by the
Portuguese authorities and
other parties involved."

"South Africa has re-
peatedly said that she is
willing to withdraw all
her forces from Angola
when attacks by Russian
armed bandits cease. Also
if the water and power
supplies for which South
Africa had paid are pro-
tected."

"We would also empha-
size that the Russian and
Cuban presence in Angola
is responsible for all the
unrest there and it consti-
tutes a threat not only to
the security of neighbour-
ing states but also to the
security of the important
sea route round the Cape."

"The Republic wishes to
live only in peace with its
neighbours, but foreigners
must not be used to upset
order in South Africa and
South West Africa."

"We re-affirm that no
foreign troops should be
in Angola and that the
people of Angola should
determine their own
future in an orderly
manner."

SA men deep in Angola — Unita

Rand Daily Mail 17/12/75

5

KAMPALA

SOUTH AFRICAN forces have moved about 150 km into Angola, says Unita's chief, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

"We are very much aware that South Africa has penetrated Angola, but since its troops are equipped with very sophisticated weapons we cannot fight them," Dr Savimbi said, according to Radio Uganda reports yesterday.

South Africa officially admits to having troops no more than about 40 km inside Angola.

Dr Savimbi, who arrived in Kampala on Monday, said South Africa wanted to create a buffer zone so that Swapo guerillas, who had camps in Angola, did not cross into their territory.

He repeated his denial that South African troops were fighting alongside his movement.

The radio said Dr Savim-

bi made the remarks on Monday night when he briefed President Idi Amin of Uganda, this year's chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), on the Angola situation.

It quoted Dr Savimbi as saying: "South Africans have moved about 150 km into Angola, first of all because South Africa built a dam in the southern part of Angola in which it invested money. It is therefore trying to protect its

money by occupying that area in the south."

On the situation in Angola, he told President Amin that the war was turning against the rival Luanda-based MPLA.

The MPLA now controlled four provinces instead of the nine it controlled earlier, Dr Savimbi said.

Unita and the FNLA had improved their co-ordination "and we are ready any time to negotiate with the MPLA to stop unnecessary bloodshed in Angola," he said.

● In Washington yesterday a US Senate subcommittee, considering legislation to prohibit aid to Angola without congressional authorisation, unexpectedly went into executive session for a briefing by CIA and State Department officials. The panel met after Senate liberals moved on Monday to cut off military aid to Angola.

Meanwhile, Larry Heinzerling of Associated Press writes that a major conflict appears to be developing in South West Africa between South African troops and Black terrorists operating from bases in southern Angola.

Defence headquarters announced on Monday that 61 terrorists were killed in a recent clash in which only three South Africans died.

Bombing

The death toll, writes Heinzerling, suggests a major battle — perhaps involving a bombing raid on terrorist camps — somewhere in what South Africa's military establishment officially calls the "operational area". This has never been carefully defined and there is widespread speculation that while it used to include just the border area between South West Africa and Angola, it may now include much more.

Authoritative sources in Pretoria have said privately that South Africa is willing to penetrate over 320 km of Angolan territory in "hot pursuit" of terrorists, who are generally accepted to be members of Swapo. But South African officials have said it is often difficult to distinguish Swapo insurgents from other movements in Angola because Swapo troops sometimes switch uniforms, or dress in civilian clothes.

Scorched earth as MPLA falls back 'in disarray'

'Mail' Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — Forces of the pro-communist MPLA are reported to be "retreating in disarray" on three fronts in Angola.

Unita is said to be advancing rapidly towards new targets.

A communique issued from the Unita High Command in Silva Porto, the first published for a fortnight, indicated that for the first time in several weeks Unita forces had seized the initiative in the civil war.

The High Command said retreating MPLA forces, led by Cubans, were pursuing a scorched earth policy, destroying all bridges and installations.

Particularly badly affected is the highly strategic British-owned Benguela Railway, which crosses Angola and is vital to the economies of Zambia and Zaire.

Following Unita's cap-

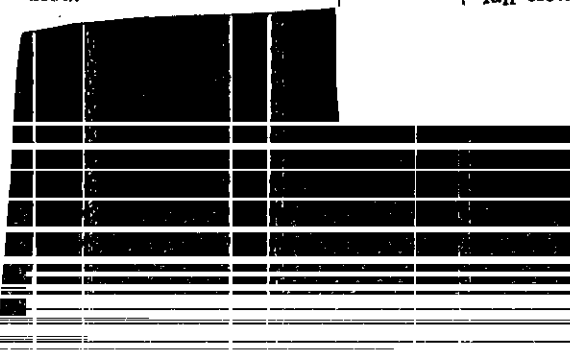
ture of the junction town of Luso, the Marxist MPLA has been put to flight northwards along the railway. But the blowing up of bridges will delay rail operations.

The Unita communique said forces were closing on the railhead town of Teixeira de Sousa, on the frontier with Zaire, to "liberate" the Benguela Railway completely.

"Breakthrough" by joint forces of Unita and FNLA was claimed on the crucial front of Cela, south of Luanda, between Novo Redondo and Quibala.

The joint forces were said to be "advancing to capture Quibala on the way to Dondo" — the power generating centre which serves Luanda.

On the third front — around Malanje, east of the capital — Unita had captured a key bridge across the Cuanza River and was advancing on Malanje, the communique claimed.



SA pair to be freed

UMTALI. — Two South Africans held in a Mozambique jail for six weeks are to be deported, says the wife of one of them, Mrs Ruth Joubert.

Mrs Joubert, who has been living in the border town of Umtali with her son Michael, 14, said her husband, Mr Peter Joubert, 36, and Mr Theunis Potgieter, 41, were arrested by Frelimo at a road block near Vila Pery on November 1.

She managed to speak

R.D.M. 17/12/75 (5)
to her husband by telephone on Friday and learnt the two men were to be deported to South Africa.

"They may have left already but I am not sure because I cannot contact them again," she said.

Mrs Joubert said her husband would come to Umtali from South Africa as soon as he could. Mr Potgieter's wife and two children are in Cape Town. — Sapa.

Troops in Angola can't pull out yet

5 STAR 18/12/75 (5)

Defence Correspondent
RUACANA — South Africa cannot afford to withdraw its troops from the strategic Calueque Dam, 15 km into Angola, as long as there is a danger it may fall under hostile control.

This message was delivered by military authorities and Owambo homeland administrators yesterday.

They said without water from the Cunene river the future development of central Owambo would be impossible.

Commandant G J C van Niekerk, commander of military forces in No 3 sub-area of No 1 military area — which covers almost all of Owambo — said: "The Calueque water is of the utmost importance in central Owambo. It is the only water available for commercial farming and factory use."

Cutting the system would leave nearly a third of a million people and their livestock without sufficient water, he said.

Officials at Ruacana

added that to secure the water scheme fully it was necessary to control the dam higher up on the Cunene at Huambo (Nova Lisboa), where it is possible to cut the flow drastically to the Calueque barrage.

At present there are 260 km of canals running in a herringbone system from Calueque to central Owambo.

The water is conducted by gravity along the canal, most of which are concrete lined, and is used to flood the homeland's thousands of dry water courses.

So far the scheme had not operated at more than half its capacity.

Equally important is the Ruacana Falls hydro-electric scheme, further downstream, which it is hoped will start delivering power to Owambo, Southern Angola and the rest of South West Africa by next year.

Escom is closely involved in developing the Ruacana scheme.

INVESTMENTS

Both projects now fall into the newly created five sub-area of No 1 military area, commanded by Commandant Tiny Nel.

South African troops first moved to protect the Calueque scheme in August, well before the November 11 independence date for Angola.

The heavy South African investments — about R100-million — in both Ruacana and Calueque make it likely that South African troops will remain in the area for a long time — at least until cast iron guarantees can be given that the water supply will not be interfered with.

One military officer said: "We will put in anything necessary to defend Calueque."

Troops watch as work goes on

STAR 19/12/75

(5)

Deon du Plessis, of
The Star's Africa
News Service

CALUEQUE (Southern Angola) — For the South African army these days, crossing the border into Angola is as easy as heading to the mess for lunch.

About the only formality between the Owambo homeland and Angola is the hand-lettered sign at the dusty border post which reads: "This boarder (sic) is closed from 7 pm to 6 am." The message is scrawled on box wood from Sweden.

There is only one man at this border post beneath the South African and Owambo flags — a barelegged tribal police

would stop tomorrow," he said.

Before August 6 when the South African Army moved in, the influence of the three warring Angolan factions, MPLA, UNITA and FNLA was felt strongly at the dam site.

The labour force was disrupted, work days lost. Then the South Africans themselves were kicked out.

The dam is being built jointly by South Africans and Portuguese in terms of an agreement between the two governments.

The Angolan guerrilla movements were unreceptive to this concept. "This is an agreement between the 'boere' and the Portuguese" they told Mr van der Merwe. "This is our

BARKER, McCORMACK 7520

Cape Times (5)
18/12/75

Angola: Emlin renews call

Staff Reporter

SENIOR spokesmen on defence matters for the two major opposition parties in South Africa were cautious in their comments on the news that four South African soldiers were being held by the MPLA in Angola yesterday.

'Not involved' said Ministers

Staff Reporter

THE NEWS that four South African servicemen have been taken prisoner by the MPLA follows repeated statements by South African Cabinet Ministers that the Republic is not involved in the Angola war.

The South African presence in Angola, it has been reported, has been confined to the Angola-Owambo border area in protecting the joint hydro-electric scheme which spans the border and to "hot pursuit" operations into southern Angola directed against Swapo terrorists.

Following are important statements that have been made in recent weeks:

November 18: Both Opposition parties criticized the Government's action in using the Defence Act to prohibit publication of British Sunday newspaper accounts of alleged developments in the Angola civil war.

November 19: The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, denied reports of South African troops involvement in the Angola war. He said South African troops were in Angola to defend labourers, equipment and water supply on the Kunene River.

November 20: Dr Muller told a television interviewer: "South African is not operating in this war."

whatever the outcome, it was unlikely that the winner would be a friend of South Africa.

December 4: The United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Daniel P Moynihan, charged Russia with armed aggression in Angola. He said the United States was also very much aware of the role of South Africa but no evidence had yet been presented before the General Assembly.

December 10: Mr Colin Emlin, leader of the Progressive Reform Party, urged the Prime Minister to take South Africa into his confidence with a comprehensive statement on Angola. He said South African involvement in the civil war itself would be "a serious error of political judgment".

December 11: The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, said South Africa had no territorial ambitions in Angola and sought no sphere of influence whatsoever.

December 16: An Associated Press dispatch said authoritative sources in South Africa reported that South Africa was providing advisers and logistical support for the Unita movement in Angola.

Sir De Villiers Graaff, Leader of the Opposition, would not comment on the issue and referred all questions to Mr W Vause Raw, United Party spokesman on Defence.

Mr Colin Emlin, leader of the Progressive-Reform Party, renewed his call for the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, to take the country into his confidence on the border situation.

"The tragic deaths of more young South Africans this week—and the capture of others by MPLA forces cause me to renew my request made last week to the Prime Minister to take the South African nation into his confidence by making another statement on Angola.

"Frankly, statements made by Mr P W Botha, under pressure of events or in response to newsmen's questions are not good enough," Mr Emlin said.

At this time of growing concern, the public looked to the Prime Minister for a clear and unambiguous lead. South Africans were prepared to defend their country's borders against foreign aggression but when young South Africans were killed or captured on foreign soil then South Africans were entitled to know the facts, he said.

REGRET

Mr Vause Raw said it was a matter of regret that four young South Africans should have been captured by the MPLA.

"The news which has come through gives insufficient information to appreciate the circumstances under which this had occurred and therefore I am not prepared to comment on the circumstances without further knowledge," he said.

It appeared as if South Africa was more deeply involved than it appeared on the surface, Mr Raw said.

CF men on border in 1976

PRETORIA. — Some National Servicemen will serve an extra month and a number of Citizen Force units will serve in the operational area next year, according to a statement by the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, issued here yesterday.

The Minister's statement said:

"In the exigency of the circumstances it is necessary to extend the services of a limited number of National Servicemen for one month.

"This step and further arrangements regarding the Citizen Force are being taken in terms of the Defence Act and after consultation with the State Security Council.

"The limited number of National Servicemen will, instead of completing their services on January 7, 1976, now terminate it on February 6, 1976.

"The members concerned will be advised this week.

"During 1976 a number of Citizen Force units will also serve in the operational area.

"As a result of long distances and travelling time involved, as well as other requirements, it will be necessary for those units to be called up for 12 weeks instead of three weeks.

"This is not a panic measure but is intended to increase effectiveness. These arrangements are necessary and in the interests of our country while at the same time providing the units with proper training. I am confident that the public will support these steps taken by the SADF." — Sapa

PS 23.9.1975

6. Should the format of the class tests be the same as that of the final exam. Yes/no. Comment

Cape Town
18/12/75

5

7. Should One/two.

December 29: The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said South Africa was not taking part in the Angola civil war; the Republic was only interested in protecting its own interests. He was commenting on newspaper reports that South Africa was providing advisers and logistic support to FNL-Unita in the civil war.

December 17: Defence headquarters said that four South African servicemen were missing, believed captured, while recovering a disabled vehicle in the No. 1 military operations area.

final exam papers.
"I have been advised on the basic situation by the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, but have naturally neither received, nor do I expect that detailed operational activities should be disclosed to me or anyone else outside of operational command," he said.

8. Do you examine

December 1: A Nigerian Cabinet Minister said that his country had recognized the Russian-backed MPLA because of "very positive evidence" of the involvement of South Africa on the side of the FNL-Unita in Angola.

'Anti-Vietnam' programme

NEW YORK. — A United States television network has scheduled a special series on the Angolan conflict. Introducing the series this week, CBS newscaster Walter Cronkite spoke on the US involvement in Vietnam and said the Angolan series was "to try our small part in preventing that mistake this time". — Sapa-AP

In a situation such as the present one, news was never specific enough to enable a full analysis or reaction; therefore he could only react to the published information available.

"On the information I have, supplemented by statements by the leader of Unita (Dr Jonas Savimbi) who should know the situation, I must accept his denial that South African forces are involved in the internal struggles of Angola.

"Equally, I would expect our country to defend its border with Angola and, if attacked, to follow the enemy in the internationally accepted concept of hot pursuit," Mr Raw said.

9. At present tests contribute

December 3: The United Party's chief foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Japie Basson, warned against South African involvement in the Angola civil war and said that,

US denial on advisers

WASHINGTON. — A White House spokesman said yesterday there are no US advisers in Angola and that President Ford does not plan to send military or non-military personnel to that troubled African nation. But Deputy Press Secretary William Greener, declined to say exactly what the US role is in Angola. "When something is said it will be said by the President," Mr Greener said. — Sapa-AP

Distraught father

Own Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — A distraught Mr D L Wilson of St Helena, Welkom, father of Private R Wilson, one of the four South African soldiers missing in the military operational area, was not prepared to say anything yesterday about his son.

He said this was not the position for parents in his position to be pestered by the press.

A family friend who was answering the telephone at the Wilson home

said that both Mr and Mrs Wilson were "too upset to say anything". But she called Mr Wilson to speak to me when I asked her about Private Wilson.

He said he had been informed only about ten minutes earlier that his son was missing and had been instructed not to say anything to anyone till the Minister made a statement.

He referred to "the rumours", and it appeared that he had already been approached by several

newspapers before receiving the official notification of his son being missing.

When I told him that the Minister had already issued a statement, he said that it was wrong for the press to intrude on the family in this time of shock and worry. He repeated at this stage that he was not prepared to give any information at all about his son to the press. He pleaded to be left in peace with his worry.

10. Should sub-courses retained? Yes/No

11. (a) How could present channels of staff-student communication be improved upon? (b) How

oral

o and

ld

e each be

Savimbi call for anti-SA aid



Dr Jonas Savimbi

KAMPALA. — Radio Uganda said yesterday that Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita — one of the three independence movements fighting for control of Angola — had called on African states to help him drive South African troops from his country.

The radio quoted Dr Savimbi as telling Uganda's President Idi Amin here before leaving for home on Tuesday: "By asking African countries for assistance, this proves that I am not collaborating with the racist South African regime."

He said he was a true

son of Africa, fighting for the cause of Africa. Those who condemned him would find out that he was not in the pockets of any "imperialist powers", whether from the East or West, the radio added.

Dr Savimbi told President Amin that he faced two enemies — forces from the rival Luanda-based MPLA in the north and the South African forces in the south.

He said that militarily he could deal with the South African forces but in the north, the MPLA forces had sophisticated arms from the Soviet Union and were also aided by Cuban mercenaries.

Dr Savimbi said, however, he was not against Moscow.

"One day the Soviet Union will realize that I am sincere and fighting for the cause of the Angolan people and not for power," he was quoted as saying.

Dr Savimbi said after the formation of a government of Angolan national unity, African countries should assist him and the Angolan people to fight South Africa so that total liberation of neighbouring South West Africa was achieved.

Dr Savimbi reaffirmed his stand against apartheid, imperialism and

Zionism. He declared he would never collaborate with the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, the radio added.

President Amin announced he would be sending Ugandan doctors paid by the Ugandan Government to solve Angola's medical requirements. The leaders of the three liberation movements must agree first.

If Uganda sent its troops to Angola, the troops would not fight an liberation movement in the South African forces, the President said. — S.A. Reuter

tests: Essays and

Crucial decision soon on Angola

Cape Times 18/12/75

Own Correspondent

PARIS.—The West is expected to take a major policy decision to intervene militarily and directly in Angola within the next 48 hours at a secret conference here.

There are 27 foreign ministers here, 10 of the leading Western industrial countries and 17 developing ones at the North-South Dialogue Conference, and some of them will thrash out a joint policy over Angola.

The decision will be taken when the US Secre-

tary of State, Dr Kissinger, meets the Foreign Ministers of France, Britain, West Germany, Zaire and Zambia.

Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr Rupiah Banda, is accompanied by President Kenneth Kaunda's special envoy, Mr Mark Chona, who is responsible

for Angolan matters.

The secret conference will be held separately from the main North-South conference.

France is becoming more and more concerned about Soviet intervention in Angola. It sees this as a direct threat to moderate French-speaking African states. France's main concern however is with the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda, which seems at present firmly held by the MPLA.

The Kissinger conference on Angola will also settle the future of Cabinda.

A diplomatic source said in Paris yesterday that the West has urged South Africa to disengage from Angola to open the way for massive US aid backed up by its allies. The West does not want to be seen

SA's best soldiers in control

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa need be in no doubt that the Defence Force in the operational area is led by the country's most professional soldiers, a senior army officer said yesterday.

Major-General Neil Webster, director-general (resources) of the general staff of the army, said he wanted to clear up an apparent confusion among the public about the composition of the Defence Force on the border.

All officers from the rank of lieutenant and above serving in the operational area were members of the Permanent Force, he said. Only second lieutenants were National Service or Citizen Force men.

Similarly, all non-commissioned and warrant officers from the rank of sergeant and above were members of the Permanent Force.

Therefore, although the Permanent Force comprised only six percent of the total Defence Force, all national servicemen on the border were led by the most experienced and fully-trained men available. Major-General Webster said.

"It is important the public be reassured that South Africa's young men are in the hands of the country's finest soldiers," he said.

Angola — Urgent questions.

— See leading article, page 14.

to have too close ties with Pretoria as these would damage its relations with Third World countries.

The Angola war took on a new perspective yesterday when the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, announced in Pretoria that four South African soldiers missing in the military operational area were presumed to have been captured by MPLA forces as Radio Luanda had reported they were prisoners of the MPLA.

Mr Botha's statement gave their names as Corporal J G Terblanche and Privates R Wilson, R H Wiehahn and G E Danny, all of the Technical Services Corps.

Corporal Terblanche is from Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria, Private Wilson is from Welkom, Private Wiehahn from Cape Town and Private Danny from Krugersdorp.

The Minister said: "These personnel are used

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CAPTIVES

From page 1

only for logistical duties and were sent out to fetch an unserviceable vehicle.

"It is presumed they got lost and were captured by MPLA forces because Radio Luanda announced that these four members of the South African Army were prisoners of the MPLA.

"It is generally known that we took security precautions in Angola to protect the northern border of South West Africa, the pumping station at Caleque and the hydro-electric power station on the Kunene River, which provide water for the people and animals of Owambo and for which the Republic of South Africa has great financial responsibilities.

Invitation

"This protection of the pumping station and the hydro-electric scheme and the security precautions in southern Angola came about through invitation from the governments of Owambo and Kavango and had the approval of the then Portuguese authorities and other interested parties.

"South Africa said repeatedly it was prepared to withdraw immediately from Angola all forces that went over the border, provided no further attacks will be made on that border by Russian-armed gangs that still constitute a threat, and provided the water and power provision for which South Africa has paid were fully protected.

"We must note, further, that Russian and Cuban presence in Angola is responsible for all the unrest there and that they are a threat not only to the safety of the neighbouring states but also to the safety of the important Cape sea route.

Upset

"South Africa has no other objective than to live in peace with its neighbours but then outsiders must not be used to upset the order in South Africa.

"We underwrite the standpoint that no foreign troops should be in Angola and that Angola's people alone should decide their future in an orderly manner."

'350 km from Luanda'

SA four held by MPLA

RDM 18/12/75 (5)

STAFF REPORTER

THE MINISTER of Defence, Mr P. W. Botha yesterday confirmed that four South African servicemen are missing in Angola and are believed to be prisoners of the MPLA.

They are Corporal J. C. Terblanche of Pretoria, and Privates R. Wilson of Welkom, R. H. Wierhann of Cape Town and G. E. Danney of Krugersdorp.

All four men were serving with the Technical Services Corps.

West planning to intervene

Own Correspondent
PARIS. — The Western world is expected to take a major decision on direct military intervention in Angola within the next 48 hours.

A secret meeting is being called of Foreign Ministers of the major Western powers attending the North-South conference in Paris.

The decision will be taken after the American Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, meets the Foreign Ministers of France, Britain, West Germany, Zaire and Zambia.

The Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr Rupiah Banda, is accompanied by President Kaunda's special envoy, Mr Mark Chona, who

is responsible for Angolan matters.

France is becoming increasingly concerned about Soviet intervention in Angola, which it sees as a direct threat to moderate French-speaking African states.

France's main concern, however, is with the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda, which seems firmly held by the MPLA.

The Kissinger conference on Angola will also settle the future of Cabinda.

A diplomatic source said the West has urged South Africa to disengage from Angola as a prelude to massive American aid backed up by its allies.

The West does not want to be seen to have too close ties with Pretoria.

"These personnel are used only for logistical duties and were sent out to fetch an unservicable vehicle," Mr Botha said in a Press statement issued in Pretoria yesterday.

"It is presumed they got lost and were captured by MPLA forces, because Radio Luanda announced that these four members of the South African Army were prisoners of the MPLA."

The four servicemen were publicly interrogated in Luanda by the MPLA in the presence of the Press.

The MPLA claimed the South Africans were captured between the Angolan towns of Cela and Quibala — about 800 km from the South West African border and 350 km south-east of Luanda.

Asked whether they had been fighting when they were captured, Private Danney said, "We were sent out to bring in a truck that had broken down."

Defence authorities yesterday refused permission for a transcript of the interrogation, broadcast from Luanda, to be published.

Mr Botha said in his statement: "It is generally known that we took security precautions in Angola to protect the northern border of South West Africa, the pumping station at Calueque and the hydro-electric power station on the Kunene River."

South Africa was protecting the area at the invitation of the governments of Owambo and Kavango, with the approval of Portuguese and other authorities, Mr Botha said.

"South Africa said repeatedly it was prepared to withdraw immediately from Angola all forces that went over the border,

Top team in control on border

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA need be in no doubt that the Defence Force in the operational area is led by the country's most professional soldiers, a senior Army officer said yesterday.

Major-General Neil Webster, Director-General (Resources) on the General Staff of the Army, said he wanted to clear up an apparent confusion among the public about the composition of the Defence Force on the border.

All officers from the rank of lieutenant and above serving in the operational area were members of the Permanent Force, he said. Only second lieutenants were National Service or Citizen Force men.

Similarly, all non-commissioned and warrant officers from the rank of sergeant and above were members of the Permanent Force.

Therefore, although the Permanent Force comprised only six per cent of the total Defence Force, all national servicemen on the border were led by the most experienced and fully-trained men available, Maj-Gen Webster said.

"It is important the public be reassured that South Africa's young men are in the hands of the country's finest soldiers," he said.



MR P. W. BOTHA
... blames Russia

TO PAGE 2

Relief, distress over captive son

Staff Reporter

THE mother of one of the four South African soldiers taken prisoner by the MPLA said yesterday she was relieved to hear her son was known to be a prisoner and not just missing — "which could have all sorts of terrible implications."

She is Mrs Gwynneth Danney, of Wentworth Park, Krugersdorp, mother of Mr Graham Danney. Her husband, Mr Fred Danney, however, said the family was distressed at the news and hoped to be

able to send a message of hope to Graham through the International Red Cross.

The family was told Tuesday by an Army officer that their son had been reported missing. They were surprised to hear in a radio news bulletin yesterday that their son was a captive of the MPLA.

The Army officer apologised for not being able to contact the family before the news broadcast and said yesterday he would visit Mr and Mrs Danney personally.

Muller calls on free world

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, last night called on Western powers to "make a determined effort" to stop Russian involvement in Angola.

In a Christmas message, he said that it was imperative that in view of the threat to the world balance of power "the other members of the free world" make a determined effort to stop Russian and Cuban involvement in Angola, to free the Angolan people to determine their own future.

He described the reported Russian and Cuban involvement in Angola as "Red neo-colonialism in its most aggressive form" and warned that Angola should "be a lesson to us all, and furnishes irrefutable proof of communist ability to exploit domestic problems in their strivings for world domination".

REALIZATION

He said there were indications that the USA and other influential Western powers, as well as Nato and a number of African states, realized the seriousness of the Angolan situation, not only for Angola and the Southern African sub-continent, but for the entire world's balance of power. But he warned that "very strong and urgent action" was necessary.

However, it was gratifying that South Africa's international relations had made good progress during the past year, he said.

Apartheid 'handicap'

Own Correspondent

LONDON.—The leader of the Progressive Reform Party, Mr Colin Eglin, told BBC radio yesterday that South Africa's apartheid policies handicapped the Republic in any attempts it might want to make to counter communist influence beyond its borders.

If South Africa became involved in Angola, it would deter other Western countries from taking action against Soviet intervention. A South African involvement in Angola would be a "serious error of political judgment", he said.

Capture blow to the West

Political Staff

THE CAPTURE of South African troops by the MPLA in Angola, suggesting South African involvement in the civil war, has come as a severe propaganda blow for Western interests.

The Times of London, in an editorial yesterday, was strongly critical of South African involvement, saying:

This is a much more disastrous miscalculation than the Russian commitment and bids fair to rescue the Russians from obloquy.

The Russians and Cubans can now claim to be helping a legitimate African government to defeat a South African invasion. The policy of détente with Black Africa will hardly survive unless South Africa withdraws.

NO COMMENT

Meanwhile, the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, has declined to comment on the MPLA statement that the four young South Africans were captured between the towns of Cela and Quibala — about 350 km south-east of Luanda and 800 km north of the South West Africa border.

Mr Botha's original statement was to the effect that the men were missing in the "operational area", which he did not define, and were presumed to have been captured by the MPLA.

A Luanda broadcast has said that the four South Africans were presented at a press conference in Luanda on Tuesday, where they were questioned in front of journalists.

PROOF

All four were said to have been captured by MPLA troops in the area between Cela and Quibala.

The press conference was addressed by Commander Juju of Fapla, the military wing of the MPLA, who said the four prisoners were "living proof" of foreign invasion.

"Our army is the victim of foreign aggression committed by the regular army of South Africa, originating from Namibia (South West Africa).

"The invading army is in the vicinity of Cela on the central front, Nova Lisboa on the southern front and Luso on the eastern front."

Some other South African experts and technicians were also present on the northern front in the ranks of the army of Elna (the military wing of the FNLA) added Commander Juju.

URGING

In Washington, the South African Ambassador, Mr Pik Botha, has appeared on NBC tele-



The arrow shows where the MPLA claims to have captured the four South African soldiers.

The arrow shows where the MPLA claims to have captured the four South African soldiers.

vision urging the United States not to be "paralysed" into inaction in Angola by fears of another Vietnam.

The Cape Times New York correspondent reports that Mr Botha denied that South African involvement was ruining the credibility of the United States, which was being pictured as an ally of the Republic.

He said that the South African troops that went into Angola did so primarily to fight terrorists and to seek out their bases. He denied that South Africa was identified with any of the Angola factions.

BEST WAY

Also appearing on the programme was the American Ambassador to Ghana, Mr Franklin Williams, who declared that "South Africa identifying with one of the conflicting forces in Angola is the best way to get other African nations to recognize the MPLA".

The Cape Times New York correspondent reported yesterday that it was now being suggested in United States official

circles that it was first decided to send in arms as a favour to Zaire — which feared an MPLA-ruled Angola would harbour anti-Mobutu terrorists — and Zambia, which was concerned over the security of the Benguela railway.

But Zambia has now also joined the bandwagon against South African intervention, with its Washington Ambassador going on television to criticize South African involvement.

APPEAL

The correspondent reports that there had been many well-documented accounts of a direct appeal from South Africa to the United States to intervene openly in the crisis.

But he understands that a negative reply was sent in a three-line cable from the Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, to the United States Ambassador in Pretoria, Mr William Bowdler.

And senior United States officials had repeated this declaration that President Ford had ruled out any further escalation of United States involvement. "Combat intervention" and the sending in of "advisers" was definitely out, the officials said.

MPLA captives... on radio

THE FOUR South African soldiers who were captured by the MPLA were interrogated in Luanda — the interview, on Radio Luanda, was monitored.

The four soldiers, all doing their national service, said that they had to fill in forms before crossing the border. They were paraded before the press and publicly interrogated. A transcript of part of the monitored interrogation follows.

Question: "What is your name?"

Answer: "Graham Danney."

Q: "You are regular South African Army?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Give us your rank."

A: "Private."

Q: "What's your age, please?"

A: "Eighteen."

Q: "Did you fill in any forms before crossing the border?"

A: "Yes. They said we had to fill in a form before we were going to cross the border. We are not going to work here any more, we're going to cross the border."

Q: "And in this form?"

A: "Ah, we just gave our name and address and our rank and all that stuff."

Q: "Did you make any type of testament or will?"

A: "No, not as far as I know."

Q: "When you crossed the border, there weren't any authorities there to stop you?"

A: "Well, actually, I was at the back of this one Bedford you see, and I was sleeping in the Bedford and by the time we got over I discovered as well that we were across the border."

The next soldier to be interrogated was Private Robert Wiehahn, a trainee from Cape Town who had completed six months of his one year's military service.

Q: "Are you in the Permanent Force?"

A: "No, I'm just doing my 12 months' training that I have to do, ja, that's it."

Q: "Some of these (pointing to the other three) — they are professional soldiers?"

A: "No, they're all just doing their training. We get called up for 12 months or 18 months or 24 months — just our training that we have to do."

Q: "The question is the principle in South Africa of apartheid and the racial relations is one thing, and you now you come and you were to have contact with Black people from Unhita and FNLA. How was relations and what kind of relations did you have with Black people?"

A: "I didn't have anything to do with them. I just worked on my vehicle that I had to work on, and that was the end of it."

A spokesman for the Defence Force said on Tuesday night that the four trainees were the first South African troops to have been taken prisoner in Angola.

Informers said that although efforts have been made by the Red Cross to supply medical supplies to the MPLA captives, negotiations with the MPLA "have not been very successful."

Shock as son is taken prisoner

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Danney-family of Krugersdorp is still suffering from shock as a result of Graham Danney's capture by the MPLA in Angola.

In addition to Graham, Mr and Mrs Fred Danney have a son Brian, 24, and a married daughter, Mrs Dorothy Vieira, 22.

Mrs Vieira said yesterday that her mother, Mrs Gwyneth Danney, had been unable to sleep at

might in spite of an injection.

Yesterday morning both she and her husband were given pills that put them to sleep for the day.

Meanwhile, Mrs Vieira and the family's minister, the Rev J A Gardner, of the Pentecostal Church, were kept busy dealing with reporters, photographers and people inquiring about Graham.

Mrs Vieira disclosed yesterday that her brother has a girl friend, Lorraine,

17, who is in standard nine at the Krugersdorp High School.

She is on holiday at present and the Danneys sent and the Danneys made frantic efforts to let her know what had happened. Graham's sister eventually managed to contact her.

Graham, who left school after completing standard nine last year, was appointed as an electrician for seven months until he was called up in July.

Mrs Vieira said that her parents had heard that he would shortly be doing duty on the border. About a week later his unit was sent to the border, but some of his friends at the Pretoria camp took the trouble to contact his family and pass on the news.

Mrs Vieira said that Graham enjoyed soccer and skin diving.

"Graham is a quiet but loyal chap, we all miss him very much," she said.

5



The leader of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, centre, addressing a news conference in Lagos yesterday where he flew with two captured South Africans. The South Africans looking tired, wearing only shirts and trousers, said no more than that they had been sent to repair vehicles.

UPI Cablecast

Warning on propaganda

A DEFENCE HEADQUARTERS spokesman said last night that South Africa must be warned not to "take too much notice" of anti-South Africa propaganda flooding the world's media from Marxist sources on the country's involvement in the Angolan war.

Speaking from Pretoria, Brigadier Cyrus Smith, Director of Public Relations for the SADF, warned that an "intense propaganda warfare" aimed at discrediting the Republic in the eyes of the world was accelerating daily.

"The man in the street will be confused and unsure of whom to believe if he is subjected to all kinds of statements consisting of truths, half-truths and blatant untruths from Marxist sources," he said.

He suggested that the public wait for official

word on South Africa's involvement in any warfare from the Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, or Defence Headquarters.

"This is a psychological battle and it will not be possible for official reaction to every bit of propaganda made by the Marxists, as this could be used detrimentally to the Republic."

DISCRETION

The media in South Africa could, if not careful, become an unwitting extension of the Marxist propaganda cause if discretion was not used in the publication of material from Marxists and sources unfriendly to South Africa.

It was part of the Kremlin's strategy through the dissemination of the propaganda to isolate the United States from Nato powers and thus further their attempts to gain control of the Cape sea routes, Brigadier Smith said.

International conflict?

Own Correspondent

LONDON.—South Africa's admission this week of involvement in Angola has brought the war one step closer to being considered an international conflict in terms of the Geneva Convention, a spokesman for the International Red Cross in Geneva said yesterday.

The spokesman said the International Red Cross was studying the latest developments in Angola—including the capture of four South African troops by the MPLA and the South African Defence Minister's "tacit admission" of South African involvement—to see whether these gave ground for a declaration of the Angolan war as an international conflict.

Until now the war has been regarded as an internal conflict and the Red Cross has not been able to demand notification of captured troops.

Danger seen to SA in her role

Own Correspondent

LONDON.—South Africa's involvement in Angola is a "dangerous game" which could damage both the Republic and its détente policies, an editorial in the Financial Times said.

The editorial said South Africa's diplomatic position was almost bound to be made more embarrassing by avowed interference in a neighbouring Black state. More seriously, her involvement could lead to an escalation of a war which already threatened to have repercussions on détente between Washington and Moscow.

The editorial said the South Africans "have behaved strangely out of character. They seem to have been blinded by their conviction that because of Russian domination of Angola would injure Western interests the West would have to intervene on a large enough scale to counter it, and that this gave them a licence to move in."

This was a much more disastrous miscalculation than the Russian commitment to the MPLA. The Russians and the Cubans could now claim to be helping a legitimate African government to defeat a South African invasion. "The policy of détente with Black Africa will hardly survive unless South Africa withdraws."

Kremlin wants quick victory

Own Correspondent

LONDON.—The Kremlin is now banking on a quick and decisive victory in the Angolan civil war for the Marxist-oriented MPLA regime to avoid becoming too seriously at odds with the United States over the reality of détente.

The Soviet leaders are known to be increasingly anxious about the repeated warnings by both President Ford and Dr Kissinger, Secretary of State, over the men and money Russia and Cuba are sending to Angola.

Our Paris Correspondent reports that Dr Kissinger will give one final warning to Moscow to get out of Angola before urging direct American intervention.

Dr Kissinger has also told British, French, West German, Zambian and Zairese foreign ministers in Paris that South Africa must completely disengage also from Angola.

There are 27 foreign ministers in Paris, attending the North-South Energy Conference.

It is possible Dr Kissinger will fly to Moscow to hammer home both these points personally to the Soviet leader, Mr Leonid Brezhnev.

Meanwhile our correspondent reports from Luanda that fighting in Angola has now become "a duel of the decibels", with limited military operations aimed primarily at frightening the enemy into retreat.

War zone witnesses say the main tactic now employed by both sides involves heavy artillery attacks on rival positions which generally cause more panic than death or injury among the under-trained troops.

Senate bid to cut aid

WASHINGTON.—Haunted by memories of Vietnam, the United States Senate yesterday held its second secret session in two days on Angola and its Foreign Relations Committee approved a resolution to cut off covert military aid funds for anti-Soviet factions there.

By voice vote, the committee adopted a resolution by Senator Dick Clark (Democrat Iowa) and Clifford P. Case (Republican New Jersey), which would cut off any covert military aid funds but allow the President to proceed with open assistance if neither the House nor Senate disapproved within 30 days.

The resolution, approved on Tuesday by the subcommittee on foreign assistance, would require passage by both Houses and the President's signature to become law.

Opponents of secret funding for warring Angolan factions said they had the votes to end United States aid to the African nation. — Sapa-AP

'In more deeply than we were told'



Mr Piet Cillie

LONDON.—The capture of four South African soldiers by MPLA troops in Angola confirmed public suspicion in the Republic "that we are just a little more deeply in than we were told," Mr Piet Cillie, Editor of the Burger, said on a BBC radio bulletin yesterday.

Interviewed on the news programme "World at One", Mr Cillie said South Africans had not been shocked by official confirmation of the capture or by a radio broadcast of the interrogation of one of the South African soldiers in Luanda.

About 20 South African troops had been killed in Angola during the last few months, he said.

The Angola problem was the West's affair and South Africa was not prepared to carry the baby alone. The only way out for South Africa would be "to put out and leave the thing there," he said.

"And that would make Angola a Soviet satellite," he added. — Sapa

Botha laughs at 'absurd' claims

CAPE TIMES 19/12/75

Mr Botha



By ANTHONY HOLIDAY

THE MINISTER of Defence, Mr P W Botha, yesterday denied a claim by the MPLA's official observer at the United Nations that the MPLA had captured 50 South African troops.

IDEAL
here!

In a telephone interview from his holiday home at the Wilderness, Mr Botha said he knew of only four South African soldiers who had been captured, but added that he was unable to say exactly where the four men had been taken prisoner.

Giving permission for a report on MPLA claims about captures of South African troops to be published, Mr Botha said: "You can say that Defence authorities said they allowed this to be published to show the absurdity of MPLA propaganda."

The report, from the Cape Times Correspondent in New York quotes Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, who described himself as "ambassador at large of the People's Republic of Angola", as saying that up to 50 captured South African troops would be put on display in Luanda within the next three to four days.

The MPLA spokesman claimed that 6 500 South African regulars were in Angola — 4 000 of them in civil war combat, the rest manning the South West African border.

Mr De Figueiredo dismissed as "nonsense" the claim that the Soviet Union was intent on winning control of Angola and the Atlantic sea routes and said an MPLA government would seek good relations with the United States and other Western countries.

There was, he suggested no special significance in the fact that Russians and Cubans were supporting the MPLA. Western claims of 3 000 of 4 000 Cuban troops in Angola were a vast overestimate.

"I wish we had them, then we would be in complete control of the country," he said.

Mr Botha laughed when

P W Botha reacts

From page 1

I read the report of the MPLA's spokesman's claims to him. "You can expect this of the communists. They are on the run," he said.

However, he angrily denied the accuracy of an afternoon newspaper report which quoted him as saying that South African losses in Angola had been "quite limited" and gave no cause for alarm.

Mr Botha said he had not referred to Angola but to the "operational area".

Asked what this term meant, he replied: "Every intelligent person will understand if I say we are defending our border from the Cunene mouth to the Caprivi."

Pressed to say whether South Africa was involved in any way in military operations on behalf of the FNLA or Unita, Mr Botha replied: "Of course not. Unita and the FNLA are fighting on their own."

Mr Botha said he was not prepared to comment on reports that the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, had said that South African troops in Angola were his enemies.

Captured SA men paraded in Lagos

Cape Times 19/12/75 (5)

LAGOS.—Two White South African soldiers captured in Angola by Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola troops were put on display here yesterday as evidence of South African involvement in the civil war.

The two, who identified themselves as Corporal Hannes Gerhardus Terblanche, 21, and Private Robert Henry Wiehahn, 20, were produced at the end of a press conference held by MPLA Premier Lopo de Nascimento, who is in Nigeria for talks with the Nigerian Government.

In brief replies to questions, the two men, both handcuffed, said they were captured while on a mission to repair a broken vehicle near the headquarters of their unit.

They looked tired but said they had been treated very well. They had no idea how far within Angola they were when captured.

An MPLA spokesman at the conference said Corporal Terblanche and Private Wiehahn were two of four South Africans captured. The other two were still in Luanda where all four were

LAGOS

From page 1

Nigerian security men. They are expected to be returned to captivity in Angola.

Mr Do Nascimento claimed at the news conference that South Africa had about 1 000 regular troops in Angola and the number was rising. The South African forces, he claimed, were based as far north as the port of Novo Redondo, 680 km from the border with South West Africa.

Mr Do Nascimento said the MPLA would accept offers of troops from any friendly African country in view of increased South African involvement. But he said the Organization of African Unity had shown "scandalous passivity" while Angola was being occupied by South Africa and that the MPLA would not accept troops offered through the OAU.

"We do not see how we could accept troops from the OAU — but it does not mean we cannot accept troops sent by friendly African countries," he said.

SOVIETS

Mr Do Nascimento told questioners that Soviet personnel on the MPLA side were in Angola for two reasons — to establish a Soviet Embassy, and in connection with military equipment Moscow was providing.

Asked if he believed the MPLA could reconcile itself with the two western-backed nationalist movements the FNLA and Unita, he said it was like asking African countries to approve reconciliation with "racist South Africa".

The fighting in Angola was not a tribal, racial or power struggle he said. It was a "struggle against foreign aggression perpetrated by Zaire, South Africa and other agents of international imperialism."

Nigeria has recognized the MPLA government and the Head of State, Brigadier Murtala Muhammed, and has offered all possible help in establishing its territorial integrity.—Sapa-AP-Reuters

Release of SA troops sought

PRETORIA. — Efforts are being made by South African Defence Headquarters to secure the release of the four SADF members allegedly being held prisoner by the MPLA in Angola, reliable sources here reported yesterday.

"Defence HQ is fully aware of the anxiety of the relatives and next-of-kin of the four members of the SADF allegedly captured by the MPLA and are exploring various avenues with a view to effecting their release," the sources said. — Sapa

produced at an MPLA press conference on Wednesday.

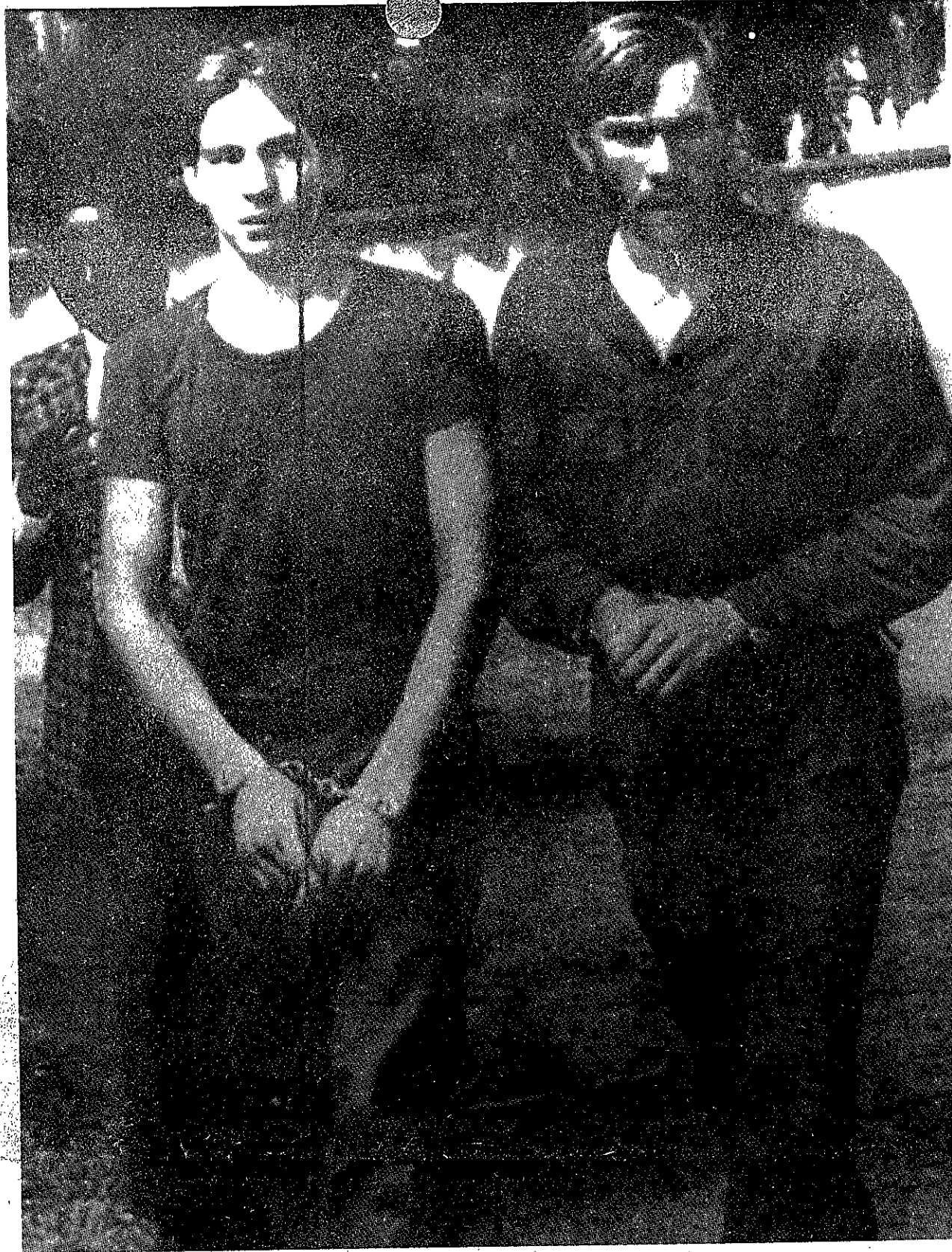
Corporal Terblanche, army technician, was dressed in a sweat shirt and khaki pants. Asked if South African troops were involved in Angolan fighting he replied, "I just repair vehicles over here".

He gave his army number as 7043320PE and his home town as Bloemfontein.

Private Wiehahn, dressed in khaki top and trousers, was asked what he was doing in Angola. "I was just busy with my 12 months' army training which we have to do. I went to Angola to fix vehicles there. We were in a technical unit."

After the questioning they were led away by

at home a mother 'tired of crying'



Two South African soldiers captured by the MPLA in the "operational area" are paraded in Lagos yesterday. They are Private Robert Wiehahn, left, and Corporal H G Terblanche.

UPI Cablecast

Cape PoW on display

By LORENZO TOGNI

MRS C WIEHAHN, mother of Private R H Wiehahn, who was captured by MPLA forces with three others and paraded in Luanda and Lagos, yesterday sat quietly in the lounge of their Brackenfell home and said: "I am tired of crying for my son".

The four soldiers, among whom are also Corporal J G Terblanche, Privates R Wilson and G E Danny, were paraded before the press in Luanda on Tuesday. The Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, said on Wednesday that the four men were missing and presumed to have been captured by the MPLA.

A subdued and soft-spoken Mrs

Wiehahn said that her son had been in training in Pretoria before being transferred to Bloemfontein.

"From there he was supposed to come home for Christmas before going up there and now this has happened," she said. Mrs Wiehahn, who with her husband, runs a business in Brackenfell, said that she had another young son and two daughters.

"I really don't know what to say or do about my son. I can only hope and pray that they will treat him well, but who knows what is going on up there," she said. "All we hope is to get him back home safely, but I don't know how long that will take."

LAGOON AND MOBILITY

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LAGOS. — A South African army mechanic captured by MPLA forces in Angola insisted yesterday that he did not know how far across the border he was operating.

The Luanda Government, which brought the two South Africans to a press conference in Lagos, claims that they were some 700 km from the South West African frontier, between the towns of Cela and Quibala.

Private Robert Wiehahn answered nearly all the questions from Nigerian and other reporters after he and Corporal Hannes Terblanche had been introduced to the press conference and had confirmed their names and army numbers.

Who sent them to Angola and what had they seen?

Private Wiehahn: "We were sent through by the South African Army to go and repair vehicles there — from the South African Army."

Were they actually fighting in Angola?

Wiehahn: "Well, I just repair the vehicles back at the headquarters."

Did they know how far inside Angola they were?

Wiehahn: "No I don't

know. I haven't a clue."

How had they been treated by the MPLA?

Wiehahn: "Very well — thank you."

How many Angolans had they killed?

Wiehahn: "Me? None."

What were they doing in Angola?

Wiehahn: "I was just busy on my training — the 12 months' training that I have to do. And I went out to fix vehicles."

With a unit?
Terblanche: "A technical unit."

What about combatants?

Wiehahn: "Technical unit. The other people we don't know... We were working only in our unit, at our head office. The other people in front, we don't know what they're doing, how many they are, who they are..."

Did they know what was going to happen to them?

Wiehahn: "No. No idea."
—Sapa-Reuter

Captive did not know how far he had gone

	steps
er (as on slide) spontaneously.	38
beanbag backwards between own legs. Demons.	29
nds from reachable bar, knees bent	28
ot walking board/ledge, one on floor. Demons.	30
rries small chair approx 2 metres (6ft)	30
places down properly	
ptoe briefly, unsupported (demons)	30
ches v. large ball thrown carefully from 1 metre	30
anding position from floor, Method 3	32
, 10 - 35 cms (4 - 14 ins)	32
ow barrier, 7 - 8 cms (3 ins) high	32
and moving thumb, in imitation	34
cle, may not be able to, steer well	34
rs alternate feet	34
re on walking board, unsupported	34
airs alone alternate feet	36
, more than 35 cms (14 ins)	36
oe, 8 - 10 steps	36
o skillfully, manipulating corners	36

n or legs widely

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Units on
standby

CAPE TIMES 19/12/75
5

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—
Several South African
Citizen Force units are on
a six-hour "exercise stand-
by" for call-up.

These units, I was told
yesterday in the opera-
tional area, will probably
be sent to the border for
three-month "training"
periods.

This will eventually en-
sure that the Defence
Force has an enlarged
standing army of soldiers
trained under operational
conditions.

It is estimated that today
about one-third of this
country's infantry units
are serving in the opera-
tional area.

FAMILY ESCAPES 'SLAVE' FARMER

By BERNARD JONGBLOED

SHOCKING tales of torture, bullwhip floggings, sweated labour, starvation wages, malnutrition and general ill-treatment were told to the Sunday Times this week by workers who had escaped from an alleged "slave farm" to find refuge in Beaufort West, almost 100 kilometres away.

The alleged "slave farm" is in the Rietbron district between Beaufort West and Aberdeen in the Great Karoo.

Mr Solly Essop, independent member of the Coloured Representative Council, said at his home in Beaufort West that he was not pressing charges of alleged trespassing against the farmer and his wife who had chased a farm woman into his house.

He had however asked senior police to reprimand members of the uniformed branch for alleged "aggressiveness".

Mr Pieter "Jakob" van Stade, 26, said he had last seen his reputed wife Anna Witbooi about five months ago. She had run away after the farmer's wife had told the farmer she was lazy and could not do her work properly and the farmer had mercilessly beaten her with a bullwhip.

He did not know her whereabouts and recently heard she was last seen in the De Rust area, near Oudtshoorn. She had taken their youngest child with her.

"I could not leave because the farmer would not allow me to. Otherwise I would have fol-

4 Labourers beaten with bullwhip

lowed her," said Mr Van Stade.

Mr Van Stade said that he had had to send his eldest child to relatives near Beaufort West because of conditions on the Rietbron farm. He had last seen her more than a year ago.

Beaten

"I had been working on the farm in Rietbron since I was 15. I was beaten several times for things I did not do. I was always accused of not doing my work properly.

"The farmer was cruel. He kept a special whip made from hippopotamus hide and beat us savagely. We were terrified of him. So frightened were we of his terrible moods that it was not worth the risk to escape. I know of nine

people who escaped.

"Sometimes the other workers escaped and were recaptured. It was terrible on that farm."

Mr Van Stade said that he suffered from bad eyes — the result of not having enough to eat. He was paid only R3 a month and was given a meatless ration of food by the farmer.

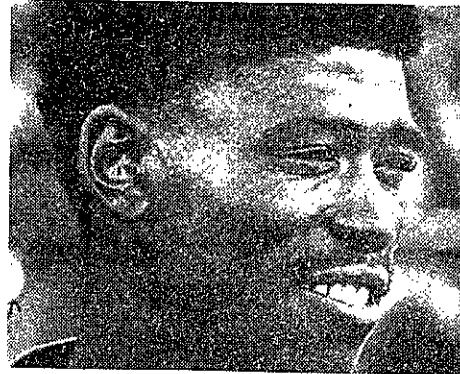
"The malnutrition and lack of medical care have affected my eyes. The eyes of my two children, my wife and my step-mother-in-law are also affected.

"I had to start work before sun rise and knock off long after sunset. At times I started work at midnight and finished off at 11 pm. This happened often when I had to work with the irrigation system. But I got no overtime. My wages were fixed at R3 a month.

"Once I fell off a high windmill and received internal injuries. I was really in pain and bleeding. The farmer refused to take me for medical attention.

Burnt

"Another time my clothes caught alight from diesel and my arms and back were burnt. I spent 16 months at a Cape Town hospital. When I got to the farm after being discharged I learnt that the disability grant card the hospital had sent to the magistrate at Rietbron



Mr Pieter "Jakob" van Stade . . . he escaped from the farm and ran all night to Beaufort West, almost 100 km away.



Mr Dirk Adams . . . says he was knocked off a tractor by the farmer and the trailer's wheels went over him.

had been lost by the farmer.

"Two weeks ago the farmer went at me again. He beat me all over the body and head with the whip and then with a length of iron. That night, when the farmer and his family were asleep, I decided to escape.

"I fetched the whip and the length of iron and ran like hell. Now and then I stopped and then stumbled on again. When a car approached I dived into the scrub along the road because it was the farmer's habit to follow escaped workers.

"I had heard that Mr Solly Essop, of Beaufort West, did a lot for the Coloured people and decided to seek asylum with him. I ran all the way to his home."

Complained

Mr Van Stade said he was not leaving Mr Essop's place until the police had completed their investigations. When it was safe for him to do so he would take to the road again and search for his wife Anna Witbooi and daughter.

He had complained to Rietbron police twice without result.

Mr Van Stade was overcome with emotion when we took him to another farm where his step-father-in-law was working.

The couple were looking after his eldest daughter Jacqui. Mr Van Stade stared at her for a while and then the tears rolled. He had last seen her more than a year ago.

He told Jacqui she could not go home with him because there was no home.

Mr Dirk Adams, Mr Van Stade's 59-year-old step-father-in-law, and his wife, also named Jacqui, now work on a farm, Lower Plaatdoorns. Mr Adams walked with a slight stoop.

"It's because of all the beatings and internal injuries I suffered on that other hated farm," said Mr Adams whose eyes are also affected.

"Look at my thumb — the farmer nearly severed it once with a length of iron. I had been working there for the last 19 years until several months ago when I could not take it anymore."

Mr Adams bared his back to show the scars which had been caused by a tractor's trailer and flogging with a whip.

"I was standing on the back of a moving tractor when the farmer suddenly came for me and punched me so that I fell. The trailer passed over my back and the farmer just left me lying there without taking me to a doctor.

Hurl

"That farmer is mad. He used to swear at me for the least little thing. He always screamed that God had given him the right to beat the hotnots to death. He used to lift me up bodily and hurl me to the ground.

"I tried to escape several times but he chased me in his bakkie, took me back to the farm and beat me again.

"The only off-day for us was on Christmas day — but we were often called out to work during the afternoon.

"I am quite happy on this farm as I now earn R30-a month."

Mr Adams said he decided to run away after his wife had escaped to Mr Essop's house.

Mr Solly Essop said that Mrs Jacqui Adams ran into his house several months ago before his heart operation at Groote Schuur Hospital.

She was being chased by a bakkie driven by the farmer and his wife. The police accompanied them and tried to drag Mrs Adams away.

"The Master and Servant's Act has been done away with. But some Whites seem to think Blacks are still their slaves.

"I am not going to rest until all the allegations have been properly investigated."

A spokesman for the Beaufort West police confirmed that statements had been taken from Mr Van Stade and Mr Adams and sent to the Rietbron police.

Sergeant F. E. Labuschagne, the station commander at Rietbron, said he had completed investigations of the complaints by Mr Van Stade and Mr Adams and sent the police dossiers to the State Prosecutor at Beaufort West. Two exhibits, a whip and a length of iron, had also been forwarded to the Prosecutor.

Staze	Title	Date Staze	Staze
1	Pulls self to feet at rail - may collapse immediately	10	18
2	Sits down from rail, not mere collapsing	10	19
3	Sits well in high chair	11	19
4	Stands at rail, holding on	11	20
5	Walks, two hands held	11	20
6	Crawls, creeps, freely and speedily	11	20
7	Walks, one hand held	11	20
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Mr Solly Essop, member of the Coloured Representative Council, assures seven-year-old Jacqui van Lomha that there is nothing to fear. This week little Jacqui was re-united with her father, who finally managed to escape the alleged 'slave' farm in Rietbron.

67 Forward jump, more than 5 cms (1 1/2 ins)
 70 Forward jump, more than 5 cms (1 1/2 ins)
 71 Walks on tiptoes, 8 - 10 steps
 72 Rides tricycle skillfully, manipulating corners

26
 26
 26
 26

DIT was 'n week van oorlogsreaksie in Suid-Afrika.

Die stryd in Angola en ons betrokkenheid daarby is nie alleen hoofopskrifte in die wêreldpers nie, maar ook die openbare en private gesprekstema van ons eie mense.

Beskuldigings oor ons beweerde inmenging, die gevangene van Suid-Afrikaanse soldate in Angola, grens-ongevalle, verlenging van sommige jongmense se diensplig, die Westerse rol of gebrek daaraan, en Rusland se volgehoue aanslag in Angola — dit is van die dinge wat hierdie oorlogsreaksie in Suid-Afrika aanblaas.

In 'n sekere sin is dit vir Suid-Afrika se mense 'n toets, want hierdie geslag was nog nie so naby aan werklike oorlogsbedreiging en alles wat daarmee gepaard gaan, as nou nie.

Hoe reageer ons mense?

Sonder twyfel is die oorheersende reaksie iets om op trots te wees. Daar is geen paniek nie. Daar is beslistheid dat selfbehoud van land en volk met die wapen verdedig moet word.

Ons grensmagte het, volgens alle berigte, 'n hoë moreel. Die Regering en Verdedigingshoofkwartier is paraat en nugter met 'n stewige houvas op sake. En die leed van treurendes wat van hulle mense moes afstaan, is sonder verwyf.

Dit klink amper on-eerbiedig om te sê, maar tog is dit 'n

waardevolle oefening vir ons politieke vernuf, ons militêre beplanning en ons bevolking se geesteskrug in krisis. Waardevol, omdat ons gedurende die volgende twee jaar nog aan baie van die toetse onderwerp gaan word.

Tog is daar ook geïsoleerde oorlogsreaksies — 'n paar mense het dit dié week verwoord, maar daar kan veilig aangeneem word

en in Mosambiek moes ons al betrokke geraak het.

Détente is verby. Die poppe gaan nou dans. Dis operasie op die-plek-sit. Daarom hoor-hoor vir die oorlog!

Mense met hierdie skietlustige reaksie moet onthou dat die Eerste Minister gesê het dat die gevolge van 'n oorlog in ons geweste afgryslik is. Dit is die allerlaaste alterna-

by die swartes van Unita en FNLA. Ons moes gemaak het soos met Mosambiek — algehele afsydigheid.

Dié wat verwyf, is aan die groei: by Engelstalige koerante, soos die Rand Daily Mail, en PRP-leier Eglin met versigtige maars en waaroms. Die oënskylike voordele van ons militêre aksie moet geweeg

Daar is baie antwoorde vir hierdie drie ak-sente van oorlogsreaksie.

Een antwoord is: die Regering tree tot dus-ver korrek en konsekwent op in die Ango-la-stryd.

Natuurlik verskil die optrede van dié van Mosambiek. Daar het 'n wettige regering oorgeneem en op hulle manier orde probeer handhaaf, sonder

Suid-Afrika durf geen afsydigheid openbaar nie — juis om politieke redes.

Deur ons betrokkenheid — wat nie die af-metings aanneem soos daar nou in die propa-ganda-oorlog teen ons beweer word nie — bewys Suid-Afrika die erns van sy détente-politiek.

Ons wil vrede hê, en nie revolusie nie. Vryheid van al die state in ons subkontinent en nie Kommunistiese imperialisme nie. Ons bewys dat ons van Afrika is en Suider-Afrika se belange op die hart dra.

Ons bewys ons trou aan Owambo — en so aan al ons Tuislande — dat ons hulle veiligheid en vryheid dien. Die beskerming van die Kunene-waterskema is in direkte belang van Owambo.

Ons bewys aan al die mense van Suidwes dat ons ons belofte gestand doen om hulle nie uit te lewer aan terreur van oor die grens nie.

Ons bewys dat ons 'n betroubare vennoot is in die internasionale magstryd teen die Kommunisme.

Eintlik is ons hele Angola-betrokkenheid 'n stryd waarin ons Afrika se kant kies deur ons te vereenselwig met Afrika se vryheid.

Dis 'n eervolle betrokkenheid wat ons politieke integriteit van ons eis.

Op die langtermyn kan dit vir ons meer vriende as vyande wen, al lyk dit nou na die teendeel.



Ons is vir Afrika in Angola

deur **WILLEM DE KLERK**

Rapport
21/12/75
5

dat hulle sekere aksentief, as absoluut niks anders meer gedoen kan word nie.

Om dit name te gee: die reaksie van aanpor, afwys en verwyf.

Dié wat aanpor, vryf welbehaaglik hande noudat Suid-Afrika sy slaankrag demonstreer.

Hulle glo al lank al dat konfrontasie deur geweld die enigste oplossing is.

Ons moet die swart wal wat naderskuif, met mag keer. In Rhodesië moet ons al die eerste loopgraaf grawe,

as absoluut niks anders meer gedoen kan word nie.

Die afwysers is baie min, maar hulle is daar. Ons moet ons geheel en al onttrek aan enige sweem van betrokkenheid by Angola, want die kool is die sous nie werd nie. Die storie van die Russe en hul planne om met Angola as stormram 'n bres in ons mure te slaan, is 'n oordrywing. Ons kruin self onnodig

word teen die nadele van al die politieke risiko's wat betrokke is. Waag ons nie te veel nie? Dalk te ver gegaan? Is dit nie "blunder Botha" se laaste fout nie? Wat soek ons so diep in Angola? Is ons strategie korrek? Kon ons dit nie fyner gedoen het nie, soos die VSA byvoorbeeld? En is die gramskap van ons détente-vennootte in Afrika nie nou finaal teen ons gewek nie?

dat daar enige buitelandse inmenging was en enige direkte bedreiging vir Suid-Afrika en ander van ons subkontinent se state.

Angola is presies die teenoorgestelde, want hier is strydende faksies besig om aan ons grens chaos en terreur te stig. Rusland is openlik besig om hom stewig te wil vestig as eerste stap tot die Rooi revolusie wat mik na die hele Suider-Afrika.

Sunday Tribune
Dec, 21 1975

Tribune Africa News Service

BLACK rebels raised the Portuguese flag in Beira and Quelimane last week and called for return to Portuguese rule.

But in Lourenco Marques Frelimo seemed to have broken the back of the mini-revolt which began when troops refused to board a Landabound troopship and fight for the MPLA.

Three companies of troops revolted and it took three violent days and nights for loyal Frelimo troops, police and civilian and paramilitary groups to get control.

Several people were reported killed and many more wounded in vicious street fighting.

By this weekend the city was reported quiet. Radio Mozambique made no official comment, although a communique had been promised, a development which observers think shows there are still pockets of resistance.

Criminals

Informed sources said the troops mutinied when ordered to board the troopship to Angola.

The rebels, described officially as "criminals and reactionary elements", attempted to take over the radio and power stations and other key positions.

Fighting spread to Beira and Quelimane in the central region, where a group of unidentified Blacks raised the Portuguese flag and called for return to Portuguese rule, according to reliable sources.

Clean-up

There has been growing dissatisfaction with the strict rule of President Samora Machel, and unconfirmed reports of a number of minor rebellions in the Nam-pula and Vila Pety areas.

For some time it was

BRIMBANGA THE PORTUGUESE Mutiny after Angola marching orders

thought the Lourenco Marques rebels were Frelimo troops and police purged in a recent clean-up operation by the government. Several hundred police and troops were drummed out for crimes ranging from robbery to rape.

Bullets

The city was almost at a standstill as people stayed out of the way of fierce automatic weapon fire.

One passenger on a plane from Lourenco Marques said he saw an Indian man standing at a window in a block of flats hit by a stray bullet.

Other witnesses said the fighting was only between Black troops and police. Whites were not involved and were not interfered with.

Several Whites were hit by stray bullets, witnesses said.

Arrests

Whites on their way to the airport were stopped at the inevitable roadblocks, but were allowed to pass.

Reports have continued to come out of Mozambique of harsh repressive measures against anyone failing to conform to Frelimo policies. There are reports of numerous arrests and many civil servants have left for Portugal.

Several months ago the government had to clamp down hard after a spate of ballpoint pen bombings in the centre of the capital.

"Reactionaries" and "economic saboteurs" are blamed by the government for many of its chronic economic troubles, as a hard Marxist line is pushed.

Frelimo considers themselves blood brothers of the Marxist-oriented MPLA of Dr Agostinho Neto, and there have been persistent but unconfirmed reports that at least 250 Frelimo troops are already fighting with the MPLA.

Cubans

Like the MPLA, Frelimo receives arms from Russia, calls itself a "progressive movement" and has reportedly made use of Cuban military "advisers".

Both movements have allies among the socialist countries of Africa and in the eastern European bloc.

The Frelimo government was one of the first to recognise the MPLA claim to rule Angola. If the Frelimo troops do not want to fight for the MPLA the alliance with become strained and President Machel will have difficulty in explaining his position to their mutual friends.

ONDERWYS EN HUISE IS BESTE WAPENS

Rapport 21/12/75 (5)

PROF. P. VERHOEF, Keuningstraat 226, Meyerspark, Pretoria, skryf:

U gebruik kragdadige en strydlydige taal in u hoofartikel van 7 Desember waar u sê: „Daar is nog tyd om die Kommuniste uit Angola te boender, maar dan sal daar vinnig opgetree moet word” veral met die geskiedenis van Vietnam nog so vars in die geheue en veral ook as ’n mens kyk na die bondgenootskappe wat in Angola opereer.

Suid-Afrika kies die kant van die FNLA/Unita, wat vroër as terroriste bekend gestaan het en wat tans dui-sendende Swapo-(terroriste?) herberg teen wie Suid-Afrika oorlog voer. Ander lede en ondersteuners van die „Geallieerdes” is Frelimo en China.

Dus wie of wat bedoel u nou eintlik as u sê dat ons die Kommuniste moet uitboender? Dit lyk my darem na ’n krasse staaltjie van siniese opportunisme ter wille van materiële gewin (die water en minerale van Angola). Ook die artikel van Jaap Steyn het dieselfde strekking — ons moet maar militêr eskaleer dan sal die slegte Russe weggeslaan kan word.

Ons het blykbaar al vergeet dat die grootste bondge-

nootskap van die „Vrye Wereld” en die een wat die meeste offers gebring het in die Tweede Wereldoorlog juis Rusland was. Dit is byna pateties om te sien hoe graag Suid-Afrika van strategiese belang wil wees, asof dit ’n eer is.

Suid-Afrika behoort ter wille van wereldvrede ’n onverbonde land te wees en behoort daarna te strew om die hele Afrika atoomvry en militêr onverbonde te hou. ’n Land soos Suid-Afrika waar drie miljoen kinders nog nie op skool is nie, kan nie bekostig om miljarde rande te bestee aan oorlogvoering nie.

Die belang van die sogenaamde seeroete om die Kaap is ’n illusie, ’n politieke cliché. Suid-Afrika word omring deur oseane duisende kilometer breed. ’n Duisend skepe sal nie voldoende wees om die sogenaamde seeroete te blokkeer. Rusland grens aan Iran en dit is tog logies dat indien Rusland die opletvoer na Europa wou afsny, hy die olievelde sal gaan beset of verwoes of anders slegs die ingang van die Persiese Golf blokkeer.

Ons beste wapens teen die Kommunisme is onderwys, vernouing van die loonkloof en gesinsbehuising vir die

swartes. Wat u met hierdie soort hoofartikel doen, is om ’n ongesonde oorlogpsigose

aan te wakker wat ons aandag van ons werklike probleme aflei.

Oilmen's poser on MPLA payment

ARGUS 22/12/75 (5)

The Argus Bureau

NEW YORK — The Gulf Oil Corporation is in a quandary over whether to continue paying sizeable royalties on petroleum production to the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which is receiving Soviet aid, or to bow to Ford Administration suggestions that the payments be frozen.

At R435-million a year, the Gulf payments are almost 10 times what the Central Intelligence Agency has been empowered to send to the Angolan factions it supports.

The next next payment — a little under R87-million — is due on Wednesday.

Earlier this month State Department officials, among them Mr. Edward W. Mulcahy, acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, told Gulf Executives it would be helpful if the Corporation would hold up the next payments until the situation in Angola was clarified.

HOSTAGE

But Gulf officials were said to fear that if payments were frozen, the Popular Movement could retaliate by holding its Cabinda employees hostage.

Gulf is contractually obliged to pay R8.70 a barrel on its 150,000-barrel-a-day output from wells off Cabinda to the Angolan Government of Luanda, the capital of the former Portuguese colony accord-

ing to the Gulf Spokesman, Mr. Robert Goralski.

Mr. Goralski said Gulf's last quarterly payment, R104-million, automatically went to the Banco Angola in Luanda in September.

LONDON.—British Foreign Secretary Mr James Callaghan has said that if Cuban and South African troops were withdrawn from Angola, there would be the 'makings of a bargain' for setting up a Government of national unity in the strife-torn country.

But, at the same time, the Cuban leader Dr Fidel Castro has said that his Government will never renounce solidarity with the Marxist MPLA 'Government' in Luanda.

Mr Callaghan made his call for the withdrawal of Cuban and South African forces in a BBC interview here after calling in the South African Charge d'Affaires, Mr T. F. Wentzel and the Soviet Ambassador, Mr Nikolai Lunikov for separate talks.

Mr Callaghan was asked if he thought the two countries were in any position to go along with non-intervention.

I think they are. For example, if South Africa were to withdraw, then clearly Cuban troops, and those who are supporting them, would be very much exposed to African wrath.

It is undoubtedly the South African intervention which has led to a number of countries in Africa recognising the existing Soviet-supported Government in Angola.

Therefore, I think if both were to leave there would be the makings of a bargain, the Foreign Secretary said.

Election

He had talked with the U.S. Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, on the telephone, he said.

Asked if his call on the two representatives had been prompted by what Dr Kissinger had to say, Mr Callaghan said he thought the situation in America was a troublesome one.

It is troublesome not so much because it will necessarily lead her to be weaker vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, but because of the consequences, it would have in an election year for global detente, and I have put this to the Soviet Union very clearly.

They have a great interest in detente, as do we, as does the U.S. itself, and I think we must look further than Angola and must consider the consequences of what is taking place there, against the backdrop of a much wider interest of detente, Mr Callaghan said in a part of the interview which was not broadcast.

Approaches

On his talks with the two representatives, Mr Callaghan said he had told both men that the interests of Angola demanded that South African troops and Cuban troops and indeed any other foreign troops should be withdrawn from Angola and that a Government of national unity should be set up.

Angola: Tribalism is main issue in war

The Cape Times
Monday, Dec 22, 1975

By LARRY HEINZERLING of Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG. — In spite of big-power intervention in war-torn Angola, it appears likely that tribal politics will ultimately determine that troubled nation's future.

Tribalism has been the scourge of independent Black African states ever since colonial flags first started coming down across Africa almost two decades ago.

And foreign powers have always sought advantage in the tribal squabbles that beset the nations of post-colonial Africa.

The leaders of all three Angola liberation movements claim ideological ties with the East or West although this has little meaning to the vast majority of Angola's six million people. Almost 90 percent cannot read or write and most live off the land as they have done for centuries.

And while all three leaders are politically astute and genuine partisans of Marxist or democratic thought, the vast majority of their followers would be hard-pressed to grasp concepts of "communism" or "democracy" as they are understood in Washington, Moscow or Peking.

Opportunities

For each movement, foreign powers represent most importantly a source of financial and military aid in what is largely a local conflict for political control.

But the Soviet Union and Western powers — including White-ruled South Africa — and neighbouring African states see opportunities and threats in the possible domination of one faction.

Domination by the pro-Soviet movement in Angola could emerge as a threat to Western shipping lanes around the Cape and transform Angola into a springboard for subversion in neighbouring states, including Zaire, Zambia, South Africa and Rhodesia.

All three tribally based groups fought Portuguese colonial rule and each other in the decade before independence on November 11.

influenced by European values and their emergence as an intelligentsia.

Intellectuals

The MPLA leadership, the most politically radical of all the movements, has relied heavily on support from the Soviet Union for arms and funds for over a decade.

The movement has always attracted urban Black intellectuals in Angola and has a following from all classes and tribal groups. But Neto's hardcore following has always been fundamentally tribal.

A massive influx of arms from the Soviet Union before and after independence, and the arrival of some 4 000 Cuban troops, have given Neto's MPLA considerable military power in Angola's civil war.

The MPLA currently controls Luanda and a thin stretch of land eastward basically following the contours of Kimbundu tribal influence.

The MPLA is opposed, in a loose alliance of convenience, by the FNLA and Unita, supported by Western arms supplied through Zaire.

Overlap

The FNLA is led by Mr Holden Roberto, whose movement has the support of Kikongo tribesmen in northern Angola.

The Kikongo overlap into neighbouring Zaire and the Congo Republic (Brazzaville) and are descendants of the largest tribal kingdom in pre-colonial Central Africa.

The Kikongo comprise some 15 peoples, including the Bakongo, who have long sought the restoration of the ancient Congo kingdom in the tribal heartland of the district of San Salvador.

Roberto, a Bakongo, was born in San Salvador, the son of a Christian peasant later educated in mission schools in the former Belgian Congo (now Zaire).

He originally founded the Angola People's Union (UPA) — later to become the FNLA — designed specifically to advance the interests of the Bakongo people in northern Angola, which remains his political and military stronghold.

Savimbi has won most of his support from his fellow-Ovimbundu, the largest single ethnic group in Angola, accounting for about 33 percent of the population.

Some political observers doubt that any one group could dominate another militarily for long since the conqueror would be in hostile tribal territory.

The Portuguese, using more than 40 000 troops, were unable to contain Black nationalists seeking

independence in the territory with much smaller forces.

While the MPLA, in control of the colonial capital, will insist on Angola's territorial integrity remaining intact, there has arisen a defacto partition of the country along tribal lines staked out centuries ago and now reinforced with modern military hardware.

The existing tribal stalemate could be maintained for years.

UK press on 'mistaken' US Senate vote

LONDON. — The Observer newspaper yesterday said a Russian success in Angola would probably lead the United States and China to become much more deeply involved in the struggles in Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa.

The liberal Sunday newspaper said in an editorial that Angola had been allowed "to develop into a world problem with serious implications for the future of world peace."

It said "South Africa's intervention is seriously counter-productive. Pretoria's greatest service to the West would be to get out of Angola, completely and at once."

The editorial added that, fortunately, there were grounds for supposing the South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster would do so, if the Soviet would do the same.

Satellite

The newspaper said the real risk was not that Angola would be turned into a Soviet satellite, since none of the African governments which relied on one or other of the foreign powers to achieve power has allowed its country to be used as an outpost for the Russians or Americans.

"the American electorate, in an isolationist mood, wants to forget its worldwide responsibilities. This is why aid for Angola has been cut off."

The Telegraph added that in Britain, the Foreign Secretary, Mr James Callaghan, was frightened of seeing the Labour Government lining up on the same side as White South Africa.

"It is a sad story of statesmanship in Washington and London being stifled by political expediency," the Telegraph said.

Reluctance

On Saturday the Guardian said that the US Congress would probably be right to end American involvement in Angola.

Fears of another Vietnam in Africa or reluctance to pursue a similar course to South Africa were not valid reasons for the US to avoid entanglement, the liberal paper said in an editorial.

All seek control of a nation rich in oil, diamonds and coffee and other vast and largely untapped mineral wealth.

The MPLA is led by Dr Agostinho Neto, a medical doctor, revolutionary poet and political radical educated in Lisbon and born in Catete, east of the capital of Luanda.

Neto is a Mbundu, one of several sub-groups making up the Kimbundu tribe which has traditionally occupied the area roughly between the Dande River in the north and the Cuanza River in the south extending east from Luanda to Malanje and beyond.

The Mbundu, whose king was known as Ngola, from whom modern Angola takes its name, were conquered by the Portuguese in the 17th century.

The long association with the Portuguese has resulted in the Kimbundu, who make up a quarter of Angola's African population, being strongly in-

Covert aid

Roberto is regarded as pro-Western — and now a major recipient of covert United States military aid — but has accepted support in the past from wherever he could find it, including Zaire and China.

The FNLA was the first group to launch a war of liberation against Portuguese rule in 1961 and Roberto at one stage sought to broaden his ethnic support in Angola.

A year after the war began, Roberto asked Dr Jonas Savimbi, an Ovimbundu from southern Angola, to join his movement but the coalition failed. Accusing Roberto of flagrant tribalism, Savimbi quit as FNLA foreign minister in 1964 and founded Unita two years later.

Savimbi and Roberto have again joined sides to fight the MPLA but the union is tenuous and would be unlikely to stick in any coalition to govern Angola.

"The real risk, indeed the probability, is that a Russian success in Angola would lead to its major international rivals (the United States and the Chinese) becoming much more deeply involved in the struggles in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa — thereby insuring the internationalization of the gathering violent conflicts in Southern Africa."

The editorial thought the reasons for the United States Congress's decision to cut off secret military aid to anti-Soviet factions in Angola were understandable but "profoundly mistaken".

"It is naive to suppose that any major political power, let alone one of the two super-powers, can operate effectively in the prevention of world war and the support of its friends if its policies are to be implemented only by the sending of diplomatic notes."

The editorial asked whether the Americans ought to intervene in Angola at all and then replied: "Preferably not, but, if at all, then preferably with other Western support."

Co-operate

The Observer said the immediate objective of the Western powers should be to co-operate fully with the Organization of African Unity in making a demarche in both Moscow and Pretoria, demanding the immediate end of arms shipments and the withdrawing of all military personnel.

"If, however, the Russians refuse to suspend their armed involvement, then the rest of the world should not just stand aside and allow Moscow to turn Angola into another Czechoslovakia — with their 'clients' helped to power and then maintained there only with Russian support," the editorial said.

The conservative Sunday Telegraph said that

But it also questioned the reasons advanced in favour of American involvement.

It was extremely improbable that the Soviet Union could settle down to run Angola even if the Russian-backed MPLA guerrillas won the civil war there, the Guardian said. "There is no evidence that the MPLA would be more grateful for Soviet colonization than it was for Portuguese."

The paper also questioned whether the Soviet Union would be able to put a naval base in Angola to serious practical use without triggering a world war.

The most desirable outcome in Angola was a military stalemate leading to temporary partition — and this was possibly already within reach, the Guardian said.

Conditional

"Thus Congress's wish to end American involvement, and the loss of Angolan lives, should be respected," the Guardian said.

But this was conditional on the MPLA accepting a stalemate, the paper continued. If the movement tried to prolong and extend the war, Congress would have to review the question of involvement again.

"Denying arms for people to kill themselves with is one argument, sitting back while one side crushes the two groups which most nearly represent Angola's chance of a humanitarian, wholly African and at least avowedly socialist regime is quite another..."

"And if a final paragraph were needed, Dr Kissinger could point out to Mr Dobrynin how much more the Kremlin needs American wheat than control of a slice of African bush. Marshal Grechko has had his war game. It is time for the Politburo to call halt," the Guardian said. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Reds thanked

HAVANA. — The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has thanked the Soviet Union and Cuba for their "concrete acts" of assistance in the war for control of the newly-independent country.

They had enabled the MPLA "to face French and American tanks and cannon used by South African expansionists to invade Angola" MPLA politbureau member, Mr Lucio Lara, told the current congress of the Cuban Communist Party.

There was no immediate official reaction here to President Ford's statement in Washington that the Cuban involvement in the Angolan war had

wrecked any moves towards better Cuban-United States relations.

● The International Red Cross Committee (ICRC) has proposed setting up bases in Kinshasa and Brazzaville for relief operations to parts of Angola controlled by rival factions, informed sources said in Kampala.

The sources said Mr Frank Schmidt, the ICRC's general delegate for Africa, had suggested to Uganda's President Idi Amin, chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), that Kinshasa be used as a base serving areas controlled by Unita and the FNLA, and the Congolese capital for regions run by the MPLA.

US task force 'on alert'

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — A consultant to the Centre for National Securities here claims that the United States is on the brink of taking a direct role in Angola with a carrier task force placed on full alert and United States Air Force units directly supplying battle areas.

The consultant, Mr S Gervasi, says that United

States cargo aircraft are dropping supplies to columns on the central front, operating from an airfield in Zaire. He produced an eye-witness to support an allegation that mercenary recruiting is taking place in regular army units and that enlisted men are being encouraged by their officers to make the switch discreetly.

Claiming that much of his information was provided directly by dissident Pentagon elements concerned about escalating American involvement in Angola, Mr Gervasi says it is now certain that the carrier Independence was placed on contingency orders and full alert if necessary to fly tactical air strikes in Angola.

The Independence, with the cruiser Boston and

three destroyers in support, is now in the Azores, he says, ready to fly its 96 F-4 Phantom jets on tactical air support strikes. "Some time after November 15 the carrier was specially armed with "antipersonnel configuration ordnance" — several hundred tonnes of napalm, Sidewinder missiles and fragmentation bombs in pods.

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The Cape Times

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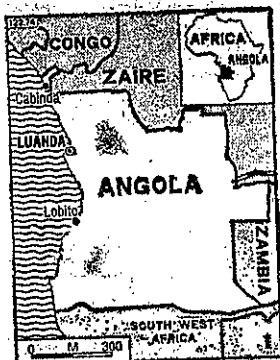
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Gulf Oil to pull out of Cabinda

The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — The Gulf Oil Corporation, which has been paying millions of dollars to the marxist MPLA for oil it has been extracting off Cabinda, is closing its operations there temporarily and withdrawing its personnel from the Angolan enclave.

The Corporation was due to make tax and royalty payments of R72-million and R22.5-million respectively on New Year's eve and January 15. A company spokesman said by telephone from Philadelphia, however, that it would be placed "in an impossible position" by turning the money over to any of the three factions fighting for control of Angola.

The company also said it had been asked by the US state department to



evacuate its personnel and their dependants.

This supports the belief of some observers that Gulf has been under pressure from the White House because the heavy taxes and royalties it pays to the MPLA helps the party the Ford administration has been trying to undermine by helping the opposing FNLA and Unita factions.

Only a vote by the Senate has cut off at halfway arms and financial aid that would have amounted to R37.5-million.

The Gulf statement added that border warfare and civil war in Angola had made impossible the movement of personnel, supplies and equipment necessary for the maintenance of operations in Cabinda.

The payments now due are to be placed in a special fund, bearing interest, and will be

passed on to Angola when it has a government that is in control of the territory and population and "has been generally recognised by the world community."

A spokesman for Gulf said it would probably be simple for the MPLA to find another oil concern, from either East or West, to resume production after Gulf's departure.

Inside Mail

Bob Hitchcock, military correspondent, has just returned from a Christmas visit to the operational zone

NUBILE Black girl, washing her naked body in the Chumene, looks up. Grims. Waves.

This is Southern Angola, Christmas, 1975. Just over the border, in South West Africa's Ovambo, an old African lies sick, in his kraal.

Young White soldiers of the South African Army, battered and faded from sun and dust, automatic rifles gripped firmly in tanned hands, return the greeting, smiling self-consciously.

Hundreds of Black Ja-bourers, a 4rd-carrying members of Angola's warring factions — MPLA, FNLA, Unita — work in harmony on a R160-million hydro-electric scheme under the protection of White South African troops.

Interpreter

"If the soldiers go, we go", they tell you through an interpreter. "We are too frightened to work here without them."

A young major — he looks as hard as teak — comments: "You've got to admire them. Okay, they're earning money. But the risk they take of reprisal."

On Angola's border — goodwill and violence

landmine that blows up a truck and its occupants.

The doctor arrives, in battered. He is 25. A graduate, of the University of the Witwatersrand, a former houseman at the Johannesburg General, a national serviceman of the South African Army.

In one hand, a battered little suitcase. Black, of course, and filled with pain-relieving drugs, syringe, needles, stethoscope and other medical goodies.

He grins his greeting and the old African grins back and feebly pats the young White man on the shoulder.

At one level, in this operational zone, goodwill to all men. At another, the constant threat of sudden violence.

A rocket fired from the heart of the bush. By Black men out to kill White soldiers and Black civilians. A burst of fire from a machinegun. A

the alert, 24 hours a day. Entertainment is out.

No visiting concert parties in the operational area. Turkey and Christmas pudding for the lucky ones. Chicken or steak and canned fruit for those who are less lucky. The unlucky ones will eat frugally, through adequate-

ly. The tension is fairly acute this Christmas. But morale seems to be high, with these college-age lads ticking off the weeks for their demob.

It says much for their Permanent Force, leaders that there has been little moaning about the possibility of having to serve a month over their stipulated one year in the Defence Force. As a tanned, puckish

youngster from Pretoria remarks: "Times are tough, mister."

There will be prayers for their comrades allegedly seized by the Soviet-supported MPLA far up in Angola. And a toast to them, in beer or coke.

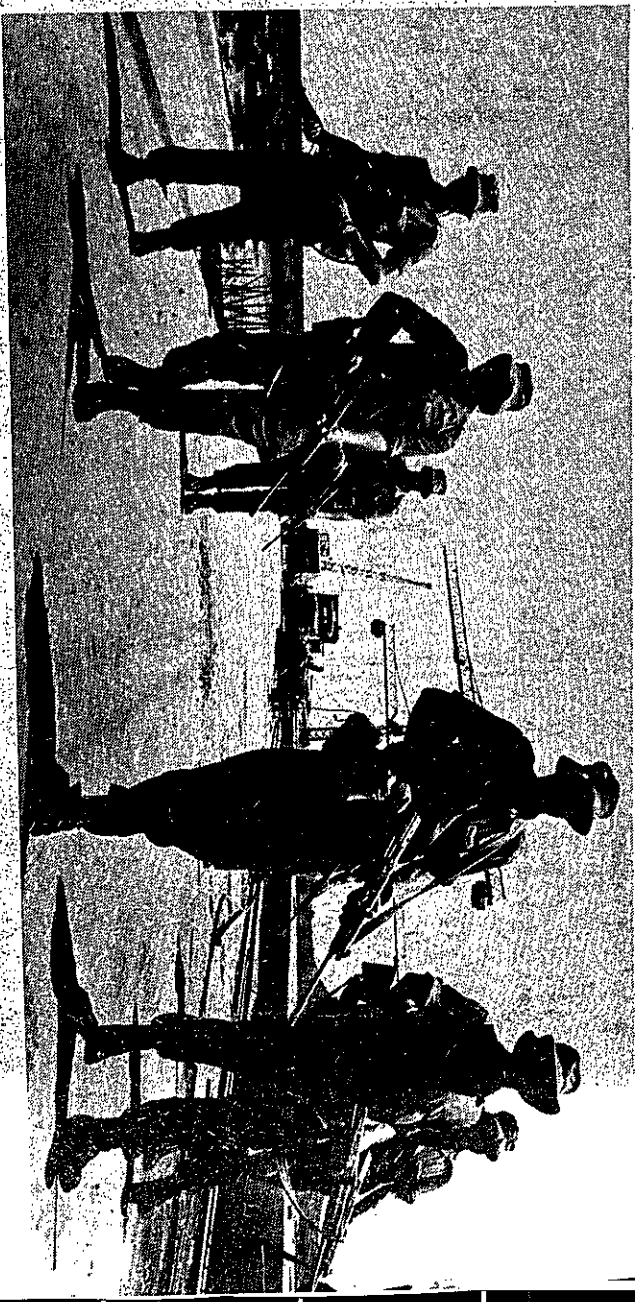
The operational area or No. 1 Military Area as it is officially known can be climatically uncomfortable, able, summer or winter. Sub-tropical. At this time of year the heat hangs like a spread-out blanket, pressing you down.

For nine months of the year, hot to very hot and dry. In winter, if that is the word, it is hot during the day with almost con-

tinual rain. At night, temperatures plummet.

Much of the terrain is flat. On the South West Africa side there is hardly a hillock from the Ruanabana Falls in the west to Katima Mulilo in the east. The whole area, on both sides of the border, is covered with smallish trees, giving the attacker in this wretched conflict a marked advantage.

Then there is the criss-crossing of dry river beds known as "oshanas", in Ovambo and "omarambas" elsewhere. Communications and transportation are problematic. The closest South African Railways junction to No. 1 Military Area is at Grootefontein 200 km south of Rundu. This serves as a railhead for supplies.



South African troops guard dam wall at Gdubque inside Angola.

With the exception of the tarred road from Windhoek through Tsumeb to Rundu, roads remain a problem. From Rundu to Katima Mulilo there is a dirt road with a pontoon over the Okavango river at Begani and a bridge over the Cuito and river at Kongola. The rest of the roads in the area, including those in

Southern Angola, are tracks, many of which are impassable in the rainy season. South African national servicemen in the operational area are led by highly-trained, Permanent Force Officers and NCOs. Some of the call-up soldiers themselves are among the toughest shock troops in the Defence

Force. Those serving for a year do on average three to four months in the operational area. Those serving 18 months or two years do up to seven or eight months. All the young men I spoke to were highly sensitive to the anxieties of close relatives and friends back home. "Tell them we're okay."

This was their message. "And wish them a happy Christmas." Among them were Lieut James Morris of Zululand; Rifleman Gert Fourie of Pretoria; Rifleman Phillipus Smith of Boksburg; Lieut Leonard Steingo of Johannesburg; Rifleman Danie Rautenbach of Kroonstad. Wish you well, lads.

Subscriber
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The Biggest, Surest h

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And as the OAU see it

South African intervention in Angola may be turning the OAU against FNLA and Unita, writes JOHN BORRELL from Nairobi

As the OAU prepares to hold an extraordinary summit on Angola in Addis Ababa on January 10, it is becoming increasingly clear that South African involvement in the Angolan civil war has been largely counter-productive.

For although South African assistance has bolstered the pro-Western Unita and FNLA in their struggle against the Marxist MPLA, it has been insufficient to give them a clear-cut victory and it has alienated these two movements from a number of African states.

Recognised

As a result, 15 African States have recognised the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola — at least four of them, including influential Tanzania and powerful Nigeria, citing South African support for Unita and the FNLA as their reason for doing so.

Consequently, when the OAU heads of state meet in the Ethiopian capital next month one third of the organisation's 46 mem-

What the pro-MPLA bloc will argue is that South African assistance to Unita and the FNLA has made these two movements traitors to the African cause and lost them the right to represent the Angolan people.

Thus, they will argue, the OAU will have no choice but to withdraw its official recognition of the two movements which, in theory at least, would make it extremely difficult for countries like Zambia and Zaire to provide continued assistance.

This might seem a rather devious move considering that South African support for the two movements was only forthcoming after Cuban troops had been landed to help the MPLA and the Luanda-based movement started receiving huge quantities of Soviet arms.

But, as OAU Secretary-General William Eteki-Mpomotia has told a correspondent,

Those who believe a government of national unity is still possible despite the bitterness that the Angolan war has caused inside the country include such states as Zambia, Kenya, Tunisia and Zaire.

They want the OAU to call for the withdrawal of all foreign powers in Angola, form an interim coalition government and establish some kind of OAU observer force to ensure that proper elections are held.

But the MPLA has been aware ever since the provisional government was formed in January that it stands no real chance of winning power through elections since its Umbundu tribal power base is too small.

Angola's largest, single tribe is the Ovimbundu, which, following the departure of nearly all the country's Whites, probably accounts for 40 per cent of the total population. It is the power base of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita which would receive majority support in any reasonably fair election, and if the Unita-FNLA alliance was maintained, the two pro-Western movements could expect something

1. Hoe belangrik is dit vir u dat u kinders moet skoolgaan? Sal u die plaas wil verlaat indien daar nie 'n skool naby was vir u kinders nie?
2. Ontroet u ooit die onderwyser? Indien ja, spesifiseer.
3. Besyreek u ooit die skool met u werkgewer?
4. Is die skool wat u kinders bywoon op 'n plaas of nie? Indien nee, spesifiseer waar.

Aan werkers wie se kinders: — skole bywoon

se kinders . . . nie skole bywoon nie

ie skool toe nie?

s belangrik vir u kinders is? Indien
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Position

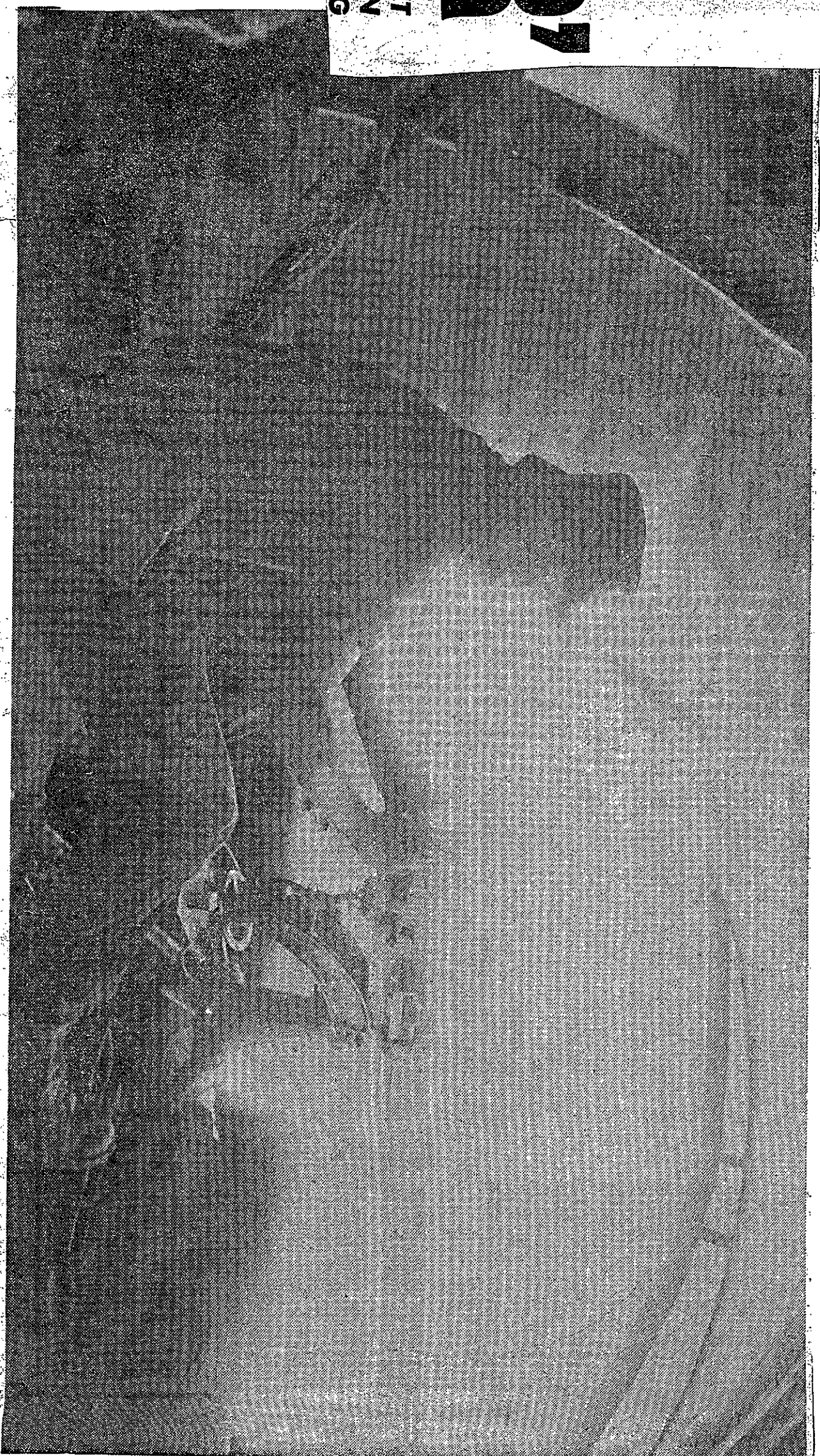
The MPLA's position is also being strengthened diplomatically by South Africa's continued involvement on the side of Unita and the FNLA and any military gains the South African backed-groups make are clearly being offset by the diplomatic reversals.

Indeed, South Africa may unwittingly be doing as much to help the Marxist MPLA as the Russians and, if South African involvement finally tips the OAU towards the pro-MPLA stance it will be the

se kinders . . . nie skole bywoon nie
ie skool toe nie?
s belangrik vir u kinders is? Indien
er hoekom?

WORDS WILL WIN THIS WAR

AND THAT'S COMMANDANT
TINY NEL, THE MAN IN
CHARGE OF CALUEQUE, TALKING



The two faces of war. A lonely gunner sits in his emplacement high on the Calueque dam, ready to defend it. But other soldiers, in a South African "hearts and minds" operation in the border area, are offering educational, agricultural and medical aid to tribesmen, winning their confidence. As Commandant Tiny Nel says: "In the long run the fight against terrorism will be won with words, not bullets."

Operation Angola

...the inside story

EUGENE HUGO reports from WASHINGTON

DETAILS of the top-secret CIA Angolan operation leaked in Washington this week for the first time, contradict Senate testimony by Dr. Henry Kissinger about the timing and the level of United States involvement in the civil war.

At the same time the disclosures cast new doubts about which major power — the United States or the Soviet Union — was responsible for the escalation in the conflict between warring pro- and anti-communist forces in the Portuguese colony.

The inside story of the CIA operation emerged from information compiled by a former State Department intelligence section officer, Mr John Marks, and other well informed officials.

The Ford Administration's initial authorization for substantial CIA financial operations inside Angola came in January 1975 — more than two months before the first significant Soviet build-up.

CIA director William Colby told a secret Congressional hearing recently that the increase was needed to match increased Soviet activity.

The Soviet Union has been involved in Angola since 1965, but according to well informed sources did not substantially increase its support for the MPLA until March and April this year.

The Government view now is that it is impossible without more information to determine whether the subsequent Soviet build-up was purely expansionist or whether it might have been in part a response to the United States action.

The Administration's high-level intelligence review panel, known as the 40 Committee, discussed

Angola in January and agreed to have the CIA provide 300 000 dollars clandestinely to Holden Roberto's FNLA.

At the time Roberto, whose links with the CIA began in 1961, was on a 10 000-dollars-a-year CIA retainer for intelligence collection.

During the same 40 Committee January meeting, the CIA unsuccessfully sought authority to provide a 100 000-dollar subsidy to Jonas Savimbi's Unita.

Both groups were at the time trying to negotiate a settlement with the MPLA.

Secret

The disclosure further contradicts the insistence of Secretary Kissinger in still secret Senate testimony that the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs had in effect withheld information about Angola from him early this year. He suggested it had done so in an effort to limit the options available to the Ford Administration.

In January Kissinger was Secretary of State and also President Ford's adviser on national security. As adviser he was chairman of the 40 Committee when the decision was taken to increase "reat" the CIA cash subsidy to Roberto.

Throughout the spring the CIA lobbied intensively for a larger United States role in Angola, justifying its argument on increased Soviet activity. Specifically the CIA was seeking high-level approval to begin supplying funds directly to Ca-imbli.

The matter was discussed at a 40 Committee meeting in June with no resolution, although a full-scale National Security Council study of the issues and various options was authorised.

It was at this point that opposition to further US involvement was repeatedly raised by Nathaniel Davis, then Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs. He resigned in protest over Angola and is now Ambassador to Switzerland.

The Intelligence Agency was explicitly authorised by President Ford on July 27, 1975 to begin a 500 000 dollar information programme inside Angola as part of a 40 Committee decision to begin major shipments of arms there.

CIA statistics show the agency had paid 5.4 million dollars to ship what was listed as 10 million in arms to Angola between late July and October.

The President's "moment of truth" came last spring when he endorsed the decision of the 40 Committee to give hundreds of thousands of dollars in covert "black bag" funds to Savimbi.

Although CIA money and other support has been going to the FNLA and Unita since last spring, the agency's major effort has been in the north on behalf of Roberto's FNLA.

Marks also reveals that the US provided the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal with a degree of support, look a public stance in favour of non-violent change in the colonies, and secretly supplied independence groups with funds. The policy towards the Portuguese colonies was to "play all ends against the middle."



Lieutenant Len Steingo, a Johannesburg doctor on national service, treats Owambo senior headman Valumbola during one of the South African Army's civic action patrols

5

ANGOLA WAR BOGS DOWN

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28/12/75

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Tribune Africa
News Service

THE TIDE of the Angolan war has turned — temporarily at least — against the Marxist orientated MPLA but the action on almost all fronts appears to have bogged down.

There are indications that the warfronts will enjoy a short lull over the Christmas season, not out of any timely spirit of goodwill — merely so the sides can regroup and plan for major offensives in the new year.

The main battlefield for the moment is on the propaganda front.

The MPLA is proudly displaying two young South African soldiers as proof of what they allege is deep South African intervention and aggression in the war.

Unita, meanwhile, has accused the MPLA of operating slave labour camps.

And everyone is trying to disclaim connections with South Africa.

The key to the war is how deeply the West is prepared to become involved to counter Russian intervention.

Meanwhile the Russian arms build-up is entering a new phase with 12 Mig jet fighters being assembled in the strife-torn territory. The jets have light bomb and rocket system capability.