

ANGOLA-GENERAL

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CMT Times (5)  
7/11/87

# SA troops 'kidnap' Angolan soldiers

LISBON. — South African troops twice attacked Angolan government forces and kidnapped three soldiers after crossing into southern Angola during the past three weeks, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

It said the three Angolans were taken prisoner during incursions in several areas of Cunene province between December 13 and January 5.

The agency said South African forces twice attacked Angolan government troops stationed on the road between Ondjiva and Mongua — on January 3 and 4.

It said Angolan troops also clashed with mixed units of South African soldiers and Unita rebels around Namacunde on December 19. — Sapa-Reuter





Wynand du Toit

*Adrian 7/1/87*  
**Wife sees  
captured  
commando  
captain**

LISBON. — Mrs Louwna du Toit, 25, saw her husband, imprisoned South African commando Captain Wynand du Toit, on a visit to Luanda over the New Year holiday, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reports.

The agency said the visit was arranged by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the South African and Angolan governments.

Captain du Toit was captured on May 19, 1985, in what Angolan authorities said was a foiled attempt to blow up oil installations in the northern Angolan enclave of Cabinda. Two other South Africans were killed.

Mrs du Toit told the agency her husband was being well treated and had no reason for complaint.

She thanked the Angolan government for allowing the visit and for its hospitality and expressed the hope that her husband would be released soon.

The agency gave no other details. — Sapa-AP.

# Angola shaping up to challenge SA <sup>(S)</sup>

WINDHOEK — It was only a matter of time before Angola's conventional arms forces build-up boosted its self-confidence so it felt it could take on South African-controlled security forces operating from SWA/Namibia, according to the outgoing officer com-

manding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General George Meiring.

Such an armed confrontation on or over Angolan soil particularly applied to the Angolan air force which felt it could challenge South Africa's air supremacy, he said.

An extensive radar net-

work in southern Angola now scanned northern SWA/Namibian air space and Angolan pilots felt safe to fly to their southern border in search of action.

South African jet fighters shot down two Angolan MiG-21s in a cross-border raid from SWA/Namibia four years ago.

There has been no aerial combat between the two countries since then, but Gen Meiring revealed that three months ago Angolan fighter aircraft attacked a vehicle patrol of the SWA/Namibian security forces 30 kilometres inside Angola.

The patrol was on its way to lift a Swapo armaments cache.

Gen Meiring said two MiG-21 fighters at the time had taken off from Lubango in south-western Angola and fired rockets at the vehicle, which was slightly damaged.

The security forces suffered no casualties.

The occurrence was "exceptional" in the 20-year-old bush war and had not been repeated.

The general said a liaison post "of sorts" had been established with the Angolan army at Santa Clara on the international border between Angola and SWA/Namibia. The Angolans were usually notified when security forces crossed the border in pursuit of Swapo insurgents.

Last year, the SWA/Namibian security forces crossed into Angola as often as in the past — "only last year we did not publicise".

Gen Meiring said there had been a number of armed clashes with the Angolan army, but he did not regard them as serious.

In one incident, 60 members of the Angolan army were killed.

The Angolan armed forces may become arrogant as a result of the conventional arms buildup in the country and it is only a matter of time before they feel they can challenge Namibian-based security forces on or over Angolan territory, according to a senior South African Defence Force officer.

The outgoing General Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Georg Meiring, said it was particularly the Angolan Air Force that felt it could challenge the superiority of its South African counterpart.

He said the southern Angolan radar net now covered northern Namibia and pilots felt free to fly down to their southern border looking for action.

General Meiring said that while there had been no aerial combat between aircraft of the two countries in four years, "if they think they can take on our aircraft, they would".

**Patrol under fire**

Four years ago, South African jet fighters shot down two MiG-21s in a brief dogfight during a South African cross-border sortie.

General Meiring revealed that a vehicle patrol that had crossed into Angola to lift a Swapo weapons cache three months ago had been attacked by Angolan fighters just 30 km from the Namibian border.

He said two MiG-21 aircraft had taken off from Lubango in southwestern Angola and fired several rockets at the Territory Force patrol.

None of the Namibian soldiers had been injured, but the vehicle was slightly damaged.

This was "an exceptional occurrence" that had not been repeated, General Meiring said.

There had, however, been a number of other confrontations with Fapla, the Angolan armed forces. General Meiring said he did not

# Angola forces may soon be tempted to hit back

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2/11/87

In an interview with The Star's Africa News Service in Windhoek, a senior army officer warns that the rearmament of southern Angola poses not only a conventional military threat to Namibia but also a potential counter-insurgency one.

regard these clashes as serious, apart from one incident when about 60 members of the Angolan Army had been killed when they ambushed security force vehicles pursuing Swapo insurgents back into Angola.

General Meiring, who takes over Northern Transvaal Command this month, said a liaison point "of sorts" had been established with the Angolan Army at Santa Clara on the Namibian border.

The Angolans were usually notified when the security forces crossed the border in pursuit of Swapo.

The security forces had crossed into Angola on hot pursuit operations against Swapo "as often as in the past, only last year we did not publicise it".

General Meiring listed the Angolan Air Force's aircraft lineup as including MiG-21 and MiG-23 fighters, the advanced Sukhoi SU-22 fighter and Mi-25, Mi-8 and Mi-16 helicopters.

The anti-aircraft defence system comprised virtually the entire range of Soviet-made SAM missiles, including the sophisticated SAM-8 and SAM-6 tracked systems. These surface-to-air missiles

were used in conjunction with the radar net and were deployed as far south as Cahama and Matata — less than 300 km from the Namibian border.

General Meiring added that the main radar stations were sited at Lubango, Menongue and Luena as well as intermittently at Cuito Cuanavale.

Rebels from the Angolan resistance movement, Unita, claim to have attacked Cuito Cuanavale in the second half of last year, but the success of the raid is in doubt.

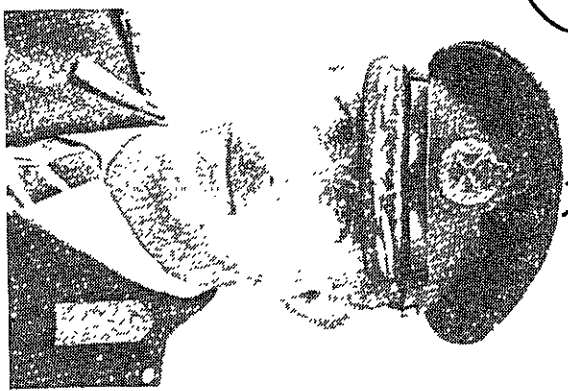
General Meiring said the rearmament of southern Angola posed not only a conventional military threat to Namibia but also a potential counter-insurgency one.

At present Swapo had no permanent bases closer than 250 km to Namibia, fearing that a closer deployment would tempt pre-emptive operations from Namibia.

In moving to Namibia, however, insurgents sometimes used Angolan Army transport, logistical lines and medical assistance.

Asked whether the security forces might not lose too many soldiers in a pre-emptive strike should Swapo create permanent bases with Fapla in southern Angola, General Meiring said: "It depends how badly you want to take that base."

In deploying in southern Angola, insurgents maintained a headquarters element of two to three members who roved the area avoiding security force detection while their comrades crossed into Namibia to



General Meiring... "no reduction in hot pursuit operations".

carry out sabotage missions. General Meiring said not only had the northern Namibian bush war diminished by a third in the number of incidents recorded last year compared with 1985, but Swapo had also scaled down its activities.

"Instead of blowing up power stations, they are blowing up telephone poles," said General Meiring.

Swapo had moved from its guerrilla footing to a reorganisational phase, he said, adding that the security forces had killed 645 members of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Swapo's military wing) in 1986.

General Meiring said the number of Swapo fighters had decreased from about 16 000 in 1978 to the present level of about 8000.

Most were deployed against Unita, leaving a potential force of about 1 200 to infiltrate Namibia.

APR 11 1977

## 60 Fapla men killed by SADF

WINDHOEK. — South African forces clashed with the Angolan army last year and about 60 Fapla soldiers were killed, the outgoing officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Georg Meiring, said here yesterday.

And, he said, it was only a matter of time before the Angolan armed forces would feel sufficiently confident to take on South African forces operating from Namibia, most probably in aerial combat.

General Meiring said that in the incident in which the Angolan troops were killed — the date of which was not given, the Fapla forces ambushed vehicles of security forces pursuing insurgents into Angola.

And he disclosed that three months ago Angolan fighter aircraft attacked a vehicle patrol of the SWA/Namibian security forces 30km inside Angola.

The patrol was on its way to lift a Swapo armaments cache. There were no casualties. — Sapa and Staff Reporter

ARGUS 8/1/87

# SADF man: Angolans feel they can challenge SA

on,

**T**HE Angolan armed forces may become arrogant as a result of the conventional arms buildup in the country, and it is a matter of time before they feel they can challenge Namibian-based security forces on or over Angolan territory.

The outgoing general officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Georg Meiring, said it was particularly the Angolan air force that felt it could challenge the superiority of its South African counterpart.

He said the southern Angolan radar net now covered northern Namibian and pilots felt free to fly down to their southern border looking for action.

General Meiring said that while there had been no aerial combat between aircraft of the two countries in four years: "If they thought they could take on our aircraft, they would".

General Meiring disclosed that a vehicle patrol that had crossed into Angola to lift a Swapo weapons cache three months ago had been attacked by Angolan fighters just 30km from the Namibian border.

General Meiring said two MiG-21 aircraft had taken off from Lubango, in south-western Angola and rocketed the Territory Force patrol.

Several rockets had been fired at the vehicle. None of the Namibian soldiers had been injured, but the vehicle was slightly damaged, he said.

This was "an exceptional occurrence" that had never been repeated.

There had, however, been a number of other confrontations with Fapla, the Angolan armed forces.

General Meiring said he did not regard these clashes as serious apart from one incident when about 60 members of the Angolan army had been killed when they ambushed Security Force vehicles pursuing Swapo insurgents back into Angola.

The officer, who takes over Northern Transvaal Command later this month, said a liaison point "of sorts" had been established with the Angolan army at Santa Clara on the Namibian border.

The Angolans were generally notified when the security forces crossed the border in pursuit of Swapo.

General Meiring listed the Angolan air force's aircraft lineup as including MiG-21 F fighters, MiG-23 fighters, the advanced Sukhoi SU-22 fighter as well as Mi-25 Hind, Mi-8 and Mi-16 helicopters.

The anti-aircraft defence system comprised virtually the entire range of Soviet-made Sam missiles, including the sophisticated Sam-8 and Sam-6 tracked systems. These surface-to-air missiles were used in conjunction with the radar net and were deployed as far south as Cahama and Matala less than 300km from the Namibian border.

General Meiring said the main radar stations were sited at Lubango, Menongue and Luena as well as intermittently at Cuito Cuanavale.



Major-General Georg Meiring

**G**eneral Meiring said the rearmament of southern Angola posed not only a conventional military threat to Namibia but also a potential counter-insurgency one.

At present Swapo had no permanent bases closer than 250km to Namibia, fearing a closer deployment would tempt pre-emptive operations from Namibia.

In moving to Namibia, however, insurgents sometimes used Angolan army transport, utilised the Fapla logistical lines and availed themselves of their medical assistance.

He said not only had the northern Namibian bush war diminished by a third in the number of incidents recorded last year compared to 1985, but Swapo had also scaled down its activities.

"Instead of blowing up a power stations, they are blowing up telephone poles," said General Meiring.

General Meiring said the number of Swapo fighters had decreased from about 16 000 in 1978 to the present level of about 8 000.

The majority were deployed in the Mpla's conflict with Unita, leaving a potential force of a about 1 200 to infiltrate Namibia.

# New Mig threat in air war

APR 21 1983 5

## Defence Correspondent

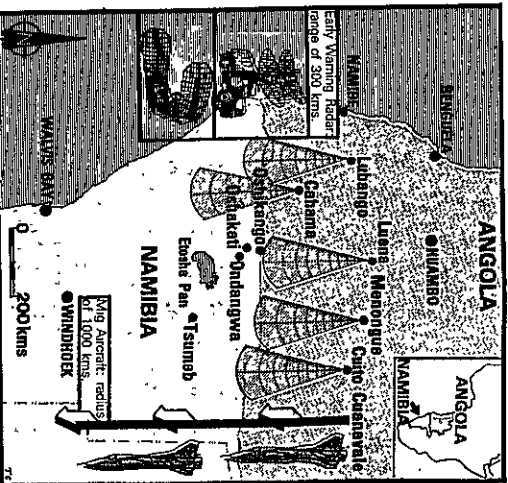
**SOUTH AFRICAN** military planners are deeply worried by the deadly new factor in the Namibian border war: A massive air-defence machine in southern Angola and increasing signs of aggressiveness among Angolan pilots.

Angolan Mig-21s flying regular border patrols for the first time since independence have served notice that the days of "easy" incursions — with South Africa enjoying almost automatic command of the air — are over for good.

The Mig-21s are part of a powerful air force, backed up by the most extensive network of radar and missiles in Southern Africa.

Today every South African Air Force machine which takes to the air in northern Namibia is instantly under Angolan scrutiny, and Oshakati, nerve-centre of the bush war, is within quick and easy reach of any aerial attack force taking off from somewhere north of the international border.

The extent of the problem has only now become clear following the statement earlier this week in Windhoek by the outgoing GOC South West Africa, Territory Force, Major-



General Georg Meiring, in which he revealed that:  
□ The Angolan air-defence system now extended as far south as Cahama and Matala, less than 300km from the international border.  
□ In addition to Mi-26 and Mi-16 gunship

helicopters, Angola had deployed Mig-21F, Mig-23 and Sukhoi Su-22 jet fighters;

□ A wide variety of anti-aircraft missiles, including the SA-6 and SA-8, were linked to an extensive radar network with main bases at Lubango, Menongue, Luena and Cuito Cuanavale which covered northern Namibian air-space.

□ It was only a matter of time before Angola's conventional arms build-up boosted its self-confidence to the point where it felt it could take on South African and Namibian forces operating north of the border — particularly the Angolan air force, which had become so confident of challenging South Africa's air supremacy that its pilots felt safe to fly to their southern border in search of action;

□ There had been no Angolan-South African aerial clash since Mirage F-1s shot down two Angolan Mig-21s four years ago while flying protective air cover for a ground operation. However in an unprecedented action only three months ago, two Mig-21 fighters from Lubango fired rockets at a Namibian vehicle patrol which was 30km inside Angola, on its way to lift a Swapo armaments cache.  
□ Local military observers agree that the Angolans' air-defence network — which enables them to detect SAAF aircraft as soon as they

take off from the main air base at Ondangwa — has whittled away at the traditional "edge" enjoyed by South Africa's painstakingly selected and trained military pilots.

They point out, too, that Ondangwa and its nearby twin base of Oshakati, the main military headquarters in Ovamboland, are easily within range of aircraft like the Mig-23 and a mere 20 minutes' flying time from Lubango. Given the fact that South Africa and Angola have an understanding about Swapo-hunting incursions, the recent strafing attack does not necessarily mean all such small patrols will be shot up in future.

However, it seems the Angolans have served notice that high-profile and therefore embarrassingly visible incursions like Operation Askari (December 1983-January 1984) will not be allowed to go unchallenged. As it is, Operation Askari proved a shock to South African planners because Angolan ground forces did not hang back as had happened before but reacted aggressively and inflicted a number of casualties on the raiders.

Now, it appears, the counter-attack will take place in the air as well as on the ground. That is the message carried by Angolan Mig-21s flying up and down the international border.

MARSHALL COPIES

9/11/87  
SAPA

# SA forces kidnapped soldiers, Angola claims

LISBON — SA troops twice attacked Angolan government forces and kidnapped three soldiers after crossing into southern Angola during the last three weeks, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

It said the three Angolans were taken prisoner by SA units during incursions in several areas of Cunene province between December 13 and January 5.

The agency said SA forces twice attacked Angolan government troops stationed on the

road between Ondjiva and Mongua on January 3 and 4. No casualty details were given.

Angop said Angolan troops also clashed with mixed units of SA soldiers and Unita rebels around Namacunde on December 19.

The agency said there had been four separate violations of Angolan airspace by SA planes and helicopters. Several movements of SA ground forces were recorded, involving about 100 Kasper military vehicles.

An SADF spokesman says the Angop statement is "merely a repetition of the same themes they have propagated over the last few months".

"In addition, the defence force is on record that while it wishes to live in peace with its neighbours, it will nevertheless not hesitate to cross the border with Angola in pursuit of Swapo terrorists if it is necessary to protect the lives and security of the people of South West Africa." — Sapa-Reuter.

parties for the first time since they seized power.

*16/1/87*  
**Unita claims killing of 131 troops**

LISBON. — Angola's Unita guerrilla movement claims its forces killed 131 government soldiers and 12 Cuban support troops in fighting between January 8 and 13 while nine of its men were killed and 18 wounded. — Sapa-AP.

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# Savimbi: African leader apart

18/11/87  
SUNDAY (5)

BY BRIAN POTTINGER

TWO incidents from Jonas Savimbi's Angola tell much about the man and the movement.

On November 1 1975, British journalist Fred Bridgland encountered a handful of young white soldiers in armoured cars on the airport tarmac at the southern Angolan town of Silva Porto.

Although they insisted they were mercenaries, they were, in fact, part of South Africa's secret commitment to the Angolan civil war.

Bridgland's world scoop shattered Savimbi's hopes of challenging the MPLA seizure of power: the Americans got cold feet, African leaders backed off and the South Africans were eventually forced to withdraw.

It might have been expected that Savimbi would nurse an abiding dislike for the journalist who caused such embarrassment. Far from it, Savimbi remained friendly to Bridgland, who became one of his greatest sympathisers.

This is a small, anecdotal example of the famous Savimbi long view, which sets the Unita leader so apart from many other African leaders — white and black — who promise millennial change with small deposits and on indeterminate terms.

## Remarkable

The bush war, a harsh school, has granted Savimbi patience and a rare political wisdom which accepts that neither victory nor compromise can be achieved overnight.

This is one aspect of the guerrilla leader explored by Bridgland in his comprehensive and measured "Jonas Savimbi: a key to Africa" (Macmillan).

The second incident occurred in November 1984, when this reviewer and a

group of foreign journalists arrived in southern Angola to be met by a troupe of dancing and singing girls in Unita colours.

On the way to Savimbi's headquarters the captured Polish Star vehicle in which the troupe was travelling struck a mud patch and toppled over, spilling dancers and possessions into the mud.

Those who could (and some who should not have) dragged themselves away from the mud seriously injured, the mud and the upended Star formed into ranks and launched into a lively Unita song-and-dance routine for the impenetrable TV camera lens. The spirit, they were thus telling us, cannot be quenched.

This incident says much about the movement.

Bridgland's "Savimbi" is a sympathetic biography of a

remarkable African leader and perhaps the most definitive account yet of the swaying bush war, but it lacks, unfortunately, some of the more cosmic sweeps of Savimbi's vision and philosophy which so forcefully strike those he meets.

## Seductive

It would be misleading to suggest that Bridgland is an impartial observer. His 10-year Angolan experience has clearly been informed as much by the hospitality he received by Unita's supporters as the quite remarkable urbanity and depth of the movement's bearded leader.

It is a powerful and perhaps seductive mix which Bridgland, to his credit, consciously tries to balance.

Of particular interest is the revelation that Savimbi, far from being a South African puppet, has an abiding

suspicion of Pretoria which for years backed his rival, Holden Roberto of the FVLA, and excluded Savimbi even from the negotiations in 1984 that promised but failed to deliver peace to the region.

Bridgland hyperbolically argues that Savimbi is a key to Africa. He is no more than President Botha: the complexities of this vast continent invest no individual with such prominence.

But he is undoubtedly a Southern African player who cannot be dealt out of the region's settlement stakes. Even were South Africa to cut links altogether, he has built up an insurgent strength as rooted as the mopane tree.

If necessary, says Savimbi, even if all his friends turn their backs on him, he will go back into the bush with only a dozen men and continue the war against the Cubans and their Angolan hosts. He has been there before.

AA/C ARG-us  
24/1/87

## NEWS

# South Africa, Angola clash fear

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A major clash may be looming between the South African Defence Force and Angolan government forces following a warning last night by the outgoing commander of the South-West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF), Major-General Georg Meiring.

At a farewell function in his honour General Meiring said that in spite of repeated cautioning the Angolan government's military wing, Fapla, had continued to support Swapo "terror gangs".

Foreign diplomats in Pretoria are known to be watching the situation with concern following a number of important developments lately.

In the past few months there has been a significant build-up of military weapons in southern Angola, involving both the ground and air arms of the Fapla forces.

### Matter of time

General Meiring warned that on occasions Angolan air force fighters had been used against SWATF ground units and in anti-Swapo operations.

He said that it might be only a "matter of time" before the Angolans felt they would be able to challenge Namibian-based security forces on or over Angolan territory.

The Angolan air force was particularly confident, said General Meiring. Their radar net could now cover an area as far south as northern Namibia and Angolan pilots felt they were now able to fly down to the border.

This week the new South African Air Force commander in SWA/Namibia, Brigadier Karel van Heerden, warned the SAAF would take counter-action if challenged by Angolan airmen.

In ground support and attack roles the Fapla units have available the potent Mi-25 helicopter gunship and the Mi-16 and Mi-8 helicopters.

### Expanded air defence

The Luanda government has also expanded its air defence system, which comprises the Soviet Sam series anti-aircraft missiles and the advanced Sam-6 and Sam-8 radar-guided weapons.

According to the South Africans, the increased Angolan military build-up has considerably strengthened the Fapla "umbrella" under which Swapo insurgents are increasingly finding shelter.

Fapla is still aiding 'terror gangs', says Meiring

# Angola warned of support for Swapo

Star 2/11/82

By Brendan Seery,  
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The Angolan Government has been warned again that if its military forces continue with their active support for and sheltering of Swapo insurgents, they risk tangling with the South African Defence Force.

The warning was given by the outgoing commander of the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF), Major-General Georg Meiring, at his farewell parade in Windhoek yesterday evening.

General Meiring said that, despite repeated warnings, the Angolan Government's military wing, Fapla, had continued its support of Swapo "terror gangs".

On occasions, he added, Angolan Air Force fighters had been used against security forces' ground units engaged in anti-Swapo operations.

General Meiring said he wanted to emphasise that although the SADF and SWATF were not planning any actions against Fapla, they reserved the right to take action against terrorists, wherever they may hide.

If Fapla, after "proper warning", took action against SADF or SWATF units while they were on anti-terrorist operations, then these forces would defend themselves.

Earlier this year General Meiring warned that there was a build-up of military weaponry in Angola and that Fapla and the air force had become arrogant to the point where it would be only a matter of time before they felt strong enough to challenge South African or Namibian forces on or over Angolan territory.

Meanwhile, the new commander of the SADF in Namibia, Brigadier Karel van Heerden, says the build-up of Angolan air power is not the result of any provocation by Pretoria.

He said the recent increase in Angolan Air Force weaponry and the upgrading of the radar system followed the "recognised pattern of Soviet aggression".

In an interview with the South West African Broadcasting Corporation, he compared the situation in Angola with similar Soviet actions in Central and South America.

He disclosed that, at any one time, the Angolan Air Force could put into the air as many as 60 to 70 percent of its fighter strength.

Current estimates put Angolan fighter strength at more than 80 aircraft, including advanced MIG-23s, MIG-21s and Sukhoi 22s.

The brigadier said the Soviet were prepared to replace any Angolan aircraft put out of action.

# Desperate welfare need on the Rand

By Janine Simon

There is a desperate and growing need for welfare services in the greater Witwatersrand area, according to the director of the Aletheia Christian Centre in Hillbrow, Mrs K Phillips.

Mrs Phillips said the centre, a non-denominational ministry catering to various community needs, had the facilities to help alleviate the problem but desperately needed financial help to keep running.

She said running costs had reached R6 000 a month as 76 percent of the 80 residents were destitute and in need of care.

The remainder of the residents comprised old age and disability pensioners who paid a small amount but were subsidised by Aletheia, and a small group of employed people who chose to live in the Christian surroundings of the centre.

Aletheia, a registered welfare organisation, was forced to turn people away — sometimes at the rate of eight a day.

"There was a time when most of the people whom we assisted were drug-addicts or alcoholics.

"These people still come to us almost daily, but more and more we find the people who come here for help have been retrenched or are destitute because of ill-health or the many social problems caused by the present recession," Mrs Phillips said in a recent appeal to the public for aid.

Urgent needs for the 14-year-old centre in Louis Botha Avenue Berea, were refrigeration equipment to store food, linen and supplies for building renovations, particularly for the bathrooms and showers.

The centre's address is PO Box 17175 Hillbrow 2038.

## Angola 'a good place for US to do business'

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — War-torn Angola is a good place to do business, according to a senior Reagan Administration official.

"Most of Angola's trade is with the West and there are alternative Western enterprises eager and able to take our place," the official, Mr J Edward Fox, an Assistant Secretary of State, said

in a letter to United States congressman Mr Lee Hamilton.

"American companies are active in Angola because of the almost unanimous judgment by the private sector — American, West European and Japanese — that it is a good place to do business."

Congressman Hamilton had asked the State Department whether it was US policy to support the presence of US oil firms

in Angola and whether the US supported efforts by Unita to attack their oil facilities.

Mr Fox replied that the American companies had been alerted to the risks of operating in Angola but "their presence in Angola affords them a unique role in helping to educate the Luanda Government to the possibilities of effective co-operation with the West", he wrote.

### No locust outbreak

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Mr J L ...  
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Cape Times 26/1/87

# Angola claims two SA attacks in three weeks

LISBON. — Angola said yesterday that South African troops had twice attacked its forces over the past 19 days and said Pretoria was massing troops inside the southern Angolan province of Cunene for a major military offensive.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, monitored in Lisbon, quoted a Defence Ministry statement as saying that South African units, backed by armoured vehicles and helicopters, struck against Angolan army positions on January 12 and 19.

No casualty figures were given.

The statement, signed by Angolan Defence Minister Colonel Pedro Maria Tonha, also listed South African troop movements in several areas of Cunene province since January 6 and said the activity heralded "a major armed aggression" against Angola.

The statement came before a meeting tomorrow in Luanda of ministers of the five Portuguese-speaking African states — Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe. The Angolan claims are expected to be high on the agenda.

Pretoria has previously admitted sending troops into the area to hunt Swapo guerillas.

## '56 Swapo killed, six soldiers'

Namibia's South African-led security forces said last week they killed 56 Namibian guerillas and lost six soldiers in recent clashes on both sides of the Angolan border.

Meanwhile, the outgoing officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Georg Meiring, said in Windhoek on Friday that the number of insurgency incidents last year was 475 compared to 656 in 1985 but "the quality" of the incidents was considerably lower than in the previous year.

The ministry statement said that on January 12, South African troops with Angolan anti-government Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) rebels, backed by armoured cars and helicopters, attacked Angolan army positions between Ondjiva and Mongua.

Seven days later, South African forces attacked Angolan troops 25km east of Xangongo, it added.

A SADF spokesman in Pretoria last night said the allegations were "similar to claims made by Angola recently."

"The Defence Force point of view in this regard is a matter of public record." — Sapa-Reuter

Argus 26/1/87

INTERNATIONAL

5

## 'SA not cause of Angolan build-up'

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The new commander of the South African Air Force in SWA/Namibia says the build-up of Angolan air power is not the result of any provocation by Pretoria.

Brigadier Karel van Heerden said the recent increase in Angolan air force weaponry and the upgrading of its radar system followed the "recognised pattern of Soviet aggression".

The new commander compared the situation in Angola with similar Soviet actions in Central and South America.

He said that at any one time the Angolan air force could put into the air as many as 60 percent to 70 percent of its fighter strength for offensive sorties.

### "CHALLENGE"

Estimates put the Angolan fighter strength at more than 80 aircraft, including advanced MIG-23s, MIG-21s and Sukhoi 22s.

His comments follow remarks earlier this month by Major-General Georg Meiring, outgoing commander of the SWA Territory Force, that it was only a matter of time before the Angolans felt strong enough to challenge SWA/Namibian-based security forces on or over Angolan territory.

General Meiring said then that a security force patrol from SWA/Namibia, which was about 30km inside Angola to lift a Swapo arms cache, had been attacked by Angolan air force fighters.

The attack, which involved the use of dozens of air-to-ground rockets, took place late last year. There were no injuries and only slight damage was caused.

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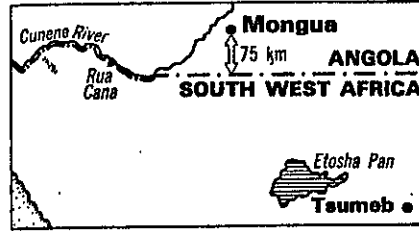
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# Angolan troops (5) Swapo men killed

Business Day Reporters

NAMIBIAN security forces killed at least 61 Angolan government Fapla soldiers and Swapo insurgents in a skirmish



in southern Angola at the weekend.

A statement from the SWA Territory Force (SWATF) in Windhoek said Namibian forces were following the tracks of Swapo guerrillas near the Angolan town of Mongua on Sunday when the insurgents fled to a base they had shared with Fapla.

Fapla soldiers opened fire on the security forces, who had to call in reinforcements, the SWATF said.

Although Defence Force officials in Pretoria would not comment on the raid, it follows a claim issued on Sunday by Angola that SA troops had attacked An-

● To Page 2

## 61 Angolan troops, Swapo guerrillas killed

Angolan forces twice in the last 19 days and were massing troops in Angola's Kunene province.

The SWATF said the Angolan government and Fapla commanders had repeatedly been warned by letter and personal contact not to give Swapo any support.

Outgoing SWATF commanding officer Major-General Georg Meiring said on Friday the security forces would retali-

ate if attacked by Fapla in southern Angola.

An SWATF source told *Business Day* yesterday the raid was in retaliation for several recent "stand-off attacks" by Swapo guerrillas on security bases. He termed the raid a routine follow-up operation.

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# SA massing for major offensive claim

LISBON — Angola has claimed that South African troops twice attacked its forces over the last 19 days, and that Pretoria was massing troops inside the southern Angolan province of Cunene for a major military offensive.

The official Angolan news agency Angop, monitored in Lisbon, quoted a defence ministry statement as saying South African units, backed by armoured vehicles and helicopters, struck against Angolan army positions on January 12 and 19.

No casualty figures were given for the reported clashes.

A SADF spokesman said these claims were similar to other allegations made by Angola recently.

He said the claims "must be seen against the background of the facts".

"First, the security forces have been highly successful in operations against Swapo in recent weeks.

"Secondly, Unita has been reported as having achieved great success against Fapla in Angola.

"Angop's latest allegations are merely a repetition of the same themes they have propagated over the last few months."

## PROTECT NAMIBIA

However, the spokesman warned that the SADF would not hesitate to cross the border with Angola in pursuit of South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) terrorists if this was necessary to protect the lives and security of the people of Namibia.

The Angolan statement, signed by Angolan Defence Minister Colonel Pedro Maria Tonha, also listed South African troop movements in several areas of Cunene province since January 6 and said the activity heralded "a major armed aggression" against Angola.

"The truth is the (South African) government in Pretoria, under the false pretext of pursuing Namibian nationalist forces, have for a long time been trying to carry out criminal actions deep inside our territory," it said.

South Africa has in the past admitted sending troops into Marxist-ruled Angola from neighbouring Namibia to hunt Swapo terrorists.

Namibia's security forces said last week they killed 56 terrorists and lost six soldiers in recent clashes on both sides of the Angolan border. — Sapa-  
Reuter.



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Namibia's security forces said last week they killed 56 terrorists and lost six soldiers in recent clashes on both sides of the Angolan border. — Sapa-Reuter.

# 61 Swapo among dead in Angola firefight

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A number of soldiers of Fapla, the Angolan government forces, have been killed in clashes with South African troops near the town of Mongua, about 75 km inside Angola.

A communique in Windhoek yesterday by the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) said 61 Swapo insurgents and two black Namibian members of the security forces were killed in the fighting. No figure was given for the number of Fapla dead.

It said Fapla units near Mongua opened fire on security forces following a group of Swapo insurgents. In the ensuing firefight, security forces called up reinforcements.

The clash came only days after the outgoing commander of the SWATF, Major-General Georg Meiring, warned the Angolans that they risked tangling with the SADF if they tried to interfere in cross-border actions against Swapo.

The Angolan Government has for some weeks been accusing South African forces of violating its territory and attacking its army.

The latest communique from Luanda claimed that Pretoria was massing troops in the southern Angolan province of Cunene in preparation for further attacks.

The SWATF statement yesterday said the Angolan Government and Fapla commanders had been "repeatedly warned" by letter and "personal contact" that they should not support Swapo nor give the organisation security or propaganda coverage.

The approaches to the Angolans made it clear that South African security forces would "retaliate if Fapla interferes with security force actions".

#### Wet season offensive

This month General Meiring expressed concern about the apparent large build-up of arms in southern Angola, and the fact that units of the Angolan forces, in particular the air force, were becoming more "arrogant".

He speculated then that it might only be a matter of time before the Angolans felt strong enough to challenge the South Africans "on or over Angolan territory".

In recent weeks there have been official admissions from security forces headquarters in Windhoek that continuing cross-border operations are being undertaken in Angola in order to blunt the effectiveness of the annual Swapo wet season offensive into Namibia.

Last week it was reported that a security forces follow-up group turned back to Namibia when the Swapo group it was pursuing fled into Namacunde — a Fapla garrison town about 30 km north of the border.

There is also known to be a heavy Swapo concentration near Ngiva, about 100 km north of the border.

# 61 Fapla, Swapo members killed

WINDHOEK — At least 61 Angolan Government Fapla soldiers and Swapo insurgents were killed in combat with South African-led security forces from SWA/Namibia on Sunday.

A statement by the SWA Territory Force said here yesterday that the SWA/Namibian security forces were following the tracks of a group of insurgents in the vicinity of Mongua, about 75 km inside southern Angola.

The insurgents fled to a base near the town which they shared with the Fapla soldiers, the statement said.

"When the security forces entered the area at about 5 pm, they were fired on by Fapla.

"In the ensuing fight reinforcements were called."

Two Ovambo-speaking soldiers of the SWATF died in the fire-fight.

"The incident is again evidence that Fapla actively supports Plan (Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia) terrorists by giving them base facilities and that Swapo uses the protective umbrella provided by Fapla deployments during follow-up operations."

The SWATF said the Angolan Government and Fapla commanders of the Fifth Military Region in southern Angola had repeatedly been warned by letter and personal contact not to "give Swapo security and propaganda coverage" or any other support.

"They were informed that it is the policy of the security forces to retaliate if Fapla interferes with security force actions," the statement said. — Sapa

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# Fapla troops die in clash with SADF inside Angola

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Soldiers of the Angolan government forces, Fapla, have been killed in clashes with South African troops near the town of Mongua, about 75km inside Angola.

A communiqué issued in Windhoek yesterday by the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) said 61 Swapo insurgents and two Namibian members of the security forces had been killed in the fighting. No figure was given for the number of Fapla dead.

## WARNING

According to the communiqué, Fapla units near Mongua opened fire on security forces who were following a group of Swapo insurgents. In the ensuing fight security forces called up reinforcements, said the statement.

The clash came only days after the outgoing commander of the SWATF, Major-General Georg Meiring, warned the Angolans that they risked tangling with the South African Defence Force if they tried to interfere in actions against Swapo.

The Angolan government has for some weeks been accusing South African forces of violating its territory and attacking its army. The latest

communiqué from Luanda, issued at the weekend, claimed that South Africa was massing troops in the southern Angolan province of Cunene in preparation for further attacks on Angola.

The SWATF statement about the latest clash commented that the Angola government and Fapla commanders had been "repeatedly warned" by both letter and "personal contact" that they should not support Swapo nor give the organisation security or propaganda coverage.

The approaches to the Angolans made it clear that South African security forces would "retaliate if Fapla interferes with security force actions".

This month General Meiring expressed concern about the apparent large build-up of arms in southern Angola, and the fact that units of the Angolan forces, in particularly the air force, were becoming more "arrogant".

The general speculated then that it might only be a matter of time before the Angolans felt strong enough to challenge the South Africans "on or over Angolan territory".

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# 63 die in Angolan battle

On Friday the outgoing officer commanding the SWATF, Major-General Georg Meiring warned that the security forces would retaliate if attacked by Fapla in southern Angola.

He said that despite repeated warnings it was clear that Fapla was still acting jointly with Swapo.

General Meiring said the war in Namibia would have ended long ago if it had not been for Angola's support for Swapo.

The weekend clashes bring to 161 the number of guerrillas and 13 the number of security force members killed since January 1 this year.

South African forces in Angola's Kunene province indicated a large assault was pending.

Last year about 60 Fapla members were killed in one incident when they ambushed security force vehicles pursuing Swapo insurgents back into Angola.

Three months ago two Angolan MiG-21 aircraft fired on a security force patrol that had entered Angola to lift a Swapo weapons cache.

The SWATF said yesterday that the Angolan government and Fapla commanders had recently been repeatedly warned by letter and personal contact not to give Swapo any support.

about 75km north of the Angolan/SWA border," the SWATF said.

The security forces were following the tracks of Swapo guerrillas near the town when the insurgents fled to a base which they share with the Fapla.

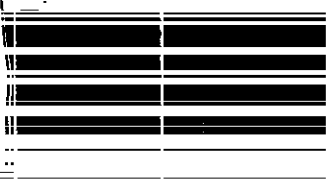
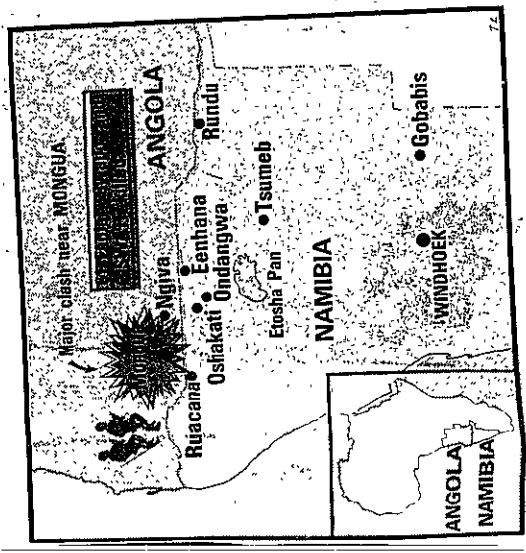
The SWATF said that when the security forces arrived at the area about 5pm on Sunday, they were fired on by Fapla and had to call in reinforcements. A SWATF spokesman said he could not be more specific about the number of Angolan casualties.

On Sunday Angola said South African troops had attacked its forces twice in the past 19 days, but gave no casualty figures. It said a build-up of

**From BRIAN JONES**  
**WINDHOEK.** — At least 61 Swapo guerrillas, "a number" of Angolan Defence Force (Fapla) troops and two South-West Africa Territory Force soldiers died on Sunday in a major clash in southern Angola.

The clashes took place as security force units are being deployed to halt Swapo's annual rainy season infiltration of Namibia.

"At least 61 Swapo terrorists and a number of Angolan government soldiers of Fapla were killed in fights which occurred while the security forces were following the tracks of terrorists in the vicinity of Mongua



# SA finishes 'mopping up' inside Angola

## The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The South West Africa Territory Force says it has finished its "mopping up" operations after fighting inside Angola which left more than 100 dead.

The territory force clashed with Fapla and Swapo soldiers in Mongua this week. The force claims that 72 Swapo members and 48 Fapla troops were killed. Three members of the territory force died.

A spokesman today described the clash as a "follow-up operation".

Fapla and Swapo, he said, had been warned that if the lives and security of the people of SWA/Namibia were threatened, South African forces would hit back hard.

According to a SWATF communique, Fapla units (Angolan government troops) near Mongua opened fire on security forces who were pursuing Swapo insurgents. The security forces called in reinforcements.

The Windhoek Advertiser said it had learned most of the Angolan dead had been members of a relief column heading for Mongua on the assumption the town was being attacked by Unita rebels.

Territory force members who died were Sergeant J Martin, 30, Corporal M Alughodi, 27, and Rifleman W Shitogeni, 26, all of Ondangwa.

The clash came only days after outgoing commander of the SWATF, Major-General Georg Meiring, warned the Angolans not to pick a fight with the security forces.

He also accused Fapla of aiding Swapo insurgents and warned the Angolans that there would be dire consequences if this continued.

The Angolans claimed South African troops were concentrating in the southern Angolan province of Cunene.

The Angolan government said it feared the security forces were preparing for a major attack.

CAPE TOWN 28/1/87 (5)

# SWATF mum on Angolan deaths

From BRIAN JONES

WINDHOEK. — The security forces are declining to disclose the number of Angolan soldiers killed in fighting in southern Angola on Sunday, in spite of reports here that 48 Angolans died.

The South West African Territory Force said yesterday that the bodies of another 11 Swapo guerrillas had been found on Monday

during mopping-up operations near the Angolan town of Mongua, where the fighting occurred.

The SWATF said on Monday that 61 Swapo insurgents had been killed.

Yesterday's statement repeated Monday's announcement that "a number" of Angolan soldiers had died.

But the Windhoek Advertiser

reported yesterday that 48 Angolans had been killed in what it called "one of the worst clashes between the Namibian security forces and the Angolan army in recent years".

The newspaper said it had learnt that most of the Angolan dead were members of a relief column that thought their colleagues were being attacked by Unita forces.

# The anatomy of Angolan misery

(5) CHIT. LABS 30/1/87

I HAVE never set foot in Angola nor do I speak or read Portuguese. But I have followed Angolan affairs closely since 1975, my interest first provoked by exasperation at the smokescreen of censorship laid by Pretoria in October 1975.

The rest of the world was well aware through eye-witness reports that South African forces were being deployed in some strength in an invasion from the Namibian border, but this fact was blandly denied by spokesmen in Pretoria, a practice of engaging in "terminological inexactitudes" that continues to this day. (How fervently SADF spokesmen must utter that prayer of a great American liberal, Adlai Stevenson, "A lie is an abomination to the Lord and a present help in trouble".)

For the past seven years I have had the task of writing at the end of each December an account of the years' events in Angola and other African countries for a venerable publication — it was founded by the great Edmund Burke in 1758 — "The Annual Register". This task would hardly be possible without access to an excellent press cuttings library housed in the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in Oxford.

The cuttings come from the main British newspapers, the International Herald Tribune, which draws on other American papers, and the magisterial Le Monde.

These reports I supplement by articles in other specialist publications. Obviously my knowledge of Angola cannot compare with that of those who have a deep personal involvement in the country, but by the world's standards I can claim to be pretty well informed. I stress this point to make it clear that I have a great deal of material evidence behind me when I assert that the dominant lesson taught by viewing Angolan affairs over a good many years has been of the steady expansion of human misery.

## Point of breakdown

Things could have been so different. Angola has the potentiality of becoming one of the most prosperous countries in the Third World. Its population of nine million is small for a country slightly larger in size than South Africa. It has a remarkable range of lucrative and exportable resources — notably oil, diamonds and iron ore.

Its fertile soils are ideal for the growing of coffee and a wide variety of food crops. It has acquired by 1975 an infrastructure of ports and roads, factories and plantations whose construction was the most positive achievement of Portuguese colonialism, though the precipitate departure of almost all Portuguese colonists in 1975 brought the structure to the point of breakdown.

The worst aspect of the Portuguese system was that it left no opportunity for local people to participate in the work of government. Angolan nationalists had no alternative but to resort to the gun. But local nationalists groups never came together to form a national front. Between the two main groups, the MPLA and the FNLA, the differences — ethnic, socio-cultural, ideological — were very great. The groups fought each other on occasion even when the war of liberation was going on.

Nationalists groups engaged in a liberation struggle have no alternative but to seek foreign backers to provide them with money and arms. And so early in the 1960s the MPLA, through its contacts with the Portuguese Communist Party, began looking to the Eastern bloc and Cuba for support, while the FNLA was in touch through the CIA with American backers and later received support from Communist China. Long before 1975 the pretex-

By ROBIN HALLETT



Jonas Savimbi ... "Che Guevara of the right"



Fidel Castro ... bold and courageous move

for foreign intervention in Angola had been established.

South African involvement began with co-operation with the Portuguese security forces in anti-Swapo activities in southern Angola. Then in April 1975,

agents of Unita, a party formed by a breakaway group from the FNLA, began approaching South Africa for assistance.

The events of that fatal year — 1975 — have been crudely simplified by protagonists on both sides. A careful study of what actually happened shows a process of escalating involvement, with moves by one side provoking counter moves by the other, Fidel Castro's bold and courageous decision to send a large Cuban expeditionary force to Luanda a few days before independence was a direct response to the South African invitation.

But the South African move was itself in part a response to earlier Cuban moves made at the request of the MPLA to counter growing CIA support for the FNLA ... and so on and so on. Only dogmatists, of whom there are legion on both sides, would populate this confusing stage with culpable villains.

The civil war has now lasted more than a decade. Last July two correspondents of the Washington Post visited many parts of the country. From what they saw of the war they derived "an overwhelming sense of enduring stalemate". The MPLA, backed by 30,000 Cubans, controlled the towns; Unita, secure in its liberated territory in the extreme south east and dependent primarily on South Africa for material and military support, sends its guerilla bands to operate over an ever increasing area that included for the first time in 1986 the three northern provinces.

"Among the strongest impressions of the tour," wrote the two US reporters, "was extent to which Angola is disintegrating as a state. Thousands of mines have been sown in abandoned cornfields which hundreds of thousands of peasants have fled to the cities, making the once self-sufficient country heavily dependent on food imports."

## Never withdraw

Jonas Savimbi, the leader of Unita, is a master of the art of public relations. On his visit to the United States in January 1986, he was greeted ecstatically by conservative Republicans as a genuine anti-communist hero, a "Che Guevara of the right". Viewed on the ground his achievements look a good deal more questionable. For Unita's strategy has clearly been to cause such devastation to the country's economy — a process that inevitably involves, killing, starving, maiming and orphaning thousands of individual men, women and children — that the MPLA government will eventually agree to negotiate. But the precondition to a negotiated settlement must, Savimbi constantly asserts, be the withdrawal of all Cuban troops.

But for the MPLA such a condition can never be accepted and Fidel Castro has himself made it clear that he will never withdraw his troops from Angola, so long as apartheid remains in South Africa. Meanwhile 1986 saw the re-involvement of the US in the civil war, after President Reagan had decided to send "covert" assistance worth about R30 million to Unita, an aid packet which included the latest ground-to-air missiles.

To military men in Washington, or Moscow, Havana or Pretoria, the Angolan battlefields may have something of the fascination of a difficult game of chess. But when one reads report after report of the devastation the war is causing, one is left with a profound sense of revulsion.

Gloomy experts predict that the civil war could last another 30 years and that fundamental change in Angola is directly linked to fundamental change in South Africa. I cannot find any way of contradicting the logic of these forecasts. There seems no end to the expansion of Angola's misery.

ARGUS 6/2/87  
COMMODITIES

## R5,9-billion boost for Angola's oil industry

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Investment in Angola's oil sector will approach R5,9-billion between 1986 and 1990, boosting oil production from about 276 000 barrels a day last year to a forecast 370 000 barrels a day by 1990.

This is disclosed by a report on the country's economic and political prospects by The Economist Intelligence Unit.

The study says that this high level of investment makes Angola "one of the most important markets in the world for companies supplying oil industry equipment and services".

Expenditure on the sector, which accounts for about 95 percent of Angola's export earnings, will exceed \$700-million a year by the end of 1987.

A high exploration success rate and low operating costs of an average \$1,82 a barrel in 1985 makes Angola "attractive to foreign companies", the report says.

● Energy futures moved sharply higher in New York yesterday, reacting to what analysts said was war nervousness emanating from the Middle East.





Missing envoy Terry Waite visited South Africa together with Archbishop Runcie last year. Here they speak to a Crossroads squatter Picture: Afrapix

## The heat's not off Angola

IT'S getting hot in Southern Angola. Both the Angolan government and its guests, the South West African People's Organisation, are coming under increasing pressure from their traditional foes — the United States and South Africa.

Angola's neighbour Zaire is also being drawn into the fray. From Swapo and the Angolan government side there seems to be plenty of indignation and rhetoric, but not visible action. The big guns of South Africa and the US are clearly visible.

Last weekend a *New York Times* exposé claimed the CIA last year flew arms to support Angolan rebels through neighbouring Zaire. This seriously embarrassed president Mobutu Seso Seko's government which two years ago signed a non-aggression pact with Angola.

His government has denied the reports, saying they are part of a disinformation campaign.

The *New York Times* report said an abandoned airbase at Kamina in southern Zaire had been used on three occasions to land US arms for Angola's Unita guerrillas. Three arms

OWN CORRESPONDENT AND  
AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

deliveries were apparently flown in using transport aircraft marked Santua Lucia Airways. The consignments were then ferried by air to Jamba, Unita's headquarters in south-east Angola.

An unidentified diplomat was quoted by the *New York Times* as saying the operation was carried out by 20 men, commanded by an American.

The US supplied about R32-million worth of aid to Unita last year, including Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

Apart from fighting off the US-backed Unita forces the Angolan army, Fapla, is getting caught up in the war between the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) and Swapo.

Two weeks ago SWATF killed almost as many Angolan soldiers as it did Swapo guerrillas. In a statement, SWATF said it had killed 61 Swapo and Fapla men during a "hot pursuit" operation. Later reports said 72 Swapo guerrillas and 48 Angolan

government troops were killed. Three SWATF men were killed in the operation.

The clash happened 75km inside Angola. SWATF said it was tracking Swapo guerrillas near Mongua, in the Cunene province, when they fled to a base they shared with Fapla forces. SWATF said Fapla fired on them in defence of the Swapo guerrillas and this was "again evidence" that the Angolan government actively supported Swapo.

The clash came days after the outgoing military chief in Namibia, Major-General Georg Meiring, warned that a conventional arms build-up in Angola could escalate the conflict between South Africa and Angola.

If Swapo has any plans to step up its military action in Namibia it gave away no strategies at its first public meeting of the year in Windhoek on Sunday. It declared 1987 the year of rededication to the struggle on all levels — political, military and diplomatic. But no specifics were given of how this will be implemented.

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# INSIDE ANGOLA

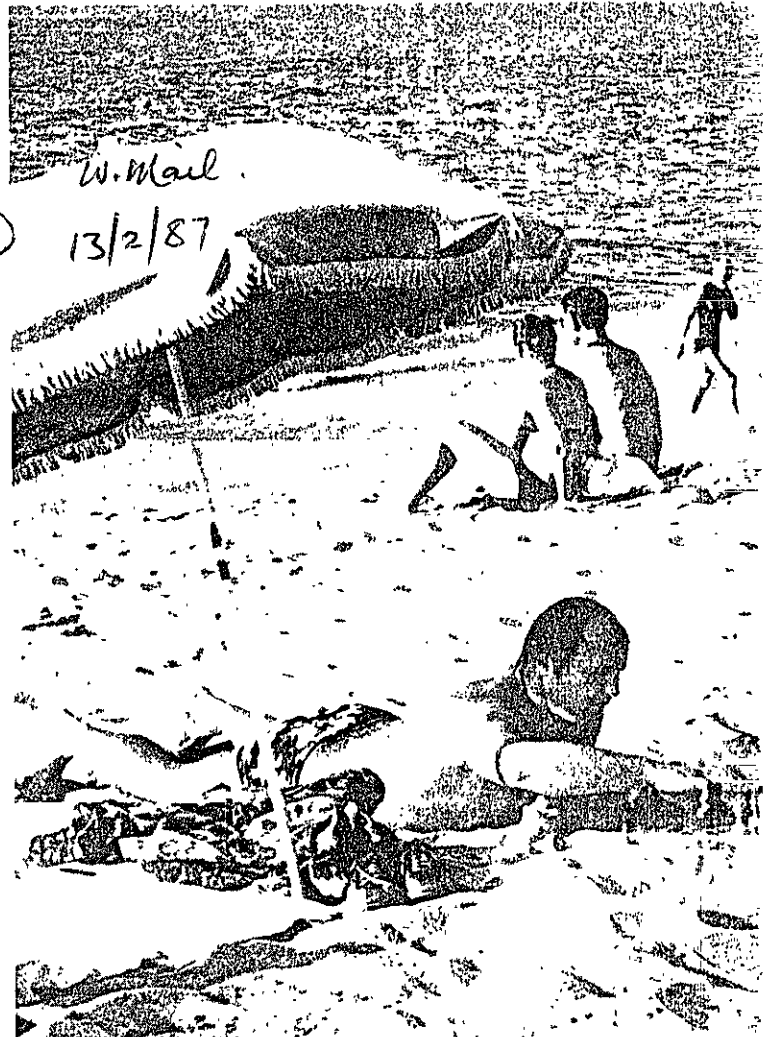
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W. Mail  
13/2/87

*Once, Luanda was the Rio of West Africa, with palm trees and pavement cafés, booming with new-found oil wealth, sprouting new buildings. Today it is a shell. The cafés are abandoned, the shops shuttered and empty. There are no taxis, no buses. The local currency is all-but worthless. But it is the toll in human carnage which is worst ...*

**By ALLISTER SPARKS**

WHO HAS JUST RETURNED FROM A TEN-DAY TRIP TO LUANDA



Russian military advisers take a break from real-life

**T**HE Angolan cabinet minister spread his arms in the gesture of an embrace.

"We are ready to dance," he said. "Our young people like American rhythm and we would like to see our countries getting together more."

"But," he added with a sigh, "it takes two to dance."

That plaintive appeal by Foreign Trade Minister Ismael Martins was to become a refrain throughout my 10-day visit to this war-ravaged country.

One year after the Reagan Administration decided to give weapons — including sophisticated Stinger missiles — to Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels, members of the government Savimbi is trying to overthrow are still desperately keen to be on good terms with the US.

The US is alone among the major Western powers in refusing to recognise the avowedly Marxist-Leninist but seemingly pragmatic government which seized power in 1975.

Despite this the Angolans, like a jilted bride clinging hopefully to her *trousseau*, have preserved a prime site on a ridge overlooking the capital for the Americans to build an embassy — next to those of France and West Germany.

The Angolan attitude to the American hostility seems more one of bewilderment than agony. They appear genuinely to not understand why a country with which they have excellent economic relations — Angola is the US's second biggest trading partner in Africa — should be actively fostering a rebellion against it.

Washington's failure to respond to Angola's numerous signals of receptiveness must rate as one of the most remarkably counter-productive foreign policies ever pursued by a major power. Instead of weakening Angola's involvement with the 30 000 Cuban troops and 2 000 Soviet military advisers protecting it from Savimbi and his South African backers, which is presumably its purpose, Washington's approach is deepening that dependence more than Angola's leaders want.

As Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura put it last week: "The Americans blame us for having the Cubans here, but they and the South Africans are responsible. If my door is broken down, I have to reinforce it."

The policy is also thrusting the United States into a military alliance with South Africa — to the

detriment of its relations with the rest of Africa — at a time when it is trying to demonstrate its repugnance to apartheid by applying economic sanctions.

Worst of all, it is escalating a civil war that has become something of a stalemate. The Luanda government cannot be overthrown now that Moscow is so deeply committed to its preservation. Nor can Savimbi be eliminated as long as South Africa, and now the US, are determined to keep him in business.

At the same time the Luanda government seems determined to hold out against negotiating with Savimbi.

It takes the view — wrongly, in my opinion — that he has no authentic support in Angola and is simply a South African "puppet".

I have visited Savimbi twice in his stronghold in the south-east and been impressed both by his obvious popularity among his supporters and by the high morale and efficiency of the Unita forces.

But the Angolans are right to believe Savimbi could not survive for more than a few months without his benefactors just across the border,

who keep him supplied with everything from fuel to red wine.

They look south and they see Pretoria in trouble. "South Africa is going to change, if not tomorrow then the next day, and then Savimbi will be finished," said Martins. So the Angolans feel no pressure to negotiate. Time is on their side and they'll sit it out.

In the meantime the war will go on inconclusively, steadily reducing a potentially rich country with resources of oil, diamonds, iron ore and perhaps the best agricultural prospects in all Africa, to a debilitated shambles in which nothing works and the human misery mounts sickeningly.

Luanda used to be the Rio de Janeiro of West Africa, with palm trees and pavement cafés along the Marginal avenue which curves around its crescent bay. It was booming with its new-found oil wealth in 1974, sprouting tall new buildings along this Copacabana.

The setting is still glorious, the city attractive. But it is a shell.

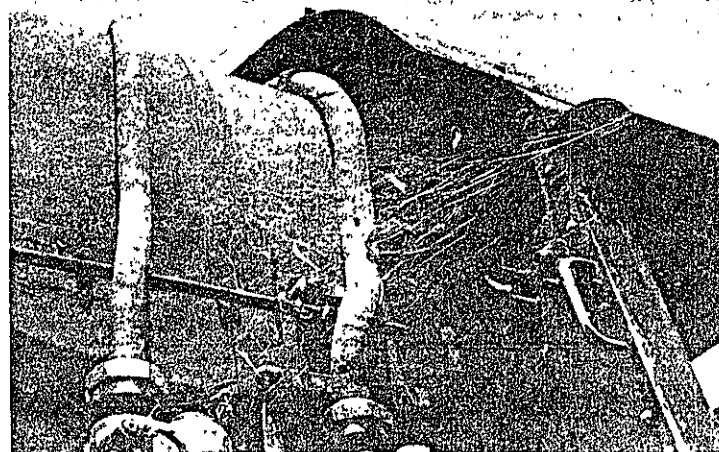
The cafés are abandoned, the shops shuttered and empty. There are no taxis, no buses, no cars for hire. If you want to get anywhere, you must walk.

The trains run once in a while, the airline is unpunctual, the harbour operates at 30 percent capacity and road traffic can only move in armoured convoys along a few of the main routes.

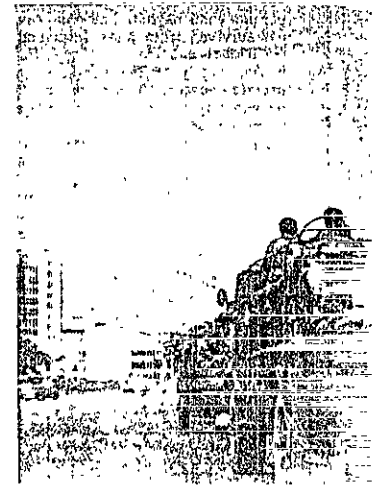
Coffee production, once the fourth largest in the world, is down from four million bags a year to 200 000; sisal from 68 000 to 1 000 tonnes. Unita sabotage has brought the diamond mines in the north-east, near the Zairean border, to a near standstill, and the iron ore mines in the south-west have shut down.

As the economy crumbles, the country is reverting to the barter trade of pre-colonial days. A French journalist based in the city says she uses her *francs* to buy whisky in the special hard-currency store, which she then trades for food in the open *candonga* market where the local *kwanza* currency is all but worthless. In 10 days in Angola I never possessed a *kwanza*.

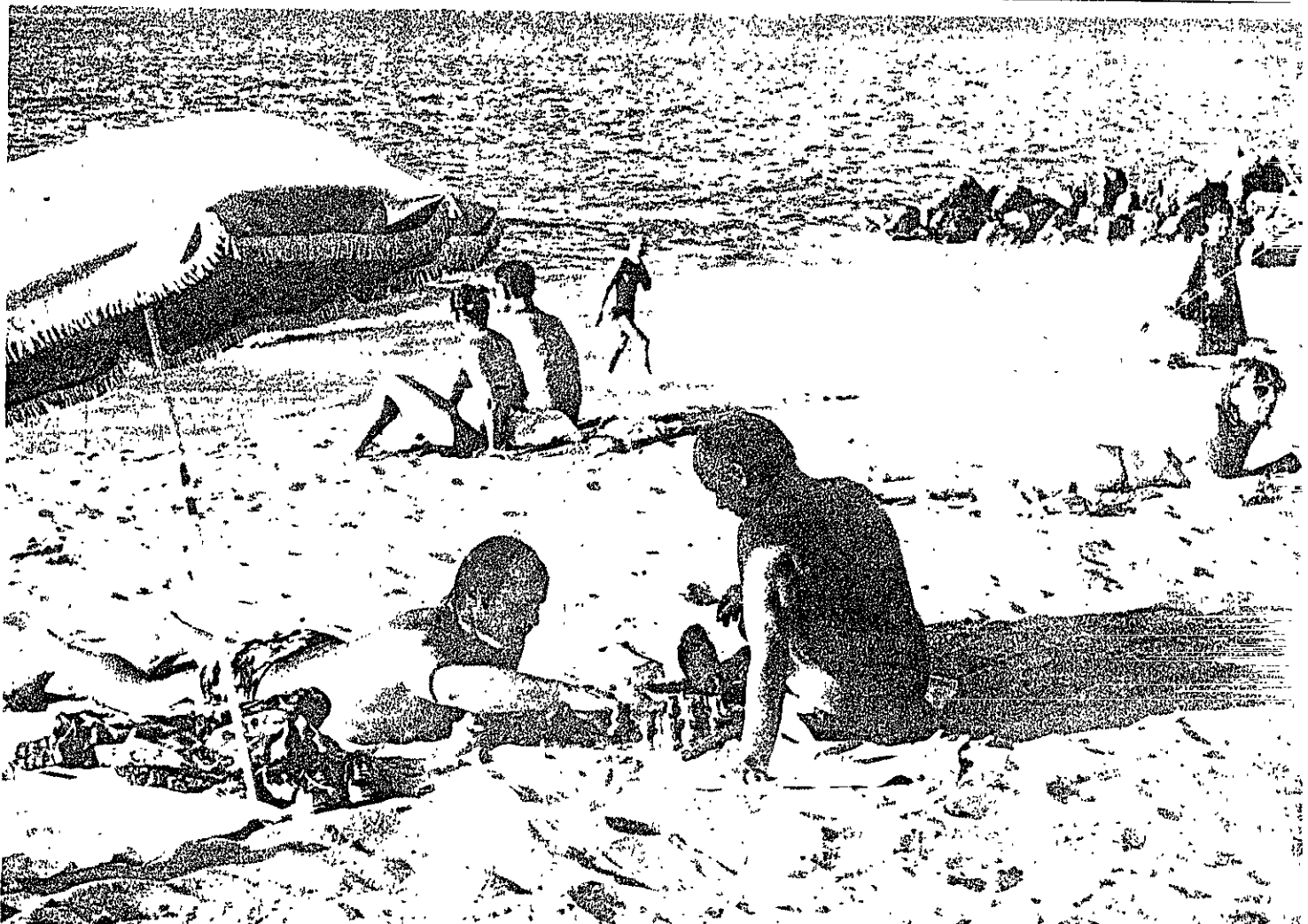
Worst of all is the toll in human carnage. There



The civil war brought cobwebs to this steam train on the Benguela railway



A Cuban patrol in Luanda: A deeper



Russian military advisers take a break from real-life intrigue for an afternoon of chess on a Luanda beach

Pictures: ALLISTER SPARKS

of Africa — who keep him supplied with everything from fuel to red wine.

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are few set-piece battles in this war. It is a hit-and-run affair that rages in farming villages and on peasant allotments across a vast country that cannot be adequately defended and where guerrillas try to terrorise people into supporting them.

The brutalisation is worst in the central highlands, where landmines are planted in the fields and along the footpaths where the peasants walk. Here, a Red Cross factory in the town of Huambo manufactures artificial limbs at the rate of 60 a month — but still can't keep pace with the highest per capita rate of amputees in the world.

Here, I saw feeding centres trying to stem what Unicef has just reported is the world's highest child mortality rate, with half the children born in this region at risk during the first year of their lives.

I saw an orphanage with babies brought in from razed villages, their identities unknown so that they have no surnames and can only be given two first names by the state authorities.

I flew in a Russian helicopter gunship, terrifyingly low and fast to thwart the Stingers, to the village of Galanga, 120 km north-west of Huambo, where I was told a Unita band had massacred 133 villagers a week before.

It was impossible to verify the facts. The villagers were gathered together into a stony-faced crowd, and a political commissar intervened when I tried to speak to individuals. When asked about the graves, he showed me 12 fresh mounds. He said eight bodies were buried in each and 27 more were in another cemetery "too far away to go to now".

I doubted the figures, but clearly people had been killed there. Buildings had been shot up, cartridge shells were scattered in the dust and the sickly-sweet smell of decaying bodies hung in the humid air.

Several survivors, including 10-year-old Albino Cole and 60-year-old Alberto Mande, said they had been shot and hacked with machetes as Unita guerrillas ransacked the village for food and clothes.

Angola also has its amusing ironies. Unita and South African raiders have tried repeatedly to sabotage the American-operated oil facilities in the northern enclave of Cabinda. These attacks would cripple Angola's economy if successful. Now a crack unit of Cuban troops has been stationed there to defend the complex.

"We never thought we would be protecting American interests," the unit's English speaking commander, Major Alberto Mestre, told a visiting American reporter recently.

An Angolan police post inside the American compound — which is like a piece of Texas with landscaped lawns, tennis courts and a golf course — has large portraits of Marx, Engels and Lenin on its walls.

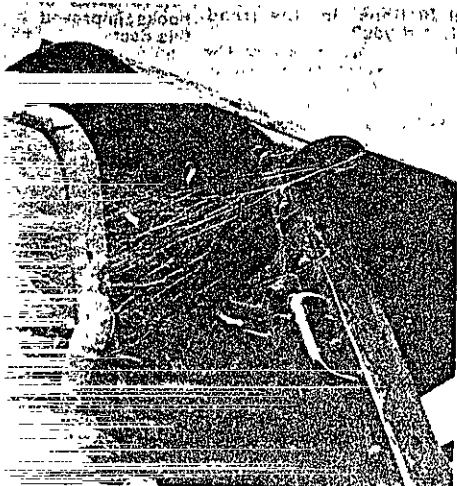
But Angola's Marxism seems to have more symbolism than substance. While wall posters and slogans abound, the politics is heavily larded with pragmatism.

"Marxism in Africa mustn't be taken very seriously," remarked one Western ambassador. "Generally their nationalist feelings are a great deal stronger than their ideological beliefs."

This observation lies at the heart of the widespread criticism of the American policy among Western diplomats stationed here.

I asked one ambassador whether he favoured a single Western diplomat in Luanda who agreed with the American line.

He said he did not.



to this steam train on the Benguela railway



A Cuban patrol in Luanda: A deeper dependence than Angolan leaders want

Pictures: ALLISTER SPARKS



# SA 'destabilization' blamed for high infant mortality rate

Carr-Tonks 16/2/87

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Infant and child mortality rates in Angola and Mozambique are now estimated to be the highest in the world, according to a report by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

War, economic destabilization and drought are given as the main causes for these shock statistics.

For instance, last year 140 000 children died in these two Southern African territories alone.

The report lays the blame on "the effects of war and South Africa's policies of apartheid and economic destabilization".

UNICEF is seeking aid from the world community. Its executive director, Mr James Grant, took a first step in this direction when he saw the British Minister for Development and Cooperation in London soon after the report was released.

The report states: "Drought, floods, lack of access to hard currency, falling terms of trade, rising debt service, the legacy of past mistakes in domestic policy all play a part in undermining the health and welfare of the children of Southern Africa.

"But the main culprits are war and economic pressure.

"Their targets are not only economic and military but the social fabric of nations. The deaths stem from the destruction of health and education facilities, the displacement of communities, the loss of food production and the construction of health and water budgets as a result of war."

The loss of output, of export earnings and government revenue together with the destruction of health facilities prevented the distribution of food and medicine. These were the costs of war and economic destabilization.

While the report deals mainly with Angola and Mozambique as the two territories hardest hit, it claims that

South Africa, or with its alleged complicity, it does include other factors such as drought.

But the report does draw attention also to the drought and economic recession. However, in approaching the nations of the West for aid, it is an anti-South African scenario that will be played out in the corridors of government ministers.

This report cannot fail to influence attitudes, Whitehall sources said.

But in referring to other factors, the study draws attention to the fact that each state of Southern Africa has suffered at least one season of drought since 1978-1979.

In addition, falling terms of trade and rising debt have exacerbated the problems of financing imports of foods as well as drugs and vaccines, and of sustaining national budget expenditure, including health, education, water, drought relief and supplementary feeding.

In a chapter headed "The Price of War", the report claims that the widespread and continuing conflict in Angola and Mozambique has been virtually ignored as most of the world has concentrated on South Africa and Namibia.

In addition, Malawi, for example, had suffered financially from the sabotage of transport routes through Mozambique. According to estimates, the diversion of traffic through Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana to South African ports had at least doubled Malawi's previous freight costs.

Economic destabilization in 1986 alone had included the blockade of Lesotho, the report claims, and interference with transit shipments to Zambia and Zimbabwe.

## Military actions

The type of support UNICEF is seeking can be divided into two categories — immediate emergency help and



# THE INSTITUTE OF LABOUR STUDIES

The National University

## DISCUSSION P

"Safeguarding transport, power, industry and food production, as well as rehabilitating the health, education and water systems and building up the stockpile of emergency supplies, would play a direct part in limiting and reversing the consequences of economic and military actions."

"Health, nutrition, pure water supply and the opportunity to produce and be employed which education provided, were crucial to the quality of life — indeed to the question of life and death," the report states.

It was urgent that action be taken now, not only to alleviate the costs of past and present military actions, but to create the capacity to resist and cope with future actions.

The international community had an obligation to help the Southern African states and their people to halt and reverse the spiral of rising deaths and deterioration in the quality of life, the report concludes. Co-operation was required between a wide range of bilateral, multilateral and non-governmental agencies to mobilize and coordinate the huge and complex programmes of assistance required.

OMICS

Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe have all suffered "from South Africa's policies of apartheid, economic destabilization and armed aggression".

They were also forced to maintain abnormally high levels of security expenditure, the study claimed. The total impact of this enforced austerity on infant and child health, malnutrition and mortality was considerable.

But while UNICEF points the finger of blame chiefly at destabilization by

LEGAL CONSTRAINT  
DEVELOPMENT IN I

SEITEBATS



A group of malnourished children in Mozambique's Gaza province.

Picture: REUTERS



THE INSTITUTE OF

Private  
Maseru

LESOTHO



About 140 000 children died in Angola and Mozambique alone and continue to die at the rate of one every four minutes.

## Grim reality of child deaths in Africa

**T**HE children of the Frontline states are facing death in incomprehensible numbers as a result of war and economic destabilisation.

Latest figures show that about 140 000 babies under the age of five died in Angola and Mozambique alone last year — and continue to die at the rate of one every four minutes.

Oxfam and the Save the Children Fund officially designated Mozambique an emergency area last week. The country is virtually on its knees because of the double disaster of widespread crop failure and the war with South African-backed rebels. At the same time officials reported that tens of thousands of children face starvation, and three million people are homeless.

The scale of what has been described by aid officials here as "an African holocaust that threatens to eclipse even Ethiopia", is revealed in a grim document issued by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

The report stresses that the children are dying, not as a result of gunfire, but from preventable disease and malnutrition made worse by economic destruction and war.

It covers the situation in all nine countries of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, but concentrates on the children of An-

From GARNER THOMSON  
Argus Foreign Service  
Dateline: LONDON

gola and Mozambique, where the effects of the violence and death are greatest.

The report protests that "targets in war are not military ones".

In Mozambique:

- More than 700 health facilities have been destroyed since 1981;
- At least two million people have been deprived of the most basic health care as a direct result;
- With medical facilities destroyed, health workers killed, maimed and kidnapped, and vaccination programmes suspended in many areas, the mortality rate, particularly for under-fives, has increased dramatically.

In Angola figures are far from complete, but:

- Delivery and use of health services have declined by 30 percent throughout the country;
- About 20 vaccination points were destroyed in 1985;
- The exact number of deaths among civilians and health ministry staff because of the war is unknown.

"But what is known," the report says, "is that health workers, as well as clinics and other health posts, schools, teachers and pupils, foreign aid personnel and vehicles transporting health and relief supplies, are all

deliberately chosen as targets to cause a breakdown in civil administration and to make large areas ungovernable."

The decimation of the infant population comes as a particularly cruel blow for Angola and Mozambique.

In 1980, officials were hoping that new health, education, water and food strategies would reduce the under-five mortality rate to levels comparable with Tanzania's — about 185 per thousand.

These programmes, like Tanzania's, placed emphasis on primary health services, especially immunisation, basic drug provision, mother and child clinics, ante-natal and birth care, and access to safe water, massive literacy programmes and improved nutrition and food production.

But, in the next five years, these hopes were dashed. Tanzania's mortality rate continued to decline, in spite of the ravages of drought, while the other two countries' rose dramatically, wiping out all the gains of the immediate post-colonial period.

By the beginning of 1986, infant and child mortality rates in Angola and Mozambique were the highest in the world.

"The agonising reality," says the UNICEF report, "is that today's war is trampling them underfoot and cutting them down by the thousands."

# Alleged aggression against Angola dismissed by SA

**Dispatch Correspondent**  
CAPE TOWN — South Africa has dismissed allegations of aggression against Angola and has told the UN Security Council that Fapla forces should stop supporting Swapo in the region.

South Africa's Permanent Representative at the UN, Mr Des Manley, has said in a document to the security council that a similar document from Angola contained allegations of aggression by South Africa which were "not new and will continue as long as Luanda is incapable of finding a solution to the civil war which is devastating Angola."

"A massive Cuban expeditionary force is, after 10 years, still inside Angola to sustain the government in Luanda against the wishes of the people of Angola and in contravention of the Alvor

agreement," he said.

"The facts of the matter are that Swapo terrorists traditionally attempt to take advantage of the rainy season at this time of the year to cross the Angola-SWA border in order to commit violence against the civilian population of SWA-Namibia.

"Clashes have occurred in the border area which led to skirmishes in the course of which casualties were suffered.

"Swapo terrorists had once fled to a base they shared with Fapla soldiers and when the SWA Territory Force arrived they were fired on by Fapla. A number of Swapo and Fapla soldiers were killed.

"This incident is yet again evidence that Fapla actively supports Swapo terrorists by giving base facilities and that Swapo uses the pro-

tection provided by Fapla deployments," he said.

The Luanda government and Fapla commanders in the 5th military region had been urged repeatedly recently not to grant Swapo facilities and were informed that the security forces would retaliate if attacked.

"Despite the fact that the Luanda Government continues to thwart the prospects of peace, South Africa remains prepared to enter into discussions at any time in order to resolve the question of Cuban troop withdrawal," said Mr Manley.

"The South African Government continues to strive for peace in the whole of the Southern African region and the achievement of internationally recognised independence for SWA-Namibia.

2/2/87



### 3 insurgents ⑤

## reported killed

STAR The Star's 19/3/87  
Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Three Swapo insurgents have been killed in follow-up operations after a mortar attack on the town of Onhangwena in central Owambo in the early hours of Wednesday morning, according to military command in Windhoek.

The statement said one schoolchild had been killed in the mortar bombardment and eight wounded.

Two anti-aircraft missiles were recovered during the follow-up operations.

## THE WORLD THIS WEEK

# Angola: last stand of the warring giants

w/ Mail 13-19/3/87 (5)

THE stakes are rising in Angola as the Soviet Union prepares a tough stand in Southern Africa, contrary to its policy of disengagement in Afghanistan.

The Reagan administration's decision a year ago to give military aid to Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement, including the advanced Stinger anti-aircraft missile, has checked any tendency the Gorbachev leadership may have had to reconsider the USSR's Angolan commitment.

The man with his finger on the Soviet operation in Angola is 58-year-old ambassador Arnold Kalinin, who told me the policy decisions of the last Soviet Communist Party congress could not be interpreted as spelling out *detente* or disengagement in Angola.

He said that by furnishing military aid to Unita, the United States was "taking its final stand in Southern Africa."

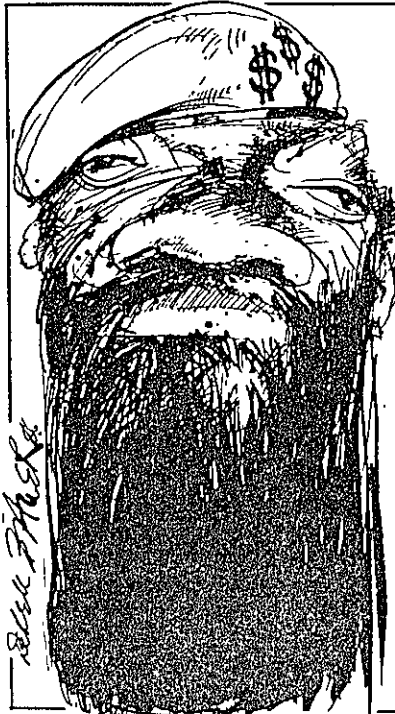
The United States is said to be supplying the aid to Unita through bases in southern Angola and a new supply route passing from Kinshasa, the Zaire capital, across the border into north-east Angola. The Angolan government claims to have captured several Stinger missiles, but so far has been unable to produce concrete evidence.

Soviet heavy equipment has been pouring into Luanda recently. The London-based Institute of Strategic Studies estimates there are only 950 Soviet military advisers in Angola, but truckloads of uniformed Russians can be seen in various parts of the country — apart from pilots and groups of officers, who were already visible — and Soviet commandos guard airports where sophisticated equipment is in use: mobile radar systems, the MiG-23 fighter and MI-24 helicopter gunships.

Cuban troops have been fighting in Angola since 1975, with current estimates of their strength at around 30 000, but current policy is for them to play a back-up role, avoiding direct conflict with Unita.

A source in Luanda said Angolan

Ever since the USA chose to give arms to Unita, Moscow has hardened its own line on Angola. JILL JOLIFFE reports from Luanda



Savimbi: US arms via a Kinshasa supply route

and Soviet officials are meeting weekly to discuss the course of the war. "Afghanistan is a different case," a Western diplomat commented. "Angola is the Russian trump card at Geneva."

The main difference between the Angolan and Afghanistan wars is that the USSR has a large troop presence in Afghanistan, with which it shares a common border. Moreover, Angola has an intrinsic strategic importance for the Soviet Union, because what happens there will determine the political shape of Southern Africa.

A Unita offensive in mid-1985 was checked by the improved performance of FAPLA (the Marxist

government's Popular Forces for the Liberation of Angola) as well as upgraded Soviet backing for the fledgling Angolan air force.

Despite Unita's US backing since 1986, it has made no clear subsequent breakthrough, although South African attacks over the Namibian border — the latest of which began in late January — engage government troops in the south and free Unita guerrillas to pursue terrorist attacks against civilian and economic targets in the central highlands.

The raising of the stakes has proportionally reduced Angolan options. US support for Unita forced the MPLA government to seek more Soviet aid at a time when the economy was already staggering under the blow of the drop in world oil prices, and aborted the tendency for political rapprochement with the West.

Not all Angolan leaders were happy with increased Soviet dependence, as the case of air force commander Iko Carreira demonstrated. Carreira was dismissed last June after he argued that Angola should diversify its military equipment, buying from Western sources as well as the USSR. In particular, he complained that the MI-24 helicopters came without panels to deflect the heat-guided Stingers, although they were available.

Carreira reluctantly accepted the post of ambassador to Algeria.

Arnold Kalinin is a man well-chosen by the Kremlin. After earlier service in Cuba, he gained his diplomatic laurels in Lisbon as the first Soviet ambassador in post-revolutionary Portugal. His career paralleled that of Frank Carlucci, now President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser. Carlucci was then US ambassador to Portugal, competing with Kalinin to influence the course of the Portuguese revolution.

Their paths have parted, but now Kalinin and Carlucci face each other again across battle-lines drawn between East and West in Southern Africa. — The Guardian

# Savimbi 'working against apartheid'

ARGUS 18/3/87 (5)

Dateline WASHINGTON; Neil Lurssen of the Argus Foreign Service

UNITA'S leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, has told the United States Congress that he is working towards an end of apartheid in South Africa. the far-away white Russians have imposed an oppressive minority rule on us, recolonising and ravaging Angola."

But it had to be ended without forcing a choice between the evils of apartheid and Soviet aggressive expansionism, the leader of the Angolan rebel movement said.

In a letter to Republican Senator Robert Dole, Dr Savimbi said Angola's problems were compounded by the existence of South Africa's race system — "a system unanimously condemned by all mankind."

"But we totally reject the demagogic oversimplification of complex issues by those who — just because South Africa is sympathetic to anti-communist causes — argue that to support the resistance to Soviet-Cuban aggression is to go to bed with apartheid.

"We stand firm against racism in any form or colour," Dr Savimbi wrote. "Racial injustice in South Africa is no more desirable than racism in my country where

He was convinced that settlement of the Angolan conflict would enhance the prospect of settlement of Southern Africa's other problems.

Senator Dole — the Republican leader in the Senate and a 1988 presidential candidate — told his colleagues that Dr Savimbi's condemnation of apartheid and his pledge to work for its demise showed it was "as phony as a three-dollar bill" to charge that US support for Unita meant US support for apartheid and the South African government.

Senator Dole said the root issues in South Africa and Angola were the same. In both countries, blacks were being oppressed by non-democratic regimes. "In Angola, the crime is compounded by the fact that the Marxist MPLA is propped up by Soviet and Cuban mercenaries in the truest, darkest sense of that word.

# I'm working towards end of apartheid — Savimbi

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Unita's leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has told the United States Congress that he is working towards the ending of apartheid in South Africa but it had to be ended without forcing a choice between the evils of apartheid and Soviet aggressive expansionism.

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"Racial injustice in South Africa is no more desirable than racism in my country where the far-away Russians have imposed an oppressive minority rule on us, re-colonising and ravaging Angola."

## SETTLEMENT

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"In Angola, the crime is compounded by the fact that the Marxist MPLA is propped up by Soviet and Cuban... mercenaries in the truest, darkest sense of that word.

"Let's end apartheid in South Africa and let's also end Marxist repression of blacks in Angola," Senator Dole told Congress.

<sup>1</sup> In his letter, Dr Savimbi appealed for a continuation of American military assistance which, he wrote, was of the utmost importance militarily, politically and diplomatically.

# Namibian atrocity claims probed

5 APR 21 3 1978

WINDHOEK — A newspaper here yesterday published details of alleged brutalities and atrocities by security forces in the northern Namibian war zone.

The *Namibian*, whose reporter Mr Chris Shimpanga has just returned from the Owambo area, cites cases of alleged assaults on Owambo people and villagers from southern Angola as well as a report that two civilians died when a military vehicle involved in a contact with Swapo insurgents ploughed into a hut.

A spokesman for the South West Africa Territory Force here said the authorities were aware of some of the allegations and investigations were under way.

The newspaper quoted an allegation by a spokesman for the Owambo Administration office at Ondangwa that there had been an increase recently in the number of atrocities allegedly committed by security forces.

Owambo Administration chairman, Mr Peter

## BRENDAN SEERY

Kalanguka, had reportedly raised the matter during talks here with South Africa's Administrator-General.

The *Namibian* claimed yesterday three women died and another three civilians were seriously injured on Tuesday in a contact between security forces and insurgents in the Omtai area of northern Owambo.

According to the report, two women died when a Casspir, said to be retreating from the contact, ploughed into a hut. A third woman was allegedly shot and killed by one of the troops on the armoured vehicle.

The *Namibian* claimed troops "fired in all directions" when they retreated.

Victims of alleged assaults by security force troops included, according to the paper:

- A shop assistant who claimed she was beaten by members of the police counter-insurgency unit (formerly known as Koevoet).

- A farmer from Onamakunde in southern Angola who claimed security forces attacked his homestead on February 27. He is being treated for his injuries at Oshakati Hospital.

- A village headman from Uukango in northern Owambo who alleged he and his wife were assaulted by members of Koevoet, who broke his fingers and his wife's arm.

- Three civilians from Ojputa in southern Angola who claimed they and others in their area were beaten and burnt over open fires by soldiers seeking information.

- A pupil from Ontsinka in northern Owambo who allegedly suffered a broken arm and head injuries after an assault by Koevoet members.

The paper published photos of the injuries of alleged victims.

# Russians, Cubans 'have failed to develop

Dateline Washington. NEIL LURRSSEN of the Argus Foreign Service

NR645 24/3/82

## Angola's armed forces'

SOVIET and Cuban advisers have failed to develop Angola's armed forces into a military organisation that can operate without outside help, says a new Pentagon report released today.

And Soviet-led efforts to foster rivalries between factions in the Unita rebel movement have been unsuccessful, the report states.

The report, an annual survey of the Soviet Union's military strength and its worldwide deployment of power, is being released by the US Secretary of Defence, Mr Caspar Weinberger.

### Soviet involvement at high level

A section dealing with sub-Saharan Africa says the Soviet Union's involvement in the region remained at a high level in 1986, with support for Angola continuing to be a priority.

However, it adds that Moscow's support for counter-insurgency efforts in Southern Africa were not as "salient" in 1986 as they were in 1985 — especially in Mozambique.

In Angola, it says, the MPLA regime's counter-insurgency strategy has similar characteristics to the Soviets' war against Mujahideen rebels in Afghanistan.

Local militias and a network of informers have been enlisted to expand government control and forced resettlement is used to control the population and to deny support to the insurgents.

But Unita has now expanded its operations into all provinces and, unlike the Afghan insurgent groups, Unita has proved to be fairly cohesive, the US military report says.

"As in Afghanistan, Soviet propaganda portrays the insurgents as puppets of another power — in this case, South Africa — and as perpetrators of massacres and other abuses against innocent civilians.

"Guerrillas who defect from inf-

fective insurgent fringe groups receive publicity and are used with government troops in the pacification of areas of the country," the report says. But Angolan government forces have had little success against Unita, it states.

"They have focussed on securing the few cities, towns, and industries such as oil and diamonds. Their campaigns have mostly been large, slow-moving sweeps during the dry season aimed at destroying Unita bases. "As in Afghanistan, a major effort is being made to interdict external support to the guerrillas."

"This procedure requires dedicating a disproportionate amount of resources to air defence in an effort to cut off South African supplies believed to be coming in by air."

The report says that in 1986, the Soviets sent additional Flogger (high-speed, swing-wing fighter aircraft) to Angola, along with HIP H helicopters, SA-3 and SA-8 surface-to-air missiles, numerous tanks, artillery pieces and armoured vehicles.

Soviet advisers have continued to join in dry-season operations against Unita — but not to the extent that they did in 1985, the report says.

### No mention of support for Unita

However, the Angolan armed forces have not been developed to a state where they could be dependable and effective enough to permit withdrawal of the Cuban forces "now propping up the unpopular regime," the report states.

The report makes no mention of covert US military support for Unita. It comes at a time when conservatives in the US Congress from both major political parties have launched a scheme to stop all imports from Angola until all Cuban troops there are expelled.

A vote to this effect was taken be-

hind closed doors by the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee last week. The main target of the measure is Angola's oil production which provides 90 percent of its foreign earnings.

Meanwhile, as the threat from the Renamo rebel movement grows, the Soviets may be reassessing the costs and effectiveness of their counter-insurgency effort in Mozambique, the report says.

The Soviets may demand permanent naval and air bases in the country as the price of increased support, it warns.

The report claims that the Soviets have not given Mozambique sufficient help to conduct effective counter-insurgency operations.

### "Greatly increased capabilities"

"Despite relatively large arms deliveries and the presence of about 850 Soviet military advisers, the Mozambique armed forces were much less effective in 1986 than in earlier years against Renamo," the report says.

"Considering the greatly increased capabilities of Renamo's force and the continued failure of the Soviets to provide training and equipment specifically geared to a counter-insurgency effort, Renamo is a serious threat to the survival of the regime.

"If the security situation deteriorates to where the new Mozambique government decides it has no recourse but to call for major Soviet assistance, the Soviets would probably demand substantial concessions such as permanent air and naval basing rights in the country," the report states.

The survey says the Soviets deliver military assistance rather than economic aid to third world countries because it can be closely controlled and supervised — and because it provides a potential for use against neighbouring states.

# Angolan forces still need Cubans, says US

⑤ SPM  
24/3/87

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Soviet and Cuban advisers have failed to develop Angola's armed forces to the stage where they can operate without outside help, says a new Pentagon report.

And Soviet-led efforts to foster rivalries between factions in the Unita rebel movement have been unsuccessful, the report states.

The report, an annual survey of the Soviet Union's military strength and its worldwide deployment of power, is to be released later today by the US Secretary of Defence, Mr Caspar Weinberger.

A section dealing with Sub-Saharan Africa says the Soviet Union's involvement in the region remained high in 1986, with support for Angola continuing to be a priority.

But, it adds, Moscow's support for counter-insurgency efforts in Southern Africa were not as "salient" in 1986 as they were in 1985 — especially in Mozambique.

In Angola, it says, the MPLA regime's counter-insurgency strategy has similar characteristics to the Soviets' war against Mujahideen rebels in Afghanistan.

Local militias and a network of informers have been enlisted to expand government control and forced resettlement is used to control the population and to deny support to the insurgents.

But Unita has expanded its operations into all provinces and, unlike the Afghan insurgent groups, has proved to be fairly cohesive, the report says.

Angolan Government forces have had little success against Unita, it states.

"They have focused on securing the few cities, towns, and industries such as oil and diamonds.

"Their campaigns have mostly been large, slow-moving sweeps during the dry season aimed at destroying Unita bases.

The report says that, in 1986, the Soviets sent additional Flogger (high-speed, swing-wing fighter aircraft) to Angola, along with HIP-H helicopters, SA-3 and SA-8 surface-to-air missiles, numerous tanks, artillery pieces and armoured vehicles.

But the Angolan armed forces have not been developed to a state in which they could be dependable and effective enough to permit withdrawal of the Cuban forces which are now propping up the unpopular regime, the report states.

The report makes no mention of covert US military support for Unita. It comes at a time when conservatives in the US Congress from both major political parties have launched a scheme to stop all imports from Angola until all Cuban troops there are expelled.

The main target of the measure is Angola's oil production which provides 90 percent of its foreign earnings.

# Savimbi offers to open Benguela

ARGUS  
30/3/87  
5

WASHINGTON. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has offered to allow the reopening of a key rail line in Angola which his forces have shut down for a decade.

Savimbi's proposal, disclosed by his office here, involves the Benguela Railroad, which is capable of providing freight transport for landlocked Southern African countries to the Atlantic Ocean.

Dr Savimbi said he was making the offer as a potential step toward ending the conflict between Angola's Marxist Government and his pro-Western Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita).

"It is our forces which have closed Benguela, and we are prepared to allow it to open to demonstrate our interest in pursuing a programme of national reconciliation," Dr Savimbi said in a statement.

His only condition is that the railway is not used for military purposes.

## Assistance

"It can be used to ship food, clothing — anything except for things related to war," he said. "The MPLA (Angola's ruling party) can use it to ship humanitarian assistance but not soldiers, guns, nor war material of any kind."

American officials, insisting on anonymity, said the reopening of the Benguela line could help Zambia, Zaire and Zimbabwe, which have been relying increasingly on South Africa as a transit point for its exports.

Their dependence on South Africa has been a major deterrent against the imposition of economic sanctions by Southern African nations, against the Pretoria Government.

As an alternative to South Africa as a transit point, aid donor nations have been trying to develop a transport link through Mozambique known as the Beira Corridor.

Dr Savimbi said the Benguela route encouraged more free trade than the proposed Beira route.

"It can help Zambia. It can help Zaire and Zimbabwe. The Beira Corridor can help Zambia and Zaire very little," he said.

## Stalemate

The American officials said Savimbi's proposal could end the prolonged stalemate between his US-backed forces and the Angolan Government, which has the support of more than 30 000 Cuban troops.

The officials said that if Angola agrees to negotiate with Unita on the reopening of the rail link this would amount to tacit recognition of Unita as a legitimate political force.

They said the United States would take a sympathetic look at Dr Savimbi's proposal if it opens the way towards a peaceful settlement in Angola.

President Ronald Reagan's Administration has placed high priority on achieving a diplomatic solution under which Cuban forces would be withdrawn from Angola while South Africa ends colonial rule in South West Africa. — Sapa-AP.



# Rebels want railway line opened

## Offer has Angola in spot

(S) 1/4/87

**U**NITA'S offer to let the Benguela Railway run again has opened a tiny crack — but one that could become much bigger — in the Angolan impasse.

Depending on the Luanda Government's response, the offer could have important implications not only for Angola but also for the whole of Southern Africa, including South Africa.

If accepted by the MPLA Government in Luanda and successfully implemented, it would reopen a major route to the sea for Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

This in turn would make these countries less dependent on South Africa for moving their imports and exports and more able to impose economic sanctions on South Africa.

Unita's offer is the latest move to surface from a secretive series of manoeuvres around the railway line that involve the MPLA, African and Western government and the British company, Lonrho.

Unita went to some trouble to publicise the offer in both Lisbon and Washington but it is still not clear why and how seriously it was made. It has been seen in some quarters as an attempt to gain support in West-



REBEL leader Jonas Savimbi.



ANGOLAN President Eduardo dos Santos.

cret requests channelled through the United States by several African countries.

These countries would probably want either to see the line reopened or to use the issue as a lever to open negotiations for a political settlement in Angola — or both.

The 1350 km line running from Zaire to Benguela and Lobito ports has been made largely inoperative since 1975 by Unita attacks. Before that it carried much of the copper exports of Zaire and Zambia and a substantial portion of their foreign trade in general. Zambia alone is estimated to have moved 50 percent of its exports and 52 percent of its imports on the line.

**C**LOSURE of the line forced Zambia to send most of its copper through South Africa. It has recently rerouted much of it along the Tazara Line to Dar es Salaam. Reopening of the Benguela line could make it entirely independent of South Africa in this respect, although it would still have to get much of its imports from the Republic.

Zimbabwe, Botswana and even Malawi could also use the Benguela line — provided it could handle the traffic. One estimate is that it would cost R440-million to restore the line.

Only last year Dr Savimbi was saying, "As long as I am alive no train will move along that line".

Now he is proposing to cooperate with the MPLA in reopening it. The MPLA in turn is reported to have asked Lonrho's head, Mr Tiny Rowlands, last year to try to reopen the line. Lonrho, which has extensive interests in Africa, was reported in December to have signalled an interest in doing so but only if the MPLA reached a settlement with Unita.

In January Lonrho's Zambian chief, Mr Antonio Kampanaos, said the company had opened talks with the Angolan Government on possible Lonrho management of the railway.

Unita's overture could provide the key enabling all these machinations to mesh. But whether the MPLA can accept the offer is another matter. To some in Luanda it must look too much like the thin end of an unwelcome wedge.

### FOCUS

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ern capitals.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said, however, that the offer was made "to demonstrate our interest in pursuing a programme of national reconciliation".

**T**HIS suggests it was aimed at furthering Unita's efforts to get the MPLA to agree to negotiations for a political solution to the Angolan civil war.

Any such solution could profoundly affect the situation in Namibia, removing the MPLA's need for the Cuban troops, whose presence is claimed to be the only obstacle to a Namibian settlement.

Dr Savimbi has offered to reach a ceasefire agreement with the MPLA along the railway line. A formal agreement would necessitate direct negotiations with the MPLA and this could open the way for talks on a wider basis.

While there is believed to be some support within the MPLA for a negotiated solution the MPLA does not appear ready to do a deal

with Unita, however.

But even if agreement were reached only on reopening the Benguela line it would be warmly welcomed by the landlocked hinterland states who have been deprived of its use for more than 10 years.

Launda's initial reaction was not promising. It suggested Unita's offer was an American-backed ploy to get the rebels' headquarters moved from Jamba in the far south-eastern corner of Angola to a point near the Benguela Railway.

**B**UT it remains to be seen whether the MPLA will continue to spurn the offer.

According to reports from Washington, Unita's overture was made in response to se-

Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Kwaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# Rail offer opens tiny crack in Angolan impasse

By GERALD L'ANGE  
Editor, Argus  
Africa News Service

Dateline: JOHANNESBURG

UNITA's offer to let the Benguela railway run again has opened a tiny crack — but one that could become much bigger — in the Angolan impasse.

Depending on the Luanda government's response, the offer could have important implications not only for Angola but also for the whole of Southern Africa, including South Africa.

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Unita's offer is the latest move to surface from a secretive series of manoeuvres around the railway line that involve the MPLA, African and western governments and the British company, Lonrho.

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But it remains to be seen whether the MPLA will continue to spurn the offer.

# A frustrated economic powerhouse

KELLY MCPARLAND reports

THE political and military disruptions that have dogged the Angolan economy for more than a decade tend to obscure the vast promise of what might have been.

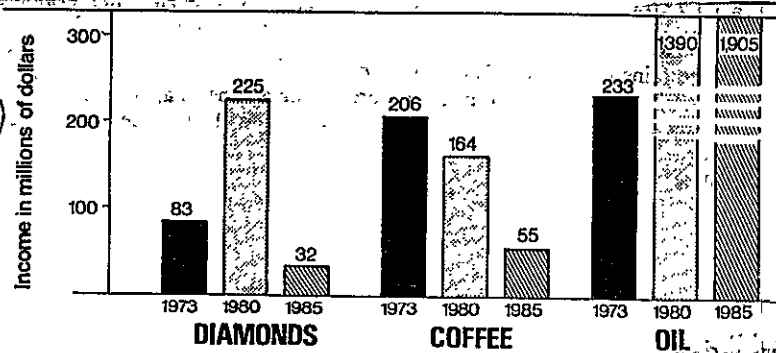
Even by the standards of Africa, where the list of countries which have somehow failed to capitalise on their potential wealth is depressingly long, Angola stands out as a frustrated powerhouse.

A recent study of Angola's economy by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) concludes that until the war with Unita guerillas is settled, Angola Angola has little hope of reaping the benefit of its rich natural resources.

Modest recoveries may be possible in some cases, but with almost 40 percent of government spending going to the military, and the majority of the country impassable due to the war, no real headway can be made.

The exception is in oil, which is booming. According to the report, Angola has become one of the world's most attractive markets for oil investors. The profits from expanded output should see it through the current squeeze caused by last year's fall in prices.

The average value of Angolan diamonds has dropped by three-



The Angolan economy: only oil is booming

quarters, raising the additional likelihood that the best stones have already been sold off.

Mining of iron ore, at one time the fourth largest export, has halted altogether. Deposits of other valuable minerals like manganese, gold and uranium are likewise unlikely to be exploited while Unita continues to disrupt the countryside, making normal road traffic impossible and even convoys a risky venture.

Only oil prospects relieve the gloom. The report says oil production increased by almost 100 000 barrels a day (b/d) between 1980 and 1985. Last year's estimated output of 280 000 b/d is expected to grow to 370 000 b/d by 1990.

Oil became a crucial part of the Angolan economy only shortly before independence. Production began in 1968, but only passed coffee as the largest foreign exchange earner in 1973. In 1985 it brought in almost \$2-billion (R4-bn), 90 percent of all foreign income.

Oil activities highlight the incongruous nature of Angola's business relations with the West. The report notes that about 150 foreign companies are actively involved in the country in support of the industry. The giant US Chevron company, through its Gulf subsidiary, is the largest foreign producer. Others include Texaco of the US, Petrofina of Belgium and firms from France, Britain and Brazil.

Despite the bitter rhetoric from Washington, Angola is one of its biggest customers in Africa; in 1985

trade between the two countries was worth \$1.5-bn (R3-bn).

Oil executives praised the government for being pragmatic and businesslike; Luanda has been careful to maintain good relations with Western bankers as well. Yet because of its avowed Marxism, the government has had to fight a constant battle to keep Washington from undermining its limited economic successes.

To hamper sales of equipment by US companies, Washington cut off Angola from the US Export-Import Bank, which had previously provided credit for deals worth more than \$100-m (R200-m). Despite its official Marxism, Angola's government has shown a surprising willingness to face these economic facts. In 1981, rather than running up the kind of debts embraced by less cautious governments in Brazil, Mexico and Peru, it chose austerity instead. Last year, caught in a cash squeeze by the sudden fall in oil prices, Angola voluntarily adopted the kind of strict measures the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has pressed with mixed success on others in Africa. The government's reform plan includes increasing freedom for private traders, encouraging exports, easing price controls and devaluing the *kwanza* — now essentially worthless as a currency.

The EIU report concludes that with this approach, along with its oil wealth and support from Western banks, Angola will probably continue to get by economically. — Gemini News

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## Huge arms build-up, says report

# Soviets plan mass attack in Angola

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

Washington

The Soviet Union is pouring military hardware into Angola for an imminent offensive by the country's army against the Unita rebels, according to a report here.

US officials are reportedly saying that round-the-clock flights by hundreds of military aircraft are delivering equipment and Angolan and Cuban troops to bases near Unita's positions in south-eastern Angola.

A major offensive is expected to start within weeks, once the Angolan dry season sets in.

Angolan forces, using Soviet arms and supported by part of the estimated 35 000-strong Cuban force in the country, usually launch an offensive at Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels at this time of year.

A State Department official yesterday drew attention to the pattern of dry season offensives. He said there had been a steady military build-up by Cuban and Angolan troops against Unita in the past few years. "The Soviets have been massively re-equipping the Angolan military since 1984," he said.

US officials believe the Soviets have pumped R4 000 million in military aid into Angola in the last decade, trying to keep the Marxist regime in power.

But the State Department could not confirm a *Christian Science Monitor* report suggesting an unusually intense build-up against Unita, a group the US recognises as freedom fighters and covertly supports.

"US and Unita officials expect that a slow, methodical push by Soviet-supplied Cuban and Angolan troops into rebel-held territory will begin soon," the report said.

### 'No defeat'

Mr Charles Ebinger, a specialist on Angola at Georgetown University, said: "There appears to be a fairly massive build-up. I think it's a serious build-up to put Savimbi to rout." But it would not defeat Unita, he and other strategists predicted.

There is open friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and Angola. Last month the Soviet news agency, Tass, reported that Russian parliamentarians had visited Luanda. The delegation included Mr P G Gilashvili, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

They had talked to Luanda officials on South Africa and "the problems of mobilising African states for the struggle to strengthen peace and international security".

The Soviets assured Angolan leaders of "unflagging support" in their struggle and those of the Frontline states, against the "aggressive intrigues of international imperialists and the racist Republic of South Africa."

# Soviet-Cuban build-up in Angola slated in US

*Argus 9/487/5*

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Senators here have condemned the Soviet-Cuban military build-up in Angola, calling it the most blatant foreign intervention in Africa's post-colonial history.

Eleven lawmakers, Democrats and Republicans, have presented a resolution to the Senate describing Angola's ruling party, the MPLA, as a "hostage to foreign forces".

The drive on Capitol Hill started several days before a report emerged this week in the Christian Science Monitor of an imminent Angolan-Cuban offensive against the rebel movement Unita in south-east Angola.

Senator Dennis de Concini, a Democrat from Arizona who wrote the resolution, said: "The Marxist regime in Angola has allowed the country to become a Soviet base for aggression and subversion in Southern Africa."

## Soviet advisers

There were now 35 000 Cubans and 2 500 Soviet advisers in Angola and the Soviet Union had given the Angolan government R8-billion in support, R2-billion in the past two years, he said.

The resolution calls for reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita, and strongly urges the withdrawal of Soviet and Cuban troops.

The resolution, which must be passed by the Senate foreign relations committee before it can be voted on by the full Senate, calls on the President to block any US business transactions with Angola that may conflict with security interests.

It instructs the Secretary of State to review United States policy on Angola, taking into account the country's "abysmal" human-rights record, its voting record at the United Nations and a United States refusal thus far to recognise the MPLA government.

## Brazzaville talks

The Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, held talks in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville on Monday with Angola's Interior Minister, Mr Manuel Alexandre (Kitó) Rodrigues, a State Department official has confirmed.

These were the first high-level United States-Angolan talks since Angola broke off negotiations in March last year when it learnt that the United States had started shipping R30-million worth of weapons to Unita after the rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, had been treated to a red-carpet reception in Washington DC.

# Angola ready for major offensive, says Unita

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebels said yesterday that Angolan Government troops, backed by Cuban and Soviet advisers, were ready to launch a big push on rebel strongholds in the south-east of the country.

"Government forces supported by Cubans and Russians are massing in Cuando Cubango province, to start their dry season offensive against our bases in Jamba and Mavinga," Unita said in a communique.

The rebels' Lisbon spokesman, Mr Alcides Sakala, said defensive positions were being prepared north of the rebel headquarters at Jamba and that guerilla units had launched a counter-offensive.

"We cannot yet give any details about our actions, but the government push, which we expect within days, will fail like all the others. In fact, (Unita leader) Jonas Savimbi has called an international news conference for May 9 in Jamba," Mr Sakala said.

He said government troops, supported by MiG fighters, artillery and armoured vehicles, were massed around the towns of Menongue and Cuito Cuanavale 400 km from Jamba, which is just north of the Namibian border.

There was no immediate comment from Luanda although analysts noted that Angola's Marxist Government, backed by about 30 000 Cuban troops, had previously launched anti-rebel offensives around this time of year.

Dr Savimbi, Unita's veteran leader, would also use the news conference to detail the rebels' response to the proposed re-opening of the Benguela railway, Mr Sakala said.

Zambia's President Kaunda said last week that the vital railway linking land-locked Zambia and Zaire with the Angolan port of Benguela would be fully operational within two years.

The line, a favourite rebel target, has been closed for over a decade and Unita has said it will allow it to be re-opened under certain conditions, which included direct talks with Luanda. Sapa-Reuter.

## Frelimo set to attack rebel base

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — The Mozambican Army is preparing an assault against the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement's main base in the northern province of Zambezia, the Mozambique News Agency, AIM, has said.

In a report from Quelimane, in Zambezia province, the agency said Alfazema base was located in Morrumbala district and was regarded as the MNR's centre of operations for the provinces of Zambezia and Tete.

AIM said that following a successful military offensive by the government, the districts of Morrumbala and Milange, near the border of Malawi, were the only ones in Zambezia province where MNR activity was "still intense".

Recently, Mozambican Army units, supported by Tanzanian and Zimbabwean troops, recaptured several districts and towns in Zambezia which had been captured by the MNR last year.

AIM said the recent successes were due to the reorganisation of the army.

"Logistics, which have always been one of the Mozambican army's worst problems, have improved substantially," the agency said.

"Soldiers in the furthest corners of the province now receive regular supplies and are well-armed," it added.

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# Unita watched on status of captured pilots

By HOWARD BARRELL,  
Harare

THE treatment and status given two Cuban pilots captured by Unita last month will have a crucial bearing on the prospects for either peace or a dramatic intensification of the war in Angola, according to diplomatic sources in Harare.

Cuba regards the treatment of the pilots, whose Mig 21 was shot down while on a reconnaissance mission over Angola on October 28, as a test of United States and South African sincerity on wanting a peaceful and negotiated settlement in war-torn Angola, the sources added.

Cuba regards both countries as the major backers of Unita, and considers they are in a position to ensure Unita compliance with Geneva Conventions.

Cuba is understood to expect from the US and South Africa the same

flexibility as was evident in the case of Captain Wynand Du Toit, the Recce commando captured by Fapla government troops while on a mission in the Cabinda enclave to destroy Angolan oil installations.

Du Toit was treated as a prisoner of war, his wounds were treated, and he was released in a prisoner exchange in Maputo earlier this year.

"The Cubans seem to be implying basically that, if the two pilots are not treated as prisoners of war under the relevant Geneva Conventions and if the pilots are not candidates for a prisoner exchange, then the US and South Africa should not be surprised to see a substantial escalation in the

war in Angola.

"That appears to mean an increase in Cuban involvement itself," one diplomatic source in Harare said this week. "The Cubans do not appear to be joking."

"Their posture comes at a time of considerable South African involvement in southern Angola."

The pilots, Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Rojas Garcia and Captain Ramon-Quezada Aguilar, were produced at a press conference in the Unita "capital" of Jamba following their capture after they parachuted from their aircraft when it was shot down.

The two men said they had been on a reconnaissance mission. Garcia said he and other Cuban forces were in Angola to "prevent South African aggression against this country (Angola)".

PLANS by Angola, Zaire and Zambia to repair and reopen the Benguela Railway which runs from the Atlantic port of Benguela in Angola to the Zambian and Zairean copper fields have once again focussed attention on the ability of the Unita resistance movement to close the strategic line at will.

Last month the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, let it be known that he was prepared to allow the line to reopen — subject to certain conditions.

These included the proviso that the line should carry no military traffic and that strict verification and inspection procedures would have to be agreed upon to ensure that this was not contravened.

At the time the offer, made through the movement's Washington office, was seen by observers as a bold ploy by Unita to seem reasonable in the eyes of Americans at little cost to itself and with little risk of the offer being accepted.

# GETTING BENGUELA ON THE RIGHT TRACK

almost R500 m in overdraft facilities granted by the Angolan national bank to keep sections of the line running — at a huge loss — while attacks by Unita have destroyed an estimated R140 m worth of rolling stock and installations.

Under those circum-

stances any deal involving Lonrho that might result in Luanda finally seeing the return of some of its capital, while holding out the possibility of earning scarce foreign exchange through freight charges, must be a very tempting carrot to reach for.

It will also neatly fit in

All of which puts the ball fairly and squarely back in the Unita court. The question is what does Unita have to gain by allowing the Benguela line to operate?

The answer to that question might be found in the renewed operational efficiency of the

Tanzara Railway, which runs from the copper fields to the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam, the only other option Zambia and Zaire have to using either the Benguela or South Africa routes.

By all accounts the Tanzara line is now back under the control of its

Chinese builders and operating with increased efficiency.

If this is so, and it is difficult to verify, then it may be in Unita's interest to allow the rehabilitation of the Benguela line rather than see it fall into total disuse — thus rendering their ability to close the line at will null and void.

If, however, the line is allowed to operate, Unita retain their ace of being able to threaten to shut it down at will, a major card in their ultimate game of trying to force the Luanda government to the negotiation table.

— *Sowetan African News Service.*

## Bandits

For the Angolan government to accept the offer would first of all amount to de facto recognition of Unita, something it has consistently avoided, and secondly would put it in the position of appearing to accept favours from a group it refers to as "South African backed bandits".

The picture is however clouded by a recent spate of secret manoeuvres and meetings involving the Angolan government, South Africa, the US and other Western governments as well as the British-owned company that often ends up in the middle of African politics, Lonrho.

Finally, recent negotiations between the owners of the railway, Tanks Consolidated Investments Ltd — a wholly owned subsidiary of Societe Generale de Belgique — and Lonrho, broke down because of difficulties in securing a ceasefire between Unita and the Angolan government that the company seen as a necessary pre-requisite for the line to operate.

Shortly before the Benguela line was closed down by the chaos following the Portuguese revolution and subsequent civil war in Angola, the line was enormously profitable both for its owners and for the Portuguese administration, generating R150 m in taxes for the government in 1974, the last year of normal operation.

In contrast the owners of the line now owe the Angolan government



# Leaders sign to get Benguela line going

## Kaunda — dependence on SA to ease

LUSAKA — The leaders of Angola, Zaire and Zambia signed a "declaration of intent" yesterday to rebuild the strategic Benguela railway, closed for 10 years by Angolan rebels, in a bid to ease dependence on South African ports.

The President of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, flanked by the Angolan President, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and Zaire's Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, said the mini-summit, was "a giant step forward in the region's quest for better communications facilities".

The three men had discussions at State House, in Lusaka.

The Benguela line once carried most Zambian and Zairean copper exports to Lobito.

The Benguela line is also of potential interest to Zimbabwe.

The 1340-kilometre rail route to Angola's port of Lobito is due to be re-opened within two years.

Diplomatic sources said the project had been under discussion for about 12 months.

At a similar meeting two weeks ago in Luanda, Angola's capital, Dr Kaunda said it would cost \$280 million to rebuild the route.

Yesterday's communique, however, did not clarify who would pay to rehabilitate the railroad, which is 90 per cent owned by the Belgian company Societe General de Belgique.



DR SAVIMBI

The director of the Belgian company, Count Etienne d'Avignon, who was in Lusaka for the meeting, said his company would help raise money for the railroad.

The communique did not mention another subject which was probably discussed — rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), whose sabotage was responsible for closing the railroad.

Until now, the major obstacle to re-opening the railway has been a civil war between Angola's Marxist government and guerillas of the United States and South African-backed Unita.

But last month Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said he would allow the line to re-open, provided it was not used for military purposes.

Why Savimbi should have changed his mind after 12 years is not clear, but diplomatic



MR KAUNDA

sources said the United States appears to have brokered a deal between Unita and the government in Luanda which would enable the line to operate safely.

Transport ministers of the three countries and senior officials of Societe Generale, also met yesterday in Lusaka to prepare for the summit.

Dr Kaunda said at the time that the line could be reopened to light traffic in six months.

However, the diplomatic sources and sources in Societe Generale said such estimates were premature.

No technical study of the line has so far been conducted and some sections of the track are believed to be heavily damaged, they said.

"We are really at a very preliminary stage," said one European diplomat closely connected with the rehabilitation project.

"We don't know if the

political guarantees are there. We do not know how much the repairs would cost.

"There are some areas which are just not accessible," he added.

At the moment, trains only run 40 km inland from Lobito at the Atlantic end of the line, while traffic in Zaire stops at Kolwezi, 400 km east of the Angolan frontier, the sources said.

However, a preliminary approach for aid was made to the European Community (EC) in Brussels last week and EC officials in Lusaka said the request was received with sympathy.

Community funds could be made available from allocations to Southern Africa in the Third Lome Convention, a trade and aid pact linking the EC with many of the world's developing countries, they said.

US officials were reluctant to discuss Washington's role in the Benguela Railway project, but they stressed that the idea of reopening the line was an African and not an American initiative.

"Just like Nacala (in Mozambique), we have favoured the reopening of these railway networks.

"We have also said that we believe the Savimbi statement gives a basis for addressing the political security issues involved in reopening the Benguela Railway," one American official said. — Sapa-RNS

copy 7/18/87 2/18/87  
Unita 5  
Stingers  
astray?

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Further deliveries to Unita of advanced Stinger anti-aircraft missiles could be in jeopardy following a report that some of the weapons were sold on the black market in Zaire.

The report, which has not been officially denied, has prompted members of the Senate Intelligence Committee to demand a formal probe of the CIA's methods of delivering the weapons.

President Ronald Reagan agreed to provide Unita with the missiles as part of a \$15 million (about R30 million) covert aid programme launched in late 1985. Deliveries were reportedly made via Kamina, a military airbase in southern Zaire.

Intelligence panel member Senator Dennis Deconcini, an Arizona Democrat highly critical of the aid programme, said he was "greatly concerned" that terrorists might obtain one or more of the missiles to use against commercial airliners.

The Stingers that allegedly went astray were found in the possession of arms traffickers arrested in Zambia, according to Washington-based Defence and Foreign Affairs Weekly.

The CIA has so far refused to submit to a probe by congressional auditors.

Pro-Unita sources speculated that the missiles found in Zambia might have been en route to the rebels.

# The Benguela railway

At present, the proposal to reopen the Benguela railway through Angola resembles one of those acts of levitation in which a magician makes a woman appear to float horizontally in the air. It has no visible means of support.

The leaders of Angola, Zaire and Zambia last week signed a declaration of intent to reopen the railway, which would give the landlocked countries a new route to the sea and earn revenue for the MPLA government in Luanda. They commissioned the Societe General, the Belgian company that owns most of the shares, to find the money and technical expertise needed to restore the decaying line and run it again.

But they still did not say how they proposed to overcome the problem that has kept the line closed for more than 10 years — attacks by the Unita guerillas. This has been the dominant question since the idea of reviving the railway was raised a few months ago.

## 'No negotiations'

Angolan diplomats who attended the signing of the declaration in Lusaka said specifically that there would be no negotiations with Unita over the reopening of the line.

But as matters now stand it appears impossible for traffic to flow along the entire length of the line — and thus for imports and exports to move between Zambia and Zaire and the coast — unless Unita stops attacking it.

It was a Unita offer to permit the reopening of the line that first brought the issue back to public attention. The offer is believed to have been prompted by the United States, which raises some intriguing questions.

The Reagan Administration, which badly needs a political success in Africa, wants to engineer an end to the insurgent wars in both Angola and Namibia and to get the Cubans out of Angola in the process.

Washington at first made the mistake of thinking it could do it without involving Unita. The State Department did not see or pretended not to see that the Cubans were being kept in Angola to protect the MPLA not against the South Africans but against Unita, who could therefore



Savimbi . . . pressure denied.

not be excluded from any deal involving the Cubans.

When Washington eventually accepted this reality it gave oblique support to the rebels' demand for a negotiated political settlement of the Angolan war. Then the US went further and supplied Unita with Stinger ground-to-air missiles and possibly anti-tank weapons.

These have so far enabled the rebels to withstand efforts by the MPLA government forces, with Soviet and Cuban backing, to capture Unita's headquarters at Jamba in south-eastern Angola.

Had the rebels been driven out of Jamba and into the bush Soviet influence in the region would have been strengthened. Washington, ironically, might have benefited in that Unita's threat to the MPLA would have been diminished and the Luanda government would have been more willing to send the Cubans home.

## Bid to gain credit

Luanda seems unlikely to dispense with the Cubans, however, until the Unita threat is entirely removed. Militarily this appears impossible. Even if thrown out of Jamba the rebels could still operate from the bush. A political settlement, on the other hand, is not impossible — only unpopular with the MPLA.

Washington's initiative on the railway has every appearance of a ploy to get Luanda to agree to negotiate with the rebels, first on reopening the line and then on ending the war.

8/5/87  
Star

# puzzle

The dominant question since the reopening of the line was mooted a few months ago remains unanswered, writes Gerald L'Ange, editor of The Star's Africa News Service. (S)

The Reagan Administration would get much credit if such a move succeeded. Its aims would be furthered even more by a settlement leading, as it might well do, to the departure of the Cubans.

In addition, the standing of the US would be enhanced not only in a grateful Zaire and Zambia but throughout Southern Africa (except in Pretoria, which, if foreign perceptions are correct, would not welcome anything forcing it to give up the military cushion that Namibia provides on a large part of South Africa's border).

According to the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, Washington's request to Unita that it allow the reopening of the railway was prompted by an approach by Zaire on behalf of the Frontline states.

In a recent interview at Jamba with British journalist Gwynne Roberts, representing The Star's Africa News Service, Dr Savimbi denied

that the US had put any pressure on him.

He made it clear he saw Washington's request as an opportunity to promote a negotiated settlement, to present Unita as a peaceable body and to put the MPLA on the defensive.

He thinks that if the MPLA rejects the offer it might well be blamed by the Frontline states for keeping a potentially valuable outlet to the sea closed to them. Unita would then become the hero instead of the villain.

While it may be true that the US has not put any pressure behind its move to have the line reopened, the proposal coincided strangely with the military exercises the US conducted jointly with Zaire near the Angolan border a few weeks ago.

Reports that the US is aiming to establish a military base at the airfield at Kamina in Zaire will not have gone unnoticed in Frontline capitals — and in Jamba. It was through Kamina that the

Stinger missiles and many other supplies from other sources are believed to have been transported to Unita. A strong American influence in Zaire could ease or hamper the flow of Unita supplies, depending on how the political winds were blowing in Washington.

For the moment, however, Unita can only be pleased with the turn of events. Dr Savimbi has agreed to the Benguela reopening on condition that no military use is made of the line and military operations are barred from a 50 km-wide corridor along the length of the line, and that these conditions be monitored.

Luanda's acceptance of these conditions would give the rebels a form of recognition at present denied to them. And Unita's ability to resume its attacks on the line would give it a strong bargaining lever.

That these conditions have been rejected cannot yet be inferred from the refusal of Angola, Zaire and Zambia to refer to Unita in their joint statement. If they can see a way to run the railway without Unita's consent it is not visible to outside observers.

Perhaps Dr Savimbi will have something to say about it at the news conference he is reported to have called at Jamba over the weekend.

# Savimbi: Talks may lead to opening of Benguela line

Dateline JAMBA: BY KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service

ARGUS 11/5/87

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TENTATIVE contacts have been made between Angola's warring factions which may lead to the reopening of the Benguela railway and may in time blossom into talks on ending the country's 11-year civil war, according to Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The leader of the Unita resistance movement also warned at a Press conference at his bush stronghold of Jamba in southern Angola that he would not "liberate" any more captured foreign technicians, saying western technicians working in the diamond producing areas of northern Angola were at special risk.

He also introduced a group of influential black Americans who have formed an organisation working to influence US policy in favour of Unita.

Dr Savimbi emphasised that there were no direct talks yet between Unita and the MPLA government in Luanda, saying that contact had been made through intermediaries.

He said: "We are talking about the possibility of talking ... but if there is to be an agreement on the reopening of the Benguela railway then some Unita and MPLA soldiers will have to talk directly to each other, if only on a local level, about the security of the line."

## 'Proviso already agreed to'

Expanding on his condition that the line could reopen only if it carried no military traffic, Dr Savimbi said this proviso had already been agreed by all the parties involved, leaving only the security of the line to be discussed.

He suggested that a military free zone could be created along the line and that it would be run by civilians from Angola, Zambia and Zaire.

He said: "The point is that the MPLA and Unita will have to discuss security for the line directly and such talks could be a way of

breaking the deadlock between the MPLA and Unita."

He dismissed the claim of Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda that the railway would reopen within six months without indicating that Unita would be consulted.

He said: "Without our agreement the railway cannot and will not be opened."

Dr Savimbi shared his platform with the Rev Maurice Dawkins, leader of a new American organisation Black Americans for Peace and Unity in Angola and Southern Africa.

Mr Dawkins said his organisation would consist of a network of black American ministers, businessmen, journalists, publishers and retired military officers who would form a pressure group to influence US government policy on Southern Africa in favour of Unita.

## 'An act of levitation'

Meanwhile The Argus Africa News Service reports that the proposal to reopen the Benguela railway through Angola resembles one of those acts of levitation in which a magician makes a woman appear to float horizontally in the air. It has no visible means of support.

The leaders of Angola, Zaire and Zambia last week signed a declaration of intent to reopen the railway, which would give the landlocked countries a new route to the sea and earn revenue for the MPLA government in Luanda.

They commissioned the Societe General, the Belgian company that owns most of the shares, to find the money and technical expertise needed to restore the decaying line and run it again.

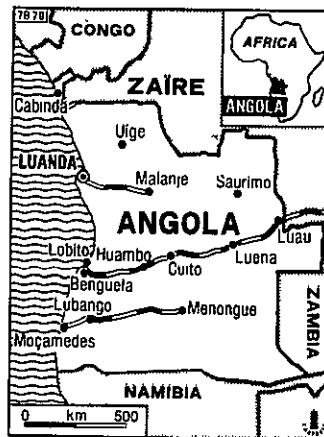
But they still did not say how they proposed to overcome the problem that has kept the line closed for more than 10 years — attacks by the Unita guerillas.

This has been the dominant question ever since the idea of reviving the railway was raised a few months ago and it remains unanswered.

Angolan diplomats who attended the signing of the declaration in Lusaka said specifically that there would be no negotiations with Unita over the reopening of the line.



Dr Savimbi



But as matters now stand it appears impossible for traffic to flow along the entire length of the line — and thus for imports and exports to move between Zambia and Zaire and the coast — unless Unita stops attacking it.

It was a Unita offer to permit the reopening of the line that first brought the issue back to public attention. Unita's offer is believed to have been prompted by the United States, which raises some intriguing questions.

The Reagan administration, which badly needs a political success in Africa, wants to engineer an end to the insurgent wars in both Angola and Namibia and to get the Cubans out of Angola in the process.

Washington at first made the mistake of thinking it could do it without involving Unita. The civil war was dismissed as an internal problem that the Angolans could sort out on their own once the Cuban issue had been resolved.

The State Department did not see or pretend not to see that the Cubans were being kept in Angola to protect the MPLA, not against the South Africans, but against

Unita, who could therefore not be excluded from any deal involving the Cubans.

When Washington eventually accepted this was impossible, it gave oblique support to the rebels' demand for a negotiated political settlement of the Angolan war, which included Stinger ground-to-air missiles and possibly anti-tank weapons.

The United States went further, however, and supplied Unita with Stinger ground-to-air missiles and possibly anti-tank weapons.

These have so far enabled the rebels to withstand efforts by the MPLA government forces, with Soviet and Cuban backing, to capture Unita's headquarters at Jamba in south-eastern Angola.

## Washington might have benefitted

Had the rebels been driven out of Jamba and into the bush, Soviet influence in the region would have been strengthened. Washington, ironically, might have benefitted in that Unita's threat to the MPLA would have been diminished and the Luanda government would have had less need for the protection of the Cubans and more willing to send them home.

Luanda seems unlikely to dispense with the Cubans, however, until the Unita threat is entirely removed. Militarily this appears impossible. Even if thrown out of Jamba the rebels could still operate from the bush. A political settlement, on the other hand, is not impossible — only unpopular with the MPLA.

Washington's initiative to get the line reopened has every appearance of a ploy to get Luanda to agree to negotiate with the rebels, first on reopening the railway and then on ending the war.

The Reagan administration would get much credit if such a move succeeded. Its aims would be furthered even more by a settlement leading, as it might well, to the departure of the Cubans.

In addition, the standing of the US would be enhanced not only in a grateful Zaire and Zambia but throughout Southern Africa (except in Pretoria, which, if foreign perceptions are correct, would not welcome anything forcing it to give up the military cushion that Namibia provides on a large part of South Africa's border).

# Unita reveals contacts with Luanda

11/5/87  
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Dr Jonas Savimbi . . . "We have been talking about the possibility of talking."

By Ken Vernon, The Star's Africa News Service

JAMBA — Tentative contacts which could lead to the re-opening of the Benguela railway have been made between Angola's warring factions and, in time, these could blossom into talks on ending the 11-year civil war.

This was revealed by the leader of the Unita resistance movement, Dr Jonas Savimbi, at a press conference at his bush stronghold of Jamba in the south of Angola.

At the conference Dr Savimbi issued a stern warning to foreign companies operating in Angola that he would not "liberate" any more captured foreign technicians. He said that western technicians working in the diamond producing areas of northern Angola were at special risk.

He also introduced a group of influential black Americans who had formed an organisation working to influence US policy in favour of Unita.

## US black group to rally support for Savimbi

The Star's Africa News Service

JAMBA (Angola) — The existence has been revealed here of an organisation consisting exclusively of black Americans, a group which could exert a telling influence on the formulation and implementation of US policy towards Southern Africa.

Called "Black Americans for Peace and Unity in Angola and Southern Africa" (Bapuasa), the organisation's existence was announced at the weekend at the Jamba headquarters of the Unita leader, General Jonas Savimbi.

In an interview, the leader of Bapuasa, retired lobbyist the Rev Maurice Dawkins, outlined the aims of the organisation.

He said the idea of forming the organisation was first born after he met General Savimbi during the Unita leader's visit to the US last year.

At the general's invitation he visited Jamba and said he was impressed by the "democratic processes and self-sufficiency" he saw.

"I saw there was a hope for peace and I said to General Savimbi then that I wanted to put together an organisation — based on prayer and religion — to lobby effective support for him to try to bring about a peaceful solution to Angola's problems."

Dr Savimbi stressed that, as yet, there had been no direct talks between Unita and the MPLA government in Luanda. Contact had been carried on through intermediaries.

"We are talking about the possibility of talking," Dr Savimbi said, "but, if there is to be an agreement on the re-opening of the Benguela railway, then some Unita and MPLA soldiers will have to talk directly to each other, if only on a local level, about the security of the line."

Expanding on his condition that the line could re-open only if it carried no military traffic, the general said this proviso had already been agreed by all the parties involved, leaving only the security of the line to be discussed.

He suggested that a military-free zone could be created along the line and that it would then be run by civilians from Angola, Zambia and Zaire.

"The point is that the MPLA and Unita will have to discuss security for the line directly and such talks could be a way of breaking the deadlock between the MPLA and Unita," he said.

### SERIOUS OFFER

Dr Savimbi stressed that he had done everything possible to facilitate the re-opening of the strategic railway line and that his offer to the MPLA to allow the line to re-open was a serious offer, not merely propaganda.

"The Benguela railway is needed by Zambia and Zaire to help save their economies, as well as for the rehabilitation of the Angolan economy. But, if

may equally well of volume of South Africa country's major traction. In the final quarter of the year, the world, can be States of America. volume are directly price variations compared with prices of primary commodities and so forth. back to wide fluctuations (less price inelastic) fluctuations in the

If one is prepared to explain changes in the supply of primary commodities in the world, we do not think that the gold price in the money supply

The net inflow of interest rate differentials between foreign currencies, will be

The supply of foreign exchange as a function of the foreign

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$$VSA = n$$

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Agents within the monetary banking

The banking public. We believe

1) See, for example 1975.

2) Ibid.

3) Imports do not pass through domestic

Mr Dawkins admitted that the basis for such a group's effectiveness was that the black population in America has a disproportionate influence on American policy formulations on Africa.

"Eventually we want to have the kind of influence over African policy that the American Jewish population have over America's policy toward Israel," he said.

#### NEGOTIATIONS

"We aim to recruit to our ranks black American ministers, businessmen, journalists, publishers and retired military officers, who will then form an effective lobbying force rather than a mass movement."

Mr Dawkins said General Savimbi was the key to an Angolan solution.

"We intend urging the US government to support General Savimbi so the MPLA will see they cannot win the war militarily and so will eventually agree to negotiate," he said.

"Once we have a solution in Angola and have got rid of the Russians and the Cubans, we can then approach the South Africans to evacuate Namibia.

"And with a two-country buffer between themselves and the Russians, maybe the South Africans will feel freer to negotiate with their own black population in order to reach some solution to that country's problems."

One of the major immediate objects of the group was to convince the American public that General Savimbi's connections with South Africa are purely pragmatic, that he has relations with South Africa and accepts their aid just as dozens of other African states do.

"But at the moment as soon as Americans hear that he accepts aid from South Africa, they assume he is merely a tool of the South Africans, and we have to change that perception.

"But most of all we have to show people that we are against the war, against the killing, and that we are undertaking this initiative from a religious point of view rather than a political point of view.

"If this whole initiative is going to work, then Savimbi is the catalyst, he has the knowledge to deal effectively with both African and European leaders, as well as the military machine to command respect," said Mr Dawkins.

everyone will know that it is the fault of the MPLA, not Unita."

He dismissed the recent claim of Zambia's President Kaunda that the Benguela railway would re-open in six months. Mr Kaunda did not mention any consultation with Unita.

"Without our agreement the railway cannot and will not be opened," he said.

At a mass jamboree and military parade earlier in the day Dr Savimbi said he had called the conference to "show we are still here", and said he had also invited the MPLA.

He had deliberately released the date of the conference in advance, he said, so the MPLA could send its MiGs and tanks if it chose — a reference to the offensive against Unita the MPLA is said to be preparing.

Displaying several defectors and prisoners of war to local and overseas journalists, Dr Savimbi said he had learnt all the plans for the MPLA offensive from some of the high-ranking defectors and Unita would not be surprised in any way.

#### VEILED THREAT

He issued a barely veiled threat to foreign-owned companies operating in Angola that they might shortly become targets in the civil war, saying that "no economic consideration will be allowed to prevail over peace and reconciliation".

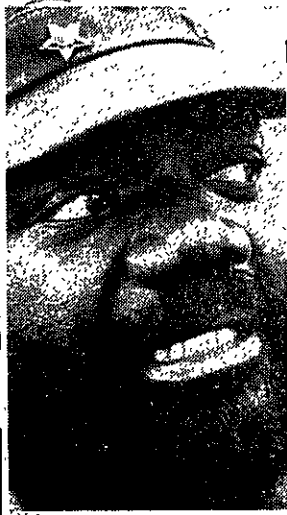
He said the presence of Gulf Oil in the Cabinda enclave was "a big problem for us" but he did not contemplate action against the US oil company at this time, especially in the light of present US aid to Unita.

He appealed to Americans to try to influence their government to force the company to pull out of Cabinda.

Dr Savimbi shared the platform with the Rev Maurice Dawkins, leader of an American organisation calling itself Black Americans for Peace and Unity in Angola and Southern Africa.

Mr Dawkins said the yet-to-be-finalised organisation would consist of a network of black American ministers, businessmen, journalists, publishers and retired military officers who would form a powerful pressure group to try to influence US government policy on southern Africa in favour of supporting Unita.

# New pressure group



**JONAS Savimbi . . .**  
leader of Unita.

JAMBA, Angola — The existence of an organisation consisting exclusively of black Americans which could exert a telling influence on the formulation and implementation of US policy toward Southern Africa has been unveiled.

Called "Black Americans for Peace and Unity in Angola and Southern Africa," the organisation's existence was announced at the Jamba headquarters of the Unita leader, General Jonas Savimbi at the weekend.

In an interview, the

## SOWETAN Africa News Service

leader of Bapuasa, retired lobbyist the Rev Maurice Dawkins, outlined the history and aims of the organisation.

He said the idea for the formation of the organisation was first born after he met General Savimbi during the Unita leader's visit to the US last year.

At the general's invitation he visited Jamba and said he was impressed by the "democratic processes and self sufficiency" he saw.

"I saw that here was hope for peace and I said

to General Savimbi then that I wanted to put together an organisation — based on prayer and religion — to effectively lobby support for him in order to try and bring about a peaceful solution to Angola's problems."

## Policy

Mr Dawkins admitted that the basis for such a group's effectiveness was the fact that the black population in America has a disproportionate influence on American policy formulations on Africa.

"Eventually we want to have the kind of influence over African policy that the American

Jewish population have over America's policy toward Israel," he said.

"We aim to recruit to our ranks black American ministers, businessmen, journalists, publishers and retired military officers who will then form an effective lobbying force rather than a mass movement," he said.





EXPERIENCED Savimbi-watchers said the guerrilla leader seemed to lack his usual confidence and ebullience, and they speculated he may be seeking a compromise solution to the Angolan deadlock.

W/G ANGAS 16/5/87

# Savimbi — seeking a compromise?

**T**HE Wonder Air flight to Angola left from an airport called Wonderboom. The shadowy airline, which has no published schedule and prompts winks and nudges about who runs it, flies DC-3 Dakotas, the workhorses of World War 2 that still do service in odd corners of the world.

Few corners are odder than Wonder Air's destination — the headquarters in the sparsely-populated bush country of southeast Angola of Jonas Savimbi, whose Unita guerrillas have fought an on-off guerrilla war against the Marxist Angolan government for the past 11 years.

"There are sandwiches in the front and beer at the back," said the sports-shirted pilot, a white South African like all Wonder Air flight crew, at the start of a lumbering four-hour flight from Wonderboom, a discreet airport north of Pretoria.

The last part of the flight is a stomach-churning dash at tree-top level when passengers tend to regret eating the sandwiches.

Discomfort does not end on landing at a dirt airstrip just inside Angola. After immigration formalities solemnly conducted by rifle-carrying Unita guerrillas in a thatched hut, travellers face a two-hour ride in an open truck along deeply-rutted tracks.

**J**AMBA, a name which means elephant in the local Baku language, is the custom-built home for 15 000 Unita guerrillas and their families, but it is not marked on maps and has few of the frills of civilisation.

Housing is a widely scattered collection of straw and mud-walled dwellings topped with thatch, blending in with the surrounding bush country so as to be a difficult target for air attack.

Facilities for visitors are spartan, but a cut above those for residents. Huts have beds with clean sheets and there are cold showers that work most of the time. A dining room dispenses American soft drinks, South African beer and simple food in which antelope meat and rice figure prominently.

Jamba boasts schools and hospitals, but shuns most other trappings of modernity.

by JONATHAN SHARP,  
in JAMBA, Angola

There are no shops, no banks, no post offices, no telephones and no parking problems because there are no vehicles other than the motley collection of trucks and vans used by the fighters.

There is also no currency. In a communist-like world, workers donate their labour and in return obtain all the basic necessities of life.

But communism is far from the mind of Jonas Savimbi, the 52-year-old son of a Protestant minister who formed Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) in 1966 and then turned against the Marxist government which took power when Angola won independence from Portugal in 1975.

His main backers and suppliers are white-ruled South Africa, which means he has few friends in black Africa and also explains the role of Wonder Air, which is widely believed to run South African supplies to Unita.

Savimbi also places high value on his relations with the United States, which last year gave 15 million dollars in aid including, according to numerous reports, Stinger missiles to shoot down aircraft of the Soviet and Cuban-backed Angolan government forces.

**S**AVIMBI does not talk much about his South African ties, but he is not coy about his links with Washington. Pictures of the Unita leader meeting President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz during a visit to Washington last year are plastered everywhere in Jamba.

The same portraits, reproduced on huge awnings mounted on wooden scaffolding, overlook a dirt soccer pitch where Savimbi presides over exuberant mass rallies of the Unita faithful.

At one recent rally, almost the entire population of Jamba waving paper green and red Unita flags lined the soccer pitch where about 15 captured Soviet armoured personnel carriers and artillery pieces were on show.

About 600 Unita fighters demonstrated dogged discipline by standing motionless for four hours in parade ground formation in baking sun while the rally proceeded.

In a 45-minute speech, Savimbi, who in Jamba is called "El Presidente", joked that his Angolan government foes were unable to disrupt the rally and a pre-announced press conference later in the day to which foreign journalists had been invited.

**T**HE rally's atmosphere was relaxed but this is a time of tension for Unita, because the Luanda government, which is backed by 35 000 Cuban troops, usually launches an offensive against Unita strongholds at this time of the year, the start of the dry season.

While insisting that Unita could survive the new drive as it has done in past years, he seemed to concede that his forces were vulnerable, saying: "We are not as strong as they are..."

At the press conference, Unita aides gave details of what they said were hundreds of military flights organised by the Angolan government to stockpile weapons near the Unita enclave for the anti-rebel offensive.

Experienced Savimbi-watchers said the guerrilla leader seemed to lack his usual confidence and ebullience, and they speculated that he may be seeking a compromise solution to the Angolan deadlock.

That theory was reinforced recently when, after more than a decade of intransigence, he announced he would allow Angola's long-closed Benguela railway, stretches of which are controlled or threatened by Unita guerrillas, to be reopened for non-military traffic.

"We will not put down our guns until we have peace," he told cheering supporters at the rally.

But he also told reporters later of his hopes of talks that might blossom into an end to the civil war — and a possible end to the isolation of this bizarre bush stronghold called Elephant. — Sapa-Réuter



*Copy Times 20/5/87*  
**'SA to attack in Angola' 5**

LISBON. — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday said six South African army battalions were on Angolan soil and warned that a new South African offensive in Angola was imminent, the state-run news agency Angop reported.

In a dispatch monitored in Lisbon, Angop reported Mr Dos Santos as saying in Luanda that South African reconnaissance units had penetrated 250km inside the southern provinces of Cunene and Cuando-Cubango.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said from Pretoria last night that it was "predictable that Angola would use this sort of occasion as they have in the past to make their usual statements". — Sapa-AP

Mr AP Kotze was the magistrate... in which...  
Sgt 7013 26/5/87

# Pictures for captive Du Toit

By RENEE MOODIE (5) (29)

CAPTAIN Wynand du Toit, the South African soldier who has been held by Angolan authorities for over two years, celebrates his 29th birthday today.

His wife, Mrs Louwna du Toit, said from Langebaan yesterday that she had sent her husband a parcel for his birthday but she did not know if he would receive it in time.

"I was very practical. I put in reading and writing material and clothes — things that will help him pass the time," she said.

But the parcel is not all practicality — Mrs Du Toit also put in some drawings by the couple's four-year-old son, Klippie, who turn five on June 4.

"He brings drawings home from the creche, and one day they are for me and the next for Wynand," she said.

She said her work as a librarian for the Defence Force and the support of family and friends helped her to bear the separation.

"Perhaps next year he will be home for his birthday. There is only time between me and Wynand being home, and time passes," she said.

(S) smc 2/18/87

# Angola gears for new Savimbi thrust

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star's Africa News Service

The Angolan government, backed again by Cuban troops and massive Soviet weaponry, is preparing to launch yet another all-out bid to crush General Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels.

The offensive — the MPLA government's third in as many years — is expected to begin within the next month or two.

Unita has claimed that the MPLA is engaged in a big arms build-up in southern Angola in preparation for an offensive during the dry season, now starting.

The two previous offensives, both aimed at smashing Unita and capturing its headquarters at Jamba, were both beaten back by the rebels, who destroyed millions of rands of Soviet planes and other armaments — but not without cost to themselves.

In 1985 the MPLA army, Fapla, drove Unita out of Cazombo in the east, delivering a telling blow to the rebels' morale and prestige. But they failed to capture Mavinga, the gateway to Jamba.

The MPLA claimed the rebels were saved by the intervention of South African strike aircraft, but this was denied in Pretoria.

Last year, in a two-pronged offensive, Fapla captured Munhan-go, on the Benguela railway, but were turned back in a thrust on Jamba from the north. The arrival of Shinger anti-aircraft missiles from the US enabled the rebels to hold their lines until the onset of the rains in October ended the offensive.

Unita made a series of guerrilla counter-attacks during the rainy season but failed to make enough gains to prevent the MPLA forces from starting another offensive this year.

Soviet tanks and other weaponry are again pouring into Luanda, according to reports. It is being moved down to the Fapla bases at Menongue and Cuito Cuanavale in the south-east.

In which direction the offensive will be launched when the build-up is complete is still conjecture.

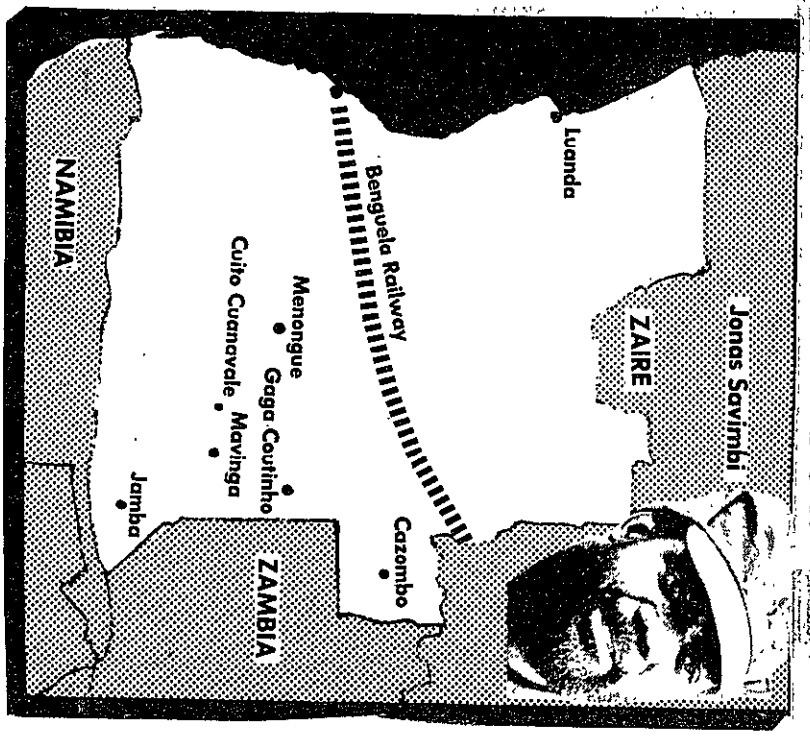
The government forces could strike again at Mavinga in another drive on Jamba. Or they could push westward towards Gaga Coutinho in a bid to block northward infiltration by the Unita guerrillas — leaving Jamba for another time.

Some analysts believe the MPLA might consider this option more important than capturing Jamba. Driving Unita out of its capital would strike a major psychological blow to the rebels and cut their main supply route. But it could be a tougher task than pushing to the west, and would involve longer and more vulnerable supply lines through the bush.

By taking Gaga Coutinho and blocking routes to the north, the MPLA could make it difficult for Unita to attack the diamond mines in the north-east. The rebels would be denied the psychological advantage of raids close to Luanda and, above all, the freedom to attack the Benguela railway line.

This might not stop the attacks altogether, but if it confined them to an occasional nuisance, the MPLA might be able to go ahead with the current plan to reopen the railway without the humiliation of having to first come to terms with the rebels.

Unita has agreed to the line being reopened, provided it is not put to military use and provided it is allowed to monitor this. Ignoring Unita, the MPLA government has agreed with Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe to reopen the line. This agreement would probably be meaningless, however, if Unita were able to continue attacking the line. A complicating factor for Luanda is that the move to reopen the line is believed to have been started by the US.



The Star, Wedn

# Cut Angola trade, urges US Senate

SMIL 29/5/87

By Alan Dunn,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Senate has called on President Reagan to block American trade with Angola, halting companies from indirectly financing 35 000 Cuban troops protecting that country's Marxist regime.

Senators voted unanimously, 94 to 0, for the view that American business interests conflicted with overall US foreign policy and national security objectives in aiding the ruling party, the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

"Despite the blatant contradictions in foreign and economic policy, America does business with Angola," said Senator Dennis de Concini, the chief sponsor among 25 legislators who backed the resolution.

Main targets of the amendment are US corporations pumping oil in Angola: one company provided R1.2 billion in revenue for Angola in 1985, according to a legislator. About 90 percent of Angola's foreign exchange last year was generated from oil extraction and production with the help of American companies.

The size of the Senate vote is

likely to lend considerable clout to the senators' demands in the resolution when Reagan administration consider them.

A Senate move inserting the resolution as an amendment into an appropriations Bill before Congress also urged a formal US policy review of relations with Angola. Points the senators want considered are:

- "America's refusal to recognise the MPLA government."
- "That government's abysmal human rights record."
- "Angola's record — the worst at the United Nations in 1985 — on votes supporting US interests."

Senators also wanted to hear the Secretary of State's view on whether it is in US interests to continue trade ties with Angola.

Legislators framed the amendment in March, when US officials were preparing to re-open talks with the MPLA after more than a year of silence from the Angolan government when news broke of covert American arms supplies to Unita, the rebel group operating there.

"It is imperative that the administration convey to the Angolans the Senate's deep feeling on Soviet-Cuban presence and human rights abuses," said Senator de Concini.

CAPL-TIME  
8/6/87

## Savimbi urges (5) blacks to talk to NP

JOHANNESBURG. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told about 400 businessmen here on Friday night that South Africa's black politicians should negotiate with the NP government.

SABC-TV news said Dr Savimbi criticized black leaders' refusal to take part in negotiations offered by President P W Botha and praised him for his government's reforms.

The report said Dr Savimbi urged SA not to withdraw from its "responsibilities" as a regional power in Southern Africa and warned that the ANC would not change if it came to power in SA.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said Dr Savimbi had done more for the people of Africa than any other of its leaders.

Mr Botha said the future struggle in Southern Africa would have nothing to do with racial prejudice — "it would be along the ideological lines of freedom or enslavement".

Meanwhile, the government yesterday accelerated a new high-profile sales pitch for President Botha's still unsuccessful offer to negotiate a form of limited power-sharing with black leaders.

Authorities sought in a newspaper interview and in controlled leaks to political reporters to show Mr Botha as a reformist willing to give SA's voteless blacks a say in government.

"The message is: 'Here we are and we are willing,'" chief NP propagandist Mr Stoffel van der Merwe said in an interview with Sunday newspaper Rapport.

Reports in other Sunday newspapers quoted unidentified government sources saying Mr Botha was prepared to relax conditions he set for talks.

The Sunday Star said Mr Botha was willing to abandon his insistence that race should form the basis of any future constitutional model.

The Sunday Times hailed routine government appointments as signs of a swing to the left. — Sapa-UPI

~~SECRET~~ (S) SM 8/6/87

# East launches 20 projects in Angola

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MUNICH — News from Moscow that the communist-bloc economic organisation Comecon is to launch 20 new projects in Angola throws cold water on Western hopes that the Angolans are trying to loosen their ties with the Soviet Union and its allies.

Signs of a cooling of relations between Angola and the communist world were to be seen in Luanda, West German Minister of State Mr Helmut Schaefer said after a visit to the region last week.

At the same time, however, the Soviet Union's official news agency Tass released details of an agreement between Angola and Comecon which provided for a greatly increased communist presence.

Planned projects range from industrial works to training and welfare schemes. Among the largest of the industrial projects is a fish-processing complex in Namib province to be built under the supervision of the Soviet Union and with the participation of East European members of Comecon.

Three Luanda hospitals and a medical rehabilitation centre are to be expanded and modernised. Tass said Angola was now able to deal with Comecon-member countries as a group, with all the economic advantages that brought, instead of on the old bilateral basis.

⑤  
SPAN  
11/6/82

# Angolan envoy in talks here last year — claim

The Star's Africa News Service

An Angolan government envoy was in Pretoria for three days in April last year for talks with President Botha and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, claims the Lisbon newsletter *Africa Confidential*.

"This initiative confirms previous information according to which there have been secret contacts, in different places and at different levels, between Luanda and Pretoria," the publication said.

It did not give any other details about those earlier meetings but sources in Lisbon said there had been a secret meeting in Cape Verde in January and another one in Libreville in Gabon at the end of March.

It was not known who had attended these meetings.

*Africa Confidential* said the Angolan envoy who visited Pretoria from April 18 to April 20 had travelled from a European capital and had been in South-Africa on a previous occasion.

"The envoy took a set of proposals concerning direct bilateral talks to Luanda," it said.

"The South Africans want the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the closure of ANC and Swapo training bases in Angola in exchange for 'a gesture of good will' in respect of their support for Unita. The release of Captain du Toit, was also discussed," the report added.

A spokesman said the Department of Foreign Affairs had no comment on the claims.

# Angola <sup>5</sup> alleges <sup>12/15/87</sup> SADF op

HARARE. — Six battalions of the SADF had penetrated 250km into Angola, a conference of ministers from non-aligned countries was told yesterday.

The Ziana news agency reported the Angolan delegate, Mr R de Almeida, as saying the battalions were in the province of Cunene.

□ A SADF spokesman said the allegations were old and were first made by Angola on May 20.

He said that at the time, the SADF reacted by saying it was "predictable that Angola would use this sort of occasion, as they have in the past, to make their usual statements".

"It is another propaganda attempt by Angola to protect Swapo, and to draw attention away from their own unsolvable internal problems by blaming South Africa."

— Sapa





Symbol of the Cuban connection . . . an Angolan soldier takes a puff from a Havana cigar.

Dateline: WASHINGTON

**C**UBAN leader Fidel Castro's programme of sending troops to Africa is starting to wear thin at home, according to an American expert on Cuban politics.

And among Cuba's young troops in Angola, there is a growing fear of Aids and other diseases and dislike of conditions in the country, says Professor Pamela Falk of Columbia University's Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies.

While the economic costs of Cuba's involvement in Angola have been high, so have the benefits. "Now, however, the costs will go much higher," she writes in the latest issue of Foreign Affairs, a respected American foreign policy journal.

"Cuban troops are beginning to join the Angolan army in the main infantry force, south of Luanda, rather than staying in their previous advisory roles in the more protected perimeters of the capital.

"Also, (Unita leader) Savimbi's troops have begun attacking Cuban soldiers in northern Cabinda. This time, Cuban troops could suffer losses in the tens of thousands.

"This is causing Castro's foreign programme to wear thin at home, especially in combination with the other problems faced by today's young

ARGUS 15/6/87  
5

# Castro's Africa project wearing thin at home

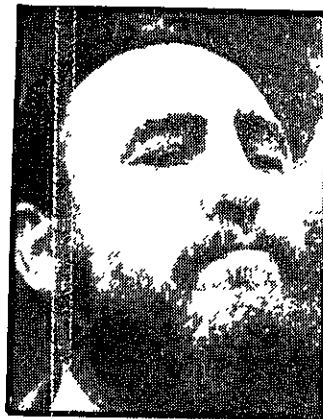
By  
**NEIL LURSSSEN**  
The Argus  
Foreign Service

ger non-professional Cuban soldiers." These, writes Professor Falk, include . . . distaste for the climate and distance from home, the increasing fear of Aids and other diseases of the African continent, the fear that they will, like other soldiers before them, be reassigned outside Cuba if they are seriously wounded in order to shield the domestic population from the grisly reality — and the visceral reaction to being buried 3 1355km from home, as the majority of Cuban fatalities have been thus far."

In addition to the high human cost, Cubans have to pay more money for their Angolan involvement, Professor Falk says.

Exact figures are hard to establish but she gives a past estimate of R600-million a year paid by Angola to the Cubans.

Now, with the dramatic drop in the world price of oil



**Cuban leader Fidel Castro.**

— Angola's chief currency earner — Angola's ability to pay the Cuban costs have dried up, she says.

Professor Falk notes that in spite of its difficulties, Cuba will be reluctant to withdraw from Angola without some "tangible and lasting benefit."

The independence of Namibia is one possible benefit for which Cuba might be given some credit, she suggests. Another could be improved relations with the United States.

"Cuba is unlikely to leave without some diplomatic victory, a fact that may rankle

with some policymakers but one which must be recognised," she writes.

Professor Falk says that in the 12 years of its involvement in Angola, Cuba has trained some 400 000 troops there. Currently, the Cuban forces are divided into 15 regiments, all but six of them within the capital perimeter.

"The Cuban effort in Angola has been directed by a small group of officers sent there to test their loyalty to the Castro government, among them are Commander Leopoldo Cintra Frias, a protégé of Castro's brother Raul, and Major General Senen Casas, a confidant of Fidel.

"Some military commanders have been forced to earn their stripes in Angola after military defeat elsewhere.

"For example, Colonel Pedro Tortolo, after being court-martialed and demoted to the rank of private for his defeat in Grenada, was assigned to Luanda." Not divided into formal regiments are the 1 500 Soviet soldiers who provide technical support for Soviet military equipment, and 3 000 East Germans who operate the railways, telecommunications and intelligence facilities.

# Angolan costs rise for Castro

From The Star's  
Washington Bureau

Cuban leader Fidel Castro's programme of sending troops to Africa is starting to wear thin at home, according to an American expert on Cuban politics.

And among Cuba's young troops in Angola there is a growing dislike of conditions there, she says.

Professor Pamela Falk of Columbia University's Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies says that while the economic costs of Cuba's involvement in Angola have been high, so have the benefits.

"Now, however, the costs will go much higher," she writes in the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs*, a respected American foreign policy journal.

"Cuban troops are beginning to join the Angolan army in the main infantry force, south of Luanda, rather than staying in their previous advisory roles in the more protected perimeters of the capital.

"Also (Unita leader) Savimbi's troops have begun attacking Cuban soldiers in northern Cabinda. This time, Cuban troops could suffer losses in the tens of thousands.

"That is causing Castro's foreign programme to wear thin at home, especially in combination with the other problems faced by today's younger non-professional Cuban soldiers."

## FEAR OF AIDS

These, writes Professor Falk, include "distaste for the climate and distance from home, the increasing fear of Aids and other diseases of the African continent, the fear that they will, like other soldiers before them, be reassigned outside Cuba if they are seriously wounded in order to shield the domestic population from the grisly reality — and the visceral reaction to being buried 8 000 km from home, as the majority of Cuban fatalities have been thus far."

In addition to the high human cost, Cubans have to pay more money for their Angolan involvement, Professor Falk says. Exact figures are hard to establish but she gives a past estimate of \$300 million a year paid by Angola to the Cubans.

Now, with the dramatic drop in the world price of oil — Angola's chief currency earner — Angola's ability to pay the Cuban costs has dried up, she says.

Professor Falk notes that in spite of its difficulties, Cuba will be reluctant to withdraw from Angola without some "tangible and lasting benefit".



Castro . . . no withdrawal without a diplomatic victory?

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NK 6/16/87 (5)

# 50 Angolan soldiers die in border clash

By **ARNOLD KIRKBY**  
Defence Reporter

**SOUTH** African-led security forces have killed about 50 Angolan (Fapla) soldiers in cross-border follow-up operations against Swapo insurgents. This brings to more than 150 the number killed in 15 months.

The Fapla soldiers were killed last week "going to the aid of or protecting Swapo elements" who returned to southern Angola after raids into SWA/Namibia, according to sources in the territory.

The war in Angola has intensified this year, with a build-up of Fapla ground and air forces, especially in the southern provinces, preparing to attack Unita chief Jonas Savimbi's rebel stronghold in the south-east.

There have also been raids

into SWA/Namibia by Swapo insurgents, followed by hot-pursuit operations across the border which resulted in increased clashes with Fapla.

Since the beginning of the year more than 500 Swapo have been killed in operations on both sides of the border, including about 60 in the past six weeks.

The most recent follow-up operation took place last week when security forces dashed across the border after a number of schoolchildren were abducted by Swapo.

The chase led to the Fapla base near Anhaca, where the security forces came under rifle and grenade fire, according to Major-General Willie Meyer, commander of the South West African Territory Force.

Twenty Swapo members and about 50 Fapla soldiers were

killed, according to defence sources.

In January a follow-up operation against Swapo near Mongua left 72 insurgents and 48 Fapla soldiers dead.

In May last year 56 Angolans were believed to have died in a cross-border operation in pursuit of a Swapo contingent.

Two security force platoons made contact with a large "enemy" force, resulting in a fire-fight.

In spite of having MiG-23 fighters flown by Cuban and Russian pilots, the Angolan Air Force has made only one reported attack on security forces which have crossed the border. No security force losses or injuries were reported.

Estimates of the AAF fighter strength is believed to be more than 80, including MiG-23s, MiG-21s and Sukhoi 22s.

# Cuban: '10,000 killed in Angola'

*Call Times 16/6/87 5*

WASHINGTON. — The Cuban general who defected to the United States last month has told American interrogators that 10 000 Cuban troops have been killed in Angola since 1976, US officials said.

The estimate by Brigadier-General Rafael del Pino Diaz is the first authoritative figure the US has received on Cuban casualties in Angola, but the officials said it was roughly the same as American calculations.

Over the years, Cuba has kept a tight hold on information about casualties in Angola, never referring to the subject publicly.

If Gen Diaz's estimate is accurate, it would mean Cuban losses in Angola are proportionately much higher than American losses in Vietnam. There were slightly more than 50 000 US servicemen killed in Vietnam, but the US population is about 22 times that of Cuba's.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the US-backed anti-Marxist rebels in Angola, said last year that the number of Cuban dead in Angola totaled 6 200 as of 1984.

A decade ago, Gen Diaz reportedly served as chief of the Cuban air and anti-aircraft forces in Angola.

The deputy chief of staff of the Cuban Defence Ministry, he fled Cuba aboard a twin-engined Cessna 402 with his wife and three children on May 28.

US Justice Department officials have described the defection as possibly the biggest Cuban intelligence catch to date. — Sapa-AP

# SA troops move in on town in Angola <sup>4/6/67</sup> <sub>29/6/67</sub> <sup>5</sup> report

LISBON. — South African troops supported by artillery and helicopters are preparing to surround the southern Angolan border town of N'Give, according to the official Angolan news agency, Angop.

It said at least two South African army battalions had crossed from SWA/Namibia in spite of stiff Angolan resistance. Angop gave no details of the fighting.

Three weeks ago South African-backed Namibian forces said they killed 20 Swapo guerrillas and an unspecified number of Angolan troops around the nearby town of Anhanca.

Reacting to the report, a spokesman for the South African Army in Pretoria said: "Angop has made similar claims in the past and this latest one is in line with the current orchestrated campaign against South Africa."

From Johannesburg it is reported that the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has said in a statement that

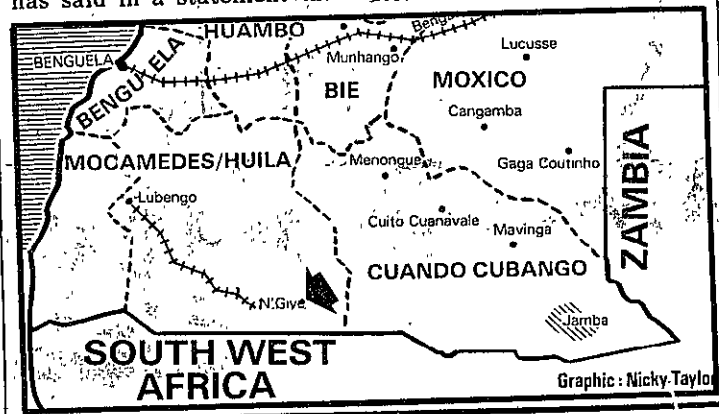
Southern Africa has reached the crossroads.

Leaders of Zambia, Mozambique and Angola had been repeatedly asked to stop accommodating and supporting terrorists in the interests of Southern Africa, General Malan said.

He said a propaganda campaign was being waged against South Africa as a prelude to the report of the Margo commission of inquiry into the air disaster in which President Samora Machel died.

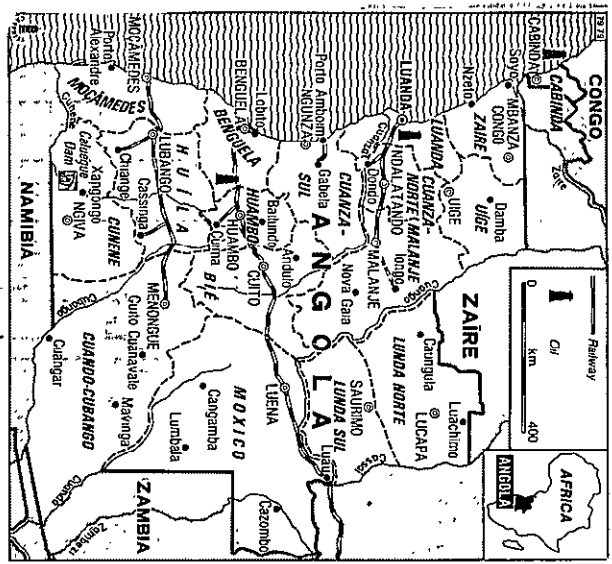
Referring to pro-Western African groups which approached South Africa for help because they were faced by Soviet expansionism, General Malan said the Government had to consider factors that would ultimately bring peace and stability to the region.

He said South Africa's point of view was clear: If Southern Africa desired peace, South Africa was prepared to conclude appropriate treaties. — Sapa-Reuter.



# Angop: 'SABOMBS Ngiva'

*Cont Times 30/6/87*



LISBON. — South African aircraft yesterday bombed a strategic town in southern Angola and army units, backed by helicopters and armoured cars, were preparing for a major assault, Angola's official news agency Angop claimed yesterday.

In Windhoek a South West African Territory Force (SWATF) spokesman, asked to comment on the reports that South African aircraft had bombed Ngiva, could neither confirm nor deny the reported fighting.

The SWATF is a division of the South African Defence Force and the SWATF forces are under the direct command of Pretoria.

In Pretoria a SADF spokesman said: "This claim is similar to a claim made by Angop

yesterday. It is part of the orchestrated campaign against South Africa."

The spokesmen were reacting to an Associated Press report from Lisbon based on a report by Angop.

The Angop report said infantry, armour and helicopters had surrounded Ngiva, the capital of Cunene province that borders Namibia.

It said the aircraft had bombed Angolan army positions in Ngiva as South African army units drew up in a semi-circle south of the city in readiness to launch a major attack.

The agency said the alleged advance against Ngiva, 50km north of the border with Namibia, followed the defeat of a South African attack on June 6 on the southern town of Anhanganga. It gave no further details of either operation. Angola's allegations came as

anti-government Unita rebels said Angolan government forces were preparing for a major offensive against Unita's southern strongholds in Cunene and neighbouring Cuando Cubango province.

The Marxist Luanda government has repeatedly charged South Africa with striking at Angolan army positions to relieve pressure on Unita guerrillas.

Ngiva was seized by South Africa in a major incursion into southern Angola in 1981 and held largely under South African military control for about four years.

Few people are believed to live in the city, that has been bombarded repeatedly by South African aircraft and artillery.

□ In Harare the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), Swapo's military wing,

claimed that it killed about 18 South African soldiers, captured three and wounded more than 35 in a number of combat actions between March 30 and May 15, Zizana, the semi-official agency reports.

In response to the communique, a senior South African Defence Force spokesman said that earlier this year Swapo made similar allegations with no evidence to support their claims.

"This is typical bearing in mind that they have had no success in their annual attempt to infiltrate South West Africa during the rainy season," the spokesman said.

"While the defence force's losses are a matter of public record the same cannot be said of Swapo. This is yet another attempt to bolster their denied international image," he said. — Sapa-AP

# 56 000 Cubans deserted,<sup>CONF Tumbles</sup> claims defector<sup>30/6/82 5</sup>

WASHINGTON. — The Cuban general who defected to the United States last month told US Vice-President George Bush yesterday that 56 000 Cuban soldiers had deserted over the past three years, Mr Bush told reporters.

Briefing reporters on the half-hour meeting at his residence, Mr Bush said Brigadier-General Rafael del Pino Diaz reported that much of the dissatisfaction in the military stemmed from Cuba's troop commitment in Angola.

Gen Del Pino, who once commanded Cuban Air Force personnel in Angola, said the military involvement there is "extremely unpopular", partly because Cubans killed in that country are not taken home for burial, according to Mr Bush.

"This causes great strain on the families ... not knowing really why they've given their lives," Mr Bush said.

Gen Del Pino, once a hero of the Cuban revolution because of his combat role during the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, defected in May 28 in a Cessna 402.

US officials said two weeks ago that Gen Del Pino reported that 10 000 Cubans had died in Angola since 1976. — Sapa-AP

Bombing report part of orchestrated campaign, says SADF

# SA accused of Angola strike

South African warplanes bombed a strategic city in southern Angola as army units, backed by helicopters and armoured cars, prepared for a major assault, Angola's official news agency, Angop, said yesterday.

Two South African infantry battalions, supported by 50 armoured cars and Ken-tron helicopters, are surrounding Ongiva, the capital of Cunene province that borders Namibia, Angop said.

A SADF spokesman in Pretoria, asked to comment on the report, said the claim was similar to one made by Angop the previous day.

"It is part of the orchestrated campaign against South Africa."

The Angop report, monitored in Lisbon, said South African warplanes were bombing

Angolan army positions in Ongiva as army units drew up in a semi-circle south of the city in readiness to launch a major attack during the current dry season.

Angop said the alleged advance against Ongiva, 50 km north of the border with Namibia, followed the defeat of a South African attack on June 6 on the southern town of Anhanganga.

It gave no further details of either operation.

Angola's allegations came as anti-government Unita rebels said Angolan government forces were preparing for a major offensive against their southern strongholds in Cunene and neighbouring Cuando Cubango province.

Ongiva was seized by South Africa in a major incursion into southern Angola in 1981 and held,

largely under South African military control for about four years.

Few people are believed to live in the city that has been repeatedly bombarded by South African planes and artillery.

## Pressure

Angola has repeatedly charged South Africa with striking at Angolan army positions to relieve pressure on Unita guerrillas.

South Africa says its troops cross into Angola only in pursuit of Swapo guerrillas fighting for Namibian independence, whom it alleges operate from bases in southern Angola.

Unita has been fighting to topple the Angolan government since soon after independence from Portugal in 1975.

An estimated 30 000 Cuban soldiers and an undetermined number of Soviet and other East-bloc advisers support the Angolan government forces. — Sapa-AP.

## Swapo dispatch claims 18 SA soldiers killed

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — Swapo has killed 18 South African soldiers and captured three members of the Koevoet squad, according to a dispatch issued by the movement here.

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force said that earlier this year Swapo made similar allegations with no evidence to support their claims.

"This is typical, bearing in mind that they have had no success in their annual attempt to infiltrate Namibia during the rainy season. While the Defence Force's losses are a matter of public record, the same cannot be said of Swapo.

"This is yet another attempt to bolster their dented international image," the spokesman said.

The dispatch claims the capture of the Koevoets took place during a number of successful actions between March 30 and May 15.

Swapo also claims to have bombed a petrol station used by the SADF in Ojjiwarongo, sabotaged a railway line at Brakwater near Windhoek, and destroyed two outposts at Onhelelwa.

On April 20, Swapo claims to have blown up a Casspir at Ohahengena, killing the occupants, and says 10 South African soldiers were killed at Oshakati.

Lisbon

5/20/81



## Recognition wanted

## Victories over Unita claimed

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Angola claimed a spate of recent victories against the Unita rebels in the east yesterday but made no further mention of an alleged major South African operation threatening a southern provincial capital.

The official Angolan news agency (Angop) said troops had killed or captured more than 600 Unita guerrillas in the past six months in eastern Moxico province.

In dispatches monitored in Lisbon, Angop said 592 rebels were killed, 17 others captured and more than 500 t of arms and munitions seized in "clean up" operations in Moxico since the beginning of the year.

It made no mention of army casualties in the reported fighting in the province — which borders Zaire and Zambia — an area crossed by the vital Benguela Railway line and partially controlled by Dr Jonas Savimbi's insurgents. Unita spokesmen in Lisbon were not immediately available for comment.

Angop made no reference to an alleged South African cross-border offensive against Ongiva, capital of southern Cunene province, which it denounced three days ago.

In dispatches from Luanda on Sunday, the agency quoted military sources as saying that "more than two (South African) battalions", backed by armoured cars, helicopters and artillery, were encircling the town which is located some 50 km north of the Namibian border.

# Angola hints at US deal on Cubans

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

Washington

The Luanda government appears to be willing to reduce the number of Cuban troops in Angola in return for diplomatic recognition by the United States.

It also wants the Americans to put pressure on South Africa to withdraw its troops from southern Angola.

These are the clearest points to emerge in the past few days from sometimes conflicting statements by Angolan leaders in Luanda as they prepare for new talks with US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker later this month.

But there are few indications in Washington that the Reagan administration will extend diplomatic recognition to Angola's Marxist regime in the near future.

US officials say that their approaching talks with the ruling MPLA will be based on United Nations Resolution 435 — the ageing international plan that envisages independence for Namibia and a withdrawal of all hostile foreign forces from the region.

The Americans add that they see no possibility of a military solution to the Angolan problem.

### More required

This position, repeated by Reagan officials many times, is a clear indication that the Angolans will have to do much more than reduce the Cuban presence if they wish to be recognised by Washington.

What the Americans want is a total Cuban withdrawal and the start of internal negotiations that will lead to a settlement between the MPLA and the country's Unita rebels.

Congressman Howard Wolpe, a liberal Democrat who was in Luanda at the weekend, said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had told the US delegation he was willing to negotiate Cuban withdrawal as a way of improving relations with Washington.

But when he spoke to reporters later, Mr dos Santos seemed less flexible, noting that the Cubans would remain in his country as long as South Africa was under white rule.

Washington analysts note that the Angolans are also under pressure from Cuban leader Mr Fidel Castro who is unwilling to quit Angola unless he can claim some successes for the years his troops have been there.

If the Americans and the South Africans want the Cubans out, the analysts say, they will have to give Mr Castro something in return.

International recognition of the MPLA regime could be one of the "gifts" — but the Americans are not ready to give it right now.

AK645 1/7/82 (5)

New disclosure by top military defector on situation in Angola,

# Cubans think war is lost

From ALAN DUNN

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The Cuban military high command believes that the war in Angola has already been lost. The Cuban military leadership as Cubans had been turned into a mercenary force, and Angola was being seen by the Army officers were unhappy war in Angola had been lost.

This is the latest disclosure to United States intelligence experts by Brigadier-General Rafael del Pino, the former air force deputy chief of staff in charge of air defenses, who fled with his family from Havana to the US on May 28. "Only Fidel Castro (the Cuban President) and armed forces commander Raul Castro have any faith in victory," he said.

General del Pino served as chief of Cuban air troops in Angola until February this year. His information has been slowly emerging here of Cuban involvement in Angola and widespread dislike of it at home.

**Caught in trap**  
The general said that one of the factors contributing to his disillusionment was an incident on February 4 last year when a scouting group of 13 Cubans and two Angolans was trapped behind South African lines. When they appealed for evacuation, General del Pino said, his superiors told him that Cuba's Castro would first have to approve a rescue.

A Soviet MIG fighter was flown to the spot to distract ground forces and allow helicopters to lift the troops out of trouble. General del Pino said that after this incident headquarters in Havana warned him that it happened again he would be "downgraded and returned to Cuba under arrest".

General del Pino was earlier reported to have estimated that 10 000 Cubans had been killed in Angola, in a war that was "extremely unpopular" among Cubans.

**New estimate**  
This week, however, that estimate was revised to include those who had died, were wounded, or were missing. General del Pino, who this week met US Vice-President George Bush, said in a message broadcast to Cuba that there was a feeling in the Cuban military high command that the

There were "very serious disagreements" between Cuban and Soviet military advisers. The general also said that the Cuban army jails soldiers who test positive for Aids when they return home from Angola.

ARGUS 1/7/87 (S)

# Savimbi to launch 'violent' offensive

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
LISBON. — Dr Jonas Savimbi intends launching a "violent" military operation in Angola tomorrow.

The Unita chief vowed today that at the end of the campaign he would declare a "unilateral ceasefire" along Angola's vital Benguela railway.

Dr Savimbi, in a statement issued simultaneously in Lisbon and other European capitals, said the guerrilla campaign, set to start at midnight today, aimed to "frustrate the so-called great Russian-Cuban offensive" against Unita's strongholds in the south-east.

"We will protect the people," he said, adding that "all (Angola's) economic infrastructures will be considered as military targets".



**Dr Savimbi**

Without mentioning any date, Dr Savimbi said he would declare "a unilateral ceasefire" along the Benguela railway "when the military campaign, which we foresee as violent, ends."

He said the initiative, aimed to allow Zaire, Zambia and Luanda "to reflect again" on Unita's offer to permit the reopening of the war-stalled international railway for non-military purposes under the supervision of an impartial team.

The neighboring countries, without ever mentioning the Unita offer, agreed last month to relaunch the railway while limiting its use to non-belligerent traffic, but they have not responded to the rebels' demand for a monitoring commission.

... followed by military vehicles. ... against Angolan forces.

statement say... the accoru... Services... on Ma... prefer... u... not reinter... the...

B Day 2/7/87

# Unita claims counter-offensive

LISBON — Unita rebels say they have launched a major counter-offensive to thwart Soviet and Cuban-backed government forces allegedly advancing against their southern strongholds.

At the end of the campaign, they said, they would declare a unilateral ceasefire along the strategic Benguela railroad.

A statement, signed by rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and distributed in Lisbon, said the nationwide counter-offensive began at midnight on Tuesday and would lead to heavy fighting.

No indication was given as to when

the campaign might end. Unita said all of Angola's infrastructure and economic installations would be considered as legitimate targets.

The rebels claim government forces, backed by massive Soviet military aid and Cuban troops, have launched a major dry-season offensive aimed at seizing their bush headquarters at Jamba in the south-east.

But Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos told US journalists visiting Luanda on Monday the Unita claims were propaganda aimed at winning

more arms from the West. An Angolan official said on Tuesday government troops had killed 592 rebels since January in south-eastern Moxico province.

The region is a key area of confrontation in any Angolan army push against Unita's main bases further south.

Unita has said it would declare a ceasefire along the 1340km Benguela railroad to enable the governments of Angola, Zaire and Zambia to reconsider its offer of halting sabotage attacks to allow the line to reopen. — Sapa-AP.

the second year in April-June

from architecture

UNITA CLAIMS  
2/7/82

# Unita claims Soviets and (S) Cubans backing attack on Jamba

LISBON — Unita rebels claimed to have launched a major counter-offensive to thwart Soviet- and Cuban-backed government forces allegedly advancing against their southern strongholds.

A statement issued by Dr. Jonas Savimbi yesterday said the Unita counter-offensive, which had started at midnight on Monday, would lead to heavy fighting. No indication was given as to when the campaign might end.

He said all Angola's infrastructure and economic installations would be considered as legitimate targets.

At the end of the campaign Unita would declare a unilateral ceasefire along the strategic Benguela railroad, he said.

The rebels claim that Soviet-backed government forces and Cuban troops have launched a major dry-season offensive to seize their bush headquarters at Jamba in the south-east.

But Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told United States journalists visiting Luanda on Monday that the Unita claims were "mere propaganda" aimed at winning more arms from the West.

Dr. Savimbi has appealed to the United States for more weapons to help defeat the alleged offensive.

— Sapa-AP

CPM Times 2/7/87

# Malan warns of Soviet 'offensive' in Angola

POTCHEFSTROOM. — The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday that he would "not tie the hands" of the Defence Force which was in the "frontline of battle" and a major target of propaganda and slander.

Speaking at a Defence Force Day parade here, General Malan said there was a dry season in Angola again, and it was "almost time for another Soviet-planned and supported offensive, executed by its Cuban mercenaries".

The Soviet "puppet masters" unjustly blamed South Africa for destabilization in Southern Africa, and these falsehoods were fed to pressure groups, foreign governments and "the

masses of our people".  
"This is how revolutionaries, and terrorists fight us," Gen Malan said. "Therefore we need not apologize to anyone if our counter-strategy is all-embracing."

Gen Malan said he found it sad that the South African media, particularly newspapers, were often instrumental in uncritically spreading "this vicious propaganda".

He did not directly refer to claims by the official Angolan news agency Angop, earlier this week that South African aircraft bombed Ngiva in southern Angola, and that SADF ground forces were being deployed in preparation for a raid into the area.

ARGUS 7/7/77 (5)

# Unita claims victory in 'major clash'

## The Argus Foreign Service

LISBON. — Unita has claimed it downed a Soviet bomber, destroyed 23 vehicles and killed about 50 soldiers, including 12 Cubans, in a major clash in south-eastern Angola.

The rebels said fighting broke out on Saturday along the Longa River in an attack on "a column of more than 300 vehicles, including tanks and armoured cars", three army brigades and two "reinforced" Cuban battalions.

In a statement issued in Lisbon, Unita said the column was halted as it advanced east from the Kuando Kubango provincial capital of Menongue for an offensive against Mavinga — the gateway to Jonas Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba.

## Offensive

There was no independent confirmation or comment from the Marxist government in Luanda.

Unita said the engagement was proof Luanda and its Moscow-bloc allies were preparing a major dry season offensive against its traditional strongholds near the border with SWA/Namibia.

"The offensive begins to assume its real proportions. Luanda continues to minimise its desire to destroy Unita and the direct involvement of the Cubans in combat in an attempt to continue its senseless courtship of the Americans".

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told US journalists on June 28 he had no plans for an imminent offensive and accused Unita of claiming this simply to get fresh US aid.

US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, is expected in Luan-

da next Tuesday to try reviving three-way talks over independence for Namibia in exchange for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola and peace talks between Mr dos Santos's MPLA and Unita.

Unita acknowledged seven dead and 18 wounded in the fighting on Saturday — the second victory it has claimed in 10 days along the Longa River, about 850 km south-east of Luanda.

Earlier, it claimed it had killed 45 soldiers and destroyed 10 armoured cars and 40 other vehicles on June 24 as the army tried to move men and equipment from Menongue to Cuito-Cuanavale, Luanda's forward bastion in the south-east.

## Food-aid convoy ambushed by MNR

### The Argus Foreign Service

MUNICH. — A relief convoy of the West German aid organisation Deutsche Welthungerhilfe was ambushed by MNR rebels in Mozambique and its German leader was injured.

The convoy's German project leader, Guenther Bischoff, was grazed by a bullet when the MNR forces ambushed the relief trucks near the town of Guro.

Mozambican government troops travelling with the convoy beat the rebels back.

The organisation said the war between Renamo rebels and government forces had disrupted agricultural production and whole provinces could be fed only through the regular delivery of outside aid.

Senators seek end to trade, Cubans under the spotlight

# Anti-Angola move in US

MSGS 8/7/87

From NEIL LURSEN

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Intense political arm-twisting is going on behind the scenes in Washington as senators prepare to vote on a measure which would cut American economic ties with Angola.

The vote is likely to have a major impact on negotiations between the two countries on the future of Cuban troops in Angola.

Although the Reagan Administration does not recognise Angola's Marxist MPLA regime and provides military assistance to the anti-government Unita rebels, the US continues to be Angola's largest trading partner, providing about 80 percent of its hard currency earnings — largely through oil drilling which is carried out under the protection of the Cuban troops that the Americans are trying to force out.

Influential senators from both major parties, concerned about the inconsistencies in US policy and fed up with Angola's regular anti-US votes in the United Nations as well as its grim human rights record, have moved to block American business transactions which, they say, conflict with US security interests in Angola.

Democratic Senator Dennis Deconcini of Arizona told his colleagues: "One US oil company alone accounted for \$600-million in hard foreign currency for Angola in 1985. What does this foreign exchange buy for Angola? More Soviet weapons and more Cuban troops."

## Other interests

He and other senators, including Republican presidential candidate Senator Robert Dole, have drafted an amendment they want to attach to an important trade Bill which calls on President Reagan to act against Angola under the Export Administration Act. The issue may go to the vote this week, possibly tomorrow.

It is being fiercely resisted by liberal Democrats, who want the US Government to recognise the MPLA regime diplomatically, and by lobbyists for the Chevron Oil Company, who claim that other interests

will simply take over their business if they are forced out of Angola.

Lobbyists for both sides are working hard to influence the US lawmakers, a contest being largely ignored by the American media this week because of the drama in the Iran-Contra hearings and the tense situation in the Persian Gulf.

The dispute comes at a time when the Angolan Government appears more willing than before to admit that its economy is in a shambles.

There are also signals from Luanda that the MPLA leadership may be willing to trade off some of the Cuban troops there in return for American diplomatic recognition — a slight opening in relations between the US and Angola that Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker may want to exploit when he meets MPLA leaders next week.



APR 11 1987

# 'I was a spy' says man freed by Angola

LISBON. — A Portuguese citizen released by Angolan authorities after being convicted and sentenced to death on charges of spying for South Africa said on arrival in Lisbon he actually had been a spy.

"My conviction and sentencing by the Angolan government were just," Mr Amilcar Fernandes Freire, 67, told reporters at Lisbon's Portela Airport after a Tuesday night flight from the Angolan capital of Luanda.

"In fact I did carry out espionage for a foreign country as a secret agent," he said.

But Mr Freire, whose release was ordered by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos last Thursday, refused to name the country he spied for.

Mr Freire's death sentence ordered two years ago by a Luanda court set off a flurry of pleas for clemency from family and friends in Portugal, winning a reduction last year to 24 years in prison.

Angolan authorities removed him from death row after 10 months, and placed him under house arrest earlier this year. — Sapa-AP

CMT Trn AS  
9/7/89  
(S) (P)

# SA denies chemical weapons claim

LISBON. — Angola claimed yesterday that South African troops, backed by planes, tanks and artillery, had used chemical weapons in attacks inside southern Angola last month.

Reacting to the allegation, the Defence Force said: "It is . . . common knowledge that it is the Russians and their surrogates who resort to chemical weapons when hardpressed."

The Angolan claims were reported by the official Angolan news agency from Luanda.

In a dispatch monitored in Lisbon, it said the South Africans, who numbered 6 800, suffered "incalculable" casualties and had 11 armoured vehicles destroyed in battles with Angolan troops in the provinces of Namibe, Cunene and Huila. "On June 1 our troops were attacked

30 km south-east of Chamutete by South African forces using banned chemical weapons," Angop said, citing sources in Angola's southern military command. No details were given.

Much of the fighting between June 1 and 29 took place around Ngiva, a strategic town just north of the border with Namibia which has previously been used by South Africa as a staging post for incursions into Angola.

"On June 24 South African artillery and air force jets used napalm in attacks on Namatongo, 25 km from Changongo (formerly Rocadas), and outside Ngiva," Angop said.

The South Africans appeared to be trying to create a buffer zone in the area to allow free movement by rebels of Unita, Angop said.

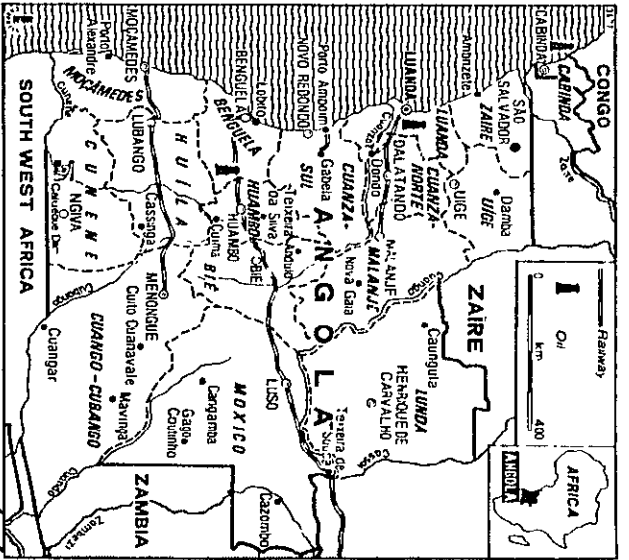
The Defence Force spokesman said it had been widely reported that Unita achieved significant successes against Soviet and Cuban forces in the southern provinces of Angola.

"The allegations are an obvious attempt to minimize these setbacks by blaming South Africa," he said.

In a communique delivered in Lisbon, Unita said its guerrillas launched a wave of attacks in northern and central provinces on Monday, killing 160 government troops and seven Cubans, and destroying a Soviet-built helicopter.

The rebels said about a dozen rural villages were seized and an Mi-8 helicopter was shot down near the provincial capital of Bie. The crew died in the crash. The statement put Unita losses at seven. — Sapa

CMT Trn AS 9/7/89



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Amendment defeated after intense lobbying

# US Senate rejects Angola trade cut

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States Senate has decided not to cut American trade ties with Angola after intense lobbying by both sides of the debate.

Yesterday's 61-31 vote against the trade cut came a week before American and Angolan officials are to meet in Luanda to renew stalled talks about the withdrawal of Cuban troops and Namibian independence.

The Senate measure, an amendment to a trade Bill, was aimed specifically at forcing the Chevron Oil Company to stop drilling operations in Angola.

Conservatives argued that it was an absurd situation that allowed American oil interests to provide Marxist Angola with most of its hard currency — which was spent by the communist government on more Cuban troops and Soviet weapons.

## Rejecting the amendment

In rejecting the amendment, the Senate seemed to be swayed by arguments it dismissed during the debate over South African sanctions — that other international companies would take over commercial operations and that the withdrawal would do nothing to change the situation in Angola.

Opponents argued, too, that American oil drillers would lose jobs and that American firms manufacturing drilling equipment would lose sales.

Rhode Island Senator John Chafee noted that approval of the Angolan sanctions would have meant a total trade embargo — a move that would have gone much further than the limited sanctions against South Africa.

## On the wrong side

Senator Paul Simon, a liberal Democrat running for president next year, warned his colleagues that a vote for the trade cut would have put the United States on the wrong side in southern Africa, alienating African countries.

Reagan administration officials are pleased with the vote.

They felt a trade cut would have reduced United States influence in Angola even further.

It seems likely that the Senate decision will contribute to a more positive attitude by the MPLA delegation during the talks next week with the United States team led by Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker.

The *Washington Times* has reported Unita rebels are vulnerable to government offensives because of a three-month delay last year in congressional funding for Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and TOW anti-tank missiles.

Quoting intelligence sources, the newspaper said there was a three-month delay in training Unita forces how to fire the shoulder-mounted Stingers.

"CIA operations specialists are scrambling to prepared the rebels for a possible military offensive by Soviet-backed forces of the Marxist regime," the newspaper said.

CME Times 10/7/77

(Circled scribbles) (5)

# US Senate votes for Angolan trade

WASHINGTON. — The Senate yesterday rejected a move to bar United States trade with Angola as a way to press for a settlement in the country's 12-year civil war and force withdrawal of Cuban troops.

If it had been adopted, the embargo's main impact would have been to force American oil companies to cease operations in Angola. It would have barred imports of Angolan oil — about 3% of American oil imports.

Proposed as a show of support for the Unita guerilla forces, the measure was defeated on a vote of 61 to 38.

Although the US does not have diplomatic relations with Angola, the White House had

strongly objected to the proposed embargo, saying it would reduce the limited US economic influence on the Luanda government.

Senator Mrs Nancy Kassebaum, former head of the Senate Foreign Relations Africa Subcommittee, warned that the trade ban would reduce US influence in negotiations with the ruling MPLA.

Senate Republican leader Mr Robert Dole argued unsuccessfully for passage of the measure.

"We can't tolerate communist control of our oil supplies. It's Cuban troops that keep the oil flowing," he said.

In a challenge to the administration's defence of the Gulf oil shipping lanes and its position on Angola, Mr Dole asked: "Why do

we believe the Soviets would turn off the spigot in the Persian Gulf and not do it in Angola?"

Some 35 000 Cuban troops are stationed in Angola and their presence protects oil production, 75% of which is by US corporations, including the Chevron Company.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Mr Claiborne Pell, a Democrat, said Western Europe and Japan would not support the trade embargo and would take over US investments in Angola.

Other opponents said it would make the US even more dependent on Middle East oil.

The trade ban was considered as an amendment to a major foreign trade bill being debated in the Senate. — Sapa-Reuter

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# US meets Angola over Namibian deadlock

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LUANDA. — President Reagan's Africa expert yesterday held a second day of talks with Angolan government officials to try to resolve the deadlock over the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and independence for Namibia.

Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, met Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Afonso Van-Dunem in Luanda following the resumption of high-level contacts between Angola and the United States three months ago.

Formal talks between the two countries, which do not have diplomatic relations, had been suspended for 15 months following a US decision to send military aid to Angolan rebels fighting to topple the Luanda government. Diplomatic sources in Luanda said they believed Angola might be prepared to put forward new proposals for the withdrawal of the Cubans, the main stumbling-block in past negotiations on the UN plan for Namibian independence.

In return, Angola would be seeking possible diplomatic recognition by the United States, an end to US support for Unita rebels and US pressure on South Africa to halt military incursions into southern Angola.

Dr Crocker's meetings in the Angolan capital were surrounded by official silence on both sides. — Sapa-Reuter

Secretary for Overseas

# Debt refinancing proposal

Racked by war and beset by a severe payments crisis since the slide in oil prices, Angola would have to spend over half export earnings this year to meet debt service obligations and clear accumulated arrears, unless it can convince Western governments to back an imaginative market-based strategy to restructure debts.

Angola is almost an oil mono-export country, due both to the impressive growth of its oil industry since the early Eighties and the havoc wreaked on its non-oil economy by 12 years of war. After Nigeria, it is sub-Saharan Africa's largest oil producer. Last year oil production rose by 21,5% to average 282 000 barrels per day (bpd). Exports reached 252 000 bpd, 25,3% higher than in 1985 and 2,5 times as high as in 1982.

But Angola's average oil export price more than halved in 1986, to a mere \$12,29 per barrel. Crude oil exports dropped 41% in value, to \$1,13 billion. Other exports (refined petroleum, liquid petroleum gas, diamonds and coffee) added only \$144m, so overall exports slumped by 35% from \$1,98 billion to \$1,28 billion.

Government imposed tough austerity measures, which cut imports by 23% to \$1,06 billion. Nonetheless, the current account deficit doubled from \$236m to \$447m.

Import cuts have forced many industries to reduce production to a small fraction of capacity. "Some enterprises already running at reduced rates may stop production in a few months' time," President Jose Eduardo dos Santos warned on May 15.

Industry's problems are doubly serious because traditional supplies of agricultural raw materials from the rural hinterland have dried to a trickle.

The war with Unita has made defence the government's overriding priority. Last year it devoured \$1,15 billion, a staggering 40,4% of total government expenditure.

When oil exports slumped, the debt service burden, hitherto modest, became insupportable. A bilateral rescheduling of 1987-1988 principal repayments was negotiated with the Soviet Union, by far the largest creditor because of its huge military sales.

But debt service, equivalent to 18,2% of current account receipts in 1985, would still have risen to 33,1% last year — without the build-up of arrears. By year-end these had reached \$378m, including about \$220m to Western export credit agencies.

Government is proceeding with salutary economic reforms, including price liberalisa-

Cuango deposit, where a Unita attack in 1984 forced a two-and-a-half year standstill. Moreover, oil output is forecast to average 321 000 bpd in 1987. Oil exports are projected to rise by 12% in volume to 382 000 bpd and, assuming an average price of \$16 a barrel, by 46% in value to \$1,65 billion.

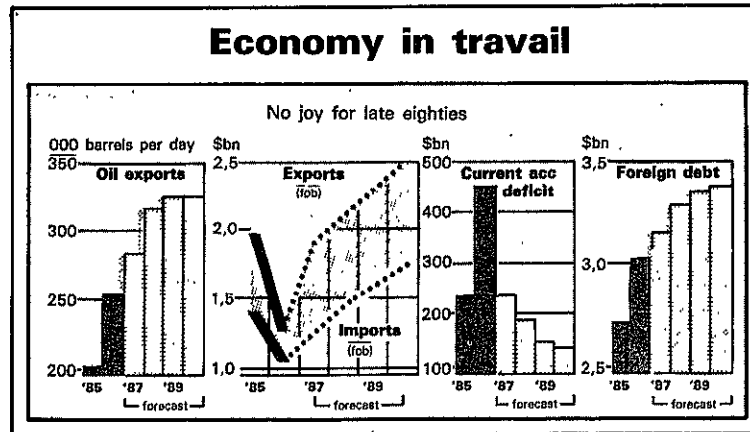
Expecting a 47% improvement in overall exports to \$1,88 billion, government hopes to ease shortages by allowing imports to rise 20% to \$1,3 billion, while still cutting the current account deficit by almost half to \$238m. Encouraging though that may be, Angola still has to clear its backlog of arrears and meet heavy debt repayments, which are now peaking. It would take 54% of projected merchandise export earnings to meet all debt service obligations (\$648m) and clear the 1986 arrears this year.

A classical rescheduling through the Paris Club, requiring prior agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), is seemingly excluded because Angola, alone among African countries, is not an IMF member. Instead, the finance minister is proposing a novel refinancing strategy that would obviate the need for rescheduling.

This centres on a 15-year floating rate note (FRN) issue of about \$1 billion, sufficient to clear arrears to

Western export credit agencies, meet about \$400m of 1987-1989 principal repayments, provide about \$130m in fresh money and purchase \$250m of zero coupon bonds with a face value and maturity identical to the FRN issue.

Export credit agencies, which are being asked to part-guarantee the notes, are expected to discuss the proposal at the next Paris Club meeting. If the strategy works, it will be unique in Africa's debt crisis.



tion, the phasing-out of subsidies to loss-making utilities and revision of the Foreign Investment Law.

In addition, devaluation is promised after preliminary measures to soak up a vast excess in kwanza liquidity that has reduced the national currency's black market value to about a fortieth of its official exchange rate of Kz30 to the dollar.

Diamond mining was resumed late last year by RST International at the rich

Unita triumph reported but...

# Crocker says MPLA ready for 'big push'

5  
SMM  
23/7/87

Dr Crocker believed Angola had deployed a major part of its army into prongs to penetrate the south-east of the country to compress areas under Unita control.

## Estimated

He said the delay in the offensive could reflect difficulty in positioning soldiers, equipment and aircraft or Unita's success in disrupting MPLA forces as they prepared for the drive.

"We will see if a full-blown, highly visible and dramatic offensive ever gets launched or not."

Dr Crocker estimated there were 37,500 Cuban troops in Angola, with a very heavy presence of Soviet advisers. He also suggested reasons why the Angolan government had failed to produce new proposals in regional settlement talks with him last week.

He said the State Department believed the Angolans had not reached unity and the MPLA leadership was still at odds with itself and under tremendous pressure from the Soviet Union and Cuba.

He added that the government was still preoccupied and focused on military solutions in the south and hoping they can, in just one more dry season perhaps, crush Unita. — The Star's Foreign News Service and Pretoria Bureau.

● See Page 11

Angolan forces are said to be preparing for a huge push against Unita but the rebels have apparently won a major battle in the south-east.

Dr Chester Crocker, American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said in the US government news programme "Worldnet" yesterday that there was evidence of a large military build-up involving substantial Angolan forces "as well as a lot of help from their friends on the ground".

He said they were accumulating equipment to launch further attacks on Unita: "Normally in Angola this means the fighting might be at a fairly hot level, at least through early September."

His comments came as the Angolan government news agency Angop claimed Angola had forced two battalions of South African troops to withdraw from around the strategically vital southern town of n'Giva after seven weeks of sporadic fighting.

A SADF spokesman pointed to reports that Unita attacked Soviet-backed forces in southern Angola on July 1.

The spokesman said Angola had made various statements in the past few weeks which had to be seen against the background of the civil war. It had been widely reported that a Unita offensive "has achieved significant successes".

He added: "This later statement is not surprising when viewed in the light of the realities of the Angolan situation."

Quoting the military commander of the southern region, Angop said in a dispatch from Luanda that most of the South African forces "fled" south last weekend.

Cape Times

July 28, 1987 9

# Angola 'forced SA troops south'

LISBON — Angola has forced two battalions of South African troops to withdraw from the southern town of N'giva after seven weeks of sporadic fighting, the official Angolan news agency Angop, monitored here, said yesterday.

Angop said in a dispatch from Luanda that most of the South African forces fled southwards towards the Namibian border last weekend. It did not mention casualties and said there had been no sign of any new attacks.

From Pretoria, Sapa reported that a SADF spokesman said yesterday of the Angolan claims: "It has been widely reported that Unita launched an offensive against Soviet-inspired and Soviet-led forces in southern Angola on July 1, 1987 and has achieved significant successes.

"This latest statement is therefore not surprising when viewed in the light of the realities of the Angolan situation."

— Sapa-Reuter





# Talks waste of time, says angry Crocker

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Angola is preparing a massive Soviet- and Cuban-backed offensive on the south-east, where South African forces support rebel Unita strongholds, Dr Chester Crocker, the American assistant Secretary of State, said yesterday.

And Dr Crocker opened his live international press conference — linking Washington, Lisbon and London — with a heated attack on Angola's MPLA government for wasting his time.

The Luanda government had called him to attend high-level peace talks in Luanda last week.

He said grimly that hopes of a peace breakthrough in Namibia and southern Angola had been

brutally dashed, to be replaced by imminent heavy fighting.

Dr Crocker commented curtly: "The talks were held in a business-like atmosphere. That is to say the two delegations did not throw water pitchers at each other or ashtrays or something . . ."

"All the advance indications that we had received that they were now ready to do serious business proved to be hollow and proved to be false.

"Therefore we have nothing from the Angolan side which provides a basis for our going to South African leadership in an effort to move rapidly and energetically towards a compromise. Those are the cold, hard facts . . ."

"There may also be a sense that the Angolan leadership is still not united about which way it wants to move — under very heavy external pressure. We have no doubt for example that the Cubans do not want to see their expeditionary force asked to leave.

"In fact they have tried to link the Cuban presence in Southern Africa not only to Namibia and so forth but to the ending of apartheid in South Africa, which sounds to us like an open-ended hunting licence for the indefinite future for (Cuban President) Fidel Castro."

Dr Crocker said that instead of gaining a peace initiative, the American delegation found that "vast amounts" of Soviet sophisticated military hardware had been delivered to Angola in preparation for a multi-pronged offensive on the south-east in the late dry season (the spring).

Dr Crocker said he had been warned in advance when he met the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, in London three weeks ago that his Luanda talks would fail.

He said the talks "raised the most basic questions about the independence and the African character of that government".

The division in the Angolan government displayed historical and ideological splits, with personal ambitions of key leaders provoking jealousies, he said.

## 'Positive sign' to free Mandela — Crocker

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Dr Chester Crocker said the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners would be a highly positive sign to all the parties seeking a peaceful solution in South Africa that the government meant business.

He said America, like Britain and other allies, had called for and sought such action.

"We would welcome such a development. It could enable many other parties to come to the negotiating table.

"Some key voices in South Africa, which are not necessarily those of the ANC, have made it clear that they would find it impossible to come to the table while Nelson Mandela and others are prisoners."

Dr Crocker said America did not ignore the threat of internal communist subversion in South Africa.

It was concerned about the question of communist and Soviet influence inside the ANC — although it was an organization with many voices.

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# Angolan call for peace talks with SA

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LUSAKA — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos today called for peace talks involving his Marxist Government, South Africa, Cuba and South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) guerilla leaders to end one of Africa's longest regional conflicts.

Mr Dos Santos told the one-day annual summit of the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference there was "no certain military victory for any side in Namibia or Southern Africa" and proposed talks between the warring parties instead.

Angola has previously rejected South African

demands, backed by Washington, that the independence of Pretoria-governed SWA/Namibia must be linked to the withdrawal of about 37 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

SWA/Namibia has been fought over by Angola-based Swapo guerillas and South African forces since 1966.

Mr Dos Santos's latest initiative made no mention of linkage, but was seen by diplomats in the Zambian capital of Lusaka as more conciliatory than previous Angolan efforts to end the conflict.

His announcement came a week after US

Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker held talks with Marxist leaders in Luanda, the Angolan capital, on peace prospects.

On his return to Washington Mr Crocker described the exchanges as "a waste of time", saying the Government had nothing new to offer, but was preoccupied with pressing its offensives against Jonas Savimbi's American and South African-backed Unita rebels.

Mr Dos Santos, however, told the SADCC summit the talks with Mr Crocker were "useful" and resulted in "an approximation of views in some areas". — Sapa

# Dos Santos calls for Namibia peace talks

Cape Times 25/7/87

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President Dos Santos, however, told the SADCC summit here the talks with Dr Crocker were "useful" and resulted in "an approximation of views in some areas". He did not elaborate.

The Angolan leader said his government intended to submit "proposals for a peace agreement on Namibia and Southern Africa to be signed by Cuba, Swapo, South Africa and Angola" on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435. The 1977 resolution calls for the withdrawal of South African troops as a prelude to UN supervised elections in Namibia and independence.

He made no mention of Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita rebel movement. — Sapa-AP

No certain military victory for any side in Namibia'

55/1/87

# Angola wants peace talks

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## Kaunda hosts crucial OAU summit

LUSAKA — President Kaunda of Zambia is to host a summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) heads of state ad-hoc committee on southern Africa here today.

According to a programme released by Zambia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the heads of state of Angola, Congo, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Mozambique, Senegal, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Algeria will attend the meeting.

A flurry of diplomatic activity has hit the normally placid city of Lusaka as an almost continual stream of heads of state fly in for the three important meet-

ings, one following the other, over a three-day period.

The leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the head of the South West Africa Peoples Organisation, Mr Sam Nujoma, have both arrived in the city to participate as observers in the series of the meetings.

Diplomatic sources here say the meetings, culminating in the OAU ad-hoc committee meeting, are crucial because the tempo of demands for sanctions against South Africa was seen to be ebbing — to the chagrin of the most radical OAU member states. — Saturday Star's Africa News Service.

fought over between the Angola-based Swapo guerrillas and the South African forces since 1966.

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On his return to Washington, Dr Crocker described the exchanges as "a waste of time", saying the government had not

ing new to offer but was preoccupied with pressing its offensives against Dr Jonas Savimbi's US-backed and South African-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels in the south-east of the country.

Mr dos Santos, however, told the SADCC summit in

Lusaka the talks with Dr Crocker were "useful" and resulted in "an approximation of views in some areas". He did not elaborate.

Mr dos Santos made no mention of Dr Savimbi or his Unita rebels, who have been fighting for control of the West African nation since Portugal granted in-

dependence in 1975.

The Angolan leader said his government intended to submit "proposals for a peace agreement on Namibia and southern Africa to be signed by Cuba, Swapo, South Africa and Angola" on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

The 1977 resolution calls for the withdrawal of South African troops as a prelude to UN-supervised elections in Namibia and independence.

Pretoria and Washington have long insisted the Cuban troops must return home before the fate of the mineral-rich territory can be discussed.

South Africa has often mounted military incursions deep inside Angola, ostensibly to pre-empt strikes by Swapo guerrillas. Angola claims the often-strikes, sometimes resulting

in clashes with Cuban and Angolan forces, are aimed at bolstering Dr Savimbi's weak flanks.

Early this year, Angola declared that even if the Namibian crisis were resolved, some Cuban troops would have to remain to help fight the Unita rebels.

Dr dos Santos made his latest announcement to leaders of the SADCC regional grouping that is pledged to loosen all economic ties with South Africa. Members include Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The leaders met to review seven-year efforts towards self-dependency, but officials noted that most member nations remained heavily reliant on South African trade and on transport routes. — Associated Press.

Argus 28/7/82

NATIONAL/IN

# Unita ready to beat off attack — US

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Angolan rebel movement, Unita, is ready and able to beat off imminent attacks by government forces in the south-east of the country, according to the US State Department.

In what amounted to a warning to the Angolan government, a State Department official said yesterday: "Unita gives every indication of being in a position to repel any attempt to seize its bases."

The warning came amid reports that the US is flying arms — "appropriate and effective aid" — to Unita as it did last year.

Unita's ability to defend itself against government armoured vehicles, helicopter gunships and aircraft has improved since US arms started flowing to the bushfighters, Unita's president, Dr Jonas Savimbi, has confirmed.

The US assessment of this competence was apparently also based on Unita's past record and South African intervention during previous government offensives when Unita needed help.

It was also based on Unita's tactic of keeping government forces on the defensive as they prepare for the customary offensive in the April-October dry season.

## Success

The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said last week the delay in this year's offensive could reflect difficulty in positioning forces and weaponry in that part of the country.

He said it "may also reflect the fact that Unita's forces have had some success in trying to disrupt and postpone and throw off balance the Fapla (Angolan army) forces as they try to get ready for their offensive".

CNA Times 2/7/82

# SA forces kill 190 in Angola

WINDHOEK. — Territorial Force headquarters here announced yesterday that 190 Swapo guerrillas and members of the Angolan army had been killed during a follow-up operation in southern Angola.

The announcement said the security forces landed in an ambush set by a combined force of Swapo and Fapla soldiers while following tracks northwards.

A security force officer had been slightly wounded in the contacts and damage was done to vehicles and equipment.

After the encounter the follow-up operation continued and a second encounter took place.

ARGUS 3/8/87 5

# '3 000 SA troops supporting Unita'

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — South Africa has sent about 3 000 troops into Angola to support Unita rebels, according to the Angolan Embassy.

About eight South African battalions were illegally in Kuando Kubango province,

said an embassy statement issued here.

They were supported by more than 200 Casspir and Buffalo military vehicles.

The accusation comes at a time when Angola is said to be preparing for a major offensive against areas controlled by Unita.

The Angolan Embassy said

that in the first six months of the year South Africa violated Angola's air space 75 times and attacked Angolan troops and "defenceless civilian populations" 33 times.

The statement did not refer to casualties.

It added that in June and July South African troops attacked Tchamutete, Anhanca, Evale Mupa, Mongwa and Xangongo, as well as the town of Ondjiva, the provincial headquarters of Cunene.

● A Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria today: "Angola has made the same claim since the end of June.

"This statement has nothing new and must therefore be seen against the background of the civil war in that country.

"The successes achieved by Unita in the offensive launched on July 1 against Soviet-inspired and led forces in southern Angola over the past couple of months have been widely reported.

"These successes are obviously an embarrassment and significant setback to Soviet plans in that country."

# Was the Lusaka accord a strategic mistake?

By Arnold Kirkby  
Defence Reporter

**D**ID South Africa make a strategic error when it signed the Lusaka Agreement with Angola — on the insistence of the United States — more than three years ago?

This question is now being asked repeatedly in political and military circles as the strategists analyse events since its signing.

At the time, it was understood, the Defence Force was dragged into the agreement as an unwilling partner.

The Lusaka Agreement, along with Nkomati Accord, was seen as a major peace initiative for the southern continent. But since then the war has gone on and SWAPO forces still receive protection from the Angolan Armed Forces (Fapla).

Mr Chester Crocker, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa carried out a one-man travelling circus getting politicians and soldiers from Luanda and Pretoria around the conference table in the Zambian capital in February 1984.

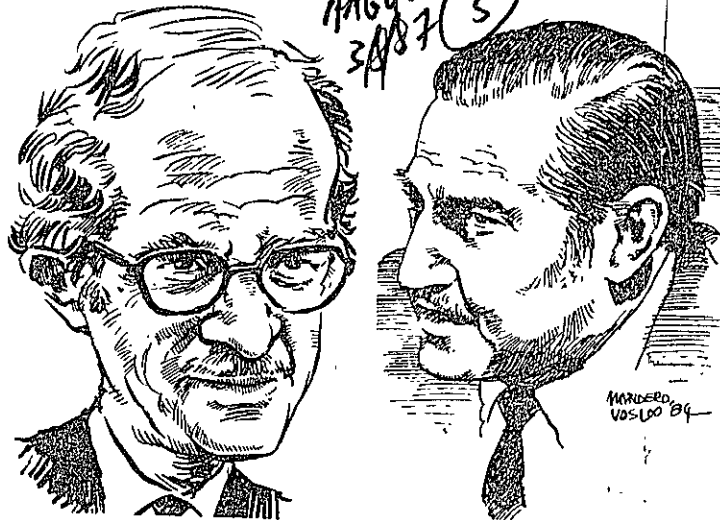
## Tight rack

But since then there has been a dramatic increase in the number of clashes involving South African security forces and Angolan Army (Fapla) contingents in the area known as the "shallow region" of southern Angola.

It has also put South Africa's ally Unita on a tight rack as the Cuban and Russian led Fapla forces start their third annual dry season offensive against the rebel stronghold at Jamba in the south eastern sector of the country.

Almost 200 Fapla and Swapo members were killed in clashes recently when a contingent of security forces were following the tracks of 120 Swapo members.

More than 50 Fapla were killed in a cross border follow-up operation last month, bringing to more than



Chester Crocker

Pik Botha



150 the number of Angolans killed in about 15 months. An unspecified number of Fapla soldiers were also killed.

At the time the so-called "hawks" in Pretoria privately voiced their doubts about the Agreement, but their arguments were shot down with cries of pessimists and war mongers.

A Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC),

comprising two 300-strong contingents of the SADF and Fapla, started moving south from the town of Cuvelai to the SWA/Namibia border.

It took about eight months for the JMC to complete its task.

Within months of the SADF being safely ensconced in SWA/Namibia, the Angolans started pumping vast numbers of soldiers,

sophisticated Soviet radar, MiG 21 and 23 jet fighters and surface-to-air missile systems into the area.

The radar systems can now monitor the movement of South African Air Force traffic in and out of the Ondangwa Air Base in Owambo, while the MiGs have the range to hit the base and Oshakati the main military headquarters in the region.

The missile systems include the highly mobile SAM-8, SAM-9 and SAM-13s.

Once the bases were manned and secured by Fapla, Swapo elements were observed and at times chased by the Security Forces during reconnaissance and hot pursuit missions into southern Angola.

## Rebel stronghold

Nothing was gained politically by giving up the 200km buffer zone which the SADF had managed to forge since it carried out its first major "pre-emptive" operation in 1978.

With Fapla now in control of the southern provinces of the country it was easier to move its hardware into the zone and closer to the Unita held territory around rebel stronghold of Jamba.

During the past two years, the dry season offensives have put a lot of pressure on the rebel movement, which is having to pull back its fighters from the central and northern provinces to protect its home base.

Last year a few major towns and stretches of land were won back by the communist backed government forces in one of the bloodiest battles yet fought in the 12-year post independence civil war.

Traditionally the security forces used to carry out dry season offensives against Swapo bases as high as 250km into Angola.

This trend picked up again last year after a short lull and the generals seem to be willing to do this with more vigor again this year — which helps to draw Fapla's attention away from Jamba.



# Pledge on Angola welcomed by US

WASHINGTON. — The United States yesterday welcomed a joint pledge by Angola and Cuba to be more flexible in negotiations aimed at withdrawing Havana's forces from Angola in return for Namibian independence.

But State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman, said Washington wanted to see specific proposals from Luanda.

"We have heard these hints before," he told reporters, repeating that high-level talks in Luanda last month had proved disappointing.

"We welcome the public indication of flexibility on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola referred to in the communique," he said.

"We hope it means Angola is prepared to put forward specific proposals."

The communique that followed talks between Cuban President Fidel Castro and his Angolan counterpart President Eduardo dos Santos, said the two countries "agreed to make their common position more flexible".

Mr Redman declined to comment on the communique's assertion that Angola and Cuba were prepared to negotiate jointly with the United States on the pull-out of Cuban troops in return for independence for Namibia, which is ruled by South Africa in defiance of the United Nations.

In the past, Washington has attempted to mediate the dispute by meeting bilaterally with Luanda and Pretoria.

Last month US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker went to Luanda sure that Angola was ready to make new proposals, but left, fuming after Angolan officials proposed nothing new. — Sapa-Reuter

# New proposals by Angola on Cubans

CMF TIMES 12/18/87

LISBON — Angola said yesterday it was prepared to speed up a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops if the United States and South Africa ceased aid to Angolan rebels and took concrete action to grant Namibia independence, the official news agency Angop reported.

The report, monitored in Lisbon, was the first public indication of new Angolan proposals for a global accord to end conflict in Southern Africa.

Angola would send home bigger contingents of Cuban soldiers over shorter periods if its conditions were met, Angop said.

Angola's Marxist government recently proposed talks on a regional peace settlement between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and guerillas fighting for the independence of Namibia.

Pretoria has indicated it is willing to participate.

Angola said it was ready to show greater flexibility in the talks over sending home an estimated 37 000 Cuban soldiers in an effort to re-activate stalled negotiations on Namibian independence.

The US and South Africa insist Namibian independence should be linked to a Cuban pullout from Angola.

The Angop report appeared to indicate that Angola was proposing a faster Cuban withdrawal if negotiations were successful but had made no alteration to its conditions for reaching an accord.

Three years ago, Angola proposed a phased withdrawal of Cubans from southern Angola if a UN plan for Namibian independence was implemented, South Africa pulled out forces allegedly operating in southern Angola and ceased all aggression, and Angola's territorial rights were fully respected.

Angop said yesterday Angola wished to clarify these conditions to avoid ambiguities. — Sapa-AP

# 'New plan' detailed for Namibia

The Star's Africa  
News Service

Angola yesterday gave details of new proposals to solve the Namibian crisis, saying it was ready to speed up the withdrawal of Cuban troops from its territory.

But at the same time the Angolan authorities demanded an end to American and South African support for the Unita rebel movement and said Cuba should take direct part in any future negotiations.

Details of the new proposals were contained in an editorial published by the Launda newspaper, *Jornal de Angola*, broadcast by Radió Angola and monitored in Johannesburg last night.

The paper said the proposals could only be implemented after South African troops withdrew from southern Angola and ceased all acts of aggression against Angola, and all external aid to Unita ended.

At the same time it demanded the implementation of UN resolution 435 on Namibia's independence.

Buildup by MPLA suggests . . .

# Major Angolan offensive is about to begin

*5/2/77*

By Gerald L'Ange,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

What could be one of the bloodiest and most crucial offensives in the 12-year-old Angolan civil war is about to start in the south of the country.

Poised for another major onslaught against the Unita rebel strongholds are two powerful MPLA government forces, re-armed by the Soviet Union after the losses incurred by the government side in last year's unsuccessful offensive against Unita.

Confronting it is a Unita army believed to be more powerfully armed than before. Losses in the coming

battles could be high and the outcome could have an important effect on future military and political moves in the conflict that has racked Angola since independence from Portugal in 1975.

MPLA forces, backed by Soviet advisers and some of the 30 000 Cuban troops fighting on their side, have been building up for the offensive for several months.

The assault must begin soon to take advantage of the remaining months of dry weather.

Air support for the northernmost of the two areas has been massed at Luena (formerly Luso) on the Benguela railway and at Lucusse. Large ground forces are believed to have gathered immediately north of the two towns that are thought to be the most likely targets of the offensive in this area — Cangamba and Gago Coutinho.

If these towns are taken, the MPLA forces are considered likely to try to push westwards to Tempue.

The apparent objective of this offensive is to re-

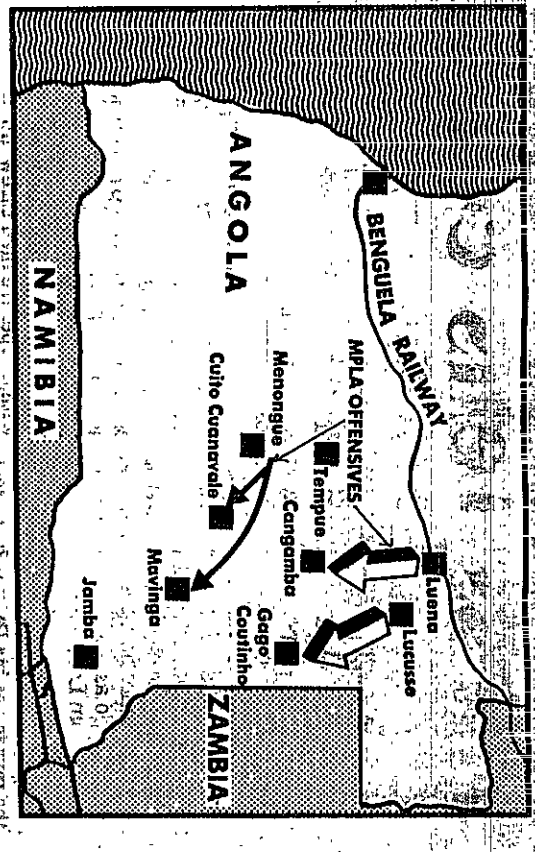
strict Unita's ability to strike north in raids on the Benguela railway.

Unita has offered to allow the line to be reopened provided it is not put to military use, but Angola, Zambia and Zaire are reopening the line without the co-operation of the rebels.

In the second area the target appears to be Mavinga, possession of which would enable the MPLA to threaten Unita's headquarters at Jamba in the southeastern tip of Angola.

But the MPLA will come up against Unita forces now well trained and experienced in the use of the highly effective Stinger anti-aircraft missile provided by the United States.

The capture of Mavinga would enable the MPLA to extend further eastwards the "Siegfried line" of radar, aircraft and missiles that now extends from near the coast to Cuito Cuanavale, and whose main purpose appears to be to deter South African attacks into Angola.



## US hesitates on Angolan food aid

WASHINGTON. — The United States said yesterday it was hesitating over a United Nations request for extra help to hungry Angolans because the Luanda government appeared to have spent increased oil earnings on arms imports.

State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman told reporters the UN Children's Emergency Fund (Unicef) had asked for more US aid to deal with increasingly widespread hunger in war-torn Angola.

"It would appear that while oil revenues have gone up in Angola in the past year, this money is not being spent by the Angolan government to address the urgent needs of its suffering population," he said.

"In fact, the government seems to have reduced commodity food imports and used the increased revenue to step up imports of war supplies.

"While we are willing to take part in any emergency relief effort to aid people and governments genuinely incapable of dealing with imminent famine, we believe at the very least the situation in Angola deserves a much closer look before a decision on increased emergency relief is taken," he said.

Since January 1986, the US has been supplying Unita with \$15 million (about R31 million) a year in military supplies.

But, despite having no diplomatic relations with the government in Luanda, it also has been supplying aid to people displaced by civil war since 1981.

Mr Redman said aid was running at \$11 million to \$12 million (about R23 to R25 million) a year, including \$5 million (about R11 million) to Unicef for programmes in Angola. — Sapa-Reuter

Copy Times 17/1/87 (5)

# Angola proposes new plan on Cuban troops

## Own Correspondent

LISBON. — In a new bid to get the rebel-plagued Benguela railway operational again, Angola has proposed withdrawing some 23 000 Cuban troops stationed south of the 13th parallel — below the rail line — to the centre and north of the country.

According to a Portuguese special correspondent in Luanda reporting to the reliable Lisbon weekly O Jornal, Luanda's "entirely new" proposal was made to Washington after President Jose Eduardo dos Santos met Dr Fidel Castro in Havana two weeks ago.

The withdrawal would take two years and once completed the question of Cuba's presence in Angola would cease being a part of the stalled negotiations over independence for neighbouring Namibia.

According to O Jornal's correspondent, Luanda government officials are likening Cuban forces stationed in the rest of Angola to the French presence in Chad or

Washington's detachments at the Kamina airbase in neighbouring Zaire. This base is now a major route for US arms shipments, including Stinger missiles, to Unita forces.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, who described his latest round of talks with Angolan officials on July 14-15 as "a waste of time", had previously told Luanda that Washington wanted "unequivocal guarantees" that all Cuban forces would be repatriated and talks with Unita rebels opened in exchange for a deal on Namibian independence.

For its part, Luanda has laid down four points before the Cubans go home, namely: Withdrawal of all South African troops from Southern Angola, an end to South African "aggression", respect for Angola's territorial integrity and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

The new element now introduced by Luanda — the idea of pulling back Cubans and thus disengaging them from linkage with the Namibian issue — is unlikely to meet much success given Washington's in-

transigence on the Cuban issue.

Meanwhile O Jornal's correspondent citing a leading MPLA party member, M Lucio Lara, also reports that Luanda believes that Washington has persuaded Unita to shift its theatre of operations to the centre and north of the country using the Kamina base for resupply purposes.

Mr Lara reportedly said Washington's aim was to wrest Unita from South Africa's grasp making it easier for Western nations and conservatives within the US to embrace Dr Jonas Savimbi's group as a credible alternative to the Marxist regime.

Mr Lara's remarks imply growing concern in Luanda about the shift in the war pattern toward vital areas of economic interest such as the diamond mines in Luanda-North Province and oil fields in Cabinda.

Unita has warned the French oil company Elf-Aquitaine that it will face attack unless Paris keep its distance from the Luanda government.

US oil interests will also become targets unless US support for the MPLA government is lessened.

CAPC-Trans 2019/82

## Stumbling block to 435

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Nations special envoy for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, yesterday said South Africa's insistence that Cuban troops be withdrawn from Angola was preventing implementation of UN-Resolution 435.

However, he also told newsmen at Jan Smuts Airport that the Cubans' withdrawal did not form "part of the solution of the Namibian issue".

The UN's position was that it was not accepting the linking of "other issues" to Resolution 435.

Mr Ahtisaari, who is visiting Southern Africa on the suggestion of the UN secretary-general, held talks with Namibia's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, before leaving for Harari, Lusaka and Luatla.

He said Angola had made proposals under which Cuban troops could be withdrawn. — Sapa

# Angola 'catastrophe' looms

Angola faces an imminent "humanitarian catastrophe" due to a severe food crisis posing the threat of widespread famine, a private relief agency has warned.

"Millions of uprooted people find themselves in an increasingly perilous situation and each month thousands of hungry and bedraggled refugees flee to Zambia and Zaire to escape the ravages of war," said a report by the US Committee for Refugees.

The Washington-based group said that to deal adequately with the sit-

uation, about 200 000 tons of food would need to start arriving in Angola by October.

It called on Angola's Marxist government to declare a "food emergency" and request the United Nations to issue an international appeal for assistance.

At that point, the agency said, the US and other Western nations should respond promptly with food aid shipments to be distributed through the International Red Cross, the World Food Programme and Unicef. — AP-Associated Press.



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## Ahtisaari welcomes Angolan initiative

LUSAKA — UN envoy Mr Martti Ahtisaari welcomed an Angolan initiative to unblock long-stalled negotiations over independence for Namibia and hoped it would lead to a breakthrough.

Mr Ahtisaari, special representative for Namibia for UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said here at the weekend that he understood Angola's government had made fresh proposals aimed at trying to open the way for implementation of UN Resolution 435 calling for independence for South African-ruled Namibia.

"It has to be seen as a major development and now it depends how it will be received," he said.

Mr Ahtisaari will travel to Angola today for talks with the government, having visited Zambia, Zimbabwe and SA.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura said in Lusaka on July 24 that his country was ready to be flexible over the timing and extent of a withdrawal of Cuban troops from southern Angola as part of a regional peace process involving independence for Namibia.

South Africa and the United States have demanded a complete Cuban withdrawal as part of a Namibian independence deal. This so-called "linkage" has been rejected by the UN and Angola.

"I very much appreciate the Angolan initiative, because without it we would be totally stuck," Mr Ahtisaari said.

Referring to his talks with SA leaders in Cape Town last week, Mr Ahtisaari said SA still said it accepted the principle of Resolution 435 while continuing its demands for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola. But he added: "I don't sense any urgency in SA to go ahead with (Resolution) 435. At the moment they are extremely comfortable waiting behind the linkage screen." — Sapa-Reuter

AFRICA

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# Angola to join IMF to solve debt crisis

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — With Angola's application to join the International Monetary Fund, all the African countries which aspire to socialism have finally succumbed to capitalist economics to solve their debt problems.

In a speech in Luanda, President Eduardo dos Santos said: "The Angolan Government has communicated its intention to become part of the IMF, based on (Angolan) plans for financial and economic reform."

"In this phase of national reconstruction we cannot pass up co-operation with Western nations in maintaining in working order the very infrastructures we need to carry out reforms."

The move is not unexpected. Angola has had contact with the IMF since 1984. In 1985 the country joined the Lome Convention, the aid agreement between the European Community and Third World countries, and has increasingly invited help from Western financial institutions.



President dos Santos

Angola is now almost totally dependent on its oil revenues, which have dropped from nearly R4 000-million in 1985 to just more than R2 000-million last year. Most of the income goes on fighting the war against Unita rebels.

President dos Santos said the fighting had cost the country R24 000-million and 60 000 lives in the past 12 years.

But he admitted: "Disorganisation and bad management of State-run companies, lack of discipline, corruption and slipshod protection of State property have also contributed to Angola's difficult position."

Luanda has recently slashed all public expenditure except defence, cutting imports and allowing market forces to play a greater part in the economy.

It has not yet devalued its currency, whose street value is about one-sixtieth of its official value. An IMF team is expected to visit Luanda soon.

# Negotiations for prisoner swop 'well advanced'

AKG 24/8/87  
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78 29

## Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS for a three-way swop of security prisoners between South Africa, Ciskei and Angola were advanced, it was understood today.

A premature announcement by the Ciskei Government that Frenchman Mr Pierre-Andre Albertini was to be released in an exchange deal that involved South Africa's Captain Wynand du Toit and Hollander Mr Klaas de Jonge may have upset the delicate bargaining, however.

It was not clear today whether the swop would go ahead in the next few days, as has been speculated, or whether the deal was off.

A spokesman for the Ciskei Government said at the weekend the swop was off because of the lack of co-ordination and the difficulty of negotiating the release of the three prisoners.

## COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha today confirmed in a statement that exploratory exchanges had taken place.

However, he warned that speculation "on delicate matters of this nature" was counter-productive.

Mr Botha said the Ciskei Government had confirmed its statement on the matter was based on a misunderstanding.

The release of Captain du Toit, Mr de Jonge and Mr Albertini from their respective countries of incarceration would have a number of political spin-offs.

President Botha once linked the release of Captain du Toit to that of Nelson Mandela, say-

ing that if two Russian dissidents and Captain du Toit could be freed on humanitarian grounds he could consider the release of the ANC leader on similar grounds.

Mr de Jonge's refuge in the Dutch embassy has strained relations between South Africa and the Netherlands and has involved the police in a costly surveillance exercise for two years.

Mr Albertini's imprisonment has strained relations between South Africa and France.

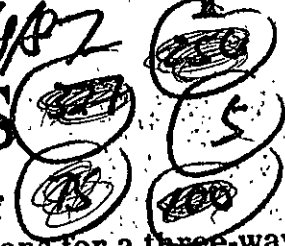
● From Pretoria it is reported that negotiations on the possible three-way release of the prisoners have been postponed.

The director-general of Communication in Ciskei, Mr Headman Somntunzi, speaking from Bisho, said today there had been no further developments in talks as the matter had been postponed. He declined to give reasons.

A spokesman for Holland's Foreign Minister, Hans van den Broek, said today he knew nothing of an impending swop of detainees.

# SA PoW in plan to swop prisoners

CMT Torts 24/8/77



Political Staff

DELICATE diplomatic negotiations for a three-way swop of prisoners involving South Africa, France, Angola and the Ciskei were disclosed yesterday through an apparent misunderstanding.

The exchange involves three of South Africa's most celebrated cases — Mr Klaas de Jonge, the Dutch fugitive from South African security laws who has taken refuge in the old Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria, Mr Pierre-Andre Albertini, the French national jailed in the Ciskei for refusing to testify in a security trial, and Captain Wynand du Toit, the South African soldier held now for several years in Angola.

The cases have been under international spotlight for some time:

- The Albertini case has led directly to the French President, Mr Francois Mitterrand, refusing to accept the credentials of the South African Ambassador-designate.

- The De Jonge case has led to a serious deterioration in already cool relations with Holland, and

- The Du Toit case has led to intercession by the International Red Cross.

A Ciskeian official allegedly claimed to newsmen at the Middledrift prison yesterday that the swop broke down because of South Africa. Pressmen had understood Albertini would be released from there.

Late last night Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said the official had confirmed he made his statement "based on a misunderstanding".

Mr Botha said: "It could be expected that exploratory exchanges on this matter have been taking place for some time among various interested parties but nothing concrete has materialised."

He said speculation was "counter-productive".

# Fapla forces poised to strike against Unita

CML 7/18/87  
27/8/87

Own Correspondent

LONDON. - Fourteen Angolan government forces (Fapla) brigades are on the final stages of preparation for an offensive against Unita strongholds in the south-east of the country, according to Jane's Defence Weekly.

The authoritative military magazine says the offensive could be the strongest yet in the 12-year civil war.

Five brigades have been deployed near Lucusse, in the east about 100km south of the Benguela railway line, and have begun probing towards Cangamba and Gago Coutinho in the south.

According to Jane's, three Fapla brigades are deployed near Munsango, on the Benguela line, but are not up to full strength and may not take part in the offensive.

The largest force is reported to be concentrating in the area of Cuito Cuanavale, about 300km north of the Namibian border.

# Reagan stands firm on US support for Unita

By Neil Larssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan has sent a plain message to the Soviet Union that the United States will not back away from its support of anti-communist rebels in Angola and other regional trouble spots.

And in sharp contrast to speculation here that the US has entered into some kind of secret Angolan peace deal with the Soviets, Mr Reagan made it clear that he is unimpressed by Soviet claims of pursuing freedom around the world.

"In regional conflicts... the Soviet Union and its clients have, thus far, shown all too little real willingness to move toward peace with real self-determination for the people," he said.

"The paths to peace with freedom are open if Moscow decides to stop imposing its self-styled revolu-

tions."  
It was US policy to help democratic insurgents bring self-determination and human rights to their own countries, Mr Reagan said.

"Our current efforts in Angola in support of freedom fighters constitute the most recent extension of this policy."

Mr Reagan made his remarks in a major foreign policy speech to a conference in California televised live to a second conference of US and Soviet officials in New York state.

His firm support for anti-communist rebels in Angola and areas such as Afghanistan and Central America is seen here as not only a signal to Moscow but also a gesture to American conservatives who are worried that the Reagan Administration may be softening its support for the Contra guerrillas in Nicaragua.

Further proof that Washington and Moscow are no-

where near an agreement on the Angolan conflict was provided by a senior US official who discussed the President's speech with reporters.

He said: "In regional conflicts, what the President is saying is that the Soviets are pursuing their traditional goals with increased skill and flexibility."

"While they make a lot of statements about Afghanistan, we don't see any fundamental changes in their policy. Indeed, we see continuing pressure on Pakistan, which denotes no let-up in places like Angola, Nicaragua and Ethiopia."

The US had hopes of a new phase in East-West relations.

"But, let honesty compel us to acknowledge, we have fears and deep concerns as well. And while we acknowledge the interesting changes in the Soviet Union, we know too that any Western standard for democracy is still a very distant one for the Soviets," Mr Reagan said.

# Double-take Soviets defuse attack on Unita

2 SUNDAY TIMES, August 30 1987

CONFLICTING reports have been received about a much-heralded MPLA offensive against Unita's Jamba base and other strongholds in southern Angola.

Western diplomatic sources in the Portuguese capital said they were not certain whether the Luanda government forces had indeed begun an advance against Jamba.

A Unita spokesman, however, said the rebels were under attack by Cuban-backed government forces aided by Soviet advisers, and that Jamba was the likely target of the offensive.

Exactly a month ago, intelligence sources in Paris indicated Cuban and Soviet-backed government forces had launched a long-expected attack on

Diplomatic and intelligence reports now reaching Lisbon are contradictory, but what is not disputed is that Luanda has spent months building up troop strengths and supplies in the area.

Analysts also agree that until two months ago there was no doubt the Angolan general staff intended to press ahead and hit Unita forces hard, to the extent of attacking their stronghold at Jamba, deep in south-eastern Angola.

Major reinforcements of men and ma-

terial to military positions at Menongue and Cuito-Cuanavale — south-east of the Benguela railway, and staging posts for an attack on Jamba — backed up this conclusion.

But now reports suggest government forces have been instructed to scale down operations and instead target Unita positions north of the Cuando River.

The change in strategy apparently results from a Soviet double-take. Moscow is believed to be cautiously re-assessing

its huge investment of military hardware and men in Angola.

Western intelligence reports say the Soviets seriously doubt whether Luanda's forces, hamstrung by war-weariness, demoralisation, poor training and deficient logistics, have the capacity or will to continue fighting Jonas Savimbi's guerrillas.

Xavier Figueredo, an Africa expert, says the Kremlin's senior Angola-watcher, Anatoly Adamashin, admitted as much during a July 4 meeting in London

By KEN POTTINGER, Lisbon.

Jamba, a target they failed to reach in a similar offensive in 1985.

But Portuguese sources discounted the report at the time.

On July 21, Unita Chief of Staff General Demostenes Amos Chilinguitila said the government's anti-guerrilla offensive had got under way 11 days before.

said to be battle-ready.

Morale elsewhere is pitiful. Logistical supplies to fighting forces are irregular and there are reports of serious clashes between Cuban and Angolan field commanders.

In contrast, Unita's military units — and especially those defending Jamba — are highly operational and well-disciplined.

Military sources say the rebels are now better armed and their confidence has been boosted by the success of their US-supplied Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

Further, the Soviets fear that should the government show signs of advancing on Jamba, Washington would increase military supplies and Pretoria would intervene, as it did in 1986.

with Chester Crocker, Assistant US Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Adamashin reportedly agreed that the Angolan conflict has no military solution, but wavered over a call to press the MPLA government into negotiations with Unita.

Meanwhile, accounts suggest that Moscow's ambivalence towards the war is having repercussions on the war front.

Of the more than 10 Angolan brigades stationed on the Menongue-Cuito-Cuanavale axis, only two, the 16th and 59th, are

treatment.

*CMR Trip 5/9/87*  
**MPLA set for 'final blow'** *5*

ONE OF the largest concentrations of military build-up in Southern Africa was taking place in Angola where the MPLA government forces were preparing to deliver the final blow to Unita, the chief of the SAAF, Lieutenant-General Dennis Earpe, said in Rundu, Namibia. And Angolan troops killed 21 Unita rebels near Catabola in the central province of Bie last Monday, the Portuguese news agency, Lusa, reported yesterday.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Router-AP and UPI



# Reagan ready to butter up Angola

THE Reagan Administration, stung by charges that it was giving "more guns than butter" to Angola, is considering an about-face and stepping up its food aid to that country.

It has given 11 000t of grain — worth R10-million — to Angola each year since 1981, but a United Nations report released in June predicted a dire food shortage in the near future.

The rumpus — between the State Department and various private and UN relief organisations — was sparked off when State Department spokesman Charles Redman announced the US was unlikely to respond to a UN call for emergency relief to Angola.

## Accused

In a column in the Washington Post, Mr Tom Brennan of the private US Committee for Refugees accused the administration of renegeing on the "oft-repeated US pledge not to use food as a weapon in ideological disputes".

The feeling of the State Department, according to one official, was that the US had been providing relief for seven years, as well as giving substantial funding to Unicef and the International Com-

By PATRICIA CHENEY  
Washington

mittee of the Red Cross, both involved in Angolan relief. "We already give 80 per cent of all food contributed to Angola," the official said.

He added that the administration was considering giving 22 000t — double this year's contribution — in fiscal year 1988.

## Unclear

"No doubt, many US officials believe providing food assistance to Angola will enable the MPLA to conserve its scarce foreign exchange for the purchase of more military hardware — a classic guns-or-butter economic trade-off," Mr Brennan stated.

"The UN report says Angola will need 200 000t of grain next year.

"Even at the higher level,

the US will only be giving an eighth of what is needed."

State Department officials argued that Unicef had asked them to hold off giving more grain until it could distribute what it already had through Angola's almost non-existent road system.

They also pointed out that Angola had not yet signed the UN report, thereby preventing Unicef from formally declaring a food emergency.

It is unclear why the Luanda government is holding off giving the nod.

"The Angolans said they did not have the foreign exchange to buy extra food because of the drop in oil prices," one official said.

"But prices have gone up and we estimate the Luanda government can afford to make up the shortfall.

"They choose, however, to spend the money on arms."

5

# Dramatic swap set for tomorrow — in Maputo!

6/7/87

Sunday Times Reporter S11

THE big prisoner swap is on. State President P W Botha last night confirmed that SA prisoner-of-war Major Wynand du Toit is to be freed in a multinational exchange deal.

The trade involves France, the Netherlands, Angola, the Ciskei and SA, and would take place tomorrow in Maputo, said Mr Botha.

The main exchange involves the repatriation of Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge who took refuge in the old Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria in 1985, and Pierre-André Albertini, a French national imprisoned in the Ciskei after refusing to

□ To Page 2

# Maputo reunion for SA S.T. prisoner

6/9/87

□ From Page 1

testify at a terrorism trial. Major du Toit's wife, Louwna, and son, Klipple, 4, left their home in Langebaan yesterday and flew to Maputo to welcome him. He was captured in Cabinda, Angola, in 1985.

Reacting to the news, Mrs du Toit's mother, Mrs Milly Rochet, said: "It's been a difficult time for us. Louwna is very happy that all the uncertainty and tension of two years have ended."

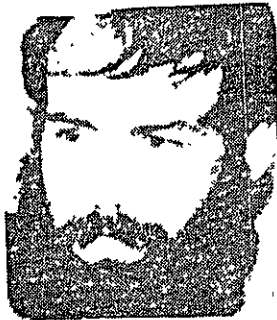
Also to be released are 133 Angolan soldiers and the bodies of three SA soldiers and one Angolan who died in the operational area.

Mr Botha said several governments had been involved in the complex negotiations for the exchange.

"I wish to express my appreciation to all who contributed to bringing about the release of such a large number of people," he said.

Earlier yesterday, Angolan President Mr José Eduardo dos Santos, also announced the exchange at a Press conference in Luanda.

His announcement was followed by a statement from the office of the French Pre-



WYNAND DU TOIT  
Freedom at last

mier, Mr Jacques Chirac, specifically thanking the SA Government, the Ciskei authorities and Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano for the understanding and co-operation they had shown.

The State President then responded from his Cape Town residence. He said he and Mrs Botha would personally welcome Major du Toit.

The State President said SA had given assurances than an additional seven Angolan citizens would be released within 10 days after the exchange.

"South Africa has also undertaken to acquire and forward particulars of other Angolan and Cuban citizens, should it be established that they are indeed prisoners and are prepared to return to Angola of their own free will.

## Difficult

"This exchange was preceded by lengthy and difficult negotiations," he said, thanking SA Cabinet ministers and officials involved — Mr Pik Botha, General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok.

He also singled out President Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei, Unita President Dr Jonas Savimbi and the Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister of the Netherlands for their co-operation.

# Angola's Cuban <sup>5</sup> pull-out offer <sup>CMLC Times</sup> 7/9/87

LUSAKA. — Angola has offered to withdraw Cuban troops from its territory within two years of independence being granted to Namibia, a senior Angolan official was quoted as saying on Saturday.

Mr Juliao Mateus Paulo — known as Dino Matross; a member of the politburo of Angola's ruling MPLA-Workers' Party, was quoted by the Times of Zambia as saying that the United States had insisted the withdrawal be carried out in a year.

"We have made a counter-proposal that we should remove the (Cuban) troops stationed in north and south Angola within two years. We originally wanted to be given three years to do so," Mr Paulo said during a visit to Lusaka.

He told the Times, owned by Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP), that to focus on the presence in Angola of the Cubans, estimated by the United States to number about 35 000, was side-stepping the real issue of independence for Namibia.

The United States has so far made no public response to the proposal.

— Sapa-Reuter

# ALL SET FOR BIG PRISONER SWOP

CMT Tim 15  
7/19/82  
5

## Political Staff

**THE prisoner swop which will bring a South African army officer back in from the cold will take place at Maputo airport today.**

The operation will be one of the most complex and biggest prisoner exchanges.

One of the prisoners to be released will be the South African recee commando Major Wynand du Toit, who was captured in Angola more than two years ago.

A complicated procedure is being devised for simultaneously handing over the two other central figures in the swop, Mr Klaas de Jonge and the Frenchman Mr Pierre Andre Albertini, and 133 captured Angolans.

The remains of a number of South Africans and an Angolan killed in battles may also be part of the exchange.

Final details of the exchange have not yet been completed but representatives of the various parties will be on the airport apron to receive their charges.

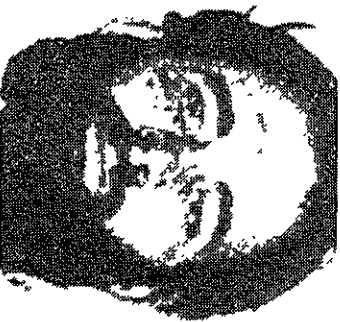
## Back with family

Major Du Toit, who has been promoted during his captivity, will be flown to Cape Town with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P.K. Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

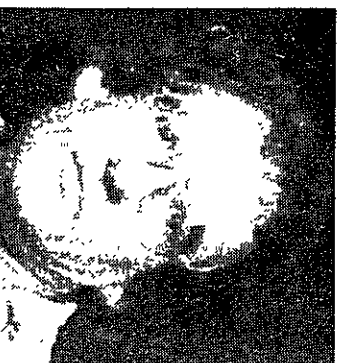
Major Du Toit will be reunited with his wife Louwna and four-year-old son Klippie and will later be received by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, who confirmed the swop on Saturday evening after a surprise press conference in Luanda by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Delicate negotiations took place over months and involved six different governments and Dr Jonas

## Key men in the prisoner exchange



Major Wynand du Toit



Mr Klaas de Jonge



Mr Pierre Albertini

## Concern over Du Toit's health

### Political Staff

**SOUTH AFRICA'S bid to secure the return of 29-year-old recee commando Major Wynand du Toit took on new urgency late last week as concern grew about his physical and mental state after his more than two years in captivity.**

A French diplomat involved in the final stages of negotiations reported that Major Du Toit did not appear to remember seeing the diplomat on a previous occasion.

It is understood Major Du Toit also did not recognize someone

he knew and seemed to be in a state of deep depression.

He seemed to believe "everyone had forgotten him" and was extremely concerned about his wife Louwna and four-year-old son Klippie.

He also did not appear to have been well fed, in spite of intercession by the International Red Cross.

Major Du Toit's military career started in 1977, when he was pinpointed as "an officer with potential". According to military sources he was found to be well motivated with strong leadership qualities and the ability to remain

calm in a crisis.

Seen as a "soldier through and through", he was keen on border duty and was well adapted to the bush.

He was captured in May 1985 while on a secret reconnaissance mission with South African and Unita operatives.

The latest round of delicate diplomatic negotiations for his exchange really got under way in February.

Major Du Toit was promoted from captain while in captivity. His promotion came with a recommendation for a bronze service medal.

1 SALDRU Labourers' Index for WD's  
 3 Comparison with the SLL  
 5 Real change league table  
 7 Plot changes in wages  
 8 Hourly Index for WD's  
 6 Rates of Settlement  
 4 Comparison with other wages  
 2 SALDRU Non-Labourers' Index (WD)

WAGE DETERMINATIONS

0 EXIT

Termination Analysis Programs

The French government of Prime Minister Mr Jacques Chirac played a major role. Other moves were aided by:

- South Africa's willingness to release Mr De Jonge and negotiate the release of Mr Albertini from Ciskei;
- France which used its influence in Africa, and President Francois Mitterrand is now expected to accept South African ambassador-designate Mr Hennie Geldenhuys's credentials;
- Dr Savimbi, who agreed to the release of Angolan soldiers;
- President Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei who agreed to South Africa's approaches to release Mr Albertini.
- Mozambique which acted as honest broker with Angola and agreed to Maputo airport being used for the swop.
- Angola which finally agreed to the release of Major Du Toit.

The deal was set to go several times recently but had to be put on hold again as new complications arose and Angola upped the ante.

**Clinched the deal**

Final word that it would actually go ahead came late on Friday night which seems to indicate that logistical problems made it impossible for it to happen on Saturday.

It is understood that a letter from Mr Pik Botha to Luanda on Thursday taken by two French emissaries finally clinched the deal.

Mr De Jonge, who duped security men into taking him to the building which contained the old Dutch Embassy on the ploy of showing them an arms cache and then barged into the embassy, celebrated his 50th birthday on Saturday night.

A small group of friends attended.

The large contingent of Angolans have been assembled at a central point — somewhere in northern Namibia — under South African control and are expected to be flown to Maputo today once it has been ascertained that Major Du Toit is there or on his way.

A large jet has had to be withdrawn from Angola's national airline to ferry them from Maputo to Luanda.

Aircraft and masses of personnel from several governments have been on stand-by in different parts of the subcontinent for weeks waiting for the exchange which will finally culminate in the complicated ceremony planned for today.

capt Timps 7/9/82

# Commando recce foiled by hunter

## Political Staff

AN East German hunter is believed to have blown the whistle on the ill-fated reconnaissance sortie into Angola in which Major Wynand du Toit was captured and two of his fellow soldiers were killed.

It is possible that their remains will be returned at some time in the future as part of the massive exchange of prisoners taking place in Maputo today. There is uncertainty about the situation because of the difficulty of communicating with Luanda through third parties.

The South African soldiers were on their way through shoulder-high grass on May 21, 1985, to check out a suspected ANC base.

With them were Unita soldiers, who were thought to have been aiming to blow up oil installations in Cabinda.

They were making their way through a usually unpopulated area but, with the grass being as long as it was, the unit left a distinct trail.

The East German came across the tracks and recognized they had not been made by an animal.

He reported his suspicions to MPLA authorities, who sent several hundred troops into the area, which resulted in a heavy battle, aborting the mission.

Some of the South Africans escaped.

5

ape Times, Monday, September 7, 1987 3

### SA planes shot down — claim

LISBON. — Angola yesterday claimed it had shot down two South African aircraft and accused South Africa of bombing a southern province, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

Angolan forces downed two South African planes on September 3 in the Cuito Cuanavale region of (south-eastern) Cuando Cubango province," Lusa said in a dispatch from Luanda, citing the official Angop news agency. The report did not say what type of plane was shot down. — UPI

CALC. Tanks 7/9/87



# Months of bargaining before swop

## Political Staff

MONTHS of delicate diplomatic bargaining and secret missions halfway around the world preceded the prisoner exchange in Maputo today.

It started with renewed attempts to free South African soldier Major Wynand du Toit after several other attempts had failed.

The initiative increased when a Frenchman, Pierre Andre Albertini, was arrested in Ciskei last year on charges of helping the ANC.

President Francois Mitterrand had made Albertini's imprisonment a national issue in France and had refused to accept the credentials of South Africa's ambassador-designate, Mr Hennie Geidenhuys, till Albertini was released.

France secretly sent a special envoy to South Africa. But South Africa could not force Ciskei to release Albertini.

The French Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac, then became involved and officials of his government played a leading role throughout the negotiations.

About the same time, Mr Klaas de Jonge, who had holed up in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, was again becoming an issue both in South Africa and in Holland.

Mr De Jonge was becoming a headache for the South African government and the Dutch government, which was facing increasing pressure to act against South Africa.

A new dimension came when Angola indicated it believed that South Africa or Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader, was holding Cuban and Fapla soldiers.

Thus the scene was being set for a multi-faceted swop and as pieces were shifted into position South Africa approached Mozambique to act as a go-between.

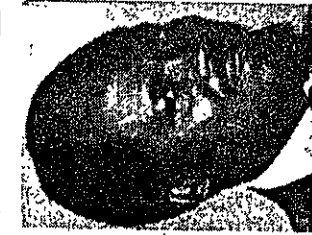
Maputo became the place for an exchange while several delays were caused when Angola initially demanded the return of 107 of its men, but gradually



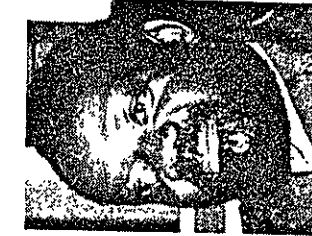
Mr Pik Botha



Mr Jacques Chirac



Mr Joaquim Chissano



Dr Jonas Savimbi

increased this to 146 and made a series of new demands.

Each delay meant aircraft and large numbers of government personnel — military and departmental — who were on stand-by in several countries around Southern Africa, just had to keep waiting for the green light.

The huge logistical support being held in readiness by South Africa alone was costing a "small fortune" every day the drama dragged on.

President Joaquim Chissano and one of his senior ministers, General Veloso, were the only ones in Mozambique who could be involved in the early stages. The complication was that an exchange in Maputo would have to be approved by the politburo.

A big operation was set up to trace the men Angola wanted in return for Major Du Toit and Dr Savimbi's co-operation had to be sought because he would be called on to release men who might later be used against his forces.

The French were also trying to use their influence with Mozambique to set up direct channels of communication with Luanda, while South Africa set about negotiating with President Lennox Sebe, who finally relented on Albertini if it would mean Major Du Toit's return.

The French government played an increasingly important role in the later stages of the negotiations to keep the exchange alive.

All systems were on track a few weeks ago and a Dutch official was flown to South Africa to give the police access to Mr De Jonge in the old Dutch Embassy.

But the operation nearly ended in disaster when news of part of it leaked from Ciskei.

Frantic diplomatic activity saved the operation but not before the Dutch official had returned to Holland after staying in Pretoria for a number of days.

Angola is then understood to have upped its demands and another complication arose.

Some of the men it wanted back had apparently married Unita women and were not too keen to be returned to their Fapla units.

Finally all systems were go for last weekend when Angola demanded information about a missing document for whom nobody could trace.

Messages were sent via intermediaries to Angola with urgent requests not to delay the whole operation for one single man and assurances were given that if he was traced he would be returned.

The start of the operation was put forward once again and diplomats waited anxiously throughout Monday to hear if the assurance would be accepted.

Tensions were heightened at a critical stage by difficult communications between Pretoria and Maputo, where a delegation of Angolans were waiting to make final arrangements with the Mozambican government.

At one stage it was thought Angola was deliberately delaying matters to keep South Africa from intervening in a huge build-up of Angolan troops in central Angola for a major offensive against Dr Savimbi.

By Tuesday it appeared the whole complicated exchange operation which had taken months to set up was grinding to a halt.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha sent Angola an ultimatum to let South Africa know by one o'clock on Wednesday if the deal was on or off. Once again tensions rose as officials saw the chance slipping away once more.

Word finally came that it was on, but, there were new requests by Angola and the operation was back on hold.

They wanted another seven prisoners — five officers and two civilians — who were thought to have been deep in the Angolan bush.

Angola also wanted information about nine Cubans — which South Africa did not have — as part of their new demands.

New assurances were sent to Angola late on Thursday by French emissaries flying in an Angolan aircraft which landed at Waterkloof air base. It spent several hours there while the South African letter was being drawn up.

Assurances were given that if the people Luanda wanted could be traced they would be returned after the main exchange had taken place.

This new development late on Thursday was regarded as the "make or break" point.

On Friday morning everything seemed to indicate that the exchange would go ahead on Saturday. Now it is go-ahead for today.



# Wynand is home

Cont. next page

CA  
 Mr. Toms  
 8/9/02  
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 (initials)

## Hero's welcome for SA recce commando

MAJOR Wynand du Toit came home to a hero's welcome in Cape Town late last night at the dramatic conclusion of a complex swap in which 135 captives were exchanged for him.

A haggard and thin Major Du Toit, 29, was welcomed back at Westbrooke, the official residence of the State President, Mr P W Botha, early today. Minutes earlier he was reunited with his wife, Louwna, and his five-year-old son, Klippie.

Dressed in a dark-blue suit, Major Du Toit was escorted into the Westbrooke living room by Mr Botha, Mrs Botha and cabinet ministers General Magnus Malan, a tired-looking Mr Pik Botha and Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Mrs Du Toit wore a polka-dotted cerise dress on which Mrs Botha pinned a corsage of orchids. Mr Botha later pinned a South African flag badge on Klippie's windbreaker.

The official "welcome back" press conference took 15 minutes. Maj Du Toit arrived at 12.50am and the ceremony was over at 1.05am but the reception continued once the press had left. Asked what his first words to his wife were, Mr Du Toit replied that he had sent her a message from the aircraft — "I love you and I'm on my way."

Mr Botha welcomed back "a young South African hero to his

### Swap near

country and to see him united with his wife and child".

"His condition shows that he's got the will to survive."

He appealed to people to leave Maj Du Toit and his family in peace for a while.

"A good friend of mine has offered to pay for a holiday for the family wherever they want to go. My friend does not want to be named. I hope they make use of this."

Mr Botha added that he hoped Maj Du Toit would soon take his rightful place in the work for which he had



TOGETHER AGAIN... Major Wynand du Toit with his wife Louwna and son Klippie at the State President's residence, Westbrooke, last night.

Pictures: ALAN TAYLOR

### ivly called off ● Europe is delighted ● Ciskei, Nkomati, SA get boost — Page 3

been trained. Maj Du Toit then addressed the journalists and said: "This is probably the most beautiful day of my life."

He said he was surprised to see Mr Pik Botha on the aircraft taking him home and overwhelmed at the reception the State President had organized for him.

He thanked the government for the trouble they went to in organizing his release and said he never gave up hope that he would be free.

"It was only during my imprisonment in

Angola that I realized what I had in South Africa and what South Africa really meant to me and what it is."

"And I can really say with confidence tonight that for me South Africa is the best, my country for always and I'm very glad to be back. I want to thank Mr (P W) Botha for his welcome. I didn't expect it."

"I told Mr Pik Botha earlier tonight that it was a surprise for me when I saw him on the aircraft and the fact that tonight I met the State President, Gen Malan and others. And I also want to thank Mr

(P W) Botha for the effort the South African government put in to bring about my release: "There are very few of you who know under what conditions I found myself and what problems I faced and how remote the chance of my release was, but still the government didn't sit back but put their shoulder to the wheel and my release came. I believed it would come and it took time, but it came."

"And with a government like this and with a God we can believe in and in whom we have hope, and with a land like South Africa we must always believe that we can never go wrong. In this respect my confidence and hope always remained."

"At this stage I can only say that I'm glad to be back, thanks to all the people who had a hand in it and those I forgot to thank, in my heart I am thankful for everyone who contributed to make this day possible for me and my family, Louwna and Klippie, and the fact that I will eventually see my father and mother."

He then posed for pictures with his wife, the State President, Mrs Elize Botha, Mr Adriaan Vlok, General Magnus Malan and Mr Pik Botha, and then lifted Klippie shoulder-high.

It had been a long evening, so a sleepy Klippie didn't stay up there for long. One of the reasons it was late, was the break between the time his aircraft landed in Cape Town and his arrival at Westbrooke.

It was to give him time to reunite with his wife and son... and take a quick bath.

# Maputo captive swop delayed by final hitches

Swop lauded, by all parties

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent  
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.  
— Political parties praised the four-way prisoner swop in Maputo yesterday, particularly the release of recce commando Major Wynand du Toit.

MAPUTO. — After a four-hour delay caused by last-minute hitches, 133 Angolan Fapla soldiers, Dutchman Mr Klaas de Jonge and Frenchman Mr Pierre-Andre Albertini were yesterday swapped for South African soldier Major Wynand du Toit at Maputo Airport.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha welcomed Maj Du Toit on the centre of the apron in front of the main airport building soon after the 133 Unita prisoners had marched to an awaiting Angolan Airline Boeing.

Mr Botha warmly embraced Maj Du Toit, who appeared dazed and much thinner than shown in photographs soon after his capture. Mr Botha and Maj Du Toit, arms around one another, then walked towards President PW Botha's personal jet, parked at the opposite end of the airport building.

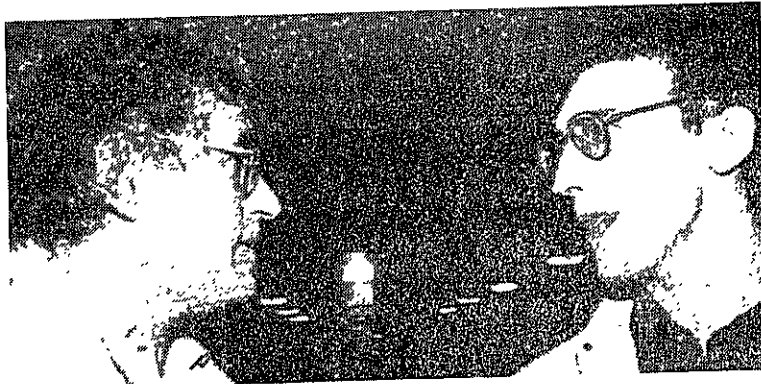
Besieged by hordes of newsmen who had waited for the handover from early in the day, Maj Du Toit said to Mr Botha: "It's good to be back."

## Waterkloof airbase

The Recce unit major headed for Waterkloof airbase near Pretoria. An earlier plan to fly him directly to Cape Town to be welcomed by President PW Botha and to be reunited with his wife, Louwna, and four-year-old son, Klippie, was altered because of bad weather.

With all attention focused on Maj Du Toit and Mr Botha, Mr Albertini slipped out of the jet which had brought him from Bisho in Ciskei and walked the 500m in the opposite direction towards the group of Angolan aircraft, and from there into the airport building.

A relaxed Mr De Jonge held an impromptu press conference as he walked away from the aircraft which had flown him from SA.



**FREEDOM ...** Two of the key men who were part of the prisoner swop, Mr Klaas de Jonge (left) and Mr Pierre-Andre Albertini. Along with 133 other prisoners, they were exchanged for Major Wynand du Toit.

Throwing clenched-fist salutes to the small but vocal crowd of Mozambicans, Mr De Jonge laughed and joked when asked about his release.

"I had an escape plan, but it's not necessary now. The South Africans have said I can come back, but at my own risk," he said.

Seven aircraft, including four light jets and two Boeings, were used in the exchange, which began shortly before 4.30pm when a Safair Boeing carrying the Unita prisoners landed after a flight from Grootfontein.

The Angolan soldiers, many in their teens and some appearing to be as young as 14, were dressed in bright tracksuits with tartan scarves and white tennis shoes. They carried bags as they left the plane and entered a hall in the airport, where officials made sure all were present.

Thirty minutes later three more planes landed in quick succession — first South Africa's presidential plane carrying Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, then an Angolan three-engined jet carrying Maj Wynand du Toit, which parked at the opposite end of the apron.

A friend of Maj Du Toit's, a Dr

Erasmus, boarded the plane to speak to him. An earlier visit by Dr Erasmus to Maj Du Toit during recent weeks raised concern about the soldier's mental condition when Maj Du Toit failed to recognise Dr Erasmus. Foreign Affairs officials said after Dr Erasmus's visit yesterday that Maj Du Toit was "fine".

In the meantime, the twin-engined jet which brought in Mr Albertini had also landed.

But Mr De Jonge's arrival was to delay the exchange. The Dutch Embassy in Pretoria refused to release Mr De Jonge from the old embassy building, where he has been holed up since July 1985, before they were sure Maj Du Toit was in Maputo. After receiving the message that Maj Du Toit had landed, the group were held up by rush-hour traffic on their way to Jan Smuts Airport.

Mr De Jonge's aircraft touched down at Maputo airport an hour after Mr Albertini's at 6.30pm. But while all the parties were then on Mozambican soil, there were still to be hitches and delays.

An official said there was some trouble agreeing on a joint statement.

## Exchange: Europe 'delighted'

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — European governments were last night viewing the dramatic prisoner exchange in Maputo as the key to greatly improved dialogue with South Africa.

Goodwill was particularly strong in France and the Netherlands, where Mr Pierre-Andre Albertini and Mr Klaas de Jonge will be given high-level welcomes home today.

The exchange was prominently featured in the European media, with inevitable speculation that it could help towards the eventual release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

In Paris yesterday, French Foreign Minister Mr Jean-Bernard Raimond was "delighted" at the release of Mr Albertini after "long and delicate global negotiations".

Government sources suggested that President Francois Mitterrand's refusal to accredit a new South African ambassador would almost certainly be reconsidered.

In The Hague a senior spokesman for the Dutch Foreign Ministry, which had been involved in increasingly bitter demands for the release of Mr De Jonge, said they were "very glad" at the outcome of the negotiations.

He said the successful out-

come "to this particular problem" meant Pretoria and The Hague were now in a position to enter into "clean, positive dialogue" that could contribute to peace and "speed up the end of apartheid for the benefit of all".

In London, senior Whitehall sources also expressed quiet delight with the exchange, saying it would assist "positive developments" in South Africa.

In London, Paris, The Hague and Bonn senior political sources said they hoped the new positive atmosphere could assist their repeated calls for the release of Mr Mandela and other top opposition leaders in South African prisons.

## 'Good riddance'

The CP spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Tom Langley, said his party wished to express its satisfaction regarding the release of Major Du Toit, who had borne his captivity with dignity.

As the price for his freedom, the release of Netherlands citizen Mr Klaas de Jonge was "good riddance to bad rubbish".

Sapa reports that the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin (Sea Point), said that although the politicians would be making much of the prisoner swop which would bring Major Du Toit back to South Africa, the real heroes who had made it possible were the technocrats and officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He said they were the ones who should be thanked for having made the very complicated swop possible.

He urged them, after having made the repatriation of 133 Fapla prisoners possible, to follow this up with the Angolan government who, he said, should be better disposed to South Africa, to try to reach settlement with them.



**HOMEWARD BOUND** ... Major Wynand du Toit (right) soon after his release in Maputo yesterday with the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

## Swop a 'triumph' for SA and Ciskei

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — South African international affairs experts yesterday claimed the prisoner exchange as a triumph for Ciskei and South Africa and as offering a new lease of life to the Nkomati Accord.

"The fact that all concerned were forced to treat Ciskei as an equal partner is a major feat for the homeland and a victory for South Africa's controversial homeland policy," Rand Afrikaans University political scientist Professor George Barrie said.

"This is the first international recognition of a South African homeland. The recognition may however be repealed at a later date," he warned. Africa Institute director Dr Erich Leistner claimed the swop was made possible largely through the Nkomati Accord, entered into by Pretoria and Maputo in March 1984. "In the eyes of the world Nkomati has been given renewed status."

He said it was a good thing Maputo acted as go-between in the exchange. It served to highlight the often "uncomfortable" yet "strong" tie between South Africa and Maputo.

## French PM's policy 'paid off'

**PARIS.** — The French Foreign Minister, Mr Jean-Bernard Raimond, said the government, in negotiating for the release of Mr Pierre Albertini, had established "relations outside normal diplomatic links with the countries concerned, especially Angola and Mozambique".

He said the release showed that French Prime Minister Mr Jacques Chirac's policy of combined pressure and dialogue had paid off. — Sapa-Reuter

West had a strong club sequence to lead from but knew that his opening bid had promised a five-card heart suit and that his partner would usually bid two hearts over two clubs, even with a doubleton heart. West felt the odds were overwhelming that his partner had only one heart, so he started with the ace of hearts

Neither side vulnerable

### NORTH

♠ K 53  
♥ K J 10 3  
♦ A 8 2  
♣ 9 6 4

### WEST

♠ J 10  
♥ A Q 8 5 2

### EAST

♠ Q 9 7 6 4  
♥ 4

Sagittarius (November 23 — December 21): After an uncertain start to the day, with confidence on the low side, you should be back in command of situations by afternoon. People will tend to rally to your side in an argument and you could come out on top!  
Capricorn (December 22 — January 20): It is easy to lose things one way or another just now, so take care of your possessions. It is a generally quiet, even boring day, though in the evening someone may have news that raises a few eyebrows.

**IF TODAY IS YOUR BIRTHDAY** ... Domestic and family life is especially significant

Loof die? Here: 10.15? C...  
Beukes. 10.30 Cantara. 11:00 N...  
ings. 11.05 Wat Sê die Dokter? 11...  
12.00 Dagoemaal. 1.05 Weer en A...  
1.15 Nuus. Produktemarkpryse. 1...  
Land? 2.00 Vervolgverhale. 2.00 C...  
Oujaer. 2.15 Negentien is Nog Nie C...  
Johanna. 2.45 Vrou van Harte. 3.00...  
jee. 3.15 Ateljee '87. 4.00 Nuus. 4.1...  
5.00 Spitsyd. 5.53 Weer. 6.00 Nuus...  
joemaal. 6.30 Van Oral Oor. 7.00 ...

# Swop delay due to 'misunderstanding'

Staff Reporter

THE last-minute delay in the prisoner swop which involved six countries and resulted in the release of Major Wynand du Toit on Monday night was caused by a misunderstanding between the governments of South Africa and Angola, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night.

Speaking on the "Network" programme, Mr Botha said the swop was at first delayed because the aircraft carrying Maj Du Toit was late and there were difficulties getting Dutch fugitive Mr Klaas de Jonge through peak-hour traffic in Pretoria.

Referring to delays after the two men had arrived at the airport in Maputo, he said: "Let us say a misunderstanding arose between us and one of the other governments at the last moment," adding that this was before the documents for the swop were signed.

"The matter was resolved as a result of discussions we then had with one another," he said.

SABC interviewer Freek Robinson asked who the discussions were with and Mr Botha replied: "We had an intermediary between myself and the Angolan Foreign Minister and we came to an agreement on the wording on certain of the documents."

He said there were still arrangements to be made for the handing over of seven Angolans by the South African government within the next 10 days and for the return of the remains of Maj Du Toit's two colleagues who were killed when he was captured two years ago.

## Bodies held 'to keep up pressure'

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — Portuguese television announced last night that Angola had not returned the bodies of three South African soldiers during the Maputo prisoner exchange to "keep up the pressure on President P W Botha to release jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela".

The state television report did not name its sources, but referred to the Angolan news agency, Angop, which it said had indicated that the bodies would be returned "in due course".

It is presumed that the tense and unexplained delay in Maputo on Monday night, before the swap went ahead, was due to South African anger at the Angolan failure to release the bodies.

Cape Times 2/12/67 (S. Africa)

# Family's first glimpse of Wynand on TV

By JOHN VAN DER LINDEN

AFTER two years of tension and waiting, the parents, brother and sister of Major Wynand du Toit got the first glimpse of him as he walked behind a group of Fapla soldiers on a dark television screen on Monday night.

"Daar's Wynand," the entire family cried in unison and the brief silence which followed was deafening in my ears as I waited for something to break the spell.

The family, Mr Piet Du Toit, his wife Beatrix, their son Marius and his wife Hanneke and their

daughter Ebeth with her husband Mr Arthur Shone and their children John, 8 and Dennis, 5, were at home.

Their turn to meet Wynand would come the next day.

Drained of tears — shed long ago — the small group stared at the screen where, Wynand, favouring his wounded arm, was met by Minister Pik Botha who led him to the waiting jet.

"He is thin and his beard has been trimmed," someone said and then everyone began to speak about him as if he had never been away.

His proud father, Mr Piet Du Toit, told of his son's striving for perfection in everything he did and of how he had admitted in a letter which they received from him in Angola that he had failed for the first time in his life.

The talk became general and there was even some banter. At this stage I felt the warm love for the imprisoned soldier glowing strongly in the room and hardened as I may be by my many years as a pressman I felt it was time for me to leave the family whose inner feelings I had been allowed to share so briefly.

## Picking up the pieces after two years . . .

By CHRIS ERASMUS

MAJOR Wynand du Toit may be home, but the real work — re-integration into his family, social and working life — is yet to come.

This is the opinion of Professor Deo Strümpfer, of the University of Cape Town's psychology department.

"In fact the problems of re-adjustment which he faces are much the same as those faced by any prisoners, including detainees, who have been isolated for any length of time from their home, social and working lives.

"For all these people, the biggest problem is that in their absence life goes on and never stands still. For Major Du Toit,

the South Africa he returned to is not the same as the South Africa he left.

"Politically, socially, economically and in every other way, things have changed. Even his family is not the same — he must re-acquaint himself with his wife, who had to adjust to two years without him, and with a son who has grown up considerably in his absence.

"It's a very difficult process to slot back into the life he left behind — nothing is the same.

"He left a captain and returns a major, perhaps without even having been informed of this while he was being held; his existence was officially 'denied' for a

period of his imprisonment, but he returns a national hero.

"It's a strange world he has returned to and the two years he has missed have become an enormous gap that will be very difficult to bridge . . .

"A particular problem faced by returning prisoners of war such as the major is that they have a problem sharing some of the unpleasant experiences they have had.

"It is extremely hard for them to go over these experiences again and again, and yet that is what is necessary if they are to be re-integrated with their families, social circles and working colleagues," said Prof Strümpfer.



# Surgery today for Maj Du Toit

*CHE Times 9/19/82 (5) [Signature]*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**MAJOR Wynand du Toit will undergo surgery today to remove a pin inserted in his left arm after being shot during a ill-fated reconnaissance mission in Angola more than two years ago.**

The decision to operate follows extensive medical tests on Major Du Toit at 2 Military Hospital in Wynberg.

A statement released by the Department of Defence last night indicated that the "general impression after the major's medical examination was that he was in good shape."

"The result of blood samples and abdominal and chest tests are normal and the general good physical condition of Major Du Toit,"

Denial of the major's condition was made or morning by a spokesman for the MP/SA captives who he goes under the name of "Swabba".

## Debriefing

A spokesman for the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said Major Du Toit was undergoing "normal medical tests for prisoners."

Asked whether he was undergoing psychological tests, the spokesman said it was "to be expected for someone who had spent two and a half years in solitary confinement."

The major had slept well, he added. He is to be united with his parents and other family members later today.

The spokesman said Major Du Toit's wife Louwina and son Klippie were with him at the hospital.

It is not clear how long he will spend in hospital.

The spokesman said no plans had yet been finalized for a debriefing of the rescue commander. He said Major Du Toit could take up his old position in the SADF "if he chooses to do so". It would be "totally up to him" whether the major decides to go on

## ON PAGE 3

- I smuggled arms, says De Jonge
- Family's first glimpse of Wynand
- Picking up the pieces
- Why swap was delayed

holiday after he had recovered from today's operation.

"The offer of a free holiday for the Du Toit family "wherever they want to go" mentioned by the State President Mr P.W. Botha, at Major Du Toit's emotional homecoming early yesterday morning would definitely not be paid for by the government or the president, a spokesman for Mr Botha said yesterday.

"The offer had been made by a "good friend" of Mr Botha's who did not know Major Du Toit personally but sympathized with his circumstances," he said.

Meanwhile, General Malan warned that previous exchanges had not halted the export of revolution to South Africa.

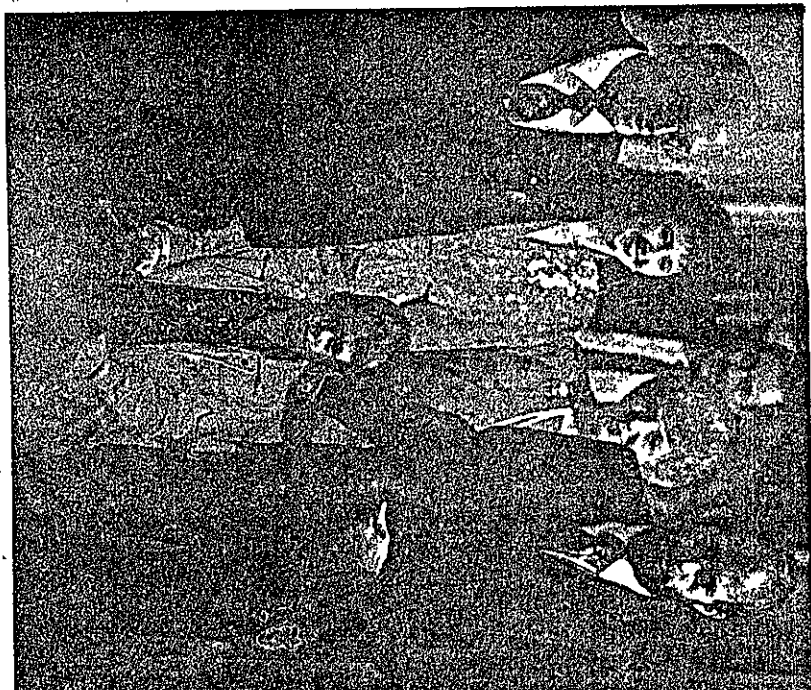
Replying to the debate on his vote in the House of Delegates, General Malan said "the export of violence - bombings, landmines and the maiming of innocent people, had not halted in spite of previous exchanges and regular contacts."

He said the exchange of prisoners of war was nothing new in modern times and the exchange involving Major Du Toit was the fourth in which South Africa had been involved since 1978.

"Although it can be accompanied by a spirit of mutual appreciation, it does not change basic points of departure and ideologies," he noted.

The minister said he "sincerely hoped" that Major Du Toit would soon resume his normal duties in the Defence Force.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr



**VIP ARRIVAL**... Returning military hero, Major Wynand du Toit, at Westbrooke early yesterday morning with President P.W. Botha, Mrs Louwina du Toit, the Du Toits' son Klippie, Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mrs Elize Botha.

Picture: ADAM TAYLOR

Pik Botha, said in reply to his vote in the House of Assembly that Mr P.W. Botha deserved special credit for Monday's prisoner swap.

The President, he said, had given plenty of room for both conventional and unconventional methods for getting Major Du Toit back home.

**Swap:**

**No link with Mandela,**

**says Pik Botha**

Political Staff

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has denied there is a parallel between Monday's prisoner exchange and the release of the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

He was responding to PRP Leader Mr Colin Eglin's statement in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Mr Eglin quoted State President, Mr P.W. Botha, who had asked in January 1986 whether the release of Mr Mandela should not be linked to freedom for Major Du Toit and two Russian dissidents, Mr Anatoly Shecharansky and Mr Andrei Sakharov.

## Time right

He said that with the other three now free, was the time not right for Mr Mandela to be released from jail?

Denying there was a parallel, Mr. Pik Botha said the prisoner swap had involved citizens from other countries, while security prisoners were citizens of the country in which they were being held.

If there was a parallel, he said, it lay in the fact that there had to be a balance of interests.

Such a balance would never be achieved while blacks' demands remained too high, and unacceptable to whites, he said.

The government's approach to negotiations in South Africa was based on such a "balance of interests".

1974 Times 10/19/87

# Hopes of break in SWA deadlock

LUANDA. — US envoy Dr Chester Crocker discussed with Angolan government officials yesterday an Angolan proposal that has raised hopes of a breakthrough in long-stalled negotiations over independence for Namibia.

Dr Crocker, the US assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, arrived unexpectedly in Luanda on Tuesday for a second round of talks in under two months on the issue of Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Angolan media reports said that Dr Crocker and the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Afonso Van Dunem Mbinda, would be focusing their talks on a new Angolan proposal for the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Western diplomats noted that the latest talks followed intense diplomatic activity over the last eight weeks aimed at breaking the deadlock over Namibia.

Dr Crocker's arrival in Luanda followed what diplomats described as the remarkable exchange of prisoners in Maputo on Monday.

A senior Angolan official was quoted as saying in Lusaka last Friday that, concerning the withdrawal of the estimated 35 000 Cuban troops, his government was now proposing a two-year withdrawal period instead of three years as proposed in 1984. — Sapa-Reuter

# Reagan should emulate Angola leader's courage

For the last two years, the Reagan administration has urged the Marxist government of Angola to reform its economy and, as a condition for an end to United States aid to the anti-government rebels, has demanded the removal of Cuban combat troops.

In a bold move last month, the Angolan President, Mr Eduardo dos Santos, announced dramatic economic changes and presented the US with a new plan for the withdrawal of the Cuban forces.

Mr dos Santos has placed the ball clearly back in the US court. The Reagan administration should keep its word and respond to his demonstration of flexibility.

In his most important speech of his nine years as President, Mr dos Santos placed the blame for the country's economic stagnation on excessive socialist planning and government bureaucracy. He said such practices has fostered "disorganisation, poor entrepreneurial management and rampant indiscipline and corruption".

## Ineptness blamed

The President advocated Angola's entry into the International Monetary Fund, a proposal that has been sharply opposed by the ultra-left wing of the ruling party, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

The speech was a departure from the usual rhetoric. Until now it has been common among government leaders to place all blame for Angola's economic ills on the colonial legacy and the continuing war that followed the country's independence almost 12 years ago. President dos Santos, however, also placed blame on party and government ineptness and mismanagement.

In a report published earlier this year, the United Nations Children's Fund estimated that the war had left almost one-tenth of the population homeless and had caused some 150 000 Angolans to seek refuge in neighbouring countries.

The report stated that tens of thousands of Angolan children died last year from starvation and even

In launching his own version of glasnost, President dos Santos seems to have gone even further than Mikhail Gorbachev, writes Gerald J Bender.



Dos Santos . . . bold move.

more were suffering from acute malnutrition. The prognosis for 1987 is worse.

The United States Committee on Refugees, a private organisation based in Washington, issued a report last month that cited Angola's need for 200 000 tons of grain by April to avoid catastrophic starvation and malnutrition in rural areas.

Angola has issued an urgent appeal for R230 million in food aid, yet the State Department spokesman, Mr Charles Redman, responded by noting Washington's concern that Luanda has spent an increasing amount of its foreign exchange on the purchase of arms.

Washington has thus put the Angolan Government in a catch-22 situation by providing a total of about R60 million in military aid to Unita even as South Africa's support for the guerilla forces, led by Jonas Savimbi, has reached about R400 million a year. This has led to an escalation of the war and has contributed to the worsening economic situation in Angola.

Nonetheless, the Angolan Government's response of buying more arms to protect itself is cited by Washington as a reason for possibly denying the non-military aid that could help alleviate the starvation and malnutrition that is plaguing the country.

Increased defence expenditure,

combined with a dramatic reduction in foreign exchange caused by the sharp drop in oil prices, have forced the Angolan Government to adopt some of the most stringent austerity measures in the Third World.

Imports of food and clothing have been reduced by half and the amount of basic materials used to run factories has been cut by two-thirds. Unable to further reduce the import of necessities, the government has looked inward — towards drastic reforms — to find the resolution to its economic malaise.

Mr dos Santos has underscored the need to open and encourage private initiatives in many areas, including retail trade, transportation, construction, farming, cattle-raising and elsewhere throughout the service sector.

The Angolan President is often accused of being indecisive. But he strongly criticised the government and the ruling party, which he heads, for the current economic stagnation. In launching Angola's own version of *glasnost*, he seems to have gone even further than his Soviet counterpart, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, in trying to decentralise economic planning and to encourage private enterprise.

These latest economic and diplomatic initiatives are signs of a major triumph of moderate forces over ultra-leftists in the ruling party. Mr dos Santos showed considerable courage. Now it will be interesting to see if President Reagan can muster the same courage to take the steps necessary to register his first diplomatic success in southern Africa.

● The writer is director of the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California and a former president of the Los Angeles-based African Studies Association. He contributed this comment to the *New York Times*.

the Board, surely, scope of its determinations to include the widest number of small towns where the application of minimum wage rates would immediately raise the standard of living of many now living in abject poverty.



MAGWS 10/9/87

# Bodies of SA soldiers 'to be returned soon'

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — The bodies of two South African soldiers killed in the northern Angolan province of Cabinda will be returned to South Africa soon, according to Radio Angola.

In a broadcast monitored in Johannesburg the radio said the bodies would be exchanged for about 10 Angolan prisoners "within the next few days".

The soldiers killed in Cabinda were Corporal Louis van Breda and Corporal Rowland Liebenberg. Major Wynand du Toit was captured in the same incident. He was returned to South Africa on Monday.

## Separate incident

The broadcast made no mention of the body of another South African, Corporal Bruce Fidler, killed in a separate incident in Angola in 1985.

Initially it was thought that the three bodies would be returned to South Africa during Monday's exchange of prisoners in Maputo.

A Mozambican Foreign Affairs official said the bodies had not been brought to Maputo.

● The Argus Political Correspondent reports that the operation on Major Wynand Malan was a success and he may be discharged from hospital in Wynberg tomorrow.

A military spokesman confirmed this today.

A surgical pin in his left arm, inserted in Angola after he was wounded when he was captured, was removed.

Major du Toit also had dental treatment and tests showed he needed glasses, which would be supplied today.

# Du Toit expected to make quick recovery

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MAJOR Wynand du Toit is expected to make a rapid recovery following yesterday's operation to remove from his left arm a surgical pin that had caused him "much pain and irritation".

The former prisoner of war is expected to return to his West Coast home by the end of the week before embarking on a long holiday, a spokesman for the Minister of Defence said yesterday.

Major Du Toit has over two months' leave due to him after spending 27 months in solitary confinement in an Angolan jail but has not yet indicated if he intends taking up the free holiday offer made by an anonymous friend of President P W Botha, the spokesman said.

Before going under the knife at 2 Military hospital yesterday, Major Du Toit received dental treatment and tests indicated that he would also need spectacles, which he will receive today.

- Du Toit's future secure — Page 2
- Major to write book — Page 2
- Hopes for break in SWA — Page 3

However, the Ministry of Defence yesterday pronounced his general physical condition to be "good".

X-rays of Major Du Toit's upper arm showed an old knitted fracture — that had healed completely — with a surgical pin in place.

However, the top of the pin protruded four centimetres too far, preventing Major Du Toit from moving his shoulder properly.

"The pin got stuck against the Acromion (the outermost edge of the spine of the shoulder blade and caused much pain and irritation," a statement issued after the operation noted.

The pin and a loose bone were removed under general anaesthetic and the major's shoulder was manipulated.

● The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in the House of Representatives yesterday that he was gratified that Major Du Toit was in good mental and physical health.

"He is another beautiful example of the steel out of which South Africans are forged. The SADF, and particularly the reconnaissance commando of which he is a member, welcome him back among their ranks."

The exchange of prisoners involving Major Du Toit had been a team effort but the ANC and the SACP had played no part whatsoever in the exchange, he said.

The exchange had undoubtedly create a spirit of "reasonableness and humanity" on the sub-continent but relations between South Africa and the "Moscow/ANC/SACP alliance" were not affected in any way by the swap, he said.



JONAS SAVIMBI

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

ANGOLA — Luanda has been trying to divert attention from losses inflicted on its forces by Unita during the latest advance on Dr Jonas Savimbi's stronghold in the country's south-east. A South African Defence Force spokesman said.

This counter-charge was made after Angola had stated that the SADF had attacked them on Tuesday.

The Angolan news agency, Angop, yesterday claimed that South African aircraft had bombed the town of Xangongo, in the southern Cunene province, killing and wounding civilians. But did not elaborate.

Angola reported the bombing raid on Xangongo the day after the US envoy, Dr Chester Crocker, had held talks in Luanda on the Angolan proposal aimed at breaking the deadlock in negotiations for the independence of South West Africa.

According to Angop:

● Eight South African aircraft, four mirage fighters and four buccaneer strike fighters, bombed Xangongo, causing a "considerable number" of deaths and

# SA rejects raids claim by Angola

injuries among the civilian population.

● The raid was carried out after several days of movements by South African ground forces and aircraft inside the southern provinces of Cunene and Cuando-Cubango.

● On September 5, South African aircraft had flown over Cuito Cuahavale, the government's main forward position in Cuando Cubango Province and Evale in Cunene Province.

● On September 6, 48 South African armoured vehicles, including Buffel, Casspir and AML-90 troop carriers, moved into the Namacunde area of Cunene Province and concentrated near the town of Ongiva, which has been a frequent target of South

African attacks in the past."

In a separate incident, Angolan troops killed 12 Unita rebels at Balombo in the southern coastal province of Benguela.

In the past Angola has frequently accused South African forces of attacking targets inside its southern border in support of Unita rebels.

"It has been widely reported that Unita had achieved significant success against a massive Russian and Cuban-led offensive against them in South Angola," a SADF spokesman said yesterday.

"In the light of this background it is predictable that Angola will do all in its power to divert attention away from the rapidly deteriorating situation in that country".

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CH 6 7/25 (5)  
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Crocker

## meets Dos Santos on Namibia

LISBON. — Washington's top Africa expert met President Jose Eduardo dos Santos for talks on Namibia and a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported from Luanda yesterday.

Dr. Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, had 30 minutes of talks with Mr. Dos Santos on Wednesday night before leaving Angola after a surprise two-day visit.

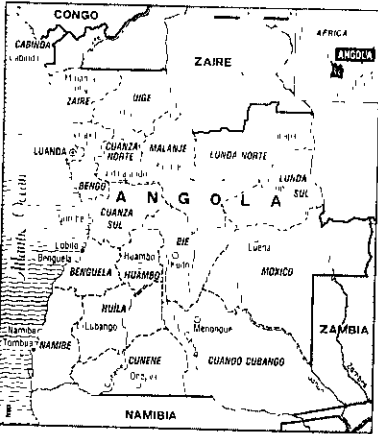
Dr. Crocker said the US government was now studying Angola's latest proposals to break deadlock over achieving independence for Namibia and a Cuban military withdrawal, according to the brief Angop dispatch monitored in Lisbon.

His unexpected visit marked the first high-level meeting between Washington and Marxist-ruled Angola since talks broke down in Luanda last July. — Sapa-Reuter

# Angola claims-

## Jets bombed town, *Cape Times 11/12/87 S* says Angop

LUANDA. — South African aircraft bombed a town in Angola's southern province of Cunene on Tuesday, killing and injuring civilians, the official Angolan agency Angop said yesterday.



According to a Sapa-Reuter report citing Angop, eight South African aircraft — four Mirage fighters and four Buccaneers — carried out the raid on Xangongo at 5.30pm. The bombing caused a "considerable number" of deaths and injuries among the civilian population, the agency added.

ed. It did not elaborate.

Angop said the raid was carried out after several days of movements by South African ground forces and aircraft inside Angola's southern provinces of Cunene and Cuando Cubango.

The Cape Times Defence Correspondent writes that the Angolan charges were yesterday answered by South African Defence Force counter-charges that Luanda was trying to divert attention from losses inflicted on its forces by Unita during the latest advance on Dr Jonas Savimbi's stronghold in the country's south-east.

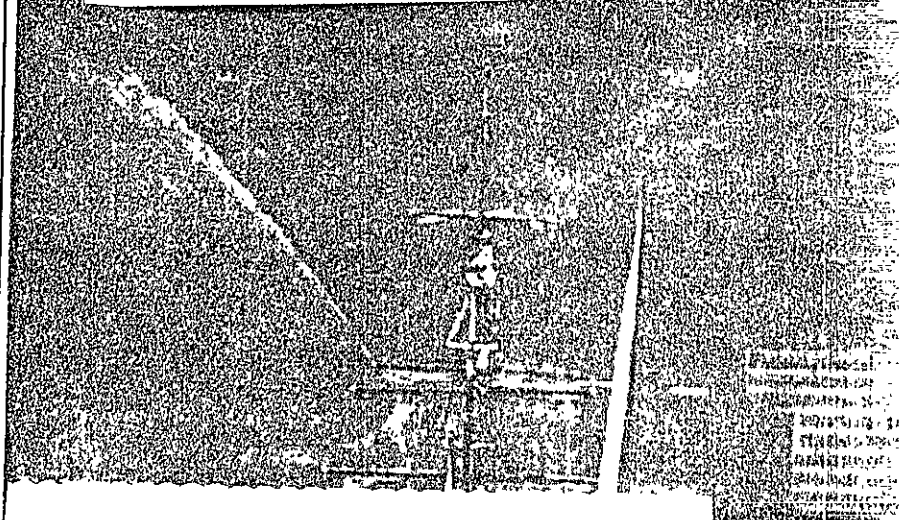
A SADF spokesman said: "It has been widely reported that Unita had achieved significant success against a massive Russian- and Cuban-led offensive against them in South Angola.

"In the light of this background it is predictable that Angola will do all in its power to divert attention away from the rapidly deteriorating situation in that country."

According to Sapa-Reuter, reporting from Luanda, Angola has in the past frequently accused South African forces of attacking targets inside its south-

To page 3

# SA raid



ape Times, Friday, September 11, 1987 3

From page 1

## Angola

ern border in support of Unita rebels.

Angop said that on September 5 South African aircraft had flown over Cuito Cuanavale, the government's main forward position in Cuando Cubango Province, a Unita stronghold. South African aircraft also flew over Evale in Cunene Province, it added.

The following day, 48 South African armoured vehicles, including Buffalo, Casspir and AML-90 troop carriers, moved into the Namacunde area of Cunene Province and concentrated near the town of Ondjiva, which Angola says has been a frequent target of South African attacks in the past.

Angola reported the bombing raid on Xangongo the day after US envoy Dr Chester Crocker held talks in Luanda on the Angolan proposal aimed at breaking the deadlock in long-stalled negotiations for the independence of Namibia.

In a separate incident, Angop claimed, Angolan troops killed 12 Unita rebels at Balombo in the southern coastal province of Benguela.

The report of the hostilities followed a complex prisoner swap in the Mozambican capital Maputo on Monday in which Angola freed a captured South African commando officer in exchange for the release by South Africa of 133 Angolan soldiers and of a Frenchman and a Dutchman accused under South African terrorism laws.

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By ROGER WILLIA  
Chief Reporter

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# Angolan claim of air raid by SA jolts peace hopes

News 11/19/87

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Argus Africa News Service

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Hopes of new peace initiatives in Southern Africa were jolted today as Angola renewed accusations of South African aggression and warned that Cuban troops would not be withdrawn.

The accusations came four days after a prisoner exchange in Maputo and a Wednesday visit to Luanda by an American envoy had raised hopes of a new initiative to solve the war in Angola and SWA/Namibia.

Radio Angola, monitored in Johannesburg last night, said South African Air Force planes had bombed the town of Xangongo in the southern Angolan province of Cunene, killing "a considerable number of civilians" and causing widespread destruction.

Angolan Defence Minister General Pedro Maria Tonha was quoted as saying that Cuban troops would stay as long as South African attacks continued.

The broadcast said armed columns from the South African army were also operating deep in Angolan territory in the provinces of Cuando-Cubango and Cunene.

## New incursions feared

On Monday, South Africa announced that an air force reconnaissance aircraft had crashed in the border region.

On Wednesday the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, held talks in Luanda with top Angolan officials and President José Eduardo dos Santos on new Angolan proposals for the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the independence of SWA/Namibia.

However, Radio Angola quoted General Tonha as saying: "There is the danger of new incursions into Angola and the Cubans will stay here as long as that danger persists."

Sapa-Reuter reports from Luanda that the official Angolan agency Angop said eight South African aircraft — four Mirage fighters and four Buccaneers — carried out the raid on Xangongo at 5.30pm yesterday.

# Wynand speaks of captivity

SA 12/19/85

## Defence Correspondent

DRESSED in full uniform, Major Wynand du Toit yesterday spoke guardedly of his months of captivity in Angola — and his joy on learning by way of a television broadcast that he was to be freed in Africa's greatest prisoner swap.

Major Du Toit was the star of a press conference in a small hall at 2 Military Hospital in Wynberg, where he is recuperating after an operation to a wound he suffered in his upper left arm after being captured in Cabinda in May, 1985.

Wearing a paratrooper's beret, he entered the conference hall with his publisher, Mr Hans Strydom.

He speaks articulately in Afrikaans and English, both overlaid with a homely West Coast "bry", and shows flashes of quiet humour.

### 'A little pain'

Major Du Toit opened the press conference with a short statement, thanking the government and the SADF for their efforts in procuring his release and saying that when he had walked out of the hospital yesterday and seen "this lovely sun" he had known he was truly back in the Cape.

Asked whether he had been physically tortured by his captors, he said: "It depends on how you regard that. Physically, no. I wouldn't say they did any physical damage to me.

"You must understand that there are phases ... from captivity till you reach a higher headquarters the treatment is very rough, and there is a little accompanying pain, but I don't want to go into detail about that."

Asked about a remark he had made at a press conference in Luanda on September 2, 1985 — that the attack in which he had taken part had been aimed at stopping Angola's oil production and thereby its support for Swapo — Major Du Toit said quietly: "What else could I say?"

At this stage a senior military officer present interjected: "I must ask you not to talk about these things — he has not had the opportunity to discuss

these things with the Defence Force."

Major Du Toit said he had been given three meals a day, and "I ate enough to live, and was satisfied with the food". The basic staples had been rice and beans. He said he had had no opportunity to exercise.

Asked what he had missed most, he said: "Companionship. For two years and three months I was kept in what you might call solitary confinement. No one else visited me. The guards were not allowed to talk to me, and if we became friendly they were taken away."

Asked if he spoke Portuguese, Major Du Toit replied haltingly in that language and said he understood "about 50% Portuguese", so that he had been able to watch Angolan television, "and that was how I found out about my being set free. They gave me nothing. My typewriter, my Bible and my books all came from South Africa; they were brought by Louwna".

### Political pressure

Major Du Toit said he felt "better" now that he was home at last, and — asked what emotion he had felt when met by Mr Pik Botha at Maputo airport — replied with one word: "Joy".

Asked if political pressure was exerted on him or attempts made to "turn" him, Major Du Toit said no overt attempts were made, though "in the nature of things" there was some pressure, in the sense that he had no access to the Western press or TV — "what I did have was a Cuban newspaper, "Granma", and also another Cuban paper called "Prisma".

The Angolans had not tried to influence him ideologically, he said.

Asked if he had felt "despairing at times", Major Du Toit said: "It's normal to feel that way."

Major Du Toit confirmed that he had strong religious beliefs: "Yes, I believe in Jesus Christ, and I believe that if it hadn't been for Him I wouldn't have made it." He added that the Bible and other religious material brought to him by his wife had been a tremendous help.



CONFERENCE ... Major Wynand du Toit answers a reporter's question at yesterday's press conference while his publisher, Mr Hans Strydom, listens at his side.

# Angola seeks to join IMF in effort to restructure economy

(5) STM  
11/9/87

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Angola is planning to apply for membership of the International Monetary Fund as part of a big effort to restructure its war-torn economy and win Western support for additional aid and rescheduling of its R8 billion external debt.

Senior Ministers have confirmed the government's intention of joining the IMF. They also said they expected to hold a third round of negotiations with the United States over possible withdrawal of the 37 000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola.

Both moves reflect Angola's acute preoccupation with its dire economic situation, despite its large oil revenues. The country is seeking R232 million in emergency aid to help ease a near-famine in urban centres.

Western diplomats see the developments as

marking what might be an important turning point in Angolan policy towards the West.

"War and development cannot cohabit," said Mr Pedro van Duren Loy, Minister of Production, Mining and Oil.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will visit various European countries this month, starting with France on September 21, to secure Western financial and political support for his government.

Apart from the strong possibility of France being asked to sponsor Angola's IMF application, the country is also keen to negotiate a series of major arms contracts with French companies.

Mr Pedro Tonha Pedale, the Angolan Defence Minister, confirmed Angola's wish to diversify its arms sources beyond its Soviet allies.

He said Angola had al-

ready acquired Dauphin, Gazelle, and Alouette helicopters from the French Aerospatiale group. The Thomson defence and electronics group is also supplying communications equipment.

The diversification of arms purchases reflects Angola's need to reinforce its already sizeable military forces in its protracted war against the Unita rebels.

While the war shows no sign of abating, both the Defence Minister and Foreign Minister said that Angola was now seeking to negotiate a possible solution with the US.

Foreign Minister Mr Van Dumen M'Binda confirmed that Angola had made a revised proposal for the withdrawal of 20 000 Cuban soldiers in the southern half of the country over two years instead of three. But the US is insisting on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the whole country.



CHE Times 14/9/87 (5)

# Angola, US Namibia talks 'will resume'

LUANDA. — Angola and the United States will hold further negotiations on independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angolan territory, the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Afonso Van-dunem, has said.

Mr Van-dunem said in an interview here at the weekend that United States envoy Dr Chester Crocker had visited Angola last week to clarify certain aspects of an Angolan proposal for the withdrawal of part of the estimated 35 000 Cuban troops.

"We will return to the negotiating table at the first opportunity," Mr Van-dunem said.

He confirmed that Angola was proposing the gradual withdrawal of 20 000 Cubans from its territory over a period of two years following the granting of independence to Namibia.

This would form part of a four-party regional peace deal to be signed by Angola, South Africa, Cuba and Swapo, he said.

### 'Global agreement'

"This is our own contribution . . . We are proposing a global agreement aimed at accelerating the process of Namibian independence . . . and it is not in exchange for the withdrawal of Cuban troops."

He added that the US was making the Cuban pull-out a condition for Washington to establish diplomatic relations with Luanda. "We are not prepared to establish diplomatic relations with pre-conditions," Mr Van-dunem said.

He said that in order for Angola to pull out the Cubans, the government was demanding Namibia's freedom and the pullback of South African troops which he said were currently occupying part of southern Angola.

Luanda was also demanding an end to US support for Unita rebels.

"It is a paradox that the US should have commercial relations with us and at the same time should help groups that destabilize the nation," Mr Van-dunem said.

The minister stressed that the Angolan government would not negotiate with Unita.

"What are we going to negotiate with Unita . . . ? To negotiate with Unita is to negotiate with South Africa." — Sapa-Reuter

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# Unita claims victory in new Angola fighting

CAPL T/mts 15/987 (5)

LISBON. — Angolan guerillas yesterday said they killed more than 100 soldiers and destroyed 10 tanks in heavy fighting last week against a Soviet-supervised government offensive on rebel strongholds.

In a statement issued here, the US and South African-backed guerillas said they inflicted "several reverses" on two army brigades last Wednesday and Thursday in south-east Kuando Kubango province.

Recent news reports from Washington cited State Department officials as confirming the upsurge in fighting and saying it involved six Angolan army brigades backed by Soviet and Cuban advisers, nearly 30 tanks and some 350 armoured vehicles.

The reports said the Marxist government offensive had forced the Unita insurgents to retreat about 100km east toward Mavinga, the gateway to rebel chief Dr Jonas Savimbi's bush headquarters at Jamba.

The Unita statement said its forces killed 102 soldiers and destroyed 10 T-

55 tanks and one armoured car in combat on Wednesday and Thursday against the "Soviet-commanded" 16th and 21st brigades.

Unita said the fighting took place in the areas of Kuzumbia and Nguenje. It made no reference to its reported withdrawal or to casualties on its side.

In Paris, meanwhile, it was reported yesterday that President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has changed his position on the armed struggle for independence in Namibia and now is urging a negotiated settlement.

Informed sources said that at the summit of African frontline states last month in Lusaka, Zambia, Mr Dos Santos said he was convinced Namibia would not win independence through the armed struggle being waged by Swapo.

He said that "given the stalemate, talks between the parties to the conflict would be the best means of trying to find a solution to the Namibian question". — UPI, Sapa-AP

Cap. Tink 15/9/87

# Angola could be SA's Vietnam, says Hulley

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

ANGOLA could become South Africa's own Vietnam, Mr Roger Hulley (FPF Constantia) warned yesterday.

Speaking during the defence budget vote debate, Mr Hulley conceded that South Africa may have derived certain military benefits from backing the rebel Unita movement in Angola.

But he expressed fears that the price of those benefits was increasingly becoming "so great that their costs increasingly outweigh whatever potential benefits there might have been".

Mr Hulley said that with the massive infusion of armaments and personnel from Eastern-bloc countries and Cuba, "it seems to me that the military balance of power, particularly in the air, has been inexorably shifting against us".

It also appeared that the offensive against Unita was "slowly but surely getting tighter and tighter" and he asked whether "there is not going to come a point where South Africa might find itself... In deeper water than we can handle".

Mr Hulley asked the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, whether he believed that South Africa, together with Unita, could achieve a victory against the combined forces of the MPLA, the Cubans and the Eastern bloc.

"Does he believe that Unita, with our backing, can be installed as a new government in Angola?"

"Or does he believe that the status quo can simply be maintained on an indefinite basis in spite of the inexorable escalation of strength on the other side?" Mr Hulley asked.

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News in Brief

*Angola 16/9/87*  
**Troops 'kill Unita rebels'** (5)

LISBON. — Angolan government troops killed 20 Unita rebels as they tried to ambush a convoy of trucks in the northern province of Cuanza Norte, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, reported yesterday. Angop, monitored here, said the battle took place near the town of Lucala last Wednesday. No details were given.

ANC Times 16/9/87  
**Unita captures ANC guerillas**

Own Correspondent (5)

JOHANNESBURG. — Unita has captured two ANC guerillas in southern Angola, a report in yesterday's New York Times said.

Unita had claimed the captures as proof of their assertion that Swapo and ANC forces are fighting alongside the MPLA, the Cubans and their Soviet advisers, the report said.

The guerillas were said to have come from an ANC base at Novo Catengue, east of Luanda, and were taken on June 25. They were identified as Michael Mkona, 32, and Mchunzi Mnguni, 25.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi indicated he was prepared to negotiate with the ANC through an intermediary for their release.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka yesterday said the ANC did have members in Angola, but said they had no information on the claimed Unita captures.

## SA to send 7 Angolan POWs home

OWN Correspondent  
Cape Times 16/9/87

JOHANNESBURG. — The high-profile diplomatic exchange which brought freedom to recce Major Wynand du Toit will be one step closer to completion with the returning home of seven Angolan prisoners tomorrow.

The return of the seven Angolans was a late development in the exchange negotiations, and the soldiers

could not be found on time. But the Angolans have since been kept at a central point, according to informed sources.

In announcing the exchange, State President P W Botha said an undertaking had been given by the South African government to return an extra seven Angolan soldiers in exchange for the bodies of three South African soldiers who died in Angola.

## Crocker in Angolan talks

Cape Times 9/9/87

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Dr Chester Crocker, the US assistant secretary of state for Africa, has unexpectedly flown to Luanda to pursue talks on Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal which less than two months ago he termed "a waste of time".

Dr Crocker travelled at Luanda's invitation and hoped to "clarify elements" of Angolan proposals issued on August 4 following talks in Havana between President Eduardo dos Santos and Cuban leader Fidel Castro, said state department spokesman Mr Charles Redman.

As laid out by an Angop commentary on August 10, Luanda's new "flexibility" allows for "the reduction of Cuban troops south of the 13th parallel... over shorter periods and in greater

concentrations than those proposed three years ago".

The original time frame proposed by President Dos Santos in November 1984 is understood to have been three years, but this is now thought to have been reduced to two — a period still too long for the Reagan administration.

The presence of Cuban forces north of the parallel, which runs just south of Huambo, was described by the Angolan news agency as "a bilateral issue between Angola and Cuba and although the withdrawal of Cuban troops may be accepted in principle, it cannot at this time be subject to any negotiations whatsoever".

The offer also requires for the first time that "Cuba should participate directly in the negotiations" as "the logical consequence of the Cuban troops' legal

presence in Angola as provided by article 51 of the UN Charter".

The Cuban pullback remains conditional on the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola, "the cessation of all kinds of foreign aid to Unita, both by South Africa and the US itself" and implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

Given Dr Crocker's unusually candid attack on Angolan intransigence after his last visit to Luanda in mid-July, his return suggests he believes the new offer could be a substantial step forward once what spokesman Mr Redman called "certain ambiguities" are worked out.

Reagan administration officials ascribed the breakdown of the July talks primarily to Cuba. President Dos Santos flew soon afterwards to Havana, where the fresh proposal was drafted.

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE repatriation to South Africa of Major Wynand du Toit, the South African commando captured in Angola in June 1985, kindled speculation that it might prestage the release of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

But the government was quick to deny that there was any link between Mandela and the exchange of Du Toit for 135 men: European anti-apartheid activists, Klaas de Jonge and Pierre Albertini, and 133 Angolan government soldiers held prisoner by South African-backed UNITA rebels in Angola.

There was no connection, a representative for President Botha's Office fielded. Hours later Foreign Minister Pik Botha denied in parliament that there was a parallel, arguing that the prisoners involved in Monday's exchange were captives in a foreign country, not men convicted in a court of law in their own country.

But PW Botha himself linked the fate of Mandela with that of Du Toit in his opening speech in parliament in January 1986. It is one of three key statements he has made on the release of political prisoners in the past 30 months.

"I am conscious of the fact that Mr Mandela has been in prison for a long time and that he is now in his sixties," Botha said in 1986.

Recording that he had given the matter much thought, Botha said: "In principle, I would be prepared to consider his release on humanitarian grounds."

Botha then made the connection: "But I think also of Captain Wynand Pretorius Johannes du Toit at present held in an Angolan prison." He went on to refer to two promi-

# Mandela 'release' rumours: Decoding that diplo-speak



Together at last ... Major Wynand du Toit deep in discussion with foreign minister Pik Botha at Maputo airport

ment Soviet dissidents: banished nuclear physicist Anatoly Sakharov and failed intellectual Anatoly Scharansky, who, Botha said, had been convicted of "treason" and "anti-Soviet agitation."

Botha concluded with a question and comment.

"If I were to release Mr Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Wynand du Toit, Andre Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky not also be released on humanitarian grounds?"

"A positive response ... could certainly form the basis of negotiations between interested governments."

As it transpired, however, the releases were initiated by the Soviet rather than the South African government.

Shcharansky was released from a labour camp in a prisoner exchange with the West Germany. He subsequently emigrated to Israel.

In January 1985 Botha told parliament that he would consider releasing Mandela if the ANC leader renounced violence, adding: "The choice is his. All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument."

Mandela, however, refused to do so, arguing that the onus was not on him to denounce the "armed struggle" against apartheid but on Botha to relinquish deployment of armed force to protect apartheid.

Botha's statement gave the initiative to Mandela: in the sense that it was Mandela who, by rejecting or refusing to reject violence, determined whether he would remain in jail.

It meant, in effect, that it was he rather than Botha who held the key to his cell door.

Botha sought to rectify that in part by his January 1986 statement. He did so more effectively last month in another statement to parliament.

Backtracking on his 1986 declaration, Botha said: "Renunciation of violence, like any other single positive factor, can contribute towards a good prognosis (for release) but is not decisive in own right."

Several additional factors had to be considered, including the "interests of the state," Botha added.

Logically it inferred that the interests of the state might outweigh Mandela's refusal to renounce violence and that the ANC leader might be released even while refusing to retract his conviction that armed struggle was justified.

Botha's latest statement on August 13 is seen by diplomats as a "facilitating statement" clearing the way for the release of Mandela after more than 25 years.

Whether the government will to so is a matter of conjecture. But it is interesting that it has given itself the option of doing so.

A majority in the cabinet is said to favour freeing him. But the final decision still lies with Botha, a man who, as he grows older, becomes more difficult to fathom and whose actions are thus harder to predict.

The Benguela Railway has been closed for the past decade because of continuous attacks by Unita. PASCAL FLETCHER of Reuter reports. Dateline: LUANDA

# Benguela rail plan delayed by ownership battles

ALG 45  
18/9/87  
5

**A**N international initiative to reopen Angola's war-hit Benguela Railway is bogged down in differences over sharing its ownership and protecting it from attack, western diplomatic sources in Luanda report.

In April, the presidents of Angola, Zambia and Zaire announced a bold plan to put the 1 350km railway back in operation in two years.

The line links the Angolan ports of Benguela and Lobito to landlocked Zambia and southern Zaire.

It is an important card in Southern Africa's political and economic power game because it could help black-ruled states to export strategic minerals, mainly copper, without using South African routes to reach the sea.

But it has been closed for the past decade because of continuous attacks by the South African-backed forces of Unita, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

A driving force behind the rehabilitation plan was the Belgian company, Societe Generale de Belgique, which owns 90 percent of the Benguela Railway, while the Angolan government holds 10 percent.

## Shared

Societe Generale's proposal outlined by its representative, Viscount d'Avignon, was that 70 percent of the Belgian firm's stake should be shared between the governments of Angola, Zaire and Zambia.

"The genius of Mr D'Avignon's plan is to internationalise the Benguela line, even though this risks internationalising the war," one diplomatic source said.

Initial enthusiasm over the rehabilitation plan was fuelled by an announcement by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi that he would agree not to attack the line under certain conditions — for example, that it carry no military traffic.

The diplomatic sources said they believed that the United States, which supplies arms to Unita, was involved with Belgium in trying to persuade Dr Savimbi to go along with a deal.



But in the last few months, the initiative had become stalled over how to guarantee the security of the railway and how its ownership should be distributed, the sources added.

They said Angola, arguing that the line passes mostly through its territory, was demanding a 51 percent stake.

The sources said the international backers of the plan had advised the Angolan government that this would not be acceptable to Dr Savimbi, who might be persuaded not to attack a truly international enterprise but was unlikely to allow a railway controlled by the Angolan government to run unmolested.

Angola had also demanded that Zambia and Zaire should contribute troops to a force to guard the railway.

"The question of security has to do with all of the nations involved," Angolan Foreign Minister Afonso Vandunem told foreign reporters last week.

But the diplomatic sources said Zaire had rejected this idea and Zambia was also believed to be reluctant to contribute militarily.

They said there had been reports of continuing Unita attacks in the last few months on the line, which was believed to be severely damaged.

Traffic was running between Benguela and the central Angolan city of Huambo, although there are long delays, the sources said.

Trains also sporadically reach the eastern town of Luena, but between Luena and Luau near the Zairean border there is no traffic at all and at least 10 bridges had been destroyed in that section alone.

Discussions are continuing to find a formula that would be acceptable to all parties involved and the issue will be raised when Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos visits Belgium during a European tour later this month, the sources added.

They noted that the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which groups Southern African states, was proposing a R340-million-dollar project to upgrade the railway, which is also known as the Lobito Corridor Line.

## First step

The sources said the attraction for Dr Savimbi of a deal on the railway would be that it could represent a first step to a wider peace agreement with the marxist government, although the government has ruled out any negotiations with Unita.

"For Savimbi, it's a way to the negotiating table," one source said.



5) 23/9/88

# Angola now a country in tatters

THE OFFICIAL currency is virtually worthless in Angola these days. The real currency consists of cans of beer, bottles of Coca-Cola, Scotch whisky and T-shirts which can be bartered. A bar of soap is worth a tin of tomato sauce, a can of beer one and a half kilos of bananas.

The barter economy is only one telling manifestation of the economic woes of a country once described as the "Riviera of West Africa" with bountiful natural resources, including oil and diamonds as well as coffee and other agricultural products.

Caught since its independence from Portugal 12 years ago in a long and draining civil war, Angola today is a country in tatters.

The war has destroyed much of the arable land and forced more than 600 000 of the country's eight-million population to seek refuge in cities which have turned into refuse dumps.

The shop windows in Luanda are bare except for a few dusty rolls of string, some nails, a few clothes and other bric-a-brac. Some have bare shelves.

Under the circumstances, it is not altogether surprising to find Angola in the throes of what appears to be a major reappraisal of its internal and external policies.

Last month, President Jose

Eduardo dos Santos struck out in a new direction, announcing his country's formal application for membership of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

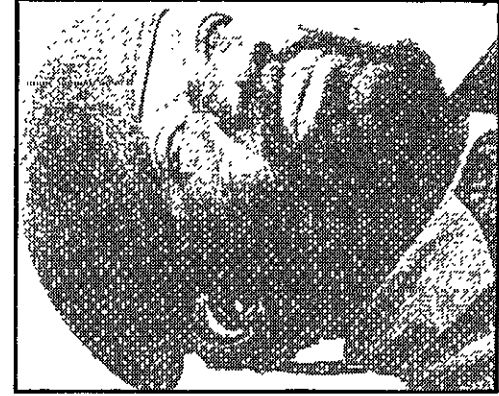
Economic reforms have been put forward to encourage greater private enterprise and foreign investment, as well as to curb the country's chronic and inefficient bureaucracy. Angola, he said in August, had made errors which "now must be corrected".

## Rescheduling

Angola was the last major African state to enter the IMF fold and is now seeking to use that process to win a rescheduling of its US\$4bn external debt. At the same time, Angola plans to negotiate separately with France and Britain a rescheduling of its payment arrears.

There are other signs of changing attitudes towards the West. The government has renewed contacts with Washington and is actively seeking formal diplomatic recognition from the US.

The Angolan government has also made other overtures towards the West. Dos Santos is also about to set off on a tour of European capitals, starting with France, which is likely to be asked to sponsor Angola's IMF membership ap-



□ SAVIMBI ... "puppet"

plication. Dos Santos will also be seeking about US\$116m in emergency Western aid to help ease the near-famine.

A further sign of Angola's increasing reliance on Western support is government's efforts to diversify its arms supply sources beyond its Soviet allies.

Pedro Tonha Pedale, the Defence Minister, says that Angola is negotiating a series of defence-related contracts with French and Belgian companies.

Angola also continues to be heavily dependent on the West for its oil production. After the sharp

fall in oil prices, which hardly shook the Angolan economy last year, oil revenues are expected to pick up again to the US\$2bn level this year, with annual production rising to around 400 000 barrels a day by the end of the year.

But sentiment in Luanda is less pessimistic than it was. "Something important is clearly happening," says one Western diplomat stationed in the capital.

## Stalemate

"But it is difficult to say what the follow-up will be and how long it will take or whether in six months' time we will again be back to square one."

At present there seems to be no solution to the 12-year stalemate in the war. Despite its formidable Soviet arsenal and the support of Soviet advisers and Cuban troops, Angola has failed to crack the Unita rebels.

Angolan army officers admit that as long as Unita continues to be actively backed by SA, Angola has little chance of ending the war. In what is a war without a front, Unita rebels have struck at key targets throughout the vast country, sabotaging rail and road links, attacking the northern oil operations and diamond mines.

After 12 years of this war, however, the country and the foreign powers implicated in Angola appear to have become increasingly tired and dejected by the seemingly unsolvable conflict.

This perhaps more than any other factor appears to be prompting the current reappraisal of the Angolan situation both in Luanda as well as in Washington, Cuba and Moscow.

The war has cost Angola US\$12bn and 60 000 deaths, not to mention the vast number of injured and crippled soldiers, 150 000 refugees and the more than 600 000 people who have fled the countryside for the cities.

Judging from the language in Luanda, however, there is no chance of government agreeing to sit down at the same table with Savimbi to try to work out a political solution to the conflict. Savimbi remains the "fantocche" — or the "traitor puppet" — for the Marxist government.

At the same time, many Angolans openly acknowledge that no major breakthrough in the conflict is likely to occur as long as the question of Namibian independence remains unresolved; some consider peace to be impossible as long as SA remains at war with itself over apartheid.

FINANCIAL TIMES

# Angola: epic battle raging

30/9/87  
LONDON — The biggest land battle in the history of Africa south of the Sahara is raging in southern Angola, the Sunday Telegraph has reported.

The writer of the report, Fred Bridgland, claims military chiefs in Pretoria have imposed a total news blackout on the confrontation.

On one level the conflict is part of the 12-year struggle for power between Angola's MPLA government and the Unita rebel movement. On another, says the Telegraph, it is a battle of wits between Soviet General Konstantin Shagnovitch and SA's General George Meiring.

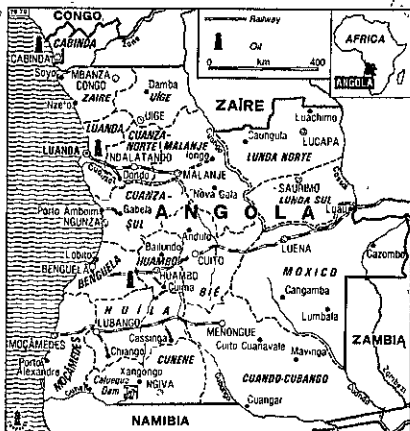
Shagnovitch arrived in Angola in December 1985. He is the highest-ranking Soviet officer to be posted to a military command outside Europe or Afghanistan.

The general was given a specific task — eliminate Jonas Savimbi, whose Unita forces have brought the Marxist MPLA government to the brink of economic ruin.

Shagnovitch has assumed command of all forces in Angola operating on behalf of the MPLA, and has organised them into 12 brigades of 1 200 men each. They are equipped with Soviet weaponry worth £600m, says the Telegraph.

# SA jets in big Angolan battle - report

CAN TIMITS  
28/9/82  
5



Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — The biggest land battle in the history of Africa south of the Sahara is raging at present in southern Angola, according to a leading London newspaper, the Sunday Telegraph.

Writing in yesterday's issue, Fred Bridgland claims that "military chiefs in Pretoria have imposed a total news blackout on the confrontation".

The report also claimed that South African Air Force jets were involved in the fighting.

The Telegraph adds that, at one level, the conflict is part of the 12-year civil war between MPLA and Unita. At another, it is a battle of wits between Soviet General Konstantin Shagnovitch and South African General George Meiring.

## Eliminate Savimbi

Last night an SADF spokesman said that although the Defence Force was not prepared to comment on speculative reporting, the Telegraph report confirmed once again that the massive offensive against Unita in south-east Angola was Russian and Cuban inspired, controlled and commanded.

"This has been repeatedly stated by political and military spokesmen in South Africa," the spokesman said.

General Meiring is no longer in command of Namibian forces since his transfer to the Far Northern Transvaal Command. He was replaced at the beginning of the year by General Willie Meyer.

General Shagnovitch arrived in Angola in December 1985, the highest-ranking Soviet officer to have been posted to a military command outside Europe or Afghanistan.

The general was given a specific task: Eliminate Jonas Savimbi, whose Unita forces have saturated the

To page 2

P.T.O

# 'SA has part in Angolan war'

5 CLOST  
29/9/87

CAPE TOWN — Reports of South African involvement in the latest battle between the MPLA and Unita in Angola have started to surface in South Africa.

Government-supporting newspapers today stated as a bald fact that South Africa was "certainly" involved in defending Unita against the latest Marxist-backed Fapla attack.

They quoted "informed military spokesmen" as saying the South African presence in Angola had to be seen against the background that it was of the utmost priority that South Africa protect its interests in its own region, and that it was in Pretoria's interest that the pro-West Unita survived.

Foreign newspapers have already reported that South African aircraft and troops have been involved in the battle.

One British newspaper described the current operation as the greatest military land battle in the history of Africa south of the Sahara.

According to information available the battle between Fapla (the MPLA army) and Unita is centred mainly on Mavinga, a rebel-held town in south-east Angola.

It is believed that the Angolan Government, with the full political and military backing of the Soviet Union, is determined to wipe out Unita's headquarters at Jamba in this campaign.

The Soviet Union is said to have made its biggest weapons deliveries to date in Angola in preparation for the campaign.

South Africa's role is understood not to involve massive troop movements, but rather limited but specialised operations aimed at strategic targets.

An afternoon newspaper's Africa News Service reported from Johannesburg that at least 12 brigades of the Angolan Government's army are believed to have been deployed on two fronts for the offensive against the Unita stronghold in the south-east.

Having failed with two previous dry-season offensives in 1985 and 1986, the MPLA government in Luanda and its Soviet and Cuban backers are believed to be desperate to score a decisive victory against the rebels, whose guerrilla campaign has for 12 years prevented the communists from consolidating the power they seized shortly before independence in 1975. — Sapa

Cape Times 29/9/87 5

# Unita troops retake key base

Staff Reporter

UNITA rebels have recaptured a key base in a big battle in southern Angola, it has been reported.

According to the reports, Unita retook the Lomba logistics base near Mavinga, killing an estimated 250 Angolan (Fapla) government troops and destroying six armoured vehicles.

In the first eyewitness account from the Angolan front, where Fapla are launching an offensive against Unita, local freelance photo-journalist Mr Cloete Breytenbach yesterday said he had been shown around a Lomba battleground.

It was "littered and virtually black with bodies", he said. He had also seen the burnt-out shells of three T-55 Russian tanks.

## Counter-offensive

Mr Breytenbach said Unita generals told him they had lost four men in the battle and had claimed about 350 enemy losses. His estimate of the dead however had been "closer to 250".

The Unita counter-offensive came early on September 13 when part of the 8 000 Unita troops based in southern Angola attacked the base they had lost some months earlier.

Mr Breytenbach said he had seen the burnt-out shells of a BM rocket launcher, two TM bridge-laying vehicles and "numerous support vehicles".

"They got clobbered retreating back across the Lomba River," he said.

The current Fapla offensive, involving some seven brigades totalling an estimated 10 000 troops

## Govt must give public 'the facts'

Political Staff

THE South African authorities should come clean about whether their forces were involved in the battle between Angolan and Unita troops, Mr Peter Gastrow, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on defence, said yesterday.

Mr Gastrow said: "The South African silence is being interpreted as an acknowledgment that Angolan and other foreign versions of what is happening in Angola are correct.

"It is urgent for the govern-

ment to come clean with the facts. The public has a direct interest in what is happening."

There were strong reports about three years ago that SAAF jets had knocked out two or three Angolan battalions.

Though these reports were never officially confirmed, significantly they were followed by a government declaration of South Africa's preparedness to give anti-communist forces in the region "moral, humanitarian and material" aid.

and master-minded by Soviet General Konstantin Shagnovitch, was launched from Cuito Cuanavale in Cuando-Cubango province late in May this year and is the biggest Fapla "push" since 1985.

"Their aim is to capture Mavinga about 320km north of Jamba (the headquarters of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita troops) where they can, among other things, set up sophisticated surveillance equipment and monitor into South Africa," he said.

The Unita generals claimed that since May, they had destroyed 20 Russian T-55 tanks, seven helicopters, one MiG jet and killed 1 000 Fapla soldiers. The generals would only concede to losing about 300 men, Mr Breytenbach said.

"Fapla are stretched very thin with a supply line going back all the way to Lubanga and Mocimedes. We monitored one Russian officer about a kilometre

away calling for ammunition. Small groups of Unita are constantly cutting away at them from behind," he added.

Asked if he had seen any evidence of South African jets, as reported in the London's Sunday Telegraph, Mr Breytenbach said: "No — all we saw were MiGs flying very high for fear of the Stingers (hand-held heat-seeking missiles used by Unita)."

Mr Breytenbach said that when he left southern Angola last week, the fighting had been reduced to "long-range shelling from either side".

● A South African Defence Force spokesman yesterday declined to deviate from a statement released earlier in response to a Sunday Telegraph report.

The battle confirmed "once again that the massive offensive against Unita in south-east Angola was Russian and Cuban inspired, controlled and commanded", the statement said.

Some casualties reported

# SA units engaged in two Angola battles

(S) STRA 30/9/87

The Star's Africa News Service

## Windhoek

South African troops have entered Angola in two places as heavy fighting goes on between government troops and Unita rebels, according to sources.

The sources, in Windhoek, claimed that at least three South African battalions had been deployed in southeastern Angola to aid Unita and that, in battles with Angolan government forces, South African troops had suffered casualties.

They said MiG jet fighter-bombers had been in action against the South African troops.

The sources said that in an incursion, South African units had launched a relatively minor attack round the towns of Xangongo, Ngiva and Mongua, with sorties penetrating up to 200 km into Angola.

The action in this region was said to have been relatively quiet, despite one clash with Angolan Fapla government soldiers in which about 14 Angolans were killed and vehicles destroyed.

The second incursion, in which the action was far heavier, is said to have taken place in south-eastern Angola, where Unita stakes its claim round the towns of Jamba and Mavinga.

## Angolans routed

In this incursion, South African troops are said to have encountered a mechanised Angolan column. In the battle, the Angolans were routed and left about 160 dead.

It is not known whether there were any South African casualties.

Other sources have confirmed that a fierce battle has been taking place in southern Angola as Unita tries to fight off an offensive by the MPLA government's Fapla army, heavily armed with Soviet weapons and backed by Cuban troops.

Reports from London claim that South African Mirage jet fighters have intervened.

LISBON — Unita said yesterday it had smashed a big government offensive in southern Angola and dashed President Eduardo dos Santos's hopes of announcing a victory during his European tour.

A Unita spokesman said: "We have driven them back across the Lomba River and our forces are now on the offensive."

The rebels, who have reported intense fighting in recent weeks, said the government had hoped to announce the capture of the Unita stronghold of Mavinga before tomorrow when the Angolan leader leaves Portugal, the last leg of his four-nation tour.

Mr dos Santos has not com-

## Govt push repelled, say Unita

mented on any Unita claims but stressed on Monday night that there would be no peace talks with Unita.

"There can be no conciliation between the victim and the murderer, between those who try to build and those who try to destroy," he said.

He denied there was civil war in Angola, calling the rebels

"armed bandits" in the pay of South Africa.

Mr dos Santos visited France, Belgium and Italy last week.

● The Star's Africa News Service reports that the Angolan authorities continue to maintain total silence about the battles raging in southern Angola where South African forces are said to have been active supporting the rebel movement, Unita.

Radio Angola, usually one of the main sources for Angolan government statements about the war, has not referred to the war situation since reports of a huge battle in the southern parts of the country started surfacing during the weekend.

# I manipulated control of Angola, says 'Red' admiral

Special Correspondent

LONDON — A Portuguese admiral charged with bringing Angola to independence has broken a 12-year silence and admitted working to undermine the election which should have preceded it.

The aborted 1975 election, promised under the Alvor Accord signed between Portugal and three black liberation movements which had been fighting it for more than a decade, is at the root of Angola's civil war.

Admiral Rosa Coutinho, who was governor-general of Angola at the time, made the admission in an interview in a television documentary produced by a Canadian company.

He attended the signing of the Alvor Accord in Portugal's Algarve in January 1975.

He told an interviewer he had realised it would be a mere "fantasy" to consider holding the election before independence day on November 11 1975.

## IRREVERSIBLE

"I think that I fixed the decolonisation process in an irreversible way," he said.

This had involved visiting Havana in June 1975 to talk to senior Cuban Ministers "about education and justice".

Mr Juan Benemelis, a senior African adviser in the Cuban Foreign Ministry, who defected in 1981, told the programme that Coutinho, known as the "Red Admiral" because of his connections with the Portuguese Communist Party, met the Cuban army chief of staff and three other senior generals and admirals.

Their meeting with Coutinho was designed "to develop the military help that the Soviets and Cubans were providing in a way that would facilitate the transfer of power to the MPLA".

The MPLA took power in 1975 with Cuban army assistance.

The new Coutinho account substantially rearranges history and supports allegations by Unita that he worked to undermine the elections and put the MPLA in power.

# Angola: Why is SA silent?

IF IS my sincere belief that as far as Angola is concerned, the government is bringing the country to another credibility crisis which promises to rival that which was born during 1975-6, and which has never disappeared, only abated.

I refer specifically, of course, to the report about the push against Unita by Fred Bridgland in the Sunday Telegraph.

The question arises: What was Bridgland's source of information? Some came from Unita, with which he has strong links. On the other hand, the technical detail indicates at least part of the rest came from British intelligence.

Now, readers can take it as fact that South African military intelligence has an even better grasp of what is happening in Angola.

This being the case, why has the public here not been informed, even in fairly guarded fashion?

Official versions, while not always to be implicitly believed, allow analysts to make comparisons and deductions.

In this way — all going well — a clearer picture emerges which is presented to the general public.

Then again, the public also needs to be told directly, if this is at all possible, whether its country's forces are involved in any way.

The official reason why we have been told nothing is because Angola is a foreign country and what happens there has nothing to do with us.

Codswallop! It is a near-neighbour and events there are of definite interest to the RSA.

The more likely explanation is that an ostrich policy was considered the best one because of sensitivity about the likely South African involvement.

It is most definitely *not* the best policy. Under the circumstances it was probably the worst.

First there was the Bridgland report, earning only a "no comment" from the Defence Force. Then, after a storm of speculation, the Burger came out yesterday with the bald statement that South Africa was "definitely involved" in the affair, quoting "informed military spokesmen" (not, as it transpired, any of those authorized to make such statements).

## Shifty tone

This statement was not supported by any facts or figures, only comment by said spokesmen to the effect that the involvement had to be seen in the light of South Africa's high-priority interests in the area.

This sort of thing creates a greater thirst for solid information and also has the slightly shifty tone of a guard-your-backside justification.

Is the man in the street really worth no more?

It is no secret that South Africa has given Unita considerable help in the past and will obviously continue to do so in the future.

Unita ties down more than two-thirds of Swapo's trained men, who have to serve in the Angolan armed forces instead of infiltrating Namibia. As a result the Namibian authorities have been able to grind the insurgents down at comparatively little expense to themselves.

Objectively, it is eminently practical for Pretoria to back Unita, no matter how much some of us might tut-tut about the moral aspects.

This being the case, Pretoria might as well state frankly — or fairly frankly — what it is about.

The common man is suspicious when officials clamp down on something and he is asking questions.

The most important of these is the extent of South Africa's involvement. In my opinion the government might as well answer at least some of them.

Its most important constituency is the folks at home. In a country as dependant on citizen-soldiers as South Africa, politicians ignore this constituency at their peril.

[Willem Steenkamp is a reserve officer in the South African Defence Force.]

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# Unita faces Russian-led armoured columns

By WILLELM STEENKAMP  
Defence Correspondent

UNITA fighters in Angola face two large Russian-led armoured columns, plodding towards the strategic Unita town of Mavinga in the south and along the equally strategic Benguela railway line further north, according to informed sources.

The commander with the task of neutralizing Unita, said to be General Konstantin Shagovitch, has pulled thousands of troops out of "military regions" (equivalent to South African command areas) from all over Angola to man the armoured columns.

It is said that in addition to Russian specialists, a few hundred East German soldiers and a number of Cubans, about 30 000 to 40 000 Angolan troops — a huge slice of Fapla's manpower, have been allocated to the twin operations.

This means that each column could have more than a South African-sized division of infantry, complete with many tanks and other armoured vehicles as well as a great number of artillery pieces, 122mm unguided rocket launchers, heavy mortars and heavy machine-guns.

It is sure the columns are protected by MiG-21 and

MiG-23 fighters, Sukhoi-22 fighter-bombers and the formidable Mi-24 armoured helicopter gunships.

Unita members are reported to be successfully using American-origin TOW (wire-guided anti-tank) and Stinger (heat-seeking anti-aircraft) missiles.

The sources added that even if Unita fighters were unable to stop the formations, their rate of advance was so slow that there was no chance they would reach their ultimate destinations — the Cazombo Salient or the Unita capital at Jamba — before the start of the short rainy season in November makes large-scale movement too difficult.

Unless Unita resistance collapses completely, it is likely that the best the columns will be able to do is dig in at Mavinga and whatever point they reach along the Benguela line, and then spend the rainy season building up their logistics for the final push when the dry weather returns next year.

The advance apparently started in mid-August, one column setting out along the railway line from Luena (formerly Luao) and the other heading south-eastwards towards Mavinga, and a Fapla forward base, the Cutto Chanavale airfield.

The present location of the Benguela formation is

## Plan to kidnap Unita spokesman

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — Angolan secret service agents planned to kidnap the Lisbon spokesman of the Unita movement and ship him back to Luanda, hours before the start here last Sunday of an official five-day visit by Angolan leader Mr Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, a man involved in the plot revealed yesterday.

## Govt offensive smashed — Unita

LISBON. — Angolan rebels said yesterday that they had smashed a big government offensive in southern Angola and dashed President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's hopes of announcing a victory during his European tour.

"There will be no propaganda coup for the government," a spokesman for Unita said as President Dos Santos held a second round of talks with Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva.

"We have driven them back across the Lomba River and our forces are now on the offensive," spokesman Mr Alcides Sakala said here.

The rebels, who have reported intense fighting in recent weeks, said the government had hoped to announce the capture of the Unita stronghold of Mavinga before tomorrow when the Angolan leader leaves Portugal, the last leg of his four-nation tour.

Mr Dos Santos has not commented on any claims by the rebels.

Speaking in Lisbon on Monday night, Mr Dos Santos again stressed that

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UNITA members are reported to be successfully using American-origin TOW (wire-guided anti-tank) and Stinger (heat-seeking anti-aircraft) missiles.

According to local and foreign reports the southern column has been stopped north of the Lomba by a combination of delaying actions by Unita troops and ground attacks by South African Air Force Mirage III fighters.

However, it is thought that if the reports are true it is merely a temporary setback and that in due course the advance will continue.

If Fapla captures Mavinga it will become the easternmost of a line of airfields extending from Lu-bango in the west to Cutto Chanavale. It could therefore be used as a jumping-off point for an attack on Jamba.

According to reliable sources Windhoek was yesterday "flooded with wild rumours", but no clarity existed about events in Angola.

Although yesterday's Burger newspaper quoted unnamed "informed military spokesmen" as saying South Africa was "definitely involved" in helping Unita to stem the Fapla advance, no details are available.

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UNITA members are reported to be successfully using American-origin TOW (wire-guided anti-tank) and Stinger (heat-seeking anti-aircraft) missiles.

According to local and foreign reports the southern column has been stopped north of the Lomba by a combination of delaying actions by Unita troops and ground attacks by South African Air Force Mirage III fighters.

However, it is thought that if the reports are true it is merely a temporary setback and that in due course the advance will continue.

# SA denies jet shot down in Angola

PRETORIA — The South African Defence Force denied today that a Mirage jet fighter of the air force had been shot down in action in Angola.

The SADEF was reacting to claims by the Angolan news agency, Angop, that a South African Mirage had been shot down on Sunday in an air battle after SA fighter craft

bombed Angolan Government troops east of Cuito-Cuanavale.

Angop said five Angolan soldiers had been wounded in the incident.

Reacting to the Angop claims, a SA Defence Force spokesman said he had nothing to add to the comments already made by the defence force over the last few days and denied that a Mirage was shot down.

Angop said in a report monitored by international news agencies and radio stations in Lisbon yesterday that South Africa had carried out a series of bombing raids in southern Angola.

It said ground forces had engaged Angolan army units over the past fortnight in what Angop said was heavy fighting.

The allegations came as the rebel anti-Marxist Angolan movement of Unita, which is backed by the United States and South Africa, was reported to be fending off a large-scale offensive against its Jamba headquarters in southern

Angola.

The offensive is reported to be Cuban and Soviet backed and led.

Cuito-Cuanavale, scene of the supposed downing of the South African jet, is said to be the Angolan Army's main base in the drive against Unita.

The Angolan Government offensive is also reported to be aimed at the town of Mavinga, Unita's last bulwark before its headquarters at Jamba in Angola's south-east.

Other reports have said that at least three South African battalions had been deployed to aid Unita in Angola.

News reports, based on "sources", said South African troops had entered Angola in two places to assist Unita in repelling the huge Angolan Government offensive.

MiG fighter-bombers had also been used against the South African troops and, it was reported, there had been South African casualties.

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5  
'SA planes raid Angola'

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Angola has claimed that South African planes have been involved in a series of bombing raids in southern Angola and that dozens of South African armoured cars were involved in fighting in Angola.

In its first reaction to reports of heavy fighting in southern Angola, Radio Angola, monitored in Johannesburg, said a Mirage fighter plane of the South African Air Force had been shot down near Cuito Cuanavale, an important government military centre in southern Angola.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said today he had nothing to add to the comments already made by the Defence Force over the last few days. But he denied that a Mirage had been shot down. Earlier the SADF refused to comment on allegations that South Africa was involved in the fighting.

The radio said Impala aircraft had been involved in attacks on the province

of Cuando Cubango and that five Angolan soldiers had been killed while others had been wounded.

About 100 South African armoured vehicles had attacked areas near the town of Ngiva on September 20 while planes had bombed targets in the same area.

There had also been fighting in the same area between Angolan and South African troops.

Radio Angola said South Africa was concentrating Impala, Mirage and Buccaneer aircraft as well as Puma helicopters in Rundu and Grootfontein.

Angola's claims came a day after sources in Windhoek said South African troops had entered Angola at two different points.

The Angolan government forces now trying to capture Mavinga are believed to have thrust eastwards from assembly points in the Menongue and Cuito Cuanavale area.

*ONE TIME 1/10/87*

# SA in 'bombing raids' on Angola

LISBON. — South Africa has carried out a series of bombing raids in southern Angola and ground forces have engaged Angolan army units in heavy fighting over the past two weeks, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

The Angolan charges came amid news reports that South Africa was intervening militarily in Angola to help Unita rebels fight off a large-scale Soviet- and Cuban-backed offensive against its bush headquarters.

Angop said Angolan aircraft shot down a South African Mirage jet on Sunday in an air battle that broke out after South African planes bombed government forces east of Cuito-Cuanavale, wounding five soldiers.

Cuito-Cuanavale, in south-eastern Cuando Cubango province, is the main Angolan army base for its reported drive against the town of Mavinga, the rebels' last line of defence for their bush headquarters at Jamba in the remote south-east.

To page 3

From page 1

*ONE TIME 1/10/87*

The Angop report, monitored in Lisbon, said the heaviest fighting took place on September 19 and 20 when six South African Impala aircraft reportedly attacked an army position in Cuando Cubango, killing five Angolan soldiers and wounding 12 others.

A column of 100 South African armoured vehicles killed and wounded several civilians near the town of Ondjiva in southern Cunene province on the same day, according to the agency.

At the same time, South African planes bombed a zone outside Ondjiva, Angop said. Angolan ground forces that moved in the area clashed with a South African unit and captured radio equipment and arms and ammunition, according to the report.

South African planes again bombed areas of Cunene and Cuando Cubango provinces on Monday and Tuesday, Angop reported.

● SADF silent on Angola reports, page 5

# SAAF hits Angola

(5)  
11/10/87

The Star's Africa News Service

Angola has claimed that South African planes have been involved in a series of bombing raids in the southern part of the country and that dozens of South African armoured cars were involved in the fighting there.

In its first reaction to reports of heavy fighting in the south, Radio Angola, monitored in Johannesburg, said a Mirage fighter of the South African Air Force had been shot down near Cuito Cuanavale, an important government military centre in the south.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said today he had nothing to add to the comments already made by the Defence Force over the past few days. But he denied that a Mirage had been shot down.

Earlier, the SADF refused to comment on allegations that South Africa was involved in the fighting, saying it did not comment on "un sourced or speculative stories".

Radio Angola said Impala aircraft were involved in attacks on the province of Cuando Cubango and that five Angolan soldiers were killed and others wounded.

About 100 South African armoured vehicles attacked areas near the town of Ngiva on September 20 while planes bombed targets in the same area. In a period of 15 days there were 25 violations of Angola's air space, the radio said.

There had also been fighting in the same area between Angolan and South African troops.

Angola's claims came a day after sources in Windhoek said South African troops had entered Angola at two different points.

## Offensive stopped

The sources reported fighting around Ngiva and Xangongo in southern Angola and also in Mavinga, in the south-east, where an offensive against Unita has reportedly been stopped.

The Angolan government forces now trying to capture Mavinga are believed to have thrust eastwards from assembly points in the Menongue and

says radio  
**claim**

AP Wirephoto

Boy George

threat  
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**SADF** *Cap*  
*11/10/87*  
**silent on**  
**'troops in**  
**Angola'**  
**reports**

THERE was no official South African comment before going to press on unconfirmed news reports that at least three South African battalions had been deployed to aid Unita in Angola.

Sapa said yesterday that news reports based on "sources" said South African troops had entered Angola in two places to assist the Unita movement in repelling a massive Angolan government offensive.

MiG fighter-bombers had been used against the South African troops and, it was reported, there had been South African casualties.

(No proof was furnished to substantiate the reports.)

The last official SADF statement on the situation in Angola was issued earlier this week in reaction to a report in the London Sunday Telegraph. The report said South African Mirage fighter-bombers on September 20 destroyed Soviet-commanded MPLA columns which had been advancing on a Unita base and airstrip at Mavinga.

This had been done in preparation for an assault next year on Dr Jonas Savimba's Unita headquarters at Jamba, 180km to the south.

**Few signs**

The SADF statement said it was not prepared to comment on speculative reports, but added that the Sunday Telegraph's report once again confirmed that the offensive against Unita was Russian and Cuban inspired and commanded.

Our Defence Correspondent Willem Steenkamp reports that if South African forces are engaged in large-scale incursions into Angola to nip at the flanks of the Fapla (Angolan government) forces attacking the Unita insurgents, there are few signs of it at the border operational area's main military headquarters.

Reliable sources say that in the past five days the area around Oshakati, headquarters of Sector 10, and near-by Air Force Base Ondangwa, has been "very quiet".

There have been no major military vehicle movements on the roads going out of Oshakati — where at least two crack fighting units are headquartered — and very little air activity at AFB Ondangwa.

One prominent local military observer yesterday noted that it was long-standing Fapla practice to blame Unita attacks on South Africans in order to withhold recognition from the observers.

He added that in his opinion any South African aid to Unita was more likely to consist of air support than troops on the ground.

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ANGOLA

**At breaking point**

Angola is planning to apply for membership of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as part of a big effort to restructure its war-torn economy and to win Western support for additional aid and a rescheduling of its US\$4 billion external debt.

Senior ministers confirm the government's intention to join the IMF, adding that they expect to hold a third round of negotiations with the US over the possible withdrawal of the 37 000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola (see *Current Affairs*).

Both the application to the IMF and the negotiations with the US reflect Angola's acute preoccupation with its dire economic situation, despite large oil revenues. The country is seeking \$116m in emergency aid from the West to help ease a near-famine in urban centres.

Western diplomats see the IMF applica-

tion and the renewed contacts between Luanda and Washington, as well as a series of other goodwill gestures by the Luanda government, as marking what might be an important turning point in Angolan policy towards the West.

The economic crisis caused by the country's 12-year civil war is forcing Angola to launch a profound reappraisal of its policies. President José Eduardo dos Santos is visiting various European countries this month, starting with France, to secure Western financial and political support for his government.

Apart from the strong possibility of France being asked to sponsor Angola's IMF application, Angola is also keen to negotiate a series of major arms contracts with French defence companies as well as seeking other bilateral aid from Paris.

Pedro Tonha Pedale, Angolan Defence Minister, confirms Angola's wish to diversify its arm sources beyond its Soviet allies. He says Angola had already acquired Dauphin

Gazelle and Alouette helicopters from the French Aérospatiale group. The Thomsons defence and electronics group is also supplying about \$50m worth of communications equipment to Angola, and the country is now negotiating major new contracts with Aérospatiale and Thomson.

The diversification of arms purchased reflects Angola's need to reinforce its already sizeable military forces in protracted war against the Unita rebels, backed by the US and SA.

While the war shows no signs of abating, both the Defence Minister and the Foreign Minister claim Angola is now seeking to negotiate with the US on the premise of a possible solution to the debilitating conflict.

Angola has made a revised proposal to the US for the withdrawal of 20 000 Cuban soldiers in the southern part of the country over two years instead of three. However, the US is insisting on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the country as a whole.

aren get up screaming and start running away.

### Captured children

The captured children were apparently sent to Jamba. In the back of one truck there were hundreds of tins of meat and other supplies which had been cooked by the heat of the burning vehicles. There was also clothing, helmets and Russian propaganda material strewn around the area.

We could monitor the Cubans flying the MiGs, but they stayed at 30,000ft to keep well out of range of the Stinger missiles used by Unita. When I left the area last week both MPLA and Unita troops were tired of fighting. They sat on either side of the river and lobbed a few rockets and mortars at one another.

The MPLA forces also ra-

Russian officers were prevented down to unit level, and a few Cubans, although they were mainly being used to fly the super sophisticated MiG-1 and 23 fighter aircraft.

During the battle, we monitored a Russian officer talking in English to the Cubans at Quito Cuenavale. He said: "We have problems here. MPLA is being killed like ducks." He then requested a helicopter to evacuate them.

When we got there I saw three burnt-out T55 tanks, a Stalin Organ (multiple rocket launcher) and many troop carriers and supply vehicles strewn around the 15 square kilometres which made up the logistics base.

Lions and jackals fed off the dead MPLA soldiers — their spoor clearly seen dur-

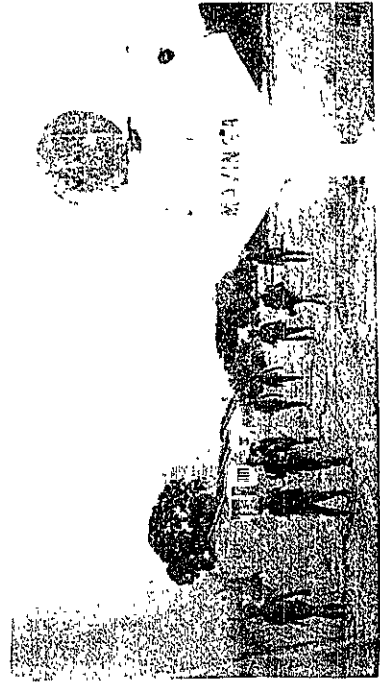
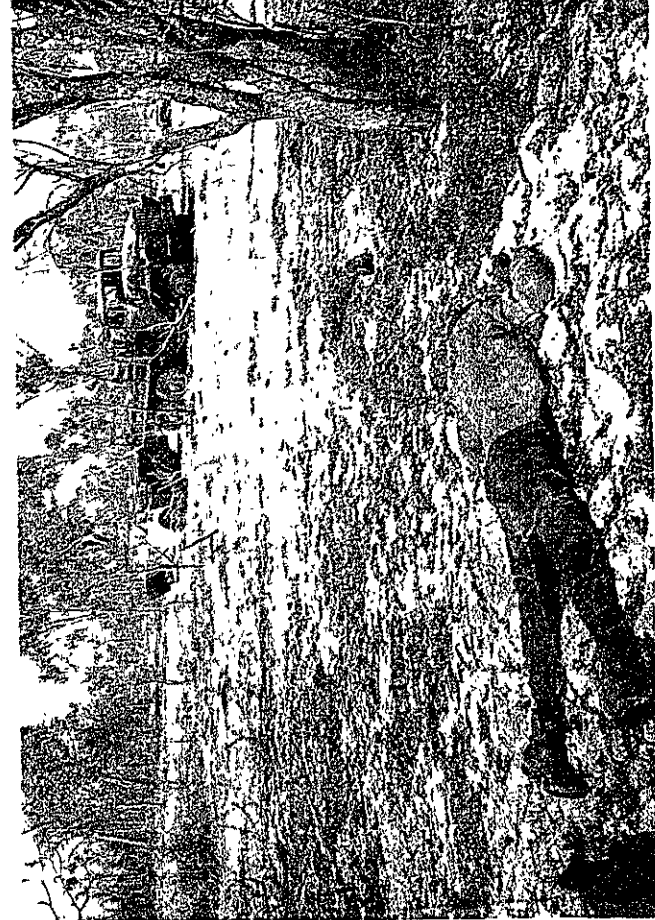


**WARHEAD:** Unita soldiers, above, inspect an unexploded warhead of a SA-8 missile which they found.

doed for more ammunition and supplies and even raincoats from Quito Cuenavale, so it looks as if they are going to dig in when the rains come in November. Their lines of communication are very long and Unita will have a field day hitting their supply vehicles if they do that.



**BATTLEFIELD:** The charred remains of an MPLA soldier and a lorry on the battlefield.



**HUNDREDS DEAD:** One of the hundreds of dead government soldiers littering the area. A lorry and an MTB troop carrier it was towing were destroyed.

**ON PATROL:** Unita forces, left, on patrol through the strategic town of Mavanga which they still control. They do not however stay in the houses in the background, but in bunkers dug in over a wide area.



# Grim face of Angolan war



These are the first exclusive pictures taken at the scene of what is being described as the "biggest land battle in the history of Africa south of the Sahara". The grim scenes, photographed and described here by CLOETE BREYTENBACH, who returned to Cape Town from Angola this week, represent the ugly face of a war neither side seems able to win.

**EXCLUSIVE**

**T**HE smell of decaying bodies — some half eaten by wild animals — was overpowering and some tanks and support vehicles still smouldered a day after the battle between MPLA forces and Unita.

Tiny mopam files tried to invade every open cavity of our bodies. About 250 MPLA troops and 40 rebels died at the huge Unita logistics base on the southern banks of the Lomba River, when it was overrun by MPLA early last month.

### Bloody battle

On September 13 the rebels returned and routed the government forces in one of the bloodiest battles yet in the 11-year war. It is estimated that 10 000 government forces and 8 000 Unita rebels were involved.

The river is about 30km north of Mavinga which is about 250km north of the SWA/Namibia border and 200km north-west of Dr Jonas Savimbi's base at Jamba.

There were bodies lying all over the place, some half out of the trenches or in the shona (the flood plain on either side of the river).

But, let me get one thing straight. I am not a spokesman for Unita. I go to the war zone just to collect photographic material.

### "Killed like ducks"

Russian officers were present down to unit level, and a few Cubans, although they were mainly being used to fly the super sophisticated MiG-21 and 23 fighter aircraft.

During the battle, we monitored a Russian officer talk-



**BURNT-OUT:** A Unita soldier walks away from the burnt-out wreck of a Soviet built lorry.

ing the day — white vultures flew above the shona.

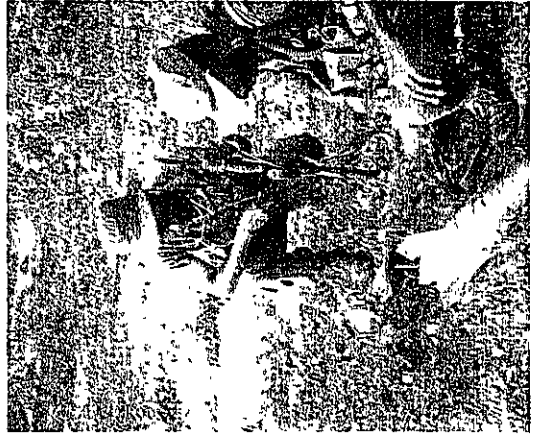
The smell got so bad that the Unita troops, under the command of Colonel Jose Tarzan had to bury them.

One of the Unita officers involved in the battle said they had captured 15-year-old boys who had been pressed into uniform and given two weeks' training before being sent to the front.

He said, it was absolutely terrible watching these children get up screaming and start running away.

### Captured children

The captured children were apparently sent to Jamba. In the back of one truck there were hundreds of tins of meat and other supplies



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# SA denies Mirage downed in Angola

**THE** South African Defence Force denied yesterday that a Mirage jet fighter of the Air Force had been shot down in action in Angola.

The SADF was reacting in a telex to Sapa early yesterday morning to claims on Wednesday by the Angolan news agency, Angop, that a South African Mirage had been shot down on Sunday in an air battle that followed after South African jets bombed Angolan troops east of Cuito-Cuanavale.

Angop said five Angolan soldiers had been wounded in the incident.

Reacting to the Angop claims, an SADF spokesman said he had nothing to add to the comments already made by the Defence Force over the past few days and denied that a Mirage was shot down.

The Angop claims were repeated yesterday by Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who said his Cuban-backed army had scored major victories against invading South African forces in fierce fighting during the past two weeks.

"Several South African planes and helicopters have already been shot down and even South African officers have died in combat," President Dos Santos told reporters at the close of a five-day visit to Portugal.

He said the invasion took place to aid Unita guerillas, who were threatened by a major government offensive near the south-eastern Angolan town of Mavinga.

South African news reports on Wednesday said three South African battalions had penetrated up to 200km into Angola and had been attacked by Angolan MiG-21 and MiG-23 jet fighters.

President Dos Santos said independence for Namibia held the key to peace in the region and that talks with Washington on the issue were showing progress.

### Main base

"The United States appears more flexible and more interested in finding a quick solution to the problem," said the president.

He repeated a pledge that the estimated 30 000 Cuban troops in Angola would withdraw after Namibian independence.

The war claims came as Unita was reported to be fending off a large-scale offensive against its Jamba headquarters in southern Angola. The offensive is reported to be Cuban and Soviet backed and led.

Cuito-Cuanavale, scene of the supposed downing of the South African jet, is said to be the Angolan army's main base in the drive against Unita.

Meanwhile, our Lisbon correspondent, **KEN POTTINGER**, reports that Unita sources there said yesterday that more than 5 000 Angolan government troops died during fierce fighting around Mavinga, on the banks of the Lomba River.

The bloodbath, in which a large number of Soviet and Cuban forces also perished, is one of the biggest defeats ever suffered by the army of the ruling MPLA government in 12 years of fighting South African-backed Unita rebels in Angola.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has called a press conference for today, Unita officials in Lisbon said.

They said he is expected to announce the massive death toll and show foreign journalists the battle-ravaged site where his forces, allegedly aided by South African Mirage bombers and ground troops, stopped Luanda's advance.

Twelve government brigades — a total of 14 400 men — commanded by General Konstantin Shagnovitch, the highest-ranking Soviet officer ever stationed outside the Soviet Union, have spent the past month marching on Mavinga.

Unita officials said the government had hoped to announce the fall of Mavinga before President Dos Santos left Lisbon. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

## War and peace

Angolan leader Jose Eduardo dos Santos this week passed around sweetened carrots in western European capitals, while back home his Russian-advised military forces were swinging an aggressively big stick. The Marxist president, on a visit to four EEC countries including Portugal, pleaded with Western European capitals, while back home

In exchange, he claimed he had changed his views about free market economics and shifted away from his Eastern bloc alliances.

Back home, meanwhile, half a dozen Angolan brigades, backed by Soviet and Cuban advisers, advanced massively towards rebel-held Mavinga, gateway to Unita's Jamba base. Their aim was to retake Mavinga, seized by Unita in 1981, and advance on Jamba, where SA has according to overseas sources, preventively deployed troops.

Unita officials said the government hoped to announce the fall of Mavinga before President dos Santos left Lisbon on Thursday. However, the Unita news agency Kwacha Unita Press (KUP) said on Tuesday that the government offensive was being pushed back over the Lombo river with great loss of life for Luanda's forces. KUP said a number of Russian advisers had been killed or seriously wounded in the battle.

Luanda was silent on the progress of the battle, which began earlier in the month and has been hampered by the rainy season.

The KUP despatch came at a bad moment for Dos Santos, who has steadfastly refused to acknowledge any guerrilla war problem or admit the possibility of talks with Unita.

Asked here about the continuing instability caused by the devastating 12-year civil war, Dos Santos said: "There is no civil war in Angola, merely a war of South African aggression which marshalls armed Angolan bands (meaning Unita) dressed in labels from the past."

His trenchant attitude did not help his effort to convince local businessmen of the soundness of investing in Angola.

But the Angolans have expressed an inter-

FINANCIAL MAIL OCTOBER 2 1987

est in buying a shareholding in a Portuguese diamond polishing firm, Dialap, in which De Beers has a 13% stake; and in sending oil pumped from Cabinda offshore wells to the southern Portuguese port of Sines for refining and storing for the open market.

Luanda and Unita are also skirmishing on the diplomatic front. As the MPLA government tries to undermine US support for the rebels, Unita has worked on getting open backing from a number of African countries.

These (so far) unidentified nations are preparing a public declaration of qualified support for the rebels — the first such move since Angolan independence in 1975. ■

# 'PLANES FROM SA IN BOMBING RAID'

**SOWETAN  
Africa News  
Service**

**SOWETAN Africa News Service** — ANGOLA has claimed that South African planes have been involved in a series of bombing raids in southern Angola and that dozens of South African armoured cars were involved in fighting in Angola.

In its first reaction to reports of heavy fighting in southern Angola, Radion Angola, monitored in Johannesburg, said a Mirage fighter plane of the South African Air Force had been shot down near Cuito Cuanavale, an important government military centre in southern Angola.

## Angola Radio accuses SADF

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But he denied that a Mirage had been shot down. Earlier the SADF refused to comment on allegations that South Africa was involved in the fighting saying it did not comment on "un-sourced or speculative stories."

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About 100 South African armoured vehicles had attacked areas near the town of Ngiva on September 20 while planes had bombed targets in the same area.

There has also been fighting in the same area between Angolan and

South African troops. In a period of 15 days there had been 20 violations of Angola's air space.

Radio Angola said South Africa was concentrating Impala, Mirage and Buccaneers aircraft as well as Puma helicopters in Kunudu and Grooifontein.

Angola's claims came a day after sources in Windhoek said South African troops had entered Angola in two different points.

The sources reported fighting around Ngiva and Xangongo in southern Angola and also in Mavinga in south east Angola where an offensive against Unita has reportedly been stopped.



# Angola scarred by signs of war

Story and pictures  
by Cloete Breytenbach,  
Special Correspondent

The smell of decaying bodies — some half eaten by wild animals — was overpowering and some tanks and support vehicles still smouldered a day after the battle between government MPLA forces and Unita rebels.

About 250 MPLA troops and 40 Unita rebels died at the huge Unita logistics base on the southern banks of the Lomba River when it was overrun by MPLA early last month.

On September 13 the rebels returned and routed the government forces in one of the bloodiest battles yet in the 11-year war. It is estimated that 10 000 government forces and 8 000 Unita rebels were involved.

The river is about 30 km north of Mavinga, which is about 250 km north of the Namibia border and 200 km north-west of Dr Jonas Savimbi's base at Jamba.

There were bodies lying all over the place, some half out of the trenches or in the shona (the flood plain on either side of the river).

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Russian officers were present down to unit level as well as a few Cubans, although they were mainly being used to fly the super sophisticated MiG-21 and 23 fighter aircraft.

During the battle we monitored a Russian officer talking in English to the Cubans at Quito Cuenavale.

He said: "We have problems here,



MPLA is being killed like ducks." He then requested a helicopter to evacuate them.

When we got there I saw three burnt-out T55 tanks, a Stalin Organ (multiple rocket-launcher) and many troop carriers and supply vehicles strewn around the 15 square kilometre which made up the logistics base.

Lions and jackals fed off the dead MPLA soldiers — their spoor clearly seen during the day — while vultures flew above the shona.

The smell got so bad that the Unita troops, under the command of Colonel Jose Tarzan, had to bury them.

One of the Unita officers involved in the battle said they had captured 15-year-old boys who had been pressed into uniform and given two weeks' training before being sent to the front.

He said it was terrible to watch the

children get up screaming and run away.

In the back of one truck there were hundreds of tins of meat and other supplies which had been cooked by the heat of the burning vehicles.

There was also clothing, helmets and Russian propaganda material strewn around the area.

We could monitor the Cubans flying the MiGs but they stayed at 30 000 feet to keep well out of range of the Stinger missiles used by Unita.

When I left the area last week both MPLA and Unita troops were tired of the fighting. They sat on either side of the river and lobbed a few rockets and mortars at one another.

The MPLA forces also radioed for more ammunition and supplies and even raincoats from Quito Cuenavale, so it looks as if they are going to dig in when the rains come in November.

## Angola claims battle 'successes'

OPORTO (Portugal) — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola claimed yesterday his forces had gained "significant successes" in recent fighting against South African forces and said both Pretoria and Washington were more open to finding a regional peace settlement.

"Several South African planes and helicopters have already been downed and even South African officers have died in combat" during the past two weeks in southern Angola, Mr dos Santos told a news conference.

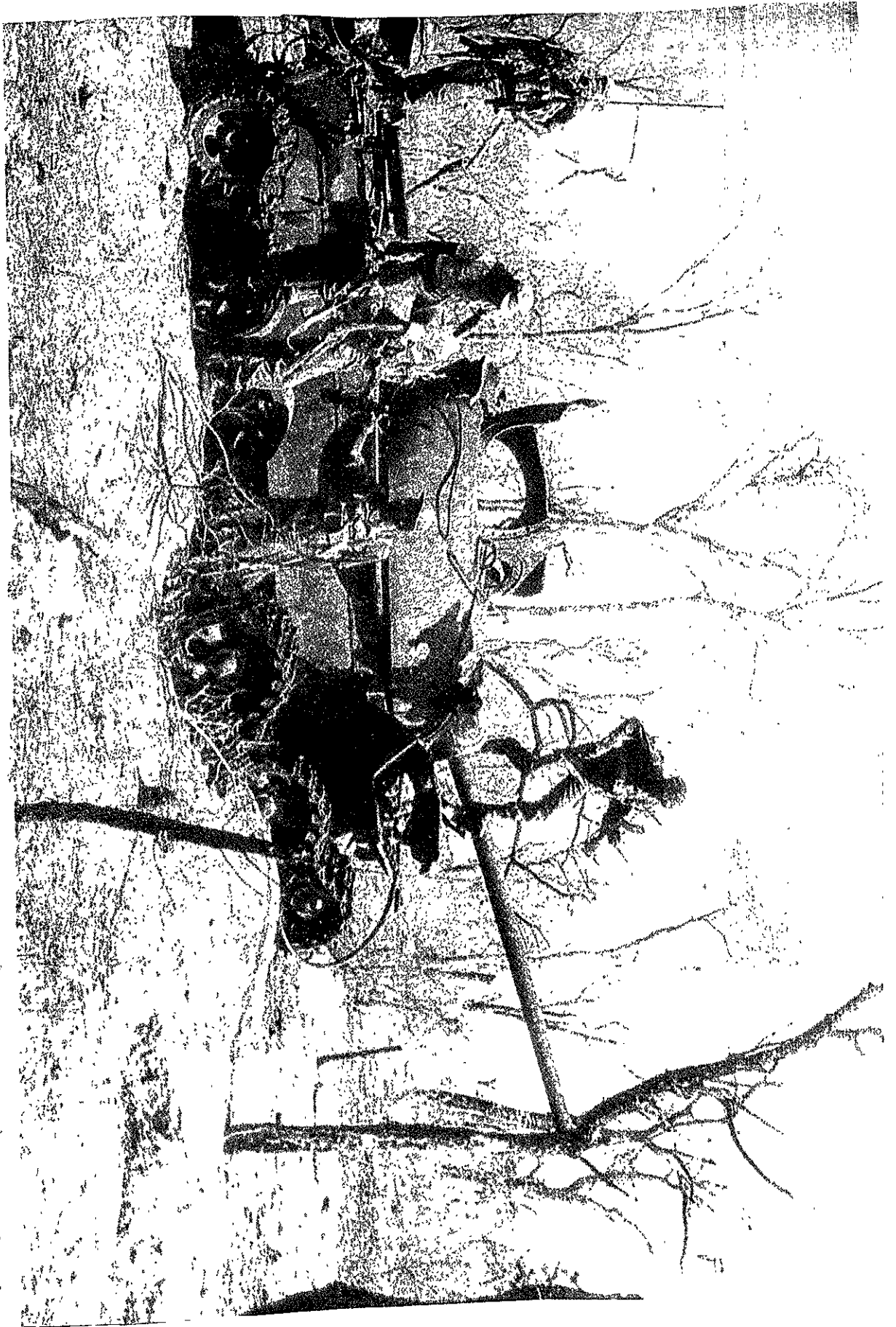
A South African Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria said Mr dos Santos's statement must be seen against the background of, firstly, the deteriorating conditions in Angola caused by the civil war and, secondly, Unita's

reported successes against the Russian and Cuban-led offensive against them in southern Angola.

Speaking at the close of a five-day official visit to Portugal, Mr dos Santos said South African ground and air forces moved into Angola from Namibia in aid of Unita on September 20, the eve of his departure for an 11-day European tour.

Mr dos Santos said his army had scored "significant successes" against the "invaders".

Earlier, the Unita rebels of Dr Jonas Savimbi said they broke a government offensive against their south-eastern bastion of Mavinga on September 19 and 20, decimating four Angolan brigades along the Lomba River. — The Star's Foreign News Service.



**ABOVE:** Unita soldiers on the charred remains of an MPLA tank left on the battlefield. The bodies of hundreds of dead government soldiers littered the area.

**LEFT:** A Unita soldier walks away from the burnt-out wrecks of a Soviet-built truck and an MTB troop carrier which the truck was towing.



Two powers worried about their influence over MPLA govt

# Soviet Union and Cuba play for high stakes in Angola

The Soviet Union and Cuba are going for high stakes in the current offensive against Unita in south-eastern Angola — and the stakes may be nothing less than their continued influence over the MPLA government in Luanda.

For this reason, they are believed to have made an extraordinary effort to ensure that this offensive, the third in as many years, succeeds in crippling Unita beyond recovery.

Expert analysts think the MPLA government and its Soviet and Cuban backers have little chance of destroying Unita, for even if they succeed in taking or destroying the rebels' capital at Jamba, Unita will simply move into the bush and continue the guerrilla war from there.

What the communists hope for, they say, is to limit Unita's political and military effectiveness to a point where neither will pose a serious danger to the Luanda government and force it to negotiate a political settlement.

The political objective would be accomplished largely by depriving the rebels of their capital, for the continued ability to maintain Jamba in the face of the combined might of Moscow, Havana and Luanda gives Unita much of the international credibility it enjoys as the MPLA government's rival.

The second objective, crippling Unita's military effectiveness, would be achieved by restricting the freedom it enjoys to send guerrilla units throughout the country, even to the outskirts of Luanda. This aim has been greatly advanced if

By Gerald L'Ange,  
Editor, The Star's  
Africa News Service

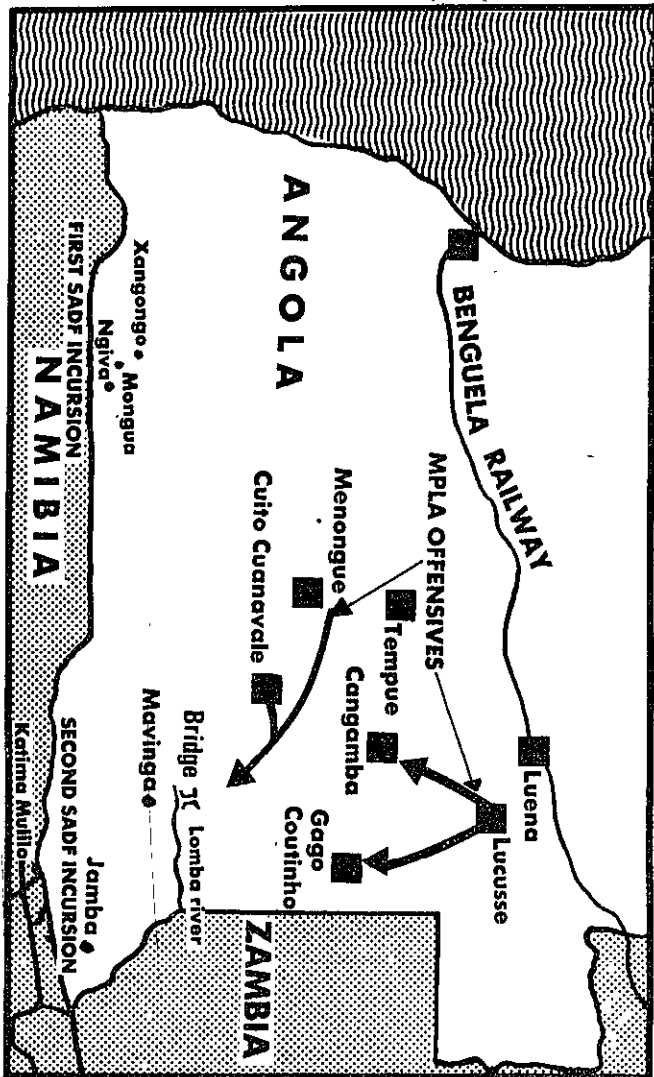
Unita into the south-east corner of Angola by taking firm control of the towns controlling access to and from the region.

Failure to reach these goals would almost certainly increase the pressure already building up in Luanda for negotiations with Unita aimed at reaching some kind of political accommodation.

Moscow and Havana are believed to be opposed to any such development, the Soviets because of the damage this would do their influence in Angola and southern Africa and the Cubans because it would threaten the revenue they get from having their troops in Angola.

The large payments made by Luanda — which are ironically financed from oil sales to United States companies — are understood to form a substantial part of Cuba's foreign earnings and one it would be reluctant to give up.

In the first major offensive in 1985, the Luanda government's Fapla forces, again backed by the Soviets and Cubans, delivered a severe blow to Unita's morale and prestige by driving them out of Cazombo south of the Benguela railway line and near Angola's eastern border of Zambia and Zaire.



But in this offensive and another in 1986, they failed to capture the key town of Mavinga, the gateway to Jamba and Unita's stronghold in the south-east. They also lost large quantities of Soviet-supplied armaments.

Apparently stung by this reversal, the Soviets poured millions of rands worth of tanks, jet planes and artillery into Angola in preparation for the third attempt to crack the rebels.

But the Marxist MPLA government has swung away from its reliance on the Communist bloc to help resolve its military, political and economic problems and has turned increasingly towards the West. President Jose Eduardo dos

Santos has gone to several Western capitals to seek economic aid (he is currently in Europe on such a mission). His government has also sought to join the International Monetary Fund, which is dominated by the United States and other capitalist countries.

Thus if Unita — and the South African forces claimed to be supporting it — can fend off the current offensive, there is likely to be much less enthusiasm in Luanda for another go at Jamba in next year's dry season.

Knowledgeable observers doubt that the loss of Jamba would mean the disappearance of Unita. But it would critically damage Unita's claim as a

reckoned with.

The latest claims from the battlefield — if this term can be used in the fluid war in the bush — are that Unita has thrown back a Fapla attempt to cross the Lomba river north of Mavinga.

But this does not necessarily mean the war is over.

Fapla gathered strong forces, led by Soviet advisers and backed by Cuban rear-guard troops, at Menongue and Cuito Cuanavale for the drive on Mavinga and another thrust could still be launched.

There are also other forces poised north of Cangamba and Gago Coutinho, with air support at Lucusse and Luena, whose objective is not yet



Picture: CLOETE BREYTENBACH

**BATTLE AFTERMATH:** In a clearing of scorched earth in the Angolan bush near the Unita logistics base on the banks of the Lomba River, a charred Russian T-55 tank is a stark relic of one of the bloodiest battles in the 11-year war between MPLA government forces and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels. The tank, shot out by Unita when they routed the MPLA at Lomba a fortnight ago, is inspected by rebel troops.

# From the Angola war front . . .

PR64's 2/9/87  
Four brigades

## decimated — Unita

**The Argus Correspondents**  
UNITA guerrillas of Dr Jonas Savimbi claim they have broken a government offensive against their south-eastern base of Mavinga, decimating four Angolan brigades along the Lomba River.

**Africa Confidential,** a monthly newsletter published in Lisbon, estimated the rebels had cut the four brigades to half-strength in a massive counter-attack after drawing the army 100km into Unita-controlled territory.

In Portugal President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola claimed yesterday his forces had gained "significant successes" in recent fighting against South African forces and said both Pretoria and Washington were more open to finding a regional peace settlement.

"Several South African planes and helicopters have already been downed and even South African officers have died in combat" during the past two weeks in southern Angola, President dos Santos told a news conference.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria that President dos Santos's statement must be seen against the background of deteriorating conditions in Angola caused by the civil war and, secondly, Unita's reported successes against the Russian and Cuban-led offensive against them in southern Angola.

Speaking at the close of a five-day official visit to Portugal, President dos Santos said South African ground and air forces moved into Angola from SWA/Namibia in aid of Unita on September 20, the eve of his departure for an 11-day tour of four European countries and the Vatican.

President dos Santos said his army had scored "significant successes" against the "invaders" but gave no specific details.

He also said South Africa had "developed contacts" for direct negotiations with Angola, while Washington had shown "a greater flexibility" for a "rapid solution" of independence for SWA/Namibia.

● More war front pictures, page 11.



# Angola claims to have shot down Mirage

PRETORIA — The South African Defence Force denied yesterday that a Mirage jet fighter of the Air Force had been shot down in action in Angola.

The SADF was reacting to claims by the Angolan news agency, Angop, that a South African Mirage had been shot down on Sunday in an air battle that followed after South African fighter craft bombed Angolan Government troops east of Cuito-Cuanavale.

Angop said five Angolan soldiers had been wounded in the incident.

An SA Defence Force spokesman said he had nothing to add to the comments already made by the Defence Force over the last few days and denied that a Mirage was shot down.

Angop said in a report monitored by international news agencies and radio stations in Lisbon, that South Africa had carried out a series of bombing raids in southern Angola.

Ground forces had engaged Angolan army units over the past fortnight in what Angop said was heavy fighting.

The allegations came as the rebel anti-Marxist Angolan movement of Unita — backed by the United States and South Africa — was reported to be fending off a large scale offensive against its Jamba headquarters in southern Angola.

The offensive is reported to be Cuban and Soviet backed and led.

MiG fighter-bombers had also been used against the South African troops and, it was reported, there had been South African casualties.

No proof was furnished to substantiate the reports.

● Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said yesterday his country had scored major gains in recent fighting with South African forces backing Unita rebels.

"We have had big successes... South African planes and helicopters were shot down in combat," the Angolan leader said.

Mr. Dos Santos told a news conference in the northern Portuguese city of Oporto that independence for Namibia held the key to peace in the region and that talks with Washington on the issue were showing progress. — Sapa-RNS

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# SA artillery jets strike — report

Cape Times 3/10/87

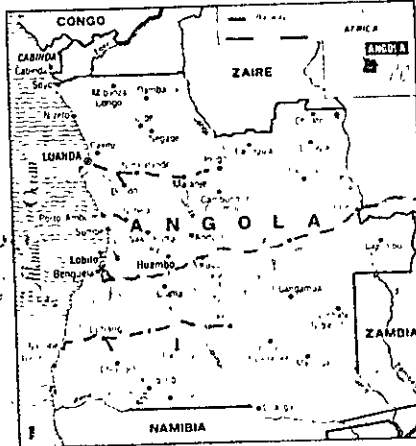
LISBON. — South African forces, engaged in a major incursion into southern Angolan, bombed and shelled army positions near the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale this week, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said yesterday.

South African troops used heavy artillery to shell an area east of Cuito Cuanavale in south-eastern Cuando Cubango province early on Wednesday and South African planes bombed the zone later the same day, Angolan military officials told Angop.

The report made no mention of casualties.

Contacted last night for comment on the report, a Defence Force spokesman referred the Cape Times to an SADF statement made on Sunday in response to a report in the London newspaper, the Sunday Telegraph.

The newspaper said the biggest land battle in the history of Africa south of the Sahara was



presently raging in southern Angola.

An SADF spokesman said although the Defence Force was not prepared to comment on speculative reporting, the Telegraph report confirmed once again that the massive offensive against Unita in south-east Angola was Russian- and Cuban-inspired, controlled and commanded.

"This has been repeatedly stated by political and military spokesmen in South Africa," the spokesman said in the statement on Sunday.

Cuito Cuanavale, 300 km north of the Namibian border, is a strategic Angolan base for a reported offensive against the bush stronghold of the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita).

South Africa is reportedly involved in a major military intervention in Angola to help Unita fight off a large-scale government offensive directed by a top Soviet general against the Unita headquarters at Jamba, in the remote south-east.

Unita has been fighting since 1975 to topple the Marxist Angolan Government, reportedly supported by an estimated 37 000 Cuban soldiers and an undetermined number of Soviet advisers.

The Angop report, monitored in Lisbon, said South African forces had been operating in vast areas of southern Angola since August. — Sapa-AP

Cape Times 2/10/87

ACCEPTED

**BIGGEST ANGOLA BATTLE LOOMING WARNS SAVIMBI**

# Final Showdown

w/c Argus 3/10/87

by KEN VERNON, Weekend Argus  
Africa News Service.

**MAVINGA.** — A final showdown — crucial to the future of the whole Southern African sub-continent — is looming between Angolan government troops and a Unita guerilla army on this battlefield in southern Angola.

Interviewed in his forward command post here today, the Unita leader, General Jonas Savimbi, said that within two to three weeks he forswore a great battle taking place that could leave thousands of bodies lying on the Lomba battlefield.

"The MPLA government have collected their best men from all over Angola for this battle, if they lose they will have no alternative but to negotiate, it might take a year or two, but they will have to talk to us.

"If we lose, and the battle is not by any means won yet — though we do have the upper hand at the moment — then we will have to revert to guerilla warfare and it might take 20 years to get back to where we are now."

Along with a group of local and foreign journalists, I was taken to the frontline between the fighting forces. We are 20 kilometres north of the Lomba River, approximately 10km north-west of Mavinga.

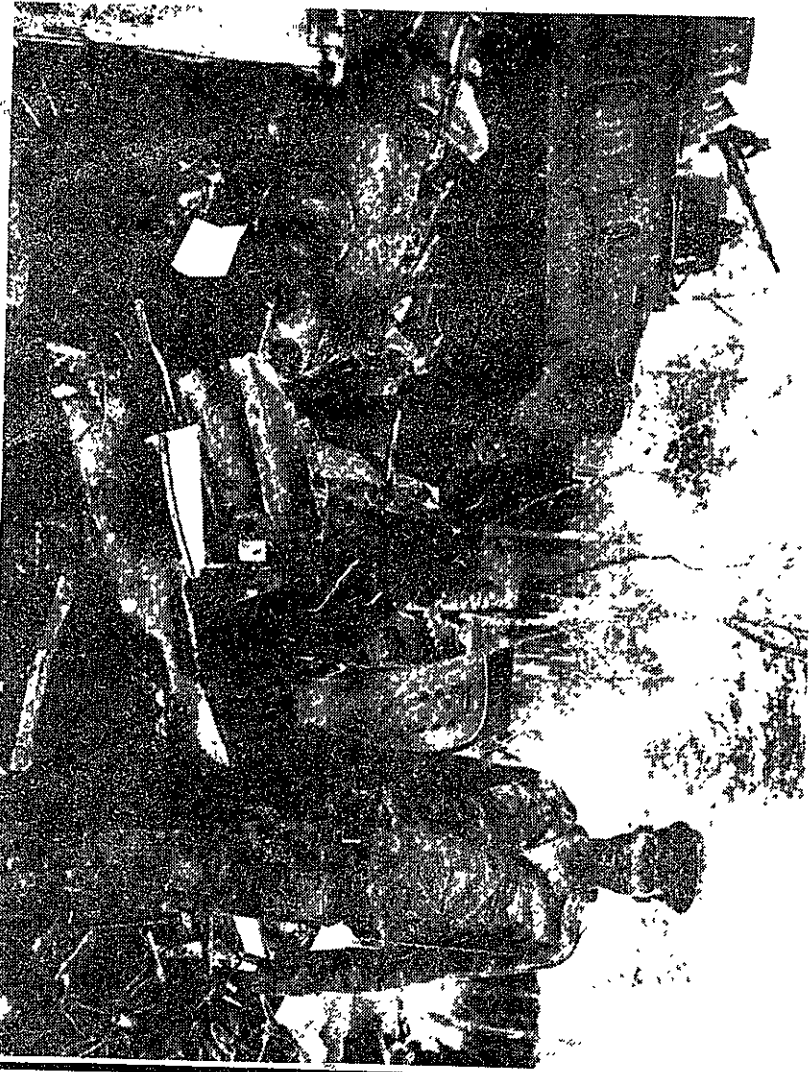
position below the president's. He said the US and South Africa should play a role in such negotiations, and that the Russians and Cubans in Angola should leave.

But first a crucial battle had to be fought, within the next two or three weeks, which would "have an impact on the whole sub-continent for years to come".

Later that day at a press conference at the forward command headquarters at the Unita airstrip outside Mavinga, General Savimbi explained that the biggest battle of the campaign so far had begun on the 13th of last month, when three battalions of Fapla had overrun Unita positions and forced their way over the Lomba.

The battle raged for the next six days said Savimbi, during which time the three battalions had slowly been enveloped and totally annihilated, losing more than 750 men killed in that battle alone.

Since then, Russian-led Fapla forces had been forced back to their present position,



**After the battle — picture released in Angola yesterday**

20 kilometres north of the Lomba.

The Unita chief of Military Intelligence, Brigadier Isidro Chindondo, said the present two pronged offensive against the Unita stronghold in southern Angola was by far the

strongest military operation of the Angolan war.

He said a "feint" offensive had been launched on July 10 south from Luçusso and aimed at Cangamba and Gago Coutinho, with the main offensive launched the same

day from Cuito Cuanavale and aimed at Mavinga, and hence Unita headquarters at Jamba.

A total of 18 200 troops were being used by the

Continued on Page 3

P.T.C.

Continue

## Captive Cubans not swapped yet

General Ben Ben, the Unita deputy chief of staff and officer commanding the battle told us that the MPLA 16th brigade were entrenched some three kilometres away across the small Cuso river, a tributary of the Lomba.

I saw Unita troops entrenched in ambush positions facing the Cuso, armed with giant 120mm, 107mm and 81mm mortars, Katushka multiple rocket launchers, various anti-tank missiles of American and French origin, captured Russian D30 cannon and large calibre machine guns.

### Trenches

The whole area seemed to be honeycombed with trenches in depth, and General Ben said that he had some 5 000 men facing the MPLA forces on that section of the front.

The front extended for some 40m kilometres all told he said.

Dr Savimbi told us in his underground bunker at Mavinga that Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos had intended to seize Mavinga by September 17, three days before he left to meet European leaders, so that he could derive the maximum political benefit from Unita's defeat.

Dr Savimbi said he would be prepared to negotiate a political settlement in a unitary state with President dos Santos, and that he would be prepared to occupy a ministerial

MAVINGA.— Seven captive Cubans included in the recent four-way Maputo swop of prisoners have not been returned to Angola yet — and the ball was in France's court to conclude the deal, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said yesterday.

He told a news conference at Mavinga that a French government envoy negotiated the exchange with him in the very underground bunker where the news conference was being held. The envoy had sat next to Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The onus was on France to conclude the exchange, Dr Savimbi said.

He added that "France is dealing with Angola as though it is only an oil spot."

Dr Savimbi released some 135 Angolan soldiers in the exchange which included Frenchman Pierre Albertini, Dutchman Klaas de Jonge and SADF soldier Maj Wynand de Toit.

■ A 24-year-old MPLA helicopter pilot, shot down by Unita, was introduced to the press at Mavinga yesterday.

Sub-Lieut Manual Sebastian, interviewed next to the wreck of his Soviet MI25 chopper, while Unita troops sang and danced nearby, said he was shot down at Capua on September 16.

"I don't know what hit me," he said.

He hurt his back in the incident.

The helicopter, which carried two passengers at the time, was wrecked.

Lt Sebastian said he was an Angolan and received his training in the Soviet Union.

He appeared to be in good health and posed for pictures quite willingly. — Sapa

# The test is yet to come

By NORMAN PATTERTON  
Mavinga, Southern Angola

**UNITA and Angolan government forces — led by a Russian general — are squaring up for an epic battle which rebel leader Jonas Savimbi says will determine the political future of the entire sub-continent.**

Dr Savimbi told three dozen South African and international newsmen at Mavinga, target of a massive Angolan government offensive:

"It will be the biggest battle... you will find thousands and thousands of bodies." There has already been one major conflict on the banks of the Lomba River in which the MPLA government forces were routed.

According to Dr Savimbi, four Angolan brigades totaling 18,200 men are being guided into battle against UNITA's 8,000-plus troops by Russia's General Konstantin Shagrovitch.

The forces were entrenched at the Lomba River about 48km north of Mavinga.

Mavinga, which has an important UNITA airstrip, is 250km from the SWA/Namibian border and 180km from the Zambian border.

## Target

Dr Savimbi said the Soviet-commanded MPLA offensive was a precursor to an assault on his headquarters to the south — Jamba. But he said the battle would also serve to test the Russians and Cubans' military performance against South Africa.

Asked about reports that Mirage fighter-bombers from South Africa had been used against the MPLA columns, he replied that he had never been informed by South Africa that it would carry out air strikes.

Reporters saw a jet-fighter lying at low altitude along a valley just outside Mavinga, but were unable to

## Unita is

### squaring

### up for

### decisive

### Angola

### battle

### warns

### Savimbi

been killed since the offensive started on July 10.

Thirty-one Russians, 75 Cubans and 522 UNITA soldiers had been wounded.

He said UNITA had destroyed 56 of the 150 Russian T-75 and T-74 tanks in Angola, three MIGs, four Soviet reconnaissance aircraft, 11 helicopters and 13 mobile rocket-launchers.

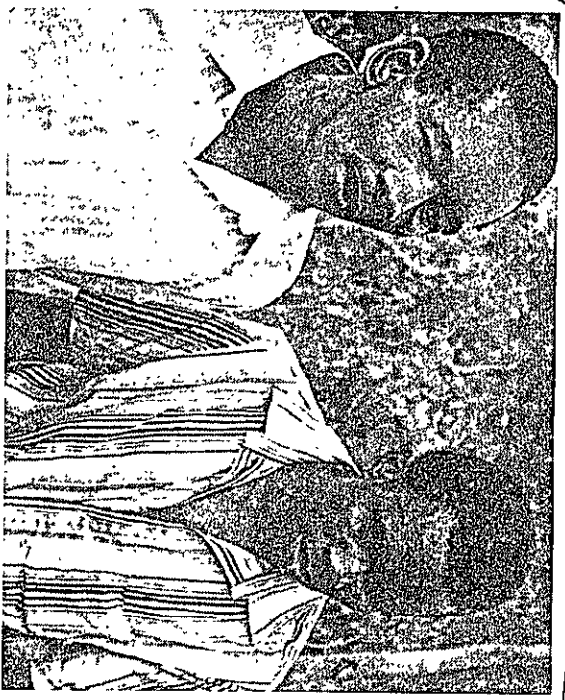
About 150 F4U troops and four pilots had been captured.

UNITA officers said that Soviet equipment, such as cannons and 20mm, 107mm and 80mm mortars, had significantly strengthened the MPLA offensive this year.

## Bunker

But UNITA missiles ensured that the MIGs remained at high altitudes.

All UNITA personnel carrying — big trucks openly moving toward the UNITA



**CAPTIVE ANC MEN:** Michael Bupise, of Port Elizabeth, and Mthunzi Nguni, of Johannesburg... taken by UNITA forces while game hunting

TWO ANC men, captured by UNITA, were paraded before visiting reporters at Mavinga, Southern Angola, on Friday. They were identified as Michael Bupise, of Port Elizabeth, and Mthunzi Nguni, of Johannesburg.

They said they had been hunting game in a Russian car when they were taken prisoner in Malange Province, 250km from Luanda, on June 25.

Mr Bupise said they grew vegetables on an ANC farm in Angola, and he was unaware of any ANC alliance with the MPLA or Swazo.

Dr Savimbi said he didn't want to extradite them to SA because they were "just young men".

A 24-year-old MPLA helicopter pilot, Sub-Lieut Mannel Sebastian, shot down by UNITA, was also introduced to the Press. He said he was an Angolan and had received his training in the Soviet Union. — Sapa

## Captured

## ANC men

## shown

## to Press

SWA/Namibia. If UNITA won, a stable Angola could ensure a swift resolution in SWA/Namibia.

Discussing the military situation, Dr Savimbi said "We have the upper hand but we have not beaten off the offensive yet."

"We are trying to handle the situation but don't know what will happen in the next few weeks."

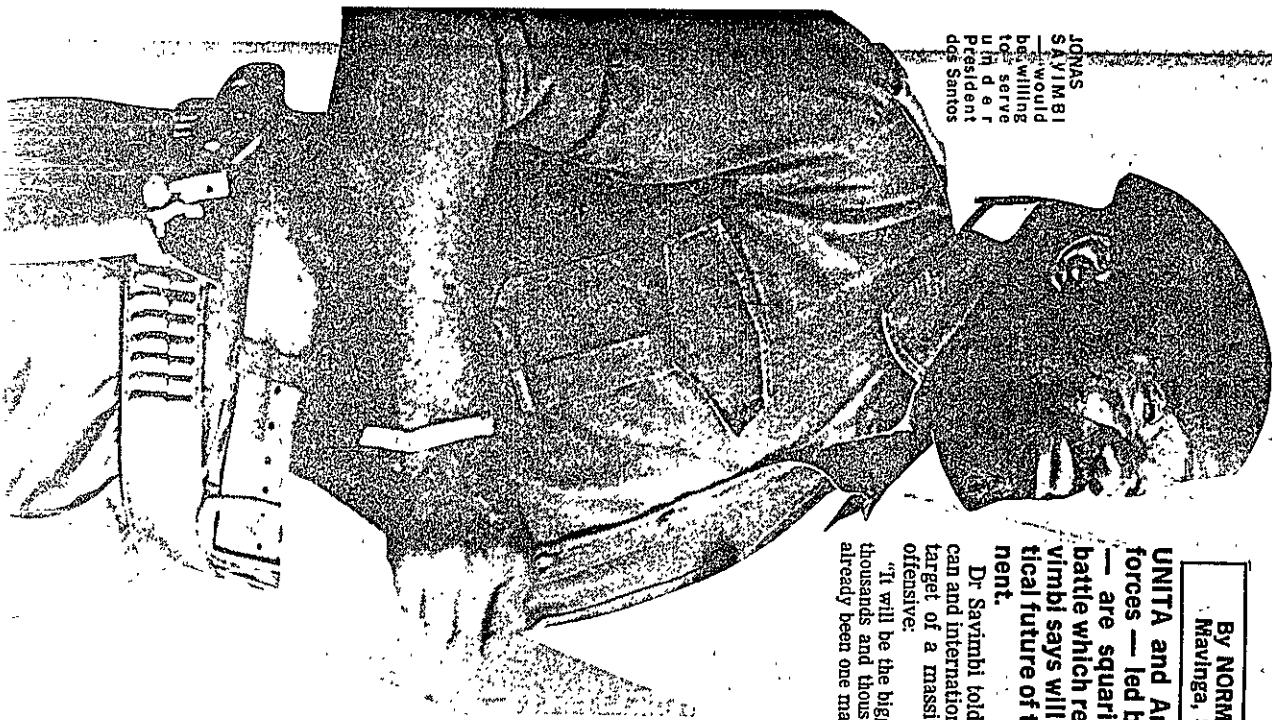
He described the battle as like being in the 13th or 14th round of a 15-round boxing match.

If UNITA lost the battle for Mavinga and Jamba, it would continue a guerrilla war within the country, he said. UNITA insurgents had recently penetrated to within 10km of Luanda and disrupted its electricity and water supplies.

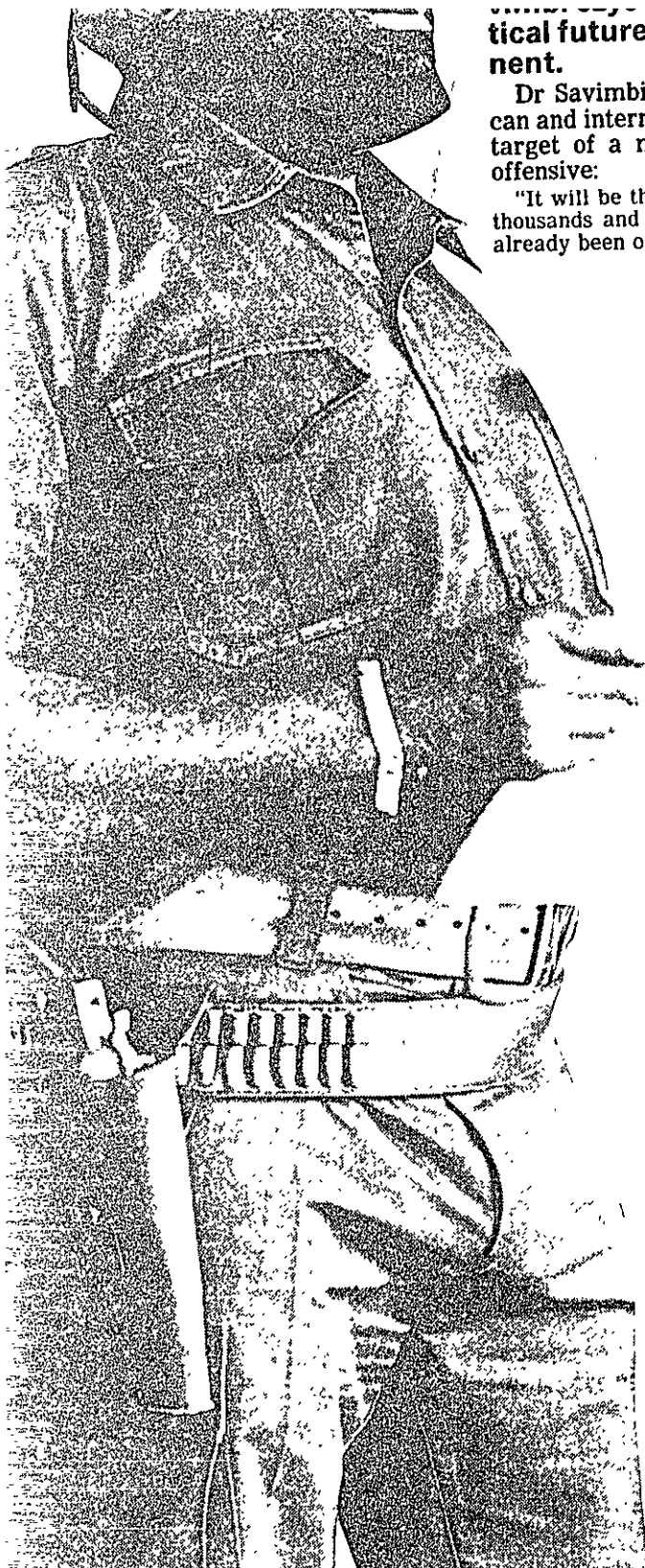
Unita received support from three African countries, and Dr Savimbi suggested that UNITA could be given more support by Western nations.

"I need support, but these countries must come to me. No one came to me with proposals." He said SADF medics were in Angola to treat UNITA's wounded. — Sapa.

JONAS SAVIMBI would be willing to serve in the President dos Santos







tical future of the entire sub-continent.

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"It will be the biggest battle ... you will find thousands and thousands of bodies." There has already been one major conflict on the banks of the Lomba River in which the MPLA government forces were routed.

According to Dr Savimbi, four Angolan brigades totaling 18 200 men are being guided into battle against Unita's 8000-plus troops by Russia's General Konstantin Shagnovitch.

The forces were entrenched at the Lomba River, about 40km north of Mavinga.

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Reporters saw a jet-fighter flying at low altitude along a valley just outside Mavinga, but were unable to positively identify it.

Unita's officer commanding the Lomba front, General Ben Ben, said in an interview at the front that the MPLA brigades were supported by 96 Russian T55 and T54 tanks. A total of 48 tanks were being deployed at the front and another 48 formed a tactical force at the rear of the 40km-wide front.

### Routed

The toughest battle to date, a four-hour engagement called the Battle of Lomba, took place on September 13.

Three battalions — or 750 MPLA troops — were routed when they tried to cross the Lomba. Ten Unita and 70 MPLA soldiers died, General Ben said.

A Russian MiG fighter was shot down and three tanks destroyed, he said.

He said Unita had been using Stinger missiles against the MiGs.

The chief of staff of Unita's military intelligence, Brigadier Peregrino Chindonjo, said four Russians, 20 Cubans, 1 023 Fapla troops and 86 Unita troops had

# decisive Angola battle warns Savimbi

been killed since the offensive started on July 10.

Thirty-one Russians, 75 Cubans and 522 Unita soldiers had been wounded.

He said Unita had destroyed 56 of the 150 Russian T55 and T54 tanks in Angola, three MiGs, four Soviet reconnaissance aircraft, 11 helicopters and 13 mobile rocket-launchers.

About 150 Fapla troops and four pilots had been captured.

Unita officers said that Soviet equipment, such as helicopter gunships, D30 cannons and 120mm, 107mm and 80mm mortars, had significantly strengthened the MPLA offensive this year.

### Bunker

But Unita missiles ensured that the MiGs remained at high altitudes.

All Unita personnel carriers — big trucks openly moving around the Unita-held territory by day and night — appeared to have at least one anti-tank weapon on board.

Dr Savimbi told a news conference in an underground bunker at Mavinga that Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos had intended to seize Mavinga by September 17, three days before he left to meet European leaders, so that he could derive the maximum political benefit from Unita's defeat.

Dr Savimbi said he would be prepared to negotiate a political settlement in a unitary state with President dos Santos, and that he would be prepared to occupy a ministerial position below the President.

He said the US and South Africa should play a role in such negotiations, and that the Russians and Cubans in Angola should leave.

But first a crucial battle had to be fought, within the next two or three weeks, which would "have an impact on the whole sub-continent for years to come".

If the Angolan government won the battle, the Soviet Union could use Angola as a base for attacking

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- CARAVAN
- TR overseas trip
- \*ALA/COMAIR holiday
- AX5 Camera
- RS SAFARI

- Sue Abraham, Bryanston
- F Oosthuizen, Potchefstroom
- Lynda Nell Pitcher, Kenmare
- W Erasmus, Lichtenburg
- H Lowenstein, Hillbrow
- Pam Moens, Pietersburg

# Malan confirms

Sunday Times Reporter

THE South African Defence Force has confirmed its presence in south-eastern Angola, where Angolan government forces are locked in a swaying semi-conventional battle with Unita forces.

General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, yesterday described the South African presence as "limited".

At the same time he expressed full support for Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels in the fierce battles waging along the Lomba River.

The confirmation comes after a week of speculation about the extent of South African involvement in the Angolan battles and follows a statement on Friday by Dr Savimbi that Pretoria was providing "medical" support.

General Malan said South Africa's presence primarily concerned South African interests. The undisturbed movement afforded to Swapo and ANC units by Angolan Fapa forces obliged South Africa to continue its presence in southern Angola.

It was a pity, he said, that the Angolan government ignored South Africa's offers to

## SA's in Angola

establish a joint security mechanism. This meant South Africa had to take care of her own interests.

General Malan repeated earlier statements that South Africa gave moral, material and humanitarian support to Unita and apologised to nobody for doing this, as Unita was in the forefront of blocking Moscow's objectives in southern Africa.

### Claims

It was not in South Africa's interests to stand indifferent towards Unita.

General Malan observed that South African forces were acting with great motivation and effectiveness.

This is seen as the firmest confirmation yet of Angolan government claims that the SADF has acted in support of Unita in the battles that began in mid-August.

See Page 15

# Unita claims win in heavy fighting

LISBON — Angola's Unita movement claimed yesterday its forces had driven off government units backed by Cuban support troops in a 10-hour battle in the southern Cuando Cubango province.

Unita claimed its forces killed 232 government troops and seven unidentified Soviet nationals while suffering losses of 20 dead.

In a statement issued here, Unita said its forces drove units loyal to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government away from positions on the northern banks of the Lomba River in the fighting.

The note, signed by Unita's chief of staff, General Demostenes Amos Chilingutla, said Unita forces had captured 185 vehicles.

Angolan government troops, backed by Cuban support units and Soviet military advisers, have been engaged in a large-scale offensive in Cuando Cubango province in recent weeks, spearheading a drive against the Unita-held town of Mavinga, 80 km southeast of the site of the weekend battle.

On Friday the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, told South African and other foreign newsmen at Mavinga that an epic battle between Unita and government forces would determine the political future of the entire sub-continent.

"It will be the biggest battle... you will find thousands and thousands of bodies," he said.

The offensive was a precursor to an assault on his headquarters at Jamba to the south, but the battle would also serve to test the Russians' and Cubans' military performance against South Africa's, he said.

The South African Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, confirmed at the weekend that South Africa had troops in southern Angola, but he said nothing of the Angolans' charges that South African forces were supporting Unita in the fighting. General Malan said South Africa's limited presence in southern

Angola primarily concerned South Africa's interests.

He said the undisturbed movement afforded to Swapo and ANC members in Angola and the protection they received from that country's forces necessitated a continuing South African presence to protect her interests.

South Africa gave support to Unita in the form of moral, material and humanitarian support such as medical assistance.

South Africa apologised to no one for her support to Unita, which was in the frontline against Russian intervention and blocking Moscow's objectives in Southern Africa, Gen Malan said.

The two major opposition parties gave "wholehearted" and "qualified" support for South Africa's military presence in Angola, it was reported from Cape Town.

The chief defence spokesman for the Conservative Party, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said he had no reservation about supporting South Africa's actions.

"It is necessary to help Unita and we are proud of the achievements of our limited forces there."

Mr Peter Gastrow of the Progressive Federal Party, who had not been briefed on the situation, said he wanted more details.

"If the MPLA forces and their East-bloc commanders and backup pose a serious threat to South Africa's territorial integrity, intervention could be justified.

"General Malan should tell us if this is the case or whether South Africa is involving itself more in a civil war in a foreign country," he said.

Military observers suggested yesterday that South Africa's "limited" presence in the area was largely to keep a watch over Unita and to protect itself if it got into trouble. DDC-Sapa



'Greatest Russian offensive'

# Major clash is on the way in Angola

5/10/87

ELSABÉ WESSELS

THE stage is set for a major confrontation in southern Angola between Unita, with SA backing, and the MPLA with Cuban-Russian support.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, speaking to journalists at Mavinga, 50km north-west of the front line, said "there was a total commitment on the side of the Russians to wipe out Unita".

The rebel leader said the latest offensive was launched not only "to wipe out Unita bases, but to test Cuban-Russian forces in confrontation with SA".

Referring to fierce battles that have raged since September 13 on the Lomba River, approximately 50km north-west of Mavinga, Savimbi said the onslaught was the "greatest Russian offensive ever against Unita".

Although denied by both Savimbi and Malan, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has claimed a strong SA presence in the Lomba offensive.

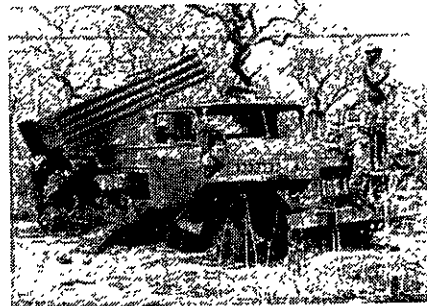
Following days of Angolan government claims and speculative reports on SA's involvement, Minister of Defence Magnus Malan confirmed at the weekend that the SADF was "maintaining a limited presence in southern Angola".

SADF involvement in Angola had been denied by Savimbi at his Mavinga headquarters on Friday.

Justifying SA's presence, Malan said SA was forced to protect her interests, and to counteract Swapo and ANC movement in Angola and the protection they received from Fapla forces.

"SA apologises to no one for her support to the rebel movement. Unita is in the front line against Russian intervention and is blocking Moscow's objectives in southern Africa," Malan said.

Journalists air-lifted to the war zone by Unita on Thursday night were constantly reminded that Unita had with-



A Soviet missile launcher destroyed by Unita rebels in fierce battles against Soviet backed Fapla forces on the Lomba river earlier this month. (Picture supplied by Unita).

stood Fapla's biggest offensive to date. Savimbi said they had crippled an entire MPLA brigade.

On Friday, there were no signs of fighting at the front line position currently held by the rebels.

During a lengthy Press conference at his Mavinga bunker headquarters, Savimbi said the Soviet-guided MPLA column intended demolishing the northern Unita stronghold of Mavinga, a key base on the plateau above the Lomba river 180km north of Savimbi's Jamba capital.

According to Unita figures, the 18 200 strong Fapla force used sophisticated Russian armour. Savimbi was less forthcoming on the extent of his foreign backing, but said 8 000 rebels were involved in the offensive.

According to Unita, the MPLA losses since July 10 amounted to four Russians, 20 Cubans and 1 023 Fapla soldiers, against 80 soldiers lost by Unita.

In Oporto, Portugal, Dos Santos claimed "significant successes" for his Fapla forces. "Several SA planes and helicopters have been downed and even SA officers have died in combat during the past two weeks in southern Angola," he said at a Press conference.

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5/10/87 (S)

Cape Times Monday October 5, 1987 3

# CP support SA presence in Angola

## Unita claims heavy govt losses

**Political Staff**  
THE Conservative Party gave whole-hearted support to South Africa's military presence in Angola and the PFP said intervention in Angola could only be justified if SA's territorial integrity was threatened.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, confirmed at the weekend that South Africa maintained a "limited" presence in southern Angola. Mr Kees van der Merwe, chief defence spokesman for the Conservative Party, had no reservation about supporting South Africa's actions but Mr Peter Gastrow of the Progressive Federal Party wanted more details.

Mr Van der Merwe said his party supported the government's action wholeheartedly. He had been briefed on the situation, he said.

Mr Gastrow said he had only weekend newspaper reports to go by.

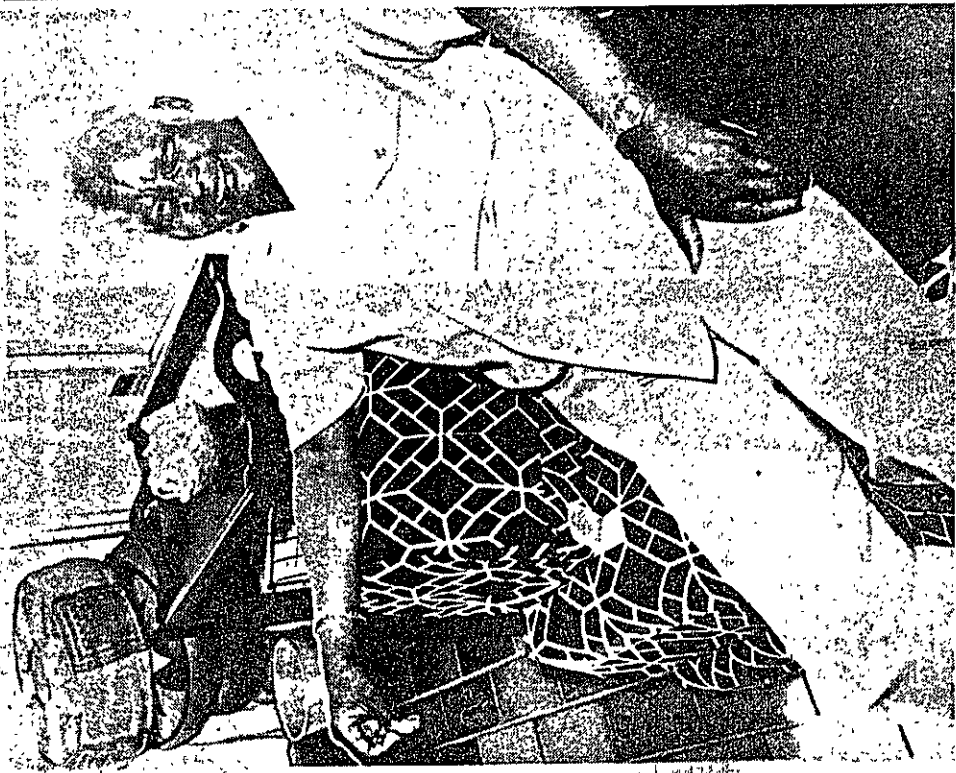
If the MPLA forces and their back-up posed a threat to South Africa's territorial integrity, intervention could be justified, he said.

"But, General Malan should tell us if this is the case or whether South Africa is involving itself more in a civil war in a foreign country.

"We have no business doing that just as no foreign country has the right to be militarily involved in our internal strife."

Military observers suggested yesterday that South Africa's "limited" presence in the area was largely to keep a watch over Unita and to protect the movement if it was seriously threatened.

It was felt that the size of the South African presence would fluctuate, depending on the threat to Unita.



EX-PRIME MINISTER ... Chief George Matanzima in his hide-out at St Francis Bay.

# Savimbi parades ANC captives, Angolan pilot

**MAVINGA.** — Dr Jonas Savimbi introduced two ANC members, captured by Unita, to visiting reporters here.

The men, Mr Michael Bupise of Port Elizabeth and Mr Mthunzi Nguni, of Johannesburg, said they had been hunting game in a Soviet car when they were captured in the Malange province, 250km from Luanda, on June 25.

Mr Bupise said they grew vegetables on an ANC farm in Angola.

He said he was unaware of any ANC alliance with the MPLA or Swapo.

Dr Savimbi said he did not want to extradite them to South Africa because they were "just young men" who could not help it that their leaders had formed an alliance with the Soviet Union.

A 24-year-old MPLA helicopter pilot, shot down by Unita, was also paraded.

Sub-Lieutenant Manuel Sebastian, interviewed next to the wreck of his Soviet MI-

25 helicopter, while Unita troops sang and danced nearby, said he was shot down at Capua on September 16.

"I don't know what hit me," he said.

He hurt his back in the incident. The helicopter, which carried two passengers at the time, was wrecked.

Lieutenant Sebastian said he was an Angolan and had received his training in the Soviet Union.

He appeared to be in good health and willingly posed for photographs. — Sapa

**LISBON.** — Angolan Unita rebels said yesterday they had killed more than 200 government troops and seven Soviet military advisers in an intense battle on Saturday along the Lomba River in Southern Angola.

Unita said, in a statement distributed here, that they had also captured 23 Angolan soldiers, shot down a helicopter and destroyed seven T-55 tanks and 19 armoured cars.

Eighteen Unita guerrillas were killed and 67 wounded in the fighting, the statement said.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told reporters in southern Angola on Friday that the rebels had blunted a recent offensive by the government, but worse fighting was to come.

He said the offensive, backed by hundreds of Soviet officers, was aimed at capturing the rebel stronghold of Mavinga in order to launch an assault on Unita's headquarters at Jamba. The statement said the guerrillas also took over the town of Cangala, where they released three Italian priests.

Unita, which is supported by South Africa and the United States, has been fighting the Luanda government since shortly after Angola won independence from Portugal in 1975. — Sapa Reuter

# SA officer dies in action

# 10-hour battle in Angola — <sup>ARGUS</sup> 5/10/87 'hundreds die' <sup>(5)</sup>

LISBON. — Unita says its guerrilla forces drove off government units backed by Cuban support troops in a 10-hour battle in Angola's southern Cuando Cubango province.

Unita claimed its forces killed 232 government troops and seven unidentified Soviet nationals yesterday. Twenty Unita men were killed.

Unita chief of staff General Demostenes Amos Chilinguita said his forces drove MPLA units away from positions on the northern banks of the Lomba river in the fighting.

Nearly 200 vehicles were seized from the retreating government force, including four Soviet-built T-55 tanks and mobile radar units.

Angolan government troops, backed by Cuban support units and Soviet military advisers, have been engaged in a large-scale offensive in Cuando Cubango province, spearheading a drive against the Unita-held city of Mavinga.

On Saturday South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan admitted South Africa had troops in southern Angola following repeated charges over the past month by the Angolan government that South African forces had carried out operations in Cuando Cubango and neighbouring Cunene provinces.

But General Malan said nothing of Angolan charges that South African forces in Angola were actively supporting Unita in the fighting.

● General Malan was today accused of being vague about the South African involvement in Angola.

Mr Peter Gastrow, MP, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on military matters, said General Malan had kept his reference to a "limited presence" in South West Africa as vague as possible.

Vagueness and rumour-mongering about South Africa's involvement increased the concern of many South African families who had servicemen on the borders, added Mr Gastrow. — Political Correspondent and Sapa-AP

## Serviceman killed

JOHANNESBURG. — Second Lieutenant Adrian Hodgson Hind, 19, of Potchefstroom, was killed in action in the operational area on Saturday. — The Argus Correspondent

**'Cuban-backed forces driven off'**

# Unita claims big victory in bush battle

(S) 5/10/87 SPAC

**Lisbon**  
Angola's Unita rebel movement claimed yesterday that its guerilla forces had driven off government units backed by Cuban support troops in a 10-hour battle in Angola's southern Cuando Cubango province.

Unita claimed its forces killed 232 government troops and seven unidentified Soviet nationals in the weekend action while suffering rebel losses of 20 dead.

In a statement issued in Lisbon, Unita said its forces drove units loyal to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's MPLA government away from positions on the northern banks of the Lomba River in the fighting.

The statement, signed by Unita chief of staff General Demostenes Amos Chilingutula, said his troops captured 185 vehicles from the retreating government forces, including four Soviet-built T-55 tanks and mobile radar units.

Angolan government troops, backed by Cuban support units and Soviet military advisers, have been engaged in a large-scale offensive in Cuando Cubango province in recent weeks, spearheading a drive against the Unita-held town of Mavinga, 80 km south-east of the site of the weekend battle.

The offensive has been mounted annually in recent years in the local dry season by government forces in the hope of pushing south from Mavinga towards Jamba, Unita's bush capital.

The rebel movement is backed by the United States and South Africa.

On Saturday South African Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan admitted publicly that South Africa had troops in southern Angola, confirming repeated charges over the past month by the Angolan government that South African forces had carried out operations in Cuando Cubango and neighbouring Cunene provinces.

## Not mentioned

But General Malan said nothing of the Angolans charges, backed by reports in South African and British newspapers over the past week, that South African forces inside Angola were actively supporting Unita units in the fighting against government troops.

South Africa has claimed that its forces have entered Angola in the past not to aid Unita but in pursuit of Angola-based Swapo guerillas.

Unita's Lisbon spokesman Mr Alcides Sakala said he knew nothing of General Malan's statement.

"So far, there's just this South African statement," he said.

Mr Sakala refused to confirm or deny that South African troops were fighting alongside Unita contingents, saying: "It's quite difficult here in Lisbon to get a clear picture of what's happening in the Angolan fighting." Sapa-AP.

# Savimbi: Major battle looms in Angola

CME Times  
5/10/87

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Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The stage is set for a major confrontation in southern Angola between South African-backed Unita and the Cuban and Soviet-supported MPLA.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, speaking to journalists at Mavinga, 50km north-west of the frontline, said "there was a total commitment on the side of the Russians to wipe out Unita".

He stressed the latest offensive was launched not only "to wipe out Unita bases but to test Cuban/Russian forces in confrontation with South Africa".

Referring to the fierce battles that raged since September 13 on the Lomba River, approximately 50km north-west of Mavinga, Dr Savimbi said the onslaught was the "greatest Russian offensive ever against Unita".

And the Angolan President, Mr Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, has said there was a strong South African presence in the Lomba offensive. In Oporto, Portugal, Mr Dos Santos said there had been "significant successes" for his Fapla forces.

Several South African planes and helicopters have already been downed and even South African officers have died," he said at a press conference.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said at the weekend the SADF was "maintaining a limited presence in southern Angola".

"South Africa apologises to no one for her support to the rebel movement. Unita is in the frontline against Russian intervention and is blocking Moscow's objectives in Southern Africa."

During a press conference at his Mavinga bunker headquarters, Dr Savimbi said the Soviet-guided MPLA column intended demolishing Mavinga, situated 180km north of Savimbi's Jamba capital.

According to Unita the MPLA losses since July 10 amounted to four Soviets, 20 Cubans and 1 023 Fapla soldiers, against 86 soldiers lost on the side of Unita.

- ANC captives paraded
- Losses claimed
- Reaction to SADF presence in Angola

— Page 3

# Angola warns SA involvement could have 'serious results'

ARC 45  
6/10/82  
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Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — At least four South African battalions are inside Angola fighting government troops involved in operations against Unita, the Angolan authorities have claimed.

They have warned that the South African attacks could have "serious consequences".

At the same time Radio Angola said Unita had launched attacks in the oil rich Cabinda enclave killing several civilians.

## ARTILLERY, AIRCRAFT

The Africa News Organisation, ANO, reported from Luanda that a defence ministry communique said four South African battalions had attacked troops in the country's south eastern province of Kuando Kubango.

South African army units were equipped with artillery and backed by eight to 10 aircraft and had attacked Angolan positions along the Lomba river between Thursday and Sunday, the report said.

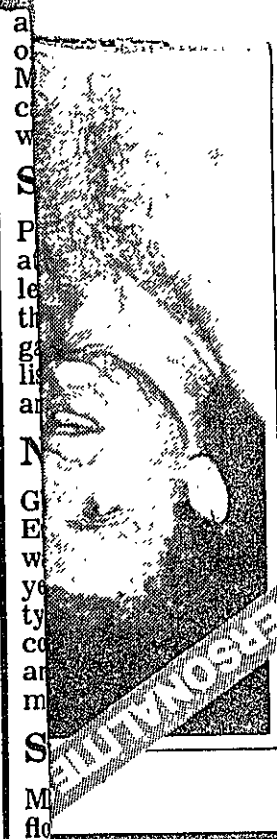
On Friday, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi told journalists that his army had defeated an MPLA offensive across the Lomba River.

South Africa has admitted it had a "limited presence" inside Angola to protect its interests.

The Angolan government communique said Pretoria had moved "three more battalions" in the south east and south of Angola "with the objective of intensifying its acts of aggression".

The communique did not make it clear whether the three battalions were in addition to the four they claimed were operating in Kuando-Kubango.

● An SADF spokesman said the claim was an attempt to avoid giving Unita any credit for the successes it had achieved in the region.



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# G-5 is Savimbi's secret weapon

By WILLEM STEENKAMP  
Defence Correspondent

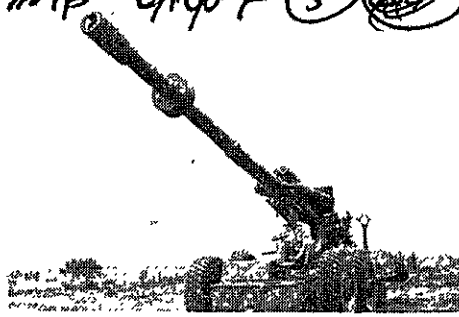
THE secret weapon which is helping Dr Jonas Savimbi to hold off a strong Angolan attack across the Lomba River line is South Africa's 155mm G-5 artillery piece, capable of hitting targets as far away as 35km from it.

An undisclosed number of G-5s, rather than South African aircraft or ground troops, appear to have played the major role in stopping the Angolan advance dead in its tracks and imperilling Luanda's entire long-planned scheme to capture the important Unita airfield stronghold of Mavinga south of the Lomba.

The presence of G-5s in the battle area was revealed to me yesterday by a reliable source amid unsubstantiated claims from the official Angolan news agency that "four South African battalions" had "intensified" their attacks on Angolan forces along the Lomba River since October 1.

The source said that as far as he knew no troops of the Defence Force or the South West Africa Territory Force were "attacking at short range", but the artillery was being used "very effectively".

The G-5s are said to be among the best guns in the world. They are towed artillery



The G-5 155mm artillery piece

— although they can move short distances with the aid of a small engine built into the carriage — but a self-propelled version called the G-6, mounted on an armoured wheeled chassis, is now in production for the SADF.

According to Sapa-Reuter the official Angolan news agency Angop yesterday quoted its country's Defence Ministry as saying that South African forces, backed by "between eight and 10 warplanes and heavy artillery", had inflicted "considerable casualties" on government troops in south-east Angola in the past few days.

"Four South African battalions have in-

tensified their attacks on our forces along the Lomba river since October 1, causing considerable casualties," Angop said in a brief despatch received in Lisbon.

Few details of the fighting were given in the despatch, issued two days after South Africa confirmed for the first time that its troops were fighting in Angola, saying their main role was fighting Swapo insurgents rather than helping Unita rebels who are facing a big Angolan government offensive.

The South African Defence Force yesterday reacted to the Angop claims by saying:

"It is well-known that in recent months Unita has achieved great success against the Russian- and Cuban-led offensive against it in south-east Angola. It is also known that in recent weeks Unita has inflicted heavy casualties on the Angolan forces.

"This statement is an obvious attempt by Angola to avoid giving Unita any credit for this success."

The Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, told journalists visiting Mavinga last week that the Angolan offensive had been blunted and that government casualties would run into thousands.

● Rains threaten to bog down Angolan troops — Page 15

AM Trinks 6/10/87 (5)

# Rains threaten to bog down Angolan troops

Defence Correspondent

AN EARLY onset of the end-of-year rains threatens to bog down the Angolan government forces tasked to capture the Unita insurgents' stronghold of Mavinga, according to local photographer Cloete Breytenbach, who was on the scene two days after the recent Lomba River battle.

"The rainy season has already begun," Mr Breytenbach said yesterday in reply to comments by local soldiers that tanks and other weaponry seen in films and photographs were badly rusted and appeared to have been there a long time.

"The rains are not in full spate yet, but there have been a number of showers already," Mr Breytenbach said, "and a Bushman at Omega (the South-West Africa Territory Force base in Caprivi) who is an expert in these matters says there will be an early rainy season this year."

A premature start to the rainy season — which normally does not begin till the end of October or the beginning of November — could spell disaster for the Fapla (Angolan armed forces) thrust into "Savimbi country" unless it can be pressed through to Mavinga before the Lomba River flood-plain turns into mush.

Possession of Mavinga with its airfield would mean at least some form of communication with the Fapla forward base of Cuito Cuanavale. Otherwise a Fapla force bogged down near the Lomba will face months of constant line-of-supply harassment by Unita bush-fighters operating on foot.

Mr Breytenbach said yesterday he had visited the battlefield two days after Unita had stopped the Fapla advance, "and the tyres of the lorries were still smouldering ... some of the captured BM-21 multiple rocket launchers were still loaded".

## Fapla's 59 Brigade

He said the scene of devastation was not as dramatic as some people expected because the Unita logistics base where the battle was fought measured 5km by 5km, and the vehicles and weapons were scattered around inside it.

He said the sequence of the Lomba River battle was that earlier in September a force drawn from Fapla's 59 Brigade crossed the Lomba at a place where it was only about 30m wide, using two TMM bridge-laying trucks.

Though both bridge-layers were knocked out, the Fapla force succeeded in crossing the river and captured the Unita logistics base near by. On September 13 Unita counter-attacked and recaptured the base, inflicting a number of casualties on the Fapla troops. He added:

"When they left their trenches to run back to the river they were just shot down. Unita took me close enough so that I could look at the scene with binoculars, and hundreds (of bodies) were lying just south of the river."

Mr Breytenbach said Unita spokesmen had told him the thrust over the river was in direct response to a directive from the Angolan president, Mr Eduardo dos Santos, that Mavinga had to be taken before he arrived in Portugal.

The spokesmen had also told him that it appeared the Angolans' Russian advisers had started to withdraw to distance themselves from what was turning into a disaster.



# Tutu wants SA out of Angola

SOUTH AFRICA should withdraw its troops and military hardware from Angola as it had "no business" in the country, the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, said yesterday.

In a message to an End Conscription Campaign meeting yesterday, Tutu said General Magnus Malan had confirmed that SA was in Angola "yet again".

"Where is the public outcry?" he asked in the message.

"When I called for sanctions as a means of forcing the government to the

Own Correspondent

negotiating table, many opposed it on the grounds that sanctions would cause suffering to black people.

"When some of those who are trying to end apartheid turn to violence, they are condemned by people claiming to be opposed to violence.

"Where are all these people now? South Africa has no business in Angola. It must withdraw its troops and military hardware from Angola," Tutu said.

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# Battle which could change the course of Angola's war

By MARK VERBAAN,  
Windhoek

SEPTEMBER will go down in history as a month which saw the most intense and bloody battle yet between the Angolan army and the anti-government Unita rebels.

Although the primary objective of the Angolan government's massive military offensive is to wipe out Unita's headquarters at Jamba, near the Namibian border, Fapla troops have spent the past 30 days desperately trying to capture the rebel-held town of Mavinga.

Situated in south east Angola, Mavinga is a keypin position for the marxist MPLA government.

At least 12 Fapla brigades, assisted by Cuban and Soviet military advisors, have persisted in a two-pronged attack in Mavinga since the beginning of September.

If Fapla troops manage to capture Mavinga, not only will the path be clear for an assault on the Unita capital of Jamba, but the routes used by Unita guerrillas to infiltrate northwards on sabotage missions will be effectively blocked.

The Angolan army would also be able to establish radar and anti-aircraft missile bases, bringing Jamba within range of aerial attack.

The loss of Mavinga could mean the collapse of the 12-year-old Unita movement and the demise of president Jose Eduardo dos Santos' arch-enemy, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The London office of Angop, Angola's official news agency confirmed this week that "fierce fighting between Fapla and SADF regulars" had been in progress since the beginning of September.

Though foreign and local newspapers have reported that South African aircraft and troops have been involved in the battle, an SADF representative refused to comment earlier this week on "unsourced or speculative stories."

Angop, however, claimed an SAAF mirage fighter had been shot down near Cuito Cuanavale, an important FAPLA military centre in the southern Angola. This was denied by the SADF.

It is widely believed that SAAF jets are launching incursions into Mavinga from the Caprivi strip.

Early in September, defence Magnus Malan told parliament: "If our interests demand that we take action against communist incursion, then we have no choice".

A Unita spokesman said this week that the movement had "smashed the government offensive" in southern Angola. "We have driven them back across the Lomba river and our forces are now on the offensive," spokesman Alcides Sakala said in Lisbon.

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cal chickens come home to roost.

# Bread price goes up. But the poorest buy still more

By PAT SIDLEY

"BREAD for a black man is the same price as bread for a white man," said a worker directing a question at management consultant Christo Nel at the Five Freedoms Forum conference last weekend.

"If it costs 50 cents for a black, it also costs 50 cents for a white ... This money they allocate for us will not make us live," he said

This week, the bread price rose to 81c a loaf of white bread and 63c a loaf of brown bread.

Despite the fact that increases have on the whole been below the inflation rate, those people at the bottom end will always be affected by an increase.

Over the past five years, brown bread prices have risen by 90,9 percent and white by 62 percent.

The new price, which narrows the difference between the two loaves to 18c, reflects the smaller subsidies and, in turn, the shifting consumption patterns against a population increase.

In 1982, reflecting larger subsidies on brown bread, the consumption of white bread was 448 829 000 loaves against 1 040 937 000 brown loaves, according to the Wheat Board's figures. At that stage, a white loaf cost 50c and a brown loaf 33c with the subsidy 3,3783c and 15,9012c a white and brown loaf respectively.

In the 1985/86 Wheat Board year (from October 1 to September 30) white bread consumption had increased by 0,6 percent to 451 568 000 loaves and brown bread by 16,9 percent to 1 217 178 000 loaves. Figures for the 12 months to July this year, show white bread consumption is up by a further 11,1 percent while brown bread consumption remained static.

Although at the time of writing the

total subsidy figure that the government is paying out on the bread price was not known, the trend has been to decrease the subsidy. Last year's R150-million was some 25 percent down on the year before, said a Checkers representative.

In past years this shift in the subsidy reflected directly in consumption patterns with the highly subsidised and much cheaper brown loaves selling faster and in greater quantities than the more expensive white loaves.

This year, according to the Wheat Board, the pattern of subsidies will be changed once again.

Since February 1984, with the subsidy on each loaf of brown bread at 11,2891c paid to the baker, the baker was required to pay to the Wheat Board's subsidy fund 1,3649c for each loaf of white bread baked.

This system, in which each loaf of white bread baked and sold effectively subsidised part of the price of each brown loaf, persisted till this year.

Now, however, this negative subsidy on white bread will again become positive and each loaf of white will be subsidised by about 2c a loaf and each brown loaf by 12,8426c if the cabinet approves these figures.

This, together with the narrower difference in the price of white and brown, is likely to continue to push the consumption towards white bread.

Although the figures seem to indicate a slight increase in the consumption of bread all round in the country, it has to be seen against the population growth which has been increasing at 2,5 percent a year. In effect it means less white bread is being consumed and the change in brown is small.

(3) Wheat w/ Mail  
2-8/10/87

# Troops must withdraw — Tutu

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA had "no business" in Angola and must withdraw its troops and military hardware from the area, the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said yesterday.

In a message to an End Conscription Campaign meeting yesterday, Archbishop Tutu asked: "Where is the public outcry?"

"When I called for sanctions as a means of forcing the government to the negotiating table, many opposed it on the grounds that sanctions would cause suffering to black people.

"When some of those who are trying to end apartheid turn to violence, they are condemned by people claiming to be opposed to violence.

"Where are all these people now? South Africa has no business in Angola," he said.

## More weapons, less food for Angola

WASHINGTON. — A State Department official said yesterday that Angola would be able to feed its people if it used more of its rising oil revenues on food imports instead of Soviet weaponry.

Mr Roy Stacy, deputy assistant secretary of state, said Angola's oil revenues for 1987 will reach \$1.8 billion (about R3,6 billion) which is about R1 billion more than last year.

"While oil revenues and buying power are up in 1987, commercial food imports by Angola have been cut by about one-third from 1986, or to one-half of 1985 levels," Mr Stacy told the House of Representatives select committee on hunger.

A report released in June by a United Nations organization estimated Angola has 690,000 displaced people and a million urban destitute, requiring 242,000 metric tons of food — worth about R70 million — and R230 million in other aid.

Republican Representative Mr Bill Emerson said the Angolan government had bought \$1 billion (about R2 billion) worth of arms from the Soviets last year, an increase over previous years.

The food shortage in Mozambique was far more serious, he said, with about 3.2 million people in danger of hunger.

US humanitarian aid to Mozambique in the 1987 fiscal year, which ended on September 30, was \$75 million (about R150 million) about one-third of its total international aid, Mr Stacy said. — Sapa-AP

# Angolan forces 'pull back'

Defence Correspondent

ANGOLAN government forces, reeling after two shattering defeats in the Lomba River area, have halted their advance on the vital Unita insurgent stronghold of Mavinga and appear to be pulling back to their jumping-off place at the Cuito Cuanavale base, according to sources.

It is believed the Unita leader, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, might now decide not only to harry the government forces all the way back to Cuito Cuanavale but actually to attack the strategically important base, the sources added.

Yesterday's revelations came amid reports of heavy fighting in the Lomba River area in which, according to the Luanda news agency Angop, about 2,000 Angolan soldiers have died — at least partly through the involvement of four South African infantry battalions and ground attacks by 10 aircraft.

Local military observers described the Angolan casualty figure yesterday as "probably inflated" and "possibly part of an effort at self-exculpation to account for the Lomba River defeats.

However, the observers agreed it was likely that the Angolan (armed) forces had suffered fairly heavy losses of men and equipment.

South African spokesmen have yet to give any details of forces deployed in support of Unita, although one official source said yesterday that the Republic's commitment was "not near-

To page 2

CAPT TALKS 9/10/87 (2)  
From page 1

ly" that claimed by Angop.

The confusion surrounding recent events in Angola cleared slightly yesterday when it was learnt that the Fapla force actually assigned to capture Mavinga consisted of four 1,200-man brigades which left Cuito Cuanavale in mid-August while other formations remained in the field to the north.

Of the Mavinga force, three brigades moved east and then south towards the Lomba River, one brigade in the vanguard and the two others bringing up the rear.

The fourth brigade advanced south from Cuito Cuanavale and then turned east, apparently to carry out a flanking attack on Mavinga.

In mid-September, the foremost of the three northern brigades

crossed the Lomba River north-west of Mavinga, but suffered heavy casualties and retreated north over the river again.

However, the turning-point in the advance came on September 30 or October 1, when the southern brigade was attacked about 90km from Mavinga and so severely mauled that it ceased to be an effective fighting force.

Its remnants moved north over the Lomba and were straggling back to Cuito Cuanavale, I was told yesterday.

I was told Dr Savimbi would follow through on his successful defence of Mavinga by assigning his elated troops to harry the retreating Fapla forces by constant attacks and ambushes.

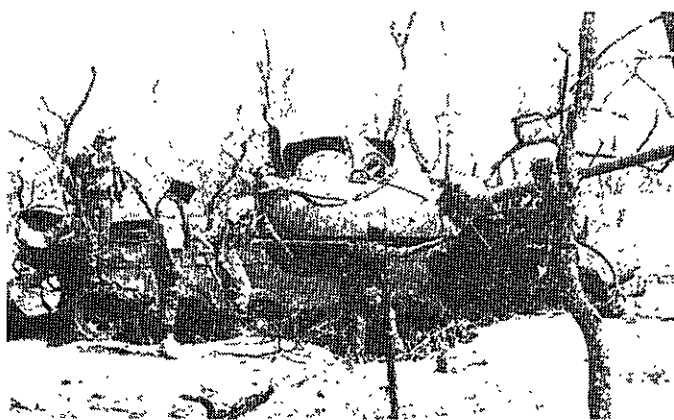
Fapla's crucial fight against time, page 12

## ANGOLAN WAR

### Savimbi's stand

South African security observers are now more optimistic about a Unita victory against the Soviet and Cuban-backed Angolan forces in the south-east. But they point out that this is the most crucial onslaught that the charismatic Jonas Savimbi has ever faced, and the Angolan government wants him destroyed.

At the same time, amid rumours that SAAF jets have been strafing Soviet hardware, experts say a big South African build-up in the area is highly exaggerated. They claim that SA still only plays an advisory role, backed up by medical services and the



Unita rebels with Soviet T55 tank

supplying of provisions and diesel oil for generators.

Savimbi's guerrillas reckon that the biggest battle of the 12-year war is looming across the Lomba River. The guerrillas, squared off against some 18 000 Soviet-offi-

cered government troops in the dense bushlands, say that a three-month offensive aimed at Unita's Jamba HQ is reaching a climax.

But Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies says the fall of Jamba would not necessarily mean the end of Savimbi. "There is no way that the Fapla forces will succeed in destroying Unita altogether," says Hough. He believes that victory for Savimbi is in sight, providing he can keep his positions at the Lomba River until the rainy season — which could be another four weeks. Floods will affect Fapla's heavy artillery and tanks, as well as the moving of rations (already reckoned to be low).

Losing Jamba (or even the town of Mavinga, where Savimbi is entrenched at the moment) will have decisive global implications, says Hough. With Unita in the background, the Soviet Union will have ample chance to consolidate its influence in southern Africa. At the same time, it will create new perspectives on independence for Namibia, and the strategies of the African National Congress (ANC). "From a tactical viewpoint, Unita's position is of the utmost importance to SA," says Hough.

Hough seems rather sceptical about the "new policy" overtures from Mikhail Gorbachev: "One cannot ignore it, but I do not think Moscow has really changed its global strategies and foreign policies. It may only be a tactical manoeuvre. The Soviet Union still determines Cuba's involvement in Angola."

Savimbi also seems optimistic. Last week he told foreign journalists at Mavinga: "I think you will find thousands and thousands of bodies. We have the upper hand but the fight is not yet won." The guerrilla leader claims the next two to three weeks, before the rains set in properly, will be crucial. The outcome will make an impact "on the whole sub-continent for years to come."

Some reports from the scene are sceptical about the scale of the fighting since mid-July. Other accounts suggest there have been some bloody and costly clashes in the battle zone over the past fortnight.

Luanda admitted on Monday that its

forces had suffered "considerable casualties" in the push against Unita. The official government news agency said that last Thursday (October 1) four South African battalions and 10 fighter bombers had joined the guerrillas along the Lomba River near Mavinga, inflicting "considerable" casualties.

Alcides Sakahala, Unita spokesman in Lisbon, said on Tuesday that the rebels had captured three Soviet-built vehicles, equipped with a full Sam-8 missile system, along with technicians. He says the system will be offered to Western powers for analysis.

Intelligence reports reaching Lisbon suggest that the intensity of the latest clashes forced government troops to abandon the town of Cuito Cuanavale, and fall back towards the well-defended regional command post at Menongue to the west. The same reports hint that Savimbi may be thinking of moving his operational HQ north-eastward, to avoid being encircled.

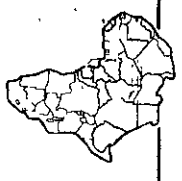
On Sunday, Unita said it had killed more than 300 government troops in fighting along the Gunzumbia river, a tributary of the Lomba between Cuito Cuanavale and Mavinga. The rebels claimed that they had killed 11 Soviet officers in separate clashes over the weekend, and captured a variety of vehicles and weapons.



Savimbi

9/10/87 F/m

**AFRICA**



# Angola: It's going to be a long, long war with no winners

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

**T**HE war in Angola is likely to drag on indefinitely — and there will be no winners.

The current battles in the south of the war-torn country are but another phase of a continuing struggle which could, at worst, increasingly involve South Africa and the super-powers.

These are some of the views of strategists and academics who have watched the latest flare-up with concern and little hope that the fighting will stop or that an early settlement will be reached.

Right now the stage is set for a major confrontation in southern Angola between South Africa, Cuban-backed Unita and the Cuban and Soviet-supported MPLA, the Angolan government forces.

What is at stake in this drawn-out conflict which appears to achieve nothing while fortunes are spent on seemingly futile military operations? And what are the prospects for ultimate peace?

**P**ROFESSOR John Barratt, director-general of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said the current battles were unlikely to be decisive to the future of Angola. The war was a no-win situation for the parties involved.

On the one hand the Russians and the Cubans

could not afford to allow a victory for Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces backed by South Africa and the United States

On the other hand the US — and South Africa — could not afford to see a complete defeat for Unita because of the implications of further Soviet influence in the region and in Southern Africa.

There was a danger, therefore, of a gradual escalation of the war and future repetitions of the present scenario.

Unita, because of its limited infrastructure and limited weaponry, could not win the war on its own. Without South Africa's help and some aid from the US, Unita could not last against the Soviet and Cuban-backed government forces.

For Unita there was only one option: to maintain its position as long as possible and to hope for negotiations for a settlement.

For the Angolan government in Luanda there were two options: To defeat Unita or to negotiate some settlement. Otherwise the country would continue "to bleed to death."

**S**HOULD the war continue long enough, a point would be reached where Luanda would be compelled to negotiate.

The position of Unita had not improved in recent times. The area it



Rumble in the jungle... Angola a few weeks ago.

occupied had shrunk and was between one-third and one-quarter of the Angolan territory.

Professor Barratt said he presumed it was also South Africa's policy to hope for a negotiated solution while preventing Unita from being defeated or from having its territory taken over.

Similarly, it was likely that both the Soviet and the US were hoping for a negotiated settlement. Neither of the two super-powers would want to become too deeply involved in the

war.

Some initiative could even come from Russia for a regional settlement.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, said that viewed globally the Angolan war was part of the East-West conflict.

Russia's involvement in Angola had made the war a Southern African flashpoint of the global conflict.

For Russia a victory by the MPLA would mean that Soviet influ-

ence in Southern Africa, West Africa and Central Africa would be consolidated.

For the US an MPLA victory would mean a possible further loss of influence in this region where its influence was already less than that of the Soviet Union and Cuba.

For South Africa this would mean that this country's interests would be directly affected by possible Soviet domination, especially in view of the fact that Cuban withdrawal was

linked to the issue of South West Africa's independence.

Even if Unita should be driven out of its positions in Mavinga and Jamba, in southern Angola, it would not necessarily mean the war would end.

Unita could then simply go back into the bush and resort to guerrilla warfare as it did in the past.

However, a defeat for Unita in the present battles would be a severe political and psychological blow to Unita — and to South Africa.

Professor Hough said he expected the war to drag on. A negotiated settlement would not be easy, especially in view of the fact that in terms of marxist thinking the chances of a coalition in Angola were remote.

He also did not expect a larger Russian involvement than the present estimated 2000 Soviet personnel and advisers in Angola.

Apart from the political and military implications, there were also important economic and strategic considerations for Southern Africa.

The Benguela rail link with Zambia, for example, was unlikely to be reopened before a settlement was reached or before the MPLA could succeed in guarding the line adequately against sabotage.



# 'Trapped' MPLA army faces annihilation

OL-17645 10/10/87 5

Argus Africa News Service  
JOHANNESBURG. — One of the largest armies assembled in Southern Africa is facing annihilation by Unita forces on the battlefields of southern Angola.

The 18 000-strong Russian-led MPLA army, consisting of the cream of the Angolan government forces, is trapped north of the Lomba River, 50km north-west of the Unita-held town of Mavinga.

The Unita army, comparable in size, is confident of victory after having defeated the government forces in a major battle last month.

The MPLA's only line of retreat, over a bridge leading to its support base of Cuito Cuanavale, has been cut off after the bridge was destroyed, possibly in an air strike by South African Mirage jets.

The MPLA claim to have shot down a Mirage in the area, which is known to be defended by Russian ground-to-air missile sites.

Unita guerrillas are harassing the 100km supply lines snaking through thick bush from Cuito Cuanavale to the bogged-down army and, according to Unita, the MPLA is running short of supplies.

The coming rainy season promises to neutralise the government army's most potent weapon — its massive advantage in tanks, armoured vehicles and artillery.

Heavy rains in November turn the Angolan forests into quagmires.

It is then that the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, has

vowed to "throw everything I have" at the army.

A victory could change the course of the 12-year civil war and force the government to negotiate with Unita.

There are conflicting reports on the extent of South Africa's involvement in aiding Unita.

The South African Minister for Defence, General Magnus Malan, has admitted that South Africa has a "limited presence" inside Angola, but did not elaborate.

Dr Savimbi has admitted only that South Africa is running a field hospital near the Mavinga battlefield.

Angolan authorities have claimed that South Africa has up to seven battalions operating in their country.

# Malan says why SA is in Angola

Defence Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S involvement in the present Angolan fighting is "supportive and defensive (and very limited)", the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said at the Namaqualand capital of Springbok yesterday.

Opening the Springbok Show, he did not indicate how many South African or Namibian troops were involved in Angola, but emphasized that "we are temporarily there to prevent aggression from spilling over to our own borders; it is in South Africa's interest to take such action".

General Malan said South Africa was not seeking confrontation with the Angolan government, and "neither are we an enemy of the Angolan population".

He said although South Africa wanted peace and co-operation with Angola it would not tolerate the presence of "terrorists who are being trained there and then sent on missions of violence to South-West Africa and South Africa".

● Brigades to bolster Angolan forces — Page 5

*CAC 7/15 10/10/87*  
**UDF calls for  
SA withdrawal**

THE Western Cape branch of the UDF has said the Defence Force must withdraw from Angola, and South Africa must stop supporting "Jonas Savimbi and his murderous gangsters".

The organization said it viewed the "invasion" of Angola by the SADF with "dismay and great shock, knowing what kind of destruction and death the strongest military might in Africa can sow".

CMI says 10/10/84

# New brigades to bolster Angolan forces — report

By WILLEM STEENKAMP  
Defence Correspondent

AFTER weeks of movement and two bloody battles, the struggle for the Lomba River and the vital Unita stronghold of Mavinga may not yet be over, even though elements of the Fapla (Angolan government force) have been withdrawing.

A source said yesterday that two fresh Fapla brigades were believed to be moving down to the Lomba River to replace two others which suffered severe losses in battles since September 16 and which are pulling back to their jumping-off point at Cuito Cuanavale.

It was not certain yesterday where the reinforcements were coming from, but it is possible they are either two brigades which have been kept in reserve at Cuito Cuanavale, or two which have been operating well to the north of the Lomba River on peace-keeping duties in the general area of the eastern part of the Benguela railway line.

Although time is getting short for crossing the Lomba River, capturing Mavinga and preparing



it for a wet-season siege — thunder-showers over eastern Namibia on Thursday might be the forerunners of a predicted early rainy season — the town and its airfield remain top military and propaganda priority targets for the Angolan government.

The existence of the Unita capital of Jamba depends on retention of Mavinga, and after two failed attempts in two successive years the Luanda government desperately needs a convincing victory over the insurgents.

If another attack materializes

and is beaten off it is likely Fapla will abandon the attempt and begin a wholesale withdrawal to Cuito Cuanavale.

Sources say this is likely to leave Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi with a crucial choice: Should he be content with harrying the retreating Fapla forces — or should he launch a full-scale attempt to capture Cuito Cuanavale itself?

It is believed Dr Savimbi is seriously considering attacking the base, as he did in mid-August 1986.

In the opinion of local military observers an attack on Cuito Cuanavale might be a risky venture for Dr Savimbi because he would have to concentrate his forces, thus making it easy to launch air and artillery strikes against them, and if he captured it he would be unable to hold it.

However, it would be a great advantage if he could destroy it. Thanks to the impending rainy season, Fapla probably would not be able to re-activate the base till April next year, giving Dr Savimbi a valuable breathing-space and seriously damaging Fapla plans for an advance on his capital at Jamba in 1988.

## Timetable of Angolan conflict

Defence Correspondent

ALMOST two months into Angola's third successive attempt to dislodge the Unita insurgents from the Cuando-Cubango province, a chronology of the fighting is beginning to emerge from claims, counter-claims, reports and confirmed facts.

By yesterday the probable chronology looked like this:

● **August 14:** Exact place and outcome unknown; probably a Unita ambush or delaying action soon after the Fapla force left Cuito Cuanavale.

● **August 22:** Exact place and outcome unknown; probably another Unita ambush or delaying action on the way to the Lomba River area.

● **September 11:** At least one Fapla brigade crossed the Lomba River north-west of Mavinga, advanced against Unita resistance and occupied a Unita logistics

base. A fierce fire-fight ensued which ended when the Fapla brigade abandoned the base, withdrew to the river and crossed it, taking substantial casualties on the way.

● **September 20:** Place and outcome unknown; two Fapla columns of unknown strength were involved in a clash with a Unita force of unknown strength.

● **September 30:** Angola claimed South African air and artillery strikes on its forward base at Cuito Cuanavale. Unconfirmed; outcome unknown.

● **September 30 — October 1:** A Fapla brigade south of the Lomba River and west of Mavinga walked into a large enemy ambush, suffering such heavy losses that it became non-effective and began retreating to Cuito Cuanavale.

● **October 4:** Unita forces crossed northwards over the

Lomba River, attacked the Fapla brigade which had carried out the September 11 crossing and wreaked havoc on it in a 10-hour battle.

Later Unita issued a claim — as yet unconfirmed — that 232 Fapla members, seven Russians and 20 Unita had died in the fight, and that it had captured 200 vehicles, including four T-55 battle tanks and at least one SA-8 mobile anti-aircraft missile launcher.

● **October 8:** The Lomba River brigade was reliably reported to be preparing to withdraw to Cuito Cuanavale.

● **October 9:** Two fresh Fapla brigades were reliably reported to be coming in — either from the Benguela railway line area to the north or from Luena (formerly Luso), an important town on the line itself — to replace the brigades which had suffered losses.

**CP Correspondent**

THE current massive military offensive of the Angolan government forces - Fapla - against the Unita rebels of Jonas Savimbi in Southern Angola has been described as the largest ever.

In the past week Unita has said to the international community that it was winning the war against the MPLA government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, backed by the Cubans and the Soviet Union.

The political and military disruptions that have dogged the economy of Angola for the past 20 years have tended to obscure the possibilities in the country.

Angola is relatively rich because of its oil, which provided it in 1985 with almost R4-billion, or 90 percent of all foreign earnings.

It is also potentially rich in diamonds and coffee.

This means that it cannot be economically squeezed in the same way as Mozambique and other frontline states.

In 1966, the Unita rebel movement was established under the leadership of Jonas Savimbi on a tribal basis and supported by the Ovimbundu tribe, the largest ethnic community in Angola.

Savimbi, himself a Ovimbundu, is said to have been recruited in the late 1950s by the Portuguese Secret Service while studying medicine in Lisbon. This was later confirmed by the CIA.

Several years later, he turned up at the United States embassy in Berne and introduced himself as the future President of Angola.

The Americans were interested in him because he displayed great hostility towards the popular movement for the liberation of Angola, the MPLA.

US support for Unita took a new turn on February 18, 1976 when the United States Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, said the US was prepared to support Unita as long as it was capable of opposing the MPLA government.

In June 1985, the US Senate, and in July the House of Representatives in the US Congress both voted for the abrogation of the 1976 Clark Amendment which prohibited financial or military support to the anti-government groups in Angola.

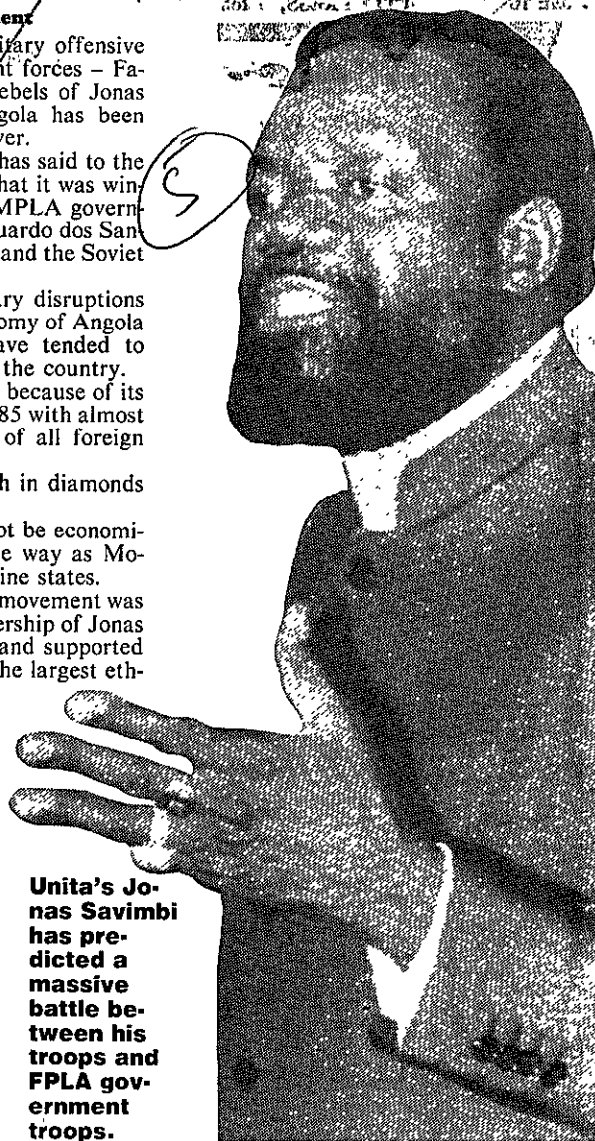
And in February 1986, when Savimbi visited the United States, he was given a red-carpet reception.

The practical results of Savimbi's American tour were soon to be seen. In March 1986, Unita received the first batch of ground-to-air Stinger missiles - putting it in a very strong position against the MIG bombers used by the MPLA government.

It is also known that South Africa keeps in close contact with Unita in southern Angola. Evidence of this comes from reports by South African journalists who visit the Unita headquarters of Jamba on a regular basis.

What could have been described as an Angolan war between the MPLA and Unita has escalated into an international conflict.

When the US began to



**Unita's Jonas Savimbi has predicted a massive battle between his troops and FPLA government troops.**

# ANGOLAN BATTLE INTENSIFIES

openly supply arms to Unita in 1986, Angolan President Dos Santos visited the Soviet Union to request more arms.

His request was granted and the arms race in Angola between the two world powers was on. The Angolan defence force now have the advanced Soviet-built MIG-23 fighter plane, MIG-24 helicopter gunships, sophisticated radar and anti-aircraft systems, and a vast supply on new T-55 tanks, motorcycles and light arms.

The complex military and political situation in Angola has again come to the attention of the international community during this latest military offensive, with both sides claiming to have won major battles.

Savimbi held a Press conference on October 2, to inform the international community of his victories against Fapla. The Angolan government, on the other hand, said in an official communique issued on Oc-

tober 4 in Luanda that Fapla inflicted heavy casualties on Unita.

The Angolan communique also claimed that four battalions of the SADF have attacked Angolan troops, operating against Unita in the country's south-eastern province of Kuando Kubando. It warned that the South African aggression against Angola would "certainly have serious consequences".

But still the final showdown, which military observers say could be "crucial to the future of the whole Southern African sub-continent", is looming between the Angolan government and Unita in Southern Angola.

Savimbi is predicting that, within the next three to four weeks, a great battle "that could have thousands of bodies lying on the Lomba battlefield" would take place on the Lomba River some 50km north west of the strategic Unita base of Mavinga. - Ano.

# The bush war that just gets deadlier

Angola's annual dry-season fighting seems different this year.

The combat is deadlier than usual and the stakes higher, not only for Angola's government and the rebel Unita movement which it is fighting, but also for the outside participants — Cubans and Russians on the government side, South Africans and Americans on that of the rebels.

The Angolans' dry-season aim, as usual, is to reach and destroy the headquarters of Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi near the Namibian border. It seems its troops were turned back with heavy losses some time in mid-September.

Unita says, as usual, that it killed many Cubans and a few Russians. It certainly shot down a government helicopter and destroyed a good deal of Russian-supplied equipment.

The government, as usual, says the rebels would have lost had the South Africans not sent tanks and aircraft to protect them.

The South Africans do not confirm that, but have at last admitted that they keep permanent bases on Angolan territory in order to defend their puppet government in Namibia against guerilla attacks.

Dr Savimbi's headquarters may be safe for now, but his movement has had a risky year.

## RUSSIAN AIR DEFENCE

The Americans have kept their distance from his South African friends and supplied Unita mainly through the airbase at Kamina in Zaire instead. Unita has therefore grown stronger in north-eastern Angola.

But in the south-east, South African Air Force cover from airfields in the Caprivi Strip in Namibia, is limited by a new Russian air defence network that discourages strikes at the main government bases, where the Cubans do their (remarkably unsuccessful) training of Angolan troops.

The South Africans justify their support for Dr Savimbi, and win American tolerance for their presence in Angola by pointing to the simultaneous presence of the 20 000 or more Cuban "advisers" there. A Cuban withdrawal may now be on the agenda.

Some Western optimists think they have seen signs that the Russians want to rein back the more enthusiastic Sandinistas in Nicaragua. They hope that the Angolans may get similar treatment.

The Angolan Government is dropping the Marxist

# SA plays 'pivotal role in Angola'

SM 12/10/82

aims that originally endeared it to the Russians. It has begun a set of economic reforms — privatisation, exchange-rate devaluation, freeing of domestic markets — on the usual IMF-inspired African model.

Dr Savimbi keeps hoping to be included in negotiations and win international recognition. But American support for Dr Savimbi is constrained by the need not to look like an ally of South Africa.

An Angolan settlement would have to involve many outsiders. The Americans would stop backing Unita. West Europeans would give more help — military and economic — to the Angolan Government, whose new policies should in any case ensure a somewhat better-run economy.

The Russians would stop backing the Cubans, who would then have to pull out of their African adventure — which, in turn, would make it more likely that Unita could survive the loss of American support.

But that would leave the South Africans. Their involvement in Angola matches their main strategic objectives: to keep the black countries to their north weak and to hold on to Namibia until they can fix up a government there which will survive their departure.

Both requirements are met by pushing the front line forward into Angola and paying black allies to do most of the fighting.

Neither the Americans nor the Europeans have anything to give South Africa in exchange for agreeing to peace — except the cheer it, too, would feel if the Cubans left. *The Economist*.

18/11/80 13/10/80 P (5)

# SA's support for Unita in her own interest — Malan



**SA Today**

## Murder accused remanded

DURBAN. — Mr Ian Forsythe, 24, who allegedly murdered his former girlfriend, 17-year-old Samantha Hardcastle, was again remanded when he appeared in court today. — Sapa.

## Sats theft: Man jailed 10 years

MARITZBURG. — Gerald Peterson, 36, of Kokstad, was has been jailed for an effective 10 years for the theft of R607 000 cash from the South African Transport Services. — The Argus Correspondent.

## Medicine price rise expected

JOHANNESBURG. — The executive director and general manager of SA Druggist, Mr Syd Hurwitz, says he expects the price of medicines to increase by about 18 percent next year. — Sapa.

## Natal students fined R300

DURBAN. — A group of Natal University students who attended an illegal gathering on May 7 have pleaded guilty to charges of contravening the Internal Security Act and fined R300 (or three months' imprisonment) suspended for five years. — Sapa.

## P K le Roux dam releasing water

PRETORIA. — The P K le Roux dam in the Free State has been releasing water into the Orange River at the rate of 320 cubic metres a second for two weeks following good rains and run-off in the upper reaches of the river. — Sapa.

## Hammer ace Barnard in car crash

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's greatest hammer thrower, Springbok Adam Barnard, is in Johannesburg Hospital recovering after a car accident in Benoni. — Sapa.

## Meningitis treatment for team

DURBAN. — Manning Rangers Football Club players have received antibiotic treatment against meningitis following the death Wayne Barlow, 23, of Bosmont Chelsea, who they played at the weekend. — The Argus Correspondent.

## Back-to-work ultimatum

JOHANNESBURG. — About 4 000 workers employed by Highveld Steel and Vanadium have been given until today to return to work or lose their jobs after the failure of a mediation meeting between the company and the National Union of Metalworkers — Sapa.

### Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA would continue to give limited support to Unita to protect her own interests, said General Magnus Malan in a speech at Springbok.

South Africa could not tolerate the Russians using Angola as a springboard for domination of all of Southern Africa nor could it be tolerated that Angola could be used by the ANC and Swapo to launch attacks on South Africa.

He said: "We are prepared to co-operate again with the government of Angola, but co-operation means willingness must come from both sides.

"At this stage, the government of Angola does not appear to show any willingness to promote peace and stability in Southern Africa."

General Malan said that if called to do so South Africa would respond to the call to meet the Russian challenge where it occurred in Southern Africa.

"This is precisely what is happening with Unita. Our links with them are open and known."

The support was moral and material and based on human considerations.

"We do it because Unita is in our interests at the forefront of the battle against godless communism."

The assistance to Unita was supportive and defensive.

### Helping ANC, Swapo

In this support, General Malan said South Africa was not seeking confrontation with Angola nor was she an enemy of the Angolan people.

The government of Angola was, however, a prisoner of Moscow and Dr Jonas Savimbi wanted to break Moscow's grip.

He said the Angolan government was providing assistance and protection to the ANC and Swapo.

South Africa would not tolerate the export of violence and revolution.

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**ON PARADE**

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

# Fapla training inadequate

READERS will have noticed that on Saturday morning Mr M F Blatchford of Observatory took issue with various statements made in last week's On Parade, and it struck me they might be interested in my replies to his objections.

● Surely, he says, if a South African artillery group is deployed in support of Unita it would be protected by a mechanized infantry unit?

I would say he is theoretically right but must consider the circumstances.

In a full-scale conventional clash it would be preferable if the guns had a protective screen of mechanized infantry. However, the bad terrain and Fapla's ineptness at a war of movement makes this ideal situation unnecessary.

I am pretty sure that one of the crack counter-insurgency battalions, such as 32 Battalion or 101 (Ovambo) Battalion, is deployed. It should be noted, by the way, that these and similar units are not only good foot infantry but are also trained to operate in light armoured vehicles like Buffels and Casspirs.

● Perhaps, he says, South African anti-tank units are also present.

I doubt it. In the circumstances the anti-tank defensive role could be handled by the Eland-90 armoured cars which are surely there, and infantrymen armed with man-portable anti-tank weapons; the G-5, incidentally, is so constructed that it can be deployed as an anti-tank weapon of great efficiency.

● I do not think up to 2 000 "conscripts" are involved. Most of the artillerymen, the armoured-car crews and some infantry could be national servicemen, but the SWATF light battalions are all professional volunteers.

An upward revision of last week's estimated maximum 900 would give us probably 1 500 or a little more, with half or less being national servicemen.

● He says: "It is doubtful if Fapla would succeed with 32 Battalion's 'counter-insurgency' tactics. 32 Battalion operated against scant opposition, with huge SADF support ready if needed. Unita though, is organized for conventional war — so conventional tactics should work against it."

I think there is a misunderstanding here. I am talking about the entire war. It would have made more sense if the Angolans had formed insurgent-hunting light battalions and embarked on various community-upliftment schemes, a counter-insurgency campaign being only about 20% military.

## Not conventional

They did not, and so came a cropper. Even in the present advance I think light infantry would have been better. Once you involve a lot of vehicles you not only require a huge amount of logistic backup but also provide targets for the enemy's artillery and armour.

● He says: "Unita is organized for conventional war — so conventional tactics should work against it."

Unita is not organized for conventional war, but that is not relevant here. It is fighting on its own territory, and more or less on its own terms.

I cannot agree that "the reasons for Fapla's failure may simply be reluctance to lose many troops". The fault lies in poor planning, poor logistics, unsuitable training and mediocre leader quality at lower levels.

The Fapla soldier is trained and usually employed to man static defensive positions, and he will defend such positions with considerable spirit. But he has not been trained for either active counter-insurgency operations or a semi-conventional war of movement, and so does badly at both.

Fapla troops (mainly conscripts, incidentally) also seem to have an ongoing morale problem. During the joint monitoring operations of 1984 one entire company of Fapla troops made overtures about a mass desertion to the South African side — which was swiftly and secretly discouraged by the South Africans in the interests of amity with the Angolans.

I certainly do not agree that "Angola's record for truth — with some exaggeration — is better than that of South Africa". The SADF/SWATF conceals but does not often lie, while the Angolans often make patently exaggerated and often completely ridiculous claims.

*[Willem Steenkamp is a reserve officer of the Citizen Force.]*



1 *CHC Comps*  
*14/10/87 (5)*

## Disclose SADF role in Angola, says ECC

Staff Reporter

THE End Conscription Campaign, in a statement handed to military authorities at the Castle yesterday, has called for a full disclosure of the "nature and extent of South African involvement in Angola".

"As South Africans we are enraged that the SADF has again directly intervened in the Angolan civil war," the statement said.

"That war has gone on for over a decade. It has been deliberately prolonged by the South African government through the aid which they have supplied to the Unita movement."

The statement said that the 1975-76 SADF invasion of Angola resulted in injury, maiming and death for young South Africans who were sent there "without choice".

The invasion went on to increase South Africa's international isolation and waste millions of rands of taxpayers' money, it said.

"Once again we are not told the truth about what is happening to our sons, brothers and friends in Angola, or what they are doing to the Angolan people."

## 'Witdoeke' praises, ECC protest at Castle

Staff Reporter

ELEVEN o'clock yesterday morning was a bad time to go to the Castle with a protest against the Defence Force's presence in Angola — as members of an End Conscription Campaign deputation discovered.

The SADF was otherwise engaged in being praised by a large group of singing, dancing "witdoeke" from Old Crossroads — among them several councillors recently deposed by the Supreme Court — for its presence in the townships during last year's conflict.

The ECC deputation included ECC chairman Ms Paula Hathorn and Mr Jasper Walsh, PFP MP for Pinelands.

After more than an hour's waiting, the deputation handed their signed statement to an orderly for transmission to a higher level.

West German's view of status game:

# Angola a playground for America, Soviets

by JILL JOUBERT

**GRAHAMSTOWN** — Angola had become the playground of a global status game between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Border branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs was told here.

The speaker was Dr Winrich Kuhne, Director of African Studies at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik in Munich and West German expert on Soviet policy in Africa.

Angola was "a very special case", he said. It was a symbol of the fact that the Soviet Union and the United States could reach out militarily. Now that the United States was supporting Unita, the Soviets would lose face by not defending the MPLA.

"You could regard the Angola involvement as an investment for global status," Dr Kuhne said.

The Soviets did not expect to turn Angola into an ideological model state.

This was confirmed by Angola's application for

membership of the International Monetary Fund.

"There were no signs of the Soviet advisers trying to prevent this," he said.

Another signal was the Soviet-United States agreement on South Africa not being excluded from the Atomic Energy Agency.

"This was a most important message revealing a far-reaching shift towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa and Angola, apparently encouraging the 'Imperialist plot'," Dr Kuhn said.

It did not indicate the Soviets were giving up their support of the ANC or the armed struggle, but that they would pursue this in a restrained manner within the rules

of the global game.

Dr Kuhne drew a very different picture of Soviet policy in Africa since the emergence of Mr Gorbachev, but warned there had been a general tendency to overstate his importance in Soviet policies.

"Under Gorbachev there have been few breath-taking changes. These are all part of an on-going process started in the late 1970s," he said.

Examples of changes in Soviet thinking were:

- Emphasis on the capitalist role and private initiative in Soviet literature. "It is accepted the state farm model has failed," he said.

- Changing perceptions of the international economic order — that interests were different — but not antagonistic.

- Different treatment of the Third World in the Communist Party

programme.

But the changes were not about giving up socialism. This was too deeply rooted.

Factors indicated that these marked strategic not "just" tactical changes.

The Soviets now acknowledged that post-apartheid South Africa would retain close economic ties with the West.

Dr Kuhn predicted that the trends Mr Gorbachev represented would persist.

South Africa could expect the Soviet Union to be cautious about getting involved ideologically or at a military level because the Soviets were very aware of the increased costs of involvement.

But the Soviets were not about to get out of Africa. Nor did it mean they were giving up their position of being a global power equal to the United States, Dr Kuhne said.

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By MARK VERBAAN  
WINDHOEK. — The Angolan conflict between Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels and the Angolan government has now entered its bloodiest and most violent phase.

It is widely believed that the Fapla forces have met with strong resistance in its offensive, mainly because the South African Defence Force has stepped in to assist Unita.

A spokesperson for the official Angolans News Agency (Angop) said fierce fighting between Fapla and SADF soldiers had been continuing since September 1.

### Battle

Angop said that on September 27, "Angolan planes had an air battle with South African planes in the Cuito Cuanavale area. A South African mirage was brought down".

The SADF denied that a mirage had been shot down.

On September 10, SADF troops supported by armoured cars and the South African Airforce, attacked Fapla positions east of Cuito Cuanavale, said Angop.

South African Airforce Impalas bombed Fapla positions in the Cuito Cuanavale area on September 15 and 16.

### Artillery

On September 16 fierce fighting broke out between Fapla and the SADF, strongly supported by armoured cars and long-range artillery.

Angop said that the SADF was stepping up its

# Angolan war at its bloodiest

874/10/87 *sup*

aggression in Eastern Kuando Kubango province "with the aim of protecting Unita".

Although the main objective of the MPLA's huge offensive is to wipe out Unita's headquarters at Jamba, Fapla troops have spent the past two weeks trying to capture the rebel-held town of Mavinga.

### Jamba

Situated 270km north of Jamba, it would be a key

position for the Angolans to hold. If Fapla troops manage to capture the small thatched-hut village, not only will its path be clear for an assault on Jamba, but the routes used by Unita guerillas to infiltrate northwards on sabotage mission will be blocked.

The loss of Mavinga could mean the collapse of the 12-year-old Unita movement, and the end of the road for Jonas Savimbi, arch enemy of President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos.

Unita has claimed that several hundred Angolan and Cuban troops have been killed in fighting along the Lobra River — a

natural barrier for rebel bases in Kuanda Kubango province.

Fapla brigades, comprising more than 10 000 troops and backed by Soviet and Cuban advisors, have maintained a two-pronged attack on Mavinga for more than three months.

It is believed the Soviet Union had made its largest weapons delivery to Angola to date in preparation for the campaign, but Fapla's T-54 tanks and helicopter gunships are being countered with American-supplied stinger anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles.

### Jets

Reports from northern Namibia indicate that South African Airforce jets are launching incursions from Katima Mulilo in Caprivi and Rundu in the Kavango.

Angop said: "On September 27, two South African impalas again bombed our forces east of Cuito Cuanavale, Kuando Kubango province, wounding five Fapla soldiers".

"On September 20, there were SA troops movements in 100 Casspirs on the outskirts of Ngiva, the capital of Cunene, followed by military actions in the area.

"Many civilians were killed or seriously wounded and their property destroyed."

The same day at 14h25, the Angop source claimed, two South African aircraft "heavily bombed the Mundegui area, five kilometres from Ngiva".

When Fapla rushed to the area to help the victims, they clashed with a South African group there and captured military equipment".

In Kubango province that day, six South African Impalas bombed a Fapla position, killing five soldiers and wounding "twelve", said Angop.

### Build-up

"Since September 26, there has been a large build-up of South African troops, equipped with Impalas, Buccaneers, Mirages and Canberras, at Rundu and Grootfontein airports in Northern Namibia".

The source said that this could mean "further large-scale military operations against the People's Republic of Angola".

The SWA territory force last week invited select members of the media to visit the Unita stronghold at Jamba.

The journalists were apparently also flown to Mavinga.

Representatives of the progressive media were not invited. (NNA)

ANGOLA has become the blood-stained corner of a regional and global chessboard with the key players in Pretoria, Washington and Moscow.

The use of United States-supplied missiles and South African troops to blunt an Angolan government offensive against Unita led by one General Konstantin Shagnovitch has created the impression of heated-up superpower rivalry in Southern Africa.

For white South Africans the image of sinister Soviet designs in the region has been enhanced by the deep Soviet involvement in the campaign.

It is difficult to square this image with the message coming out of the Moscow-based Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which is of a softening of the Soviet line on Southern Africa in favour of a negotiated settlement.

This has been most clearly spelt out in recent public statements by Victor Goncharov and Gleb Starushenko, two of the five deputy directors at the Africa Institute.

The chief difference between the two is that Starushenko has mooted the notion of an ethnically-based parliament with a veto for each group in a post-apartheid South Africa.

In a recent interview with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* Starushenko said that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement could not be written out of the negotiations which should be broadly based and not limited to the government and the African National Congress.

Though this is probably a minority view at the Institute, the similarities between the two academics are even more revealing.

A West German expert on Soviet policy in Southern Africa, Dr Winrich Kühne, of the Munich-based *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, says these are: a belief that Southern Africa offers the potential of regional co-operation with the US; opposition to an escalation of military struggle; and a belief that South Africa is not ripe for socialism.

The Institute view is more consistent with the global strategic interests and aims of the Soviet Union in the Gorbachev era than the crude image of an expansionist superpower.

It places Southern Africa way down on the list of priorities and superpower co-operation, particularly in regions with explosive potential, high on the list.

"We should take into account the global problems and the global consequences of our behaviour in every part of the world," Goncharov said in an interview in *Work In Progress* earlier this year.

"In our very complicated world, the two super-powers should avoid confrontation, not only in South Africa,

# Yes, the Russians are in Luanda. Their hearts are not



A Unita soldier pauses by a Soviet helicopter shot down in the latest offensive  
Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuter

The Red-Plot theory falls smoothly into place: A Russian general leads troops in Angola. The Kremlin's next target can only be South Africa. But wait ... the signals coming from Moscow itself are very different. The Russians are fed up with Southern Africa. They hold out little hope of an armed victory by the ANC. PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports

US which could put at risk crucial strategic objectives such as the arms control talks.

"They are seriously worried that if there is a real serious conflagration in Southern Africa both superpowers would be compelled by their clients, by their commitments, to become involved."

Kühne says the Soviets no longer see Southern Africa as a region where they can set up Eastern bloc-type satellite regimes which would fall under their ideological and military hegemony.

"In fact," says Kühne, "the Soviet Union no longer sees Africa as a very promising place for world revolution. They have problems of their own, as everybody knows."

This he backs up by pointing to the refusal to admit Mozambique and Ethiopia to the Comecon, the Eastern bloc's economic club, and to supply military aid to Mozambique against Renamo.

To accept this view would be to undercut the rationale which Pretoria trots out when it periodically admits to sending in South African troops in support of Unita's Jonas Savimbi.

In 1985 — the last time Savimbi

was under as severe a threat as he is now and the last time there was as heavy a South African involvement — Defence Minister General Magnus Malan came clean for the first time that Pretoria was supplying Unita with "moral, material and humanitarian aid".

The reasons have not varied over the years: "Our policy is to combat Marxist expansion. In Angola it concerns a Soviet-controlled offensive against all of Southern Africa. Angola is Moscow's springboard," said Malan.

It is also a useful argument for Savimbi to attract support from the West, referring to a coming showdown between the two military forces. Savimbi told reporters last week: "If the Angolan government won the battle, the Soviet Union could use Angola as a base for attacking Namibia."

Even liberal commentators have uncritically accepted the two most dearly held assumptions — that the ultimate aim of the Soviets is to wipe out Unita and to use Angola as a platform for the spread of Soviet influence in the sub-continent.

The red peril is in part a screen which has enabled Pretoria to delay

Angola is only a limited one. It is not that extensive. They are quite confident that they can defend the MPLA but I doubt if they believe they can completely wipe out Unita."

Behind the shooting is a desire for negotiations in the subcontinent. If Savimbi does come to the negotiating table it would have to be in a substantially weakened state.

But any settlement in Southern Africa — whether it be in Angola or some joint superpower support for war-ravaged Mozambique — would have to take South Africa into account as the central problem.

To this end the Soviet Union continues to support the struggle of the ANC and the end of apartheid but with a crucial shift — the emphasis is increasingly on the political rather than the military component of the struggle.

In the *Wip* interview Goncharov said that Soviet military support to the ANC depended on the prospects of such an armed struggle. "If we think that is useless we won't give anything," he said.

Kühne says that while the Soviet Union is not going to press the ANC, the message is that they should "not only rely on armed struggle but they should prepare for dialogue. The end goal of the ANC should be a negotiating table."

Kühne says that the Soviets' first choice in South Africa would be to do something alongside the US.

A possible first in this area is the joint stand which the US and the Soviet Union took on opposing South Africa's expulsion from the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Dr Philip Nel, director of the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch who visited Moscow in August, cautioned on his return that the apparent "softening" of the Soviet line on South Africa could simply be a new way of achieving a socialist revolution.

However, in an interview with *The Star* he said the Soviets appeared to be "preparing the Organisation for African Unity to accept Soviet efforts to improve relations with South Africa."

This, he said, may have been the main purpose of the recent visit to Africa by Anatoli Gromyko, the director of the Institute for African Studies in Moscow.

If this is the case, it does not mean that State President PW Botha, and Elize, will soon be attending the Bolshoi ballet in Moscow or sipping vodka with Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev.

But *glasnost* for Southern Africa does hold extremely important implications for all the major players strewn out across the subcontinent.

# New Angolan claims

CHC Times 19/10/87

# 'SA planes shot down'

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Staff Reporter

**CLAIMS** by the Angolan Foreign Ministry that Angola had downed 16 South African aircraft, killed 32 South African troops and destroyed 12 armoured vehicles since mid-August were rejected by the SADF yesterday as "wild" and an attempt to "divert attention from Unita successes".

And reports from our London Bureau that air clashes between South African fighters and newly-deployed Soviet fighters had resulted in the downing of a South African Mirage jet and two helicopters over the past three weeks, were also rejected by the SADF.

The official Angolan news

agency, Angop, said the alleged South African air losses included seven Impala and Mirage jets, four helicopters and a small spotter plane.

Our London correspondent reports that yesterday's Sunday Telegraph reported that for the first time black African pilots have been taking on their South African counterparts in the air — pitting the advanced MiG 23s against the older and slower Mirages.

Two years ago, when Angolan pilots were flying MiG 21s, the South African pilots easily out-fought and outflew their opponents and shot down at least two Soviet fighters, the Telegraph report says.

Since then a sophisticated air defence system, manned by black Angolans and their Cuban advisers, has been installed across the south of the country by the Angolan government's Soviet backers.

This advance system has presented considerable problems for the SADF, whose fighters fly

frequent ground-attack sorties against the Angolan army and Swapo bases in northern Namibia.

Now the Angolan military, under the direction of a Soviet general, has committed the new MiG 23s to battle for the first time.

Western diplomats in Pretoria say the South African air losses are modest, but they have led to a strategic rethink among South African military planners.

In London, a military analyst said this weekend: "Not only have the South Africans lost air superiority over southern Angola but they face a serious threat to their bases in northern Namibia."

SADF spokesman yesterday said there was "nothing new in these allegations".

"They are merely a rehash of old statements and yet again an attempt to divert attention away from the successes that Unita has

To page 2

SA Times 19/10/87

From page 1

scored against the Basotho and Cubans of the south-east Angola. "In any event these allegations are so wild they do not warrant any further comment," he added.

Angola conceded "considerable losses in personnel and material in a battle along the Lomba River on October 3.

Unita earlier claimed they cut in half four army brigades along the Lomba in counter-attacking a government offensive on Mavinga.

South Africa has acknowledged aiding Unita against the offensive that reportedly involves hundreds of Soviet-supplied tanks and armoured cars as well as several hundred Cuban and Soviet advisers.

"During the last few days, the South African invaders have increased their forces in occupied Angolan territory to "escalate aggression" against Angola, Angop reported. It denied any direct involvement of Cuban and Soviet troops in the fighting.

# Angolan claims of SA losses rejected

PRETORIA — Claims by the Angolan Foreign Ministry that Angola had downed 16 South African aircraft, killed 32 South African troops and destroyed 12 armoured vehicles since mid-August were rejected by the SADF yesterday as, "wild" and an attempt to "divert attention from Unita successes".

The SADF also rejected reports of air clashes between South African fighters and newly-deployed advance Soviet fighters had resulted in the downing of a South African Mirage and two helicopters over the past three weeks.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, said the alleged South African air losses included seven Impala and Mirage jets, four helicopters and a small spotter plane.

The Daily Dispatch's London correspondent said the Daily Telegraph had reported that for the first time black African pilots have been taking on their South African counterparts in the air — pitting the advanced Mig 23s against

the older and slower Mirages.

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This advance system has presented considerable problems for the SADF, whose fighters fly frequent ground attack sorties against the Angolan army and Swapo bases, the paper said.

Western diplomats in Pretoria said the South African air losses were modest, but they had led to a strategic rethink among South African military planners.

In London, a military analyst said this weekend: "Not only have the South Africans lost air superiority over southern Angola but they face a conventional threat to their bases in Namibia."

A SADF spokesman

said there was "nothing new in these allegations".

"They are a rehash of old statements and yet again an attempt to divert attention away from the successes that Unita has scored against the Russian and Cuban-led offensives against them in south-east Angola.

"These allegations are so wild they do not warrant any further comment."

The Marxist government meanwhile conceded "considerable losses in personnel and materiel" in a battle along the southeastern Lomba River.

The US-armed Unita rebels earlier claimed they had cut in half four army brigades along the Lomba in counter-attacking a government offensive aimed at taking the guerilla-held town of Mavinga.

South Africa has acknowledged aiding the guerillas in the offensive that reportedly involves hundreds of Soviet-supplied tanks and armoured cars and several hundred Cuban and Soviet advisors.

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# SA bombed us — Angola

LISBON. — Angola accused South Africa today of bombing troops and civilians deep in Angolan territory in support of the Unita rebels.

A report by the official Angolan news agency, Angop, received in Lisbon, said South African troops were carrying out air raids up to 500km inside Angola.

The report, quoting official military sources, said that from October 9 to 20 the South African Air Force violated An-

golan air space 41 times, carrying out at least eight bomb attacks against Angolan forces and defenceless villages.

Angop said Angolan troops had shot down 16 South African aircraft, including Buccaneer, Impala, Mirages and helicopters.

"The largest number of clashes were located in the Cuando-Cubango province where the racist South Africans are intervening in defence of Unita, and in the Cunene prov-

ince where they are preventing supplies from reaching local populations," Angop said.

Angop said on Saturday that Unita forces had fled in disarray from combat areas and were powerless against the government offensive.

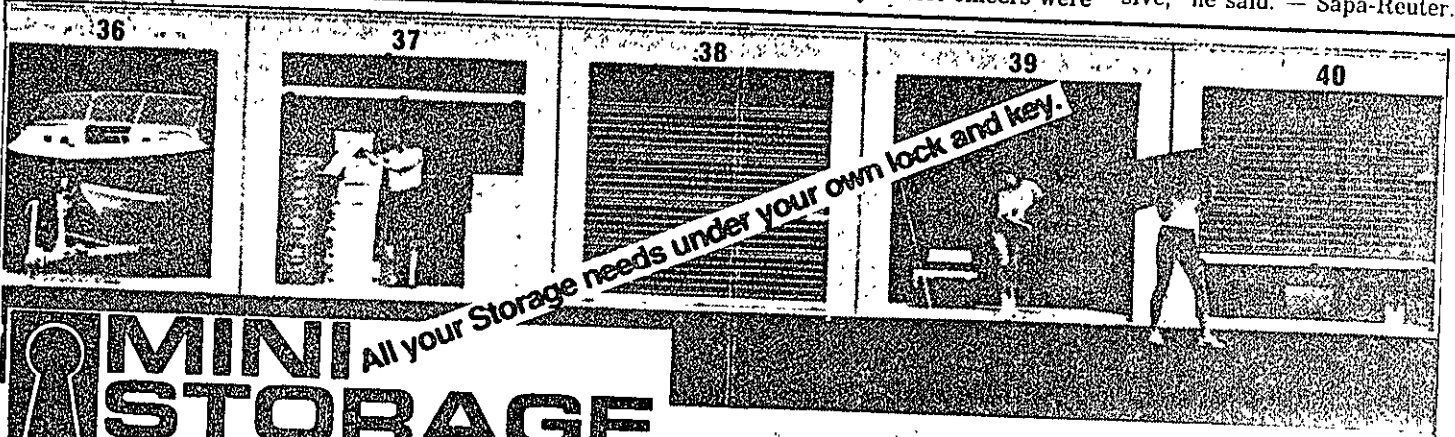
Thursday's Angop report mentioned no casualties.

● Allegations that South African-backed rebels in southern Angola had defeated a major government offensive commanded by Soviet officers were

not new and were merely an exaggerated repetition of earlier claims, says an SADF spokesman.

"It is widely known that the Angolan forces, led and commanded by Russians and Cubans, have suffered severe military setbacks at the hands of Unita in southern Angola.

"These allegations are part of their continued effort to divert attention from Unita's successes against their offensive," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.



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# Portraits of ordinary life. In a battle zone



In our area there is often war, says Gracia Hangula matter-of-factly. She is one of thousands of Angolan peasants for whom war has joined the other tribulations of daily life. PAUL WEINBERG reports from Namibia

WHEN Gracia Hangula wants to see her husband in northern Namibia, she must trek 250km through a war zone. She has stayed in Angola, in the MPLA-controlled village her husband left two years ago to seek work in Windhoek. Her cousin Zacharia has also stayed behind — but in the ranks of Unita.

Once a year the fragmented family comes together, in October, before the rainy season starts and the guerrilla offensive escalates. They meet in the Ovamboland village where Gracia's husband and brother have made their homes.

The obstacles the Hangulas must overcome to meet in Ovamboland each spring is evidence of an ongoing military confrontation which only makes the headlines when, as in recent weeks, reports filter through of a major Angolan government offensive against Unita. Their accounts contain information not reflected in official communiqués — whether issued by South Africa or Angola, Unita or Swapo.

Using her brother as an interpreter (he is a teacher who has been detained three times in the past two years), Gracia Hangula, 36, tells how she and her 15-year-old daughter travelled to Ovamboland with goats, cattle and thatch which they bartered for clothes and sugar. She has also



Fragile peace in the war zone: But there are grim reminders of battles past — a mortar shell used the visit to have an annual medical check-up as doctors are scarce in Angola.

On their way down they saw a convoy of trucks and soldiers, she says. On more than one occasion, they made a detour to avoid a village where they were told people had been killed.

And the journey back is likely to be as risky. "We have always to be careful," she says. "If we are caught by Unita they will take the goods from us."

She weaves a grass basket which she will use to carry goods back to Angola's Kunene province. She is barefoot but for the 250km trip home she will don walking shoes. Others in the group will walk the three-day journey barefoot, most carrying at least 20kg on their heads.

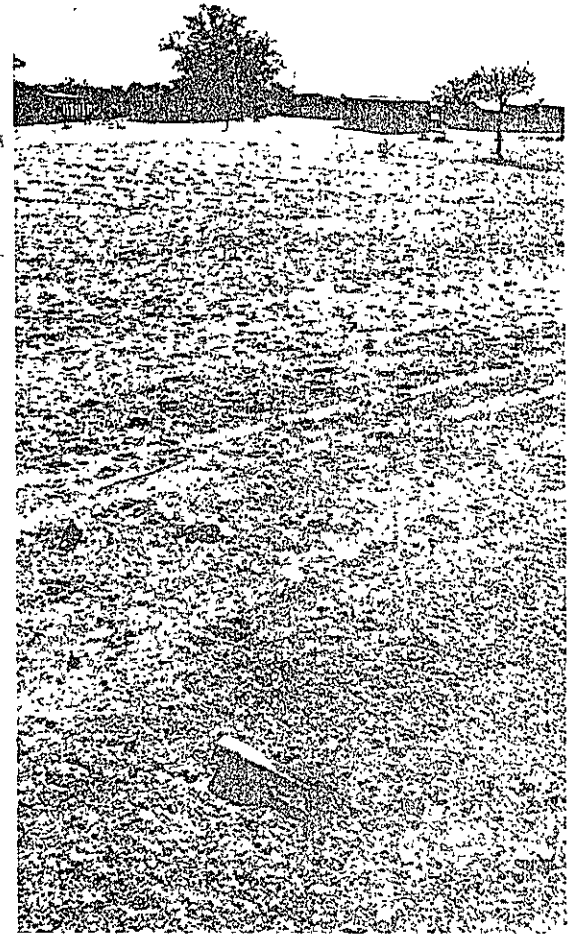
strumming under a cloudless sky (top left), and the start of the 250km trek (above left). During Angola's independence war, the family village in Angola was very quiet. But since 1975 war has become part of daily life. Villagers try to grow mealies and millet, she says, but the farms are often destroyed by Unita.

"In our area there is often war," she says. "First Unita attacks and then comes the South African army."

In June this year a jet fighter crashed near her village. She says when the villagers went to see what had happened, soldiers arrived and beat them. "They accused us of supporting Swapo," she says. "Two people died after the beatings."

Her husband had been a teacher in the village. Now he works as a packer in a supermarket.

Gracia and George Hangula's cousin, Zacharia, lives in western Angola



Pictures: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix in Unita territory. They cannot meet in Angola. If Zacharia leaves his area to journey to an MPLA area he will be killed. And part of the family has ostracised him for his political affiliations.

In an interview Zacharia explained he joined Unita during the struggle against the Portuguese. For a long time he has wanted to leave, but cannot. "They will kill me," he says

On the last day of the annual reunion, a taxi arrives early in the morning to take George to work while Gracia and her group prepare to leave.

The driver hoots and George shakes hands with his wife and his family. The taxi roars off, leaving a trail of dust as Gracia and the Angolan contingent begin to run the 250km gauntlet back home.

when I woke up this morning my car was standing on bricks in the middle of the road this is a lovely way to start your day when your head is feeling like a railway station at rush hour anyway I wish



# MPLA offensive is apparently stymied

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star's Africa News Service

The biggest offensive mounted by Angolan government forces against the Unita rebels appears to have been defeated after only one major battle.

With the rainy season about to start in south-eastern Angola, making large-scale fighting impossible, the big armies painstakingly assembled in the area by the MPLA government have almost certainly run out of time.

The one big push they made, striking eastwards towards the key town of Mavinga, was rolled back in a bloody battle on the Lomba River in which South Africa's mobile G5 cannon may have played a crucial role.

Diplomatic sources have claimed that the gun, which has a 40 km range, was used with great effect in the battle, but the SADF has refused to comment on the claim.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was quoted as saying the Marxist government's forces were in retreat after fighting near the Lomba River.

Dr Savimbi, claiming to control a third of Angola, said the drive on his frontline stronghold of Mavinga had been "practically stemmed".

This is the third year the dry season push has failed.

Defence Correspondent

WITH the Angolan attempt to capture the Unita stronghold of Mavinga apparently abandoned, the question now looming over the south-eastern battle theatre is whether the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, has decided to turn the tables by capturing the Cuito Cuanavale air base, the Angolans' jumping-off point.

There is at least a possibility that a strong anti-Angolan force is already moving towards the base, and has been for several days.

Although a fairly hazardous operation, considering the weather and the lightly armed nature of Dr Savimbi's forces, it would be of enormous strategic value to him if he could destroy or badly damage Cuito Cuanavale.

Because it is the Angolans' most forward base in their long war against him, it could buy him up to two years' time before his "capital" of Jamba comes under serious threat of ground attack.

In the opinion of local

## Will Unita<sup>(5)</sup> turn tables on Fapla? *one time 24/10/87*

military observers an attack on Cuito Cuanavale is feasible if Dr Savimbi can muster the appropriate force and weapons and operate in spite of the rainy season, which has reportedly started early, as predicted.

His aim would be to lay in ruin whatever his forces could not carry off and then retreat before the Angolans can counter-attack from the next base in the chain they have been extending south-eastwards in the past few years.

By late yesterday there were strong indications that the Angolan forces, defeated by a combination of Unita resistance, South African military aid, hostile terrain and early rains, had abandoned their advance on Mavinga and were pulling back to Cuito Cuanavale.

Diplomatic sources quoted by Sapa-Reuter this week confirmed Unita statements that Fapla (the Angolan government forces) had suffered serious casualties in the September-October fighting.

The onset of the rainy season is a hindrance to both sides, but more to Fapla than Unita's forces, which are not as road-bound, have more experience at fighting in wet weather, and will benefit from the fact that the Angolan air force's flying activities will be restricted.

It is also believed the Fapla forces have suffered a powerful blow to their morale after the fighting of the past six weeks — Luanda's third failed offensive against Unita in three succes-

sive years.

However, Dr Savimbi could still encounter stiff opposition, particularly if he attacks Cuito Cuanavale. Experience has shown that Fapla troops are skilled at preparing elaborate defensive positions and usually defend them stubbornly in the face of attack.

Local observers believe that Angolan claims of South African air raids deep in the interior actually represent an attempt to disguise attacks by Unita fighters who are taking advantage of the withdrawal of Fapla troops from other areas such as the Cunene province for the Mavinga operation.

● South African and Namibian losses of men and material in the recent round of fighting are thought to have been very low so far. Although South African spokesmen are saying nothing new, it is thought the Angolans have inflicted little damage, and no aircrew losses have been released so far.

**LONDON. — Major Wynand du Toit was captured in Cabinda through information passed to Western intelligence by one of the double agents accused of plotting to kidnap leading ANC members in London, sources here revealed yesterday.**

Mr Evan Dennis Evans, one of the men against whom charges of conspiracy to kidnap were dropped this week, was a former RAF officer and had for many years faithfully served MI6, British intelligence's foreign arm.

Mr Evans, 53, Mr John Wheatley, 28 and the particularly shady Mr Frank Larsen, 53, were charged earlier this year with conspiracy to kidnap leading members of the ANC in London and bring them back to South Africa.

The charges were dropped this week amid protest that there had been a cover-up. All three were also mentioned in the unsuccessful coup attempt against the socialist government of Mr Albert Rene in the Seychelles.

According to his own evidence, Mr Evans's last job was as quartermaster to the South African Recce Commando. He is quoted on record as saying that he helped plan the fatal raid on the Cabinda oilfields on May 21, 1985.

### Only survivor

However, it is claimed that Mr Evans informed London of the plan to strike at American oil installations in Cabinda, and London in turn informed Washington.

The angry Americans then tipped off the Angolans. The usual Cuban guard was taken out of the sabotage zone and Major Du Toit and his sabotage team walked straight into the arms of an ambush set up by Fapla, the Angolan army.

The only survivor was Major Du Toit, who recently returned to South Africa in the spy swop involving Angola and Mozambique.

Mr Evans returned hastily to his native Wales, where he set up a business in Anglesey in October 1985, after 15 years' service as an officer in the Rhodesian and South African forces.

According to reports Mr Evans left in haste because he feared the revenge of the Recce Commando — and in particular he feared Mr Johann Niemoller, the Uppington businessman rumoured to be the mastermind of the plot to kidnap such leading members of the ANC as its London representative, Mr Solly Smith.

After his arrest, Mr Evans's wife Judith admitted the family was terrified when Mr Niemoller suddenly arrived on their doorstep in late 1986.

Her husband's sole wish, she said, was to put distance between himself and Mr Niemoller and to safeguard his family.

She supported evidence given on Mr Evans's behalf in court that Mr Niemoller asked him to get involved in either "blowing up" the ANC offices or kidnapping its members, particularly former military wing leader Mr Joe Slovo.

According to his statement, Mr Evans agreed to become involved in surveillance of the ANC offices but told them to "get lost" when they asked him to join the alleged kidnap plot.

Mr Evans has since refused to discuss the case. But there is a glaringly obvious security screen around his house. Journalists who have made approaches have found themselves followed by plainclothes police.

# MI6 agent betrayed Du Toit

CAPE TOWN  
24/10/87  
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A storm of protest broke in England this week when the kidnap charges were dropped against the three on Wednesday.

Britain's Attorney-General, Sir Patrick Mayhew, yesterday defended the decision to drop the charges and also denied any government involvement.

Sir Patrick told the House of Commons that the decision was reached by the Director of Public Prosecutions alone, without reference to Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

He said there was "no connection whatsoever"

To page 2

P.T.O.

# 21 years of 'unwinnable war'

**EXACTLY** 21 years ago the leader of the Unita resistance movement, Dr Jonas Savimbi, slipped across the Angolan border from Zambia with just eleven followers to begin the "armed struggle" to liberate his country.

The desperate band of men were armed with a few knives and pangas, and one pistol — a gift from Savimbi's good friend, Sam Nujoma, leader of another fledgling resistance movement, the South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo).

Many things have changed since then for Jonas Savimbi, and today, as the "armed struggle" reaches its adulthood, he is leading an army of possibly 40 000 men, some of whom have recently been fighting in what has been described as the "largest land battle in the history of black Africa."

## Different enemy

When the charismatic Savimbi slipped across the borders of his own country that rainy October day after an absence of eight years spent in Europe, he was engaging a Portuguese regime that had ruled Angola unchallenged for over 500 years.

His immediate enemy was a Portuguese occupation army of 50 000 men — but he also had to combat the lethargy of a people downtrodden by centuries of oppression and exploitation.

Since then the 500 years of Portuguese rule has ended and the Portuguese army has returned home.

Now his enemy is a 60 000-man army of rival Angolans — backed up by almost 50 000 Cuban, Russian and East European troops — who see Savimbi as a lackey of the very

By  
**Ken Vernon**  
**Argus Africa**  
**News Service**

fought so fiercely and who no doubt see themselves as fighting to preserve their independence.

The Unita army now fights with the latest weaponry, from captured Russian rifles, tanks and artillery to US supplied anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles.

When Savimbi began his battles 21 years ago he had the moral support of the Red Chinese and little else — except a dream of liberating his people.

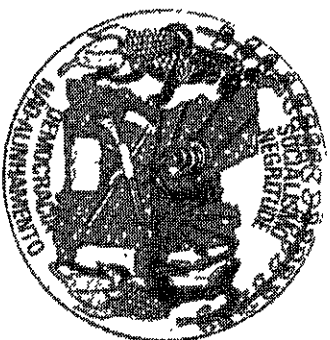
Today he is supported by the ideological enemies of the Chinese — the United States, South Africa, and several other African and Arab states opposed to a communist victory in Angola.

## One jump ahead

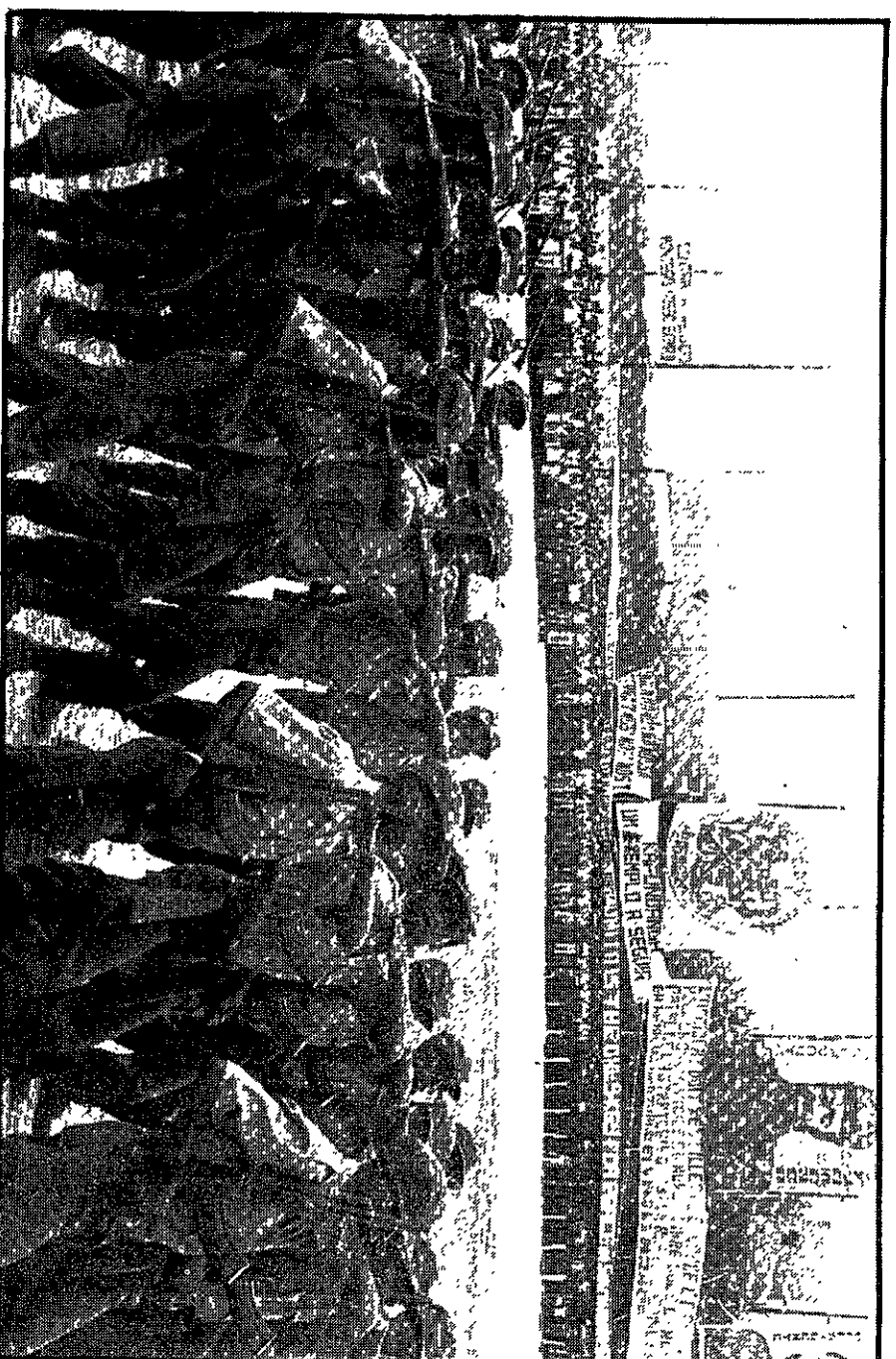
The road to Savimbi's present situation has been long and hard. Shortly after his Unita movement had been defeated by the rival MPLA in the civil war that erupted after the Portuguese withdrew in 1975, his forces were virtually disbanded and he was hunted through the Angolan bush with a price on his head, barely one jump ahead of his pursuers.

Only his strength of will and determination managed to bring him through those dark days, and it is fitting that the 21st birthday of his fight should see him at the pinnacle of his power.

Early last month his guerrilla army stopped in its tracks the Russian-led MPLA army sent to destroy his stronghold in the southeast of the country, and now he is



**Dr Jonas Savimbi** poised possibly to inflict on his enemies a final defeat.



**ON PARADE: Unita soldiers parade for Dr Savimbi at Unita headquarters in Jamba, South Eastern Angola**

Savimbi has long said that the Angolan war is unwinnable.

The MPLA, with the might and prestige of Russia behind them and supported by a Cuban army, cannot be beaten militarily.

At the same time Savimbi, supported by the US, South Africa and several African countries, and with his main ally being the limitless Angolan bush, cannot lose.

In the resulting stalemate, in which Savimbi's forces essentially control the country-

side and the MPLA/Cubans control the cities, there are no winners.

However there have been thousands of losers, the ordinary Angolans for whom war is a constant companion and the only way to survive is to get a gun and join a side — any side.

The country has been reduced to a shambles by the war, transport and industry are virtually non-existent outside Luanda and the Cabinda oilfields, and possibly the only thriving industry is that of

making artificial limbs for the many victims of landmine explosions.

If Savimbi wins the battle at present under way in southern Angola, he feels the MPLA will have no alternative but to negotiate a peace settlement that will include all Angolans in a free government of national unity, elected by the people in free elections.

This is what he says he has been fighting for for 21 years. Much has been lost along the way. Of the eleven who began the fight with him, only five remain.

Three have been killed, three lost faith and deserted during the seemingly endless days of fighting and struggle.

The man who gave him that very first pistol, Sam Nujoma, is now his avowed enemy and their supporters are now often involved in bloody clashes in the Angolan bush both use as a refuge in their separate wars.

Savimbi soldiers on, convinced of the righteousness of his cause — and because there is no other road open to him.

# Private divers cheating, says export chief

Staff Reporter

THE chairman of the Cape Lobster Exporters' Association yesterday alleged that unscrupulous private fishermen were over-exploiting crayfish and said a survey conducted last year had shown that private divers removed more than 90 tons of crayfish from Kommetjie.

Mr Jeff Louw, of Lighthouse Fisheries, said commercial fishermen's catches were carefully monitored and weighed each day, while members of the public were much less closely monitored.

Last year each person was allowed five crayfish a day but he had seen people using teams of children to catch much more than 200 crayfish a day.

"The boat owner collects a few children on the beach and pays them a few bob, he then goes out and catches the quota for each person on the boat and he repeats this several times.

"If he is inspected by officials at any

time he will be found to be within the law," Mr Louw said.

Mr Louw said two people had monitored the public's catches at "The Kom" beach near Kommetjie for 28 days, from March 27 to April 27.

Members of the public caught 22 500 crayfish — about 11 tons.

Based on these figures they had calculated that members of the public would have removed 90 tons of crayfish from the area last season.

"We accept that the public have as much a right to catch crayfish, but we are catching within the parameters of law and our quotas are monitored.

"I've got a quota of 54 tons but the public are catching almost double this amount and are probably over-exploiting the area."

When asked yesterday whether the survey figure of 90 tons was accurate, the assistant director-general of Environment Affairs, Dr Chris Serfontein, said it "could very well be, although I have not heard of anything of that magnitude".

He admitted that unscrupulous fishermen could go to sea "several times a day".

**BRIEFS**

**Beaufort West men jailed for murder, public violence**

GRAHAMSTOWN — Two Beaufort West residents were jailed for an effective 21 years and five years for murder and public violence. Sinandu Duma and a 17-year-old youth were part of a group of 31 residents charged with two counts of murder and one of public violence. Six others were convicted on charges ranging from public violence to culpable homicide. Five left the country before the trial started and a further three were discharged at the end of the state's case.

Another accused was sent for mental observation. The Judge President, Mr Justice Eksteen, this week acquitted 14 of the remaining 22 still on trial. He convicted Duma and the youth for the murder of Mr George Nelani and three-year-old Ntombentsha Nelani who died when their house was set alight in 1985. The eight, all of whom pleaded not guilty, have applied for leave to appeal. — Albany News Agency

**CTPA in publication launch**

THE Cape Teachers' Professional Association is set to launch two alternative education publications at its Representative Council Meeting next week. The meeting, on December 3, will

also discuss the organisation's international programme and its position on the Freedom Charter. All interested teachers and students are invited to attend.

**Africanist movement Ama-Afrika to be launched**

PORT ELIZABETH. — An Africanist movement, Ama-Afrika, will be launched on the Day of the Vow, the day thousands of Zulu warriors were slaughtered by Voortrekkers at Blood River. Ama-Afrika leader the Rev Ebenezer Maqina said December 16 was significant because "white settlers will have to come face-to-face with the Africanists" fighting for a new South Africa. Maqina, "an Africanist with a divine

mission", said he saw Ama-Afrika as playing a part in changing South Africa — leading to the creation of Azania. In the past two weeks, seven people have died in Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township. Although past violence has been the result of Ama-Afrika-UDF rivalry, there are signs of a split in the Ama-Afrika movement. An official launch would either aggravate or unify opposing factions in the Africanist movement. — Pen

**Police swoop on vigilantes**

DURBAN — Police launched a big swoop on alleged vigilantes in the strife-torn south coast Kwamakhutha township this week. One resident said she was relieved when she saw about 50 vigilantes at the local police station. Some of them had taken part in an attack on her home last week, she said.

Archie Gumede, UDF co-president, said: "This is the news we have long been waiting for. These attacks have been going on for a long time. We hope the investigations will lead to action which will bring prospects of peace to the troubled township." — Concord News Agency.

**Stofile's wife, five others, detained in Ciskei**

EAST LONDON. — Several people from the Rev Makhenkasi Arnold Stofile's Ciskei hometown of Alice, including his wife, are believed to have been detained. The detentions follow speculation that Stofile's trial may be invalid because the Supreme Court interpreter had not been sworn in. Stofile and his four co-accused were sentenced to lengthy jail terms for terrorism and the illegal possession of

arms. Those believed to be detained are Stofile's wife Nambitha, Fort Hare lecturer Shepard Mayatula, an employee at Lovedale Press, Thamsanqa Dick, Harry Gxotwe, Sipho Mnyaqi and a Mrs Mdeleleni. Gxotwe's mother, Agnes, said she was told her son had been detained because he once gave a lift to a woman called as a witness in Stofile's trial. Ciskei police have not confirmed the detentions — Elnews

**No bail granted for Wayne Malgas**

BAIL was not considered for any of the 15 people who appeared in the Cape Town Magistrates Court last week after spending between 10 weeks and six months in detention. They appeared in connection with ANC activities. SOUTH last week incorrectly reported that one of the accused, Mr

Wayne Malgas, had been granted bail. Although the attorneys representing the 15 had applied for bail the state informed the court that an application had been made for an Attorney-General's certificate to deny bail. The court was therefore bound in terms of the Internal Security Act not to consider bail.

**Local body a 'peace risk'**

PORT ELIZABETH — The George Civic Association has said a big "no" to a black local authority for Lawaakamp and Sandkraal townships. Representing township residents at the Demarcation Board, the George Civic Association (GCA) objected to the proposed installation of a black local authority saying it would place public peace at risk.

Two weeks ago the board gave notice of an inquiry into the establishment of local government for residents at Sandkraal. The GCA said no notice was published in a newspaper that circulates in the townships. They demanded that the GCA be retained as the townships' representative body — Pen

**Journey**



Unita military on parade ... Women military personnel display Savimbi's arm

**A visit to the Savimbi strong**

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

JAMBA, the headquarters of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, is not on any ordinary map.

To get there you have to report to a strange outfit called Wonder Air next to the Wonderboom military base in Pretoria. Afrikaans-speaking staff carefully check journalists names on a long list and tell us to pay them R1 000. The receipt informs me that I have paid "Pasloads Flights (Edms) Bpk" and the ticket states I am flying Transair, "air charter operators since 1950".

On the tarmac, a DC-3 that looks as if it has been hijacked from the set of the classic movie "Casablanca", is instant testimony to the age of Transair.

In all, a very strange journey. But when you hear the seasoned correspondent talk about going to Jamba, it is as if these are scheduled trips to a bustling town.

**Problem**

I suppose it's a problem journalists develop talking about the bizarre and the extraordinary with an easy familiarity. After five hours of droning along in the air and trying to empty a shiny metal rubbish bin filled with cold beer, in the back of the plane, we put down somewhere in the south-east of Angola. Unita rebels in stiff green uniforms greet us and we are taken to a large hut, specially built as a reception area.

Colorful cold-drinks and little cakes are passed around to correspondents, impatient to get past the niceties. This is not quite Jamba, I discover soon. To reach the legendary headquarters of Savimbi we have another two hours of travelling, in a large open truck. Some journalists stand at the front railings on top of the truck, looking at the seemingly deserted bush as we bump along. Within a short while it is almost as if a jinx has settled on us.

John, a correspondent for United Press International (UPI), is hit in the face by a thorn bush. Cuts on his forehead nose and cheeks bleed profusely. His handkerchief slowly turns red and we stop the truck. Medics travelling in the small convoy attend to John and we carry on.

In a short while our driver loses sight of the other vehicles. There is no track and we seem to be going around the bush in circles.



Sylvia Vollenhoven

around and we have to do that we don't get caught in circle of fire.

We grab bags, any bags. the Stygian darkness. somebody has my tuckies to change out of the flim wearing. The sandals are so stumble through the bush.

I take off the sandals I pricked by thorns and cut b see

**Unita**

The night has become front of me the voice of journalist, Larry, says he c way up ahead.

It is a truck about three I up on a rise. It cannot com embankment into the valle In the darkness it feels as I I stop and rest giving u thin beam of light comes me.

The Unita man with th Now I can see Larry up ah From somewhere a very

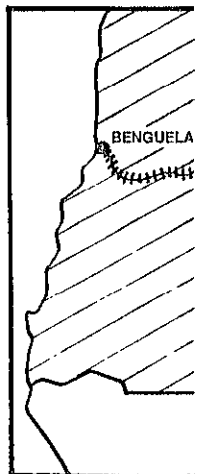
There are heavy vehicle tracks everywhere and no way of knowing if any of them belong to us. We get stuck in the sand and mud several times. Each time the driver breaks away, there are loud cheers from the darkness on the back of the truck.

But eventually the wheels refuse to move. They churn deeper and deeper into the sand.

The key makes a sickening click as the battery wears down. Impatient restarting produces a flat whirring noise that makes hearts sink even deeper than the wheels. Next to the driver is the only other Unita man. He goes off into the night with a torch. When the Unita man leaves to look for help, the driver lets the truck lights burn for a while. Slowly these die as well. The moonless night swallows us. The driver sets fire to patches of grass all around so that possible search parties can find us. The idea is fast sinking in that we are hopelessly lost in a war zone.

For a while things are okay and we talk casually in camp-fire style by the light of the burning grass. But this is the end of the dry season and the rainy season has not quite started yet in Southern Angola.

After a while the bush is ablaze all





# Bloodied and bowed! Cuban-led army flees

SKIP  
11/187

**A HUGE Cuban-led army is in flight across Angola after a battle that could be the turning-point in the 12-year war.**

The tattered columns of the biggest force yet mobilised by the MPLA government — 14 brigades — were yesterday retreating northwards after taking an unprecedented hammering from Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas.

Authoritative sources say that "at least" 2,000 Fapla (Angolan) soldiers have been killed in the past six weeks, with as many seriously wounded.

In Lisbon some reports said Fapla casualties could be as high as 6,000.

Field observers report that, unlike the last big Fapla-Unita clash in 1985 — when Dr Savimbi was reported to have been saved by South African air support — Unita units have fought largely on their own.

American-supplied Stinger missiles had an important demoralising effect on Cuban pilots.

Published reports in Lisbon say that the formidable SA-made artillery weapon, the long-range G6, was deployed only rarely — but with deadly efficacy — at key stages of the conflict.

## Conventional

But Western intelligence sources have characterised South Africa's involvement as "massive", with up to 70 strike aircraft and helicopters involved.

This year's Fapla attack was to be the one that finally dislodged Dr Savimbi from his south-eastern redoubt.

Over many weeks, a huge force was assembled north of the Lomba River. Its target: the nearby town of Mavinga and, ultimately, Uni-

**By FRED BRIDGLAND  
in London and KEN  
POTTINGER in Lisbon**

ta's "capital" in Jamba. The massive army — under the command of a Soviet general — never got beyond the Lomba.

The force, organised for conventional warfare — many of its troops with only a month's training — was no match for Unita's tough, battle-hardened guerrillas.

## Disastrous

In addition, Fapla logistics were poor. Over-extended supply lines to the remote region broke down. As food became scarce and morale low, Cuban and Fapla commanders became hesitant.

But orders came from elsewhere — diplomatic sources believe direct from Moscow — for the attack to proceed, with disastrous results.

Yesterday the retreating force was approaching a key Fapla base at Cuito Cuanevale. Dr Savimbi's aim is to take the base.

Unita says the recent campaign was a rout of Fapla; some Western sources argue it is a strategic retreat.

Also, Western sources claim, Fapla is building advance bases with concrete helicopter pads in the terri-

□ To Page 2

## Angolans clobbered

□ From Page 1

quantities of captured Soviet weapons and vehicles. The crushing defeat of Fapla forces has had political repercussions in Luanda. Already, it is reported, General Pedro Benga Lima, the armed forces chief of staff, has been dismissed.

From Washington, diplomatic sources report a greater willingness by the MPLA to discuss with American officials the possibility of a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

On display will be Cuban prisoners, including the two-man crew of a MiG-23 shot down on October 28, and huge

□ From Page 1

torry it has already captured. If Unita is unable to overwhelm the bases before next year, the scene may be set for another assault against Unita.

The full extent of Unita's recent triumph will be revealed at a battlefield Press conference on November 12.

On display will be Cuban prisoners, including the two-man crew of a MiG-23 shot down on October 28, and huge

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# Heads roll after Angolan defeat

LSBON. — The crushing defeat inflicted by Unita rebels on Angolan forces in recent battles near the southern rebel stronghold of Mavinga, seems set to have widespread political repercussions in Luanda.

Already General Pedro Benga Lima, the Angolan armed forces chief of staff, has been dismissed, in a development apparently not totally unrelated to the government forces' defeat on the banks of the Zombo River over the past six weeks.

According to Xavier Figueiredo, editor of a Lisbon newsletter on the region, the defeat — reliable reports here suggest that between five and six thousand Soviet- and Cuban-backed government forces may have been killed — is already sending shock waves through government circles despite efforts to hush up the affair.

Mr Figueiredo's sources suggest the military hierarchy itself has been plunged into deep despair and enmity is palpable in the corridors of Luanda high command, where hunting for scapegoats is now the order of the day.

Luanda itself, in a rare such admission, said at the

end of September that its troops had taken a bad beating in the battle for Mavinga. But it blamed the heavy losses on intervention by South African forces.

Unita, meanwhile, in a communique issued on Friday in Lisbon, promised it would soon display to the world's press two important war trophies — a pair of Cuban MiG 23 fighter pilots shot down over Moxico province on Wednesday, October 28.

The communique said Lt-Col Manuel Rocos Garcia, 44, and Capt Ramos Cacadas would be present at the press conference scheduled for November 12 in Jamba, to give first-hand accounts of the "demoralized state" of the Cuban and Angolan forces.

The two men are the highest-ranking Cuban officers captured by the rebels in 12 years of fighting the ruling MPLA.

Apart from likely political repercussions in the aftermath of the repulsed government offensive, military justice is already being meted out. There are partly confirmed reports here that Cuban and Soviet officers who planned the Mavinga

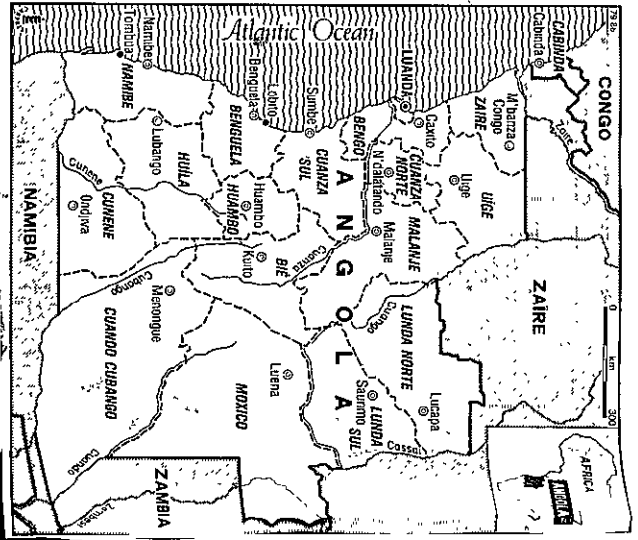
disaster have been court-martialled, jailed and in some cases shipped home to Moscow and Havana. What is not yet clear is how far repercussions from the defeat will reach up the ranks of the political hierarchy.

Any government in a democracy, faced with such a humiliating military setback, would have resigned by now.

Reports here at the weekend said that despite the blow to morale, the government is currently rallying forces to deal with a threatened rebel advance against key political capitals like Menongue, Luena and Kwito.

Unita is believed to be planning to push the war front further north and east toward the Zairean border, to relieve pressure on its Jamba base camp, stuck in the south-eastern corner of the country, and divide the government defences.

Thus Luena, capital of Moxico province, which borders Zaire and since 1985 has been almost totally rebel-controlled, would seem to be Unita's most likely target, according to military analysts.





## Offensive against Unita a failure

**Argus Africa News Service**

JOHANNESBURG. — Unita rebels appear to be making a major effort to turn a retreat by the MPLA government's Fapla army into a rout as Fapla pulls back from its failed offensive against the Unita stronghold in south-eastern Angola.

Reports that the Cuban-supported Fapla troops are in full flight have not been confirmed but they have clearly suffered a serious defeat in their third offensive in as many years against the rebels.

While denying Unita's claim of a major victory, the MPLA government has virtually admitted that its forces are in trouble by issuing a statement that they

"have not lost control of the situation".

The MPLA's claim of intervention by South African forces has been dismissed by the SADF as "an exaggerated repetition of old allegations".

Unita has claimed successes on both fronts of the Fapla offensive — the northern front based on Luena and Lucusse and the western one based on Cuito Cuanavale and Menongue.

Having thrown back the Fapla forces on the western front in the crucial battle of the Lomba River in September, the rebels apparently struck at Fapla's extended supply lines to force it to pull back.

These strikes are believed to

have been intensified in a bid to either trap the communist army in the mud as the rainy season begins or to stampede it into a rout.

According to recent reports, however, the fighting has not reached Cuito Cuanavale.

On the northern front, Unita has claimed the recapture of Cassamba and Lutuai, which they had lost in a previous MPLA offensive. These towns are well to the north of the positions at which the MPLA was reported to have massed troops in August for a thrust to the south. If Unita's claim is accurate it would mean Fapla has suffered a major defeat on this front as well as on the western one.

ARGUS 3/4/87 (5)

INTERNATIONAL

# US support for Unita likely to grow — report

From NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Unita's success in turning back the Angolan army's biggest effort in 12 years has strengthened the Reagan administration's support for covert military aid to the Savimbi-led rebels, according to a report here.

US officials have until now avoided public comment on the heavy fighting in Angola between SA-backed Unita forces and Angola's MPLA Government troops, supported by Cuba and the Soviet Union.

But in an interview in the Washington Post, some senior US officials suggested that the administration should increase its annual R30-million aid grant to Unita to reduce the dependence of the rebel force on South Africa whose long-range artillery and air power played a decisive role in turning back the MPLA offensive.

Asked to comment on the Post's report, State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said it appeared that Unita had stopped the MPLA offensive in south-eastern Angola, inflicting substantial losses in men and equipment.

"This underscores our longstanding view that the problem of Angola's internal divisions cannot be resolved on the battlefield, but only by a political settlement among Angolans once foreign forces have withdrawn."

While Mr Redman said nothing about increasing US military aid to Unita, he did not deny the Post's report.

The report supports the view here that President Reagan is determined not to abandon Unita and other anti-communist rebel forces elsewhere in the world in spite of efforts to achieve wider international agreements with the Soviets.

The administration wants the MPLA Government to recognise that peace is impossible unless it is ready to include Unita in reconciliation negotiations on the future of the country. As long as Unita depends on South Africa, this will be difficult to achieve.

According to the Post, US officials do not believe Angolan reports that 13 SAAF aircraft were shot down. The officials said they believed only one SA spotter aircraft was destroyed and maybe one Mirage fighter-bomber.

150 Swapo soldiers perish in clash

# Angola raid leaves 11 SA soldiers dead

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PATRICK BULGER  
and GERALD REILLY

NINE SA and two Namibian troops have died in Angola in what the SA Defence Force (SADF) yesterday described as a "pre-emptive" strike which left 150 Swapo guerrillas dead at the weekend.

The deaths were announced by the SADF in Pretoria at the end of a weekend which also saw battles raging between retreating Angolan government troops (Fapla) and the Unita rebel movement led by Jonas Savimbi.

An SADF spokesman said there was "no connection between the Unita action in south-east Angola and this operation" which took place towards the west of Angola. He said the SADF strike had aimed to counter a Swapo insurgency campaign during the coming rainy season.

The weekend's losses are among the biggest single losses in recent years. Seven SA troops died in a clash with Cuban and Angolan forces in January 1984 when their Ratel troop carrier was attacked, while the biggest single loss took place in August 1981 when a Puma helicopter was shot down and 15 SADF members lost their lives. Yesterday's SADF statement read: "Defence headquarters announced in Pretoria today that a pre-emptive attack was carried out on a Swapo terror-

ist base north of Owambo, South West Africa, on Saturday, 31 October, 1987.

"More than 150 Swapo terrorists were killed in this operation which was aimed at Swapo elements preparing for their seasonal infiltration of South West Africa and ensuing terrorist activities against the inhabitants.

"The Defence Force also regrets to announce that 11 members of the Defence Force and the SWA Territory Force died in action."

The weekend's Fapla retreat was reported to be taking place after the Angolan government's (MPLA) Cuban-assisted offensive launched in September failed to gain significant ground against the SA-assisted Unita movement.

The MPLA had made Unita "capital" Jamba its target, but by the weekend the Cuban-led forces were beating a hasty retreat back north out of Savimbi's south eastern stronghold.

The SADF statement made no reference to the Unita battles. It referred to its operations as being against Swapo targets "north of Owambo", Namibia's

● To Page 2



## 11 SA soldiers die in Angola

northern-most district south of Angola.

The SADF named its dead as: Captain Andries Rademeyer, 27, Lieutenant Dylan Cobbold, 20, of Winterton, Lieutenant Deon Botes, 20, of Malmesbury, Corporal Nico Olivier, 19, of Pretoria, Corporal Raymond Light, 21, of Pinetown, Rifleman Dirk van Rooyen, 20, of Phalaborwa, Rifleman Wayne Ewels, 21, of East London, Rifleman Hugues de Rose, 21, of Harrismith, and Sapper Erasmus Steyn, 19, of Bloemfontein.

The statement gave no more details of the operation and made no mention of the number injured or losses of military hardware.

The SWATF said its two dead were

● From Page 1

Rifleman W Abrahams, 25, and Rifleman B Petrus, 21, both of Owambo.

Sapa reports that Defence Minister Magnus Malan said last night after the deaths were announced: "Those harbouring terrorists must remember SA is prepared to pay this price in the interests of its people and its territorial integrity.

"Terrorists are conducting an undeclared war against Namibia and SA but the ultimate objective is SA."

He expressed his deepest sympathy with the next-of-kin of the 11 men killed in the operation.

# Unita advances on Cuito Cuanavale

Defence Correspondent

NEWS of a South African attack on a Swapo base or camp north of the border has distracted attention from the fact that at least 500km to the north-east Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita insurgents are still moving triumphantly towards the Angolan forward base of Cuito Cuanavale, if reports are to be believed.

If the Unita forces attack Cuito Cuanavale they will face a hard battle — but stand to win a great prize if they manage to capture it, even temporarily.

The exact positions of the various forces are not known at present, but various Angolan units are reported to be near the base after being mauled along the Lomba River, and a week ago a Unita communication monitored by the South African

Broadcasting Corporation made a claim — still unconfirmed — that the insurgents had driven Fapla (Angolan government troops) to the left bank of the Cuito River, just 30km from Cuito Cuanavale itself.

For weeks there has been strong speculation that Dr Savimbi would follow up on an apparent total Fapla withdrawal from the Lomba River vicinity by attempting to capture or damage Cuito Cuanavale, the easternmost point of Fapla's supply line and the place from which its aircraft can operate with maximum efficiency against Unita.

The communication also contained an unconfirmed claim that on Wednesday last week the insurgents destroyed a convoy of the Angolan 45 Brigade, including 25 military vehicles, two BRDM armoured

vehicles and two mobile bridging vehicles.

This is believed to be the brigade that was so severely mauled in an ambush west of Mayinga on September 30 or October 1 that it abandoned its advance and moved back across the Lomba.

Up to now it has not been known that such an encounter took place.

Military observers agreed yesterday that if the Unita claims are true and it is advancing on Cuito Cuanavale with the intention of attacking the base, it might well encounter fierce resistance.

Cuito Cuanavale has been under development as a forward base for some years, and Fapla doctrine is to set up heavy defences around such areas. This means a Unita assault would

be likely to face a comprehensive system of deep trenches, shell-proof bunkers, minefields and demarcated artillery targets.

Two other claims made last week by Unita are:

● It has captured 185 military vehicles and weapon systems — including 20 new T-55 battle tanks, ZU-23 and ZPU-4 anti-aircraft guns and surface-to-air missiles — and 167 Fapla troops, as well as the entire Soviet-trained crew of an SA-8 anti-aircraft mobile missile launcher.

● Relations between Fapla troops and Cuban allies are "extremely tense", with each side accusing the other of cowardice in confronting the Unita forces.

Unita's KUP agency quoted mili-

tary sources as saying tensions have been exacerbated by the increasing number of Fapla soldiers deserting the fighting.

● In Washington last night, the US State Department acknowledged the Unita victory, reports Sapa-AP.

The department spokesman, Mr Charles Redman, said Unita had inflicted heavy losses on Angolan troops.

Mr Redman said the continued fighting "underscores our longstanding view that the problem of Angola's internal divisions cannot be resolved on the battlefield, but only by a political settlement among Angolans — once foreign forces have withdrawn".

## 22 killed in border war since September

The Star's Africa News Service

At least 22 South African and Namibian soldiers have died in the operational area since the beginning of September when Angolan government forces launched a big offensive against rebel controlled areas in south-east Angola.

South Africa has acknowledged that it sent forces to Angola to protect its own interests, but has denied Angolan reports that any of its aircraft have been shot down in Angola.

Since September the SADF has announced the following deaths:

- September 3 — Lieutenant Richard Glynn and Commandant Johann du Randt, killed when their aircraft crashed while "on reconnaissance of the Namibia-Angola border".
- September 6 — Lance-Corporal M Benecke died "in action against terrorists".
- September 13 — A Permanent Force member, Captain Alfred McCullum and three National Servicemen, Second Lieutenant Jose Alves, Lance Corporal Matheys de Klerk and Trooper Marthinus Kuyler, were killed when a rocket hit a Ratel infantry combat vehicle. No details of where the men were killed were released.
- September 18 — Rifleman Pieter Visagie died "in action in the operational area".
- October 3 — Second Lieutenant Adrian Hodgson Hind died "in action in the operational area".
- October 8 — Trooper Frederick de Jager died "in the operational area".
- November 2 — SADF announced the death of 10 SADF and two SWATF soldiers in an attack against a Swapo base.

# He went back to fight — only to lose his life

One of the officers who died in the fierce battle in southern Angola at the weekend during an attack on Swapo defences survived war wounds earlier this year and returned to the operational area — only to lose his life.

Second Lieutenant Deon Botes (20) from Malmesbury in the Western Cape was wounded in the shoulder and ear in a contact on July 25, said his mother.

Mrs Ena Botes said her son knew what was waiting for him when he reported back for duty after his pass. "He was told that he had to go into Angola," she said.

Lieutenant Botes turned 20 on October 21. He went into the army straight from the Swartland Hoerskool, where he played prop for the first rugby team and for Boland. His ambition was to become a nature conservationist and planned to study in Cape Town next year.

Another fatally wounded soldier, Rifleman Jean Mark Schuurman, was planning to go to the United States for a year after completing his national service, his mother, Mrs P R Janisch said today. Rifleman Schuurman had studied at the Linden High School in Johannesburg.

The death of Rifleman Wayne Ewels (21) was the second blow in three days for the Ewels family of East London. Last Thursday his younger brother, Rifleman Robert Ewels (19), was injured in the operational area when the bakkie in which he and three other soldiers were travelling was hit by a train.

Corporal Nico Smith Olivier (19), of Brooklyn, Pretoria, was due to begin medical studies at the University of the Orange Free State next year on completion of his national service.

His family last saw him five weeks ago when he returned from the operation area.

Lance-Corporal Raymond Light (21) was the son of a Methodist minister in Pinetown.

One of the other men killed in the battle, Sapper Erasmus Albertus Steyn (19), was one of seven children of Mr Hans Steyn and his wife Louise, of Oranje Street, Bloemfontein.

The mother of Rifleman Hugues de Rose (21), another soldier killed in the battle, said she had last seen her son on her 50th birthday last September.

Mr R G Cobbold of Winterton, the father of one of the three officers killed in the action, told The Star last night he was in no condition to speak about his son, Second-Lieutenant Dylan Cobbold (20).

Miss Tania Steyn heard yesterday that her fiance, Captain Andries Hercules Rademeyer, was killed in the operational area. They were to be married in six weeks' time. — Staff Reporters, Own Correspondents, Sapa

## SA 'ready to pay price'

Those who were harbouring terrorists had to remember South Africa was prepared to pay a high price for freedom in the interests of its people and its territorial integrity, Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan said last night.

In a statement in Pretoria, following the announcement by the SADF of its weekend pre-emptive strike into Angola, which resulted in the deaths of South African soldiers and Swapo men, he expressed his deepest sympathy with the next of kin of those who were killed.

"The price of freedom is always high and this is the reality which brings safety for South Africa." — Sapa



Rifleman Jean Mark Schuurman died in military hospital.

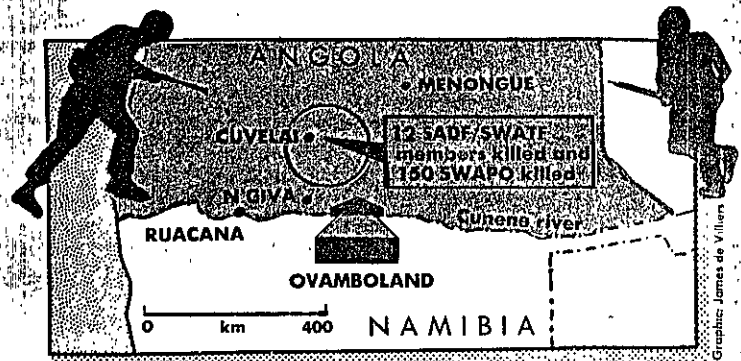
## Parents not told son lay dying

By Dan Side

The parents of Rifleman Jean Mark Schuurman were unaware on Sunday that their son lay dying at 1 Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte in Pretoria.

His stepfather, Mr Peter Janisch, said the family only learnt yesterday afternoon of Rifleman Schuurman's death from wounds suffered in Saturday's strike against Swapo in southern Angola.

A spokesman at Defence Headquarters in Pretoria said the reason Rifleman Schuurman's name was not announced yesterday afternoon along with the 11 other SADF and SWA Territory Force casualties was that his address had been given as Rustenburg, where he had previously lived.



## Four soldiers killed were paratroopers

At least four of the South African soldiers killed in action against Swapo at the weekend were paratroopers.

They were Second Lieutenant Deon Botes (20) of Malmesbury; Lance-corporal Raymond Light Jun (21) of Pinetown; Rifleman Jean Mark Schuurman, of Randburg, and Rifleman Hugues de Rose (21), of Harrismith.

A spokesman for the SADF said paratroopers were often used in action in an infantry role.

## 'No connection'

The director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Professor Mike Hough, said the SADF action should not be automatically linked with SADF assistance to Unita.

It should be seen rather in a narrow sense as a cross-border offensive against Swapo. This was also not necessarily directly aimed at pre-empting the annual incursions of Swapo into Namibia.

## 'No Angolans involved in clash with Swapo'

The Star's Africa News Service WINDHOEK — Angolan government troops were not involved in the latest bloody clash between South African security forces and Swapo insurgents in southern Angola, says the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF).

A spokesman at the force headquarters in Windhoek said this morning the "pre-emptive strike" into Angola was aimed solely at a Swapo base, which was separate from concentrations of Fapla, Luanda's government army. Official statements have said the raid was carried out in order to disrupt a build-up of Swapo insurgents preparing for rainy season infiltrations into Namibia's Owambo war zone.

However, in the past, military spokesmen have gone on record as saying that, close to the Namibian border, Swapo operates in smaller groups and often seeks the protection of the

Fapla military "umbrella" in the area.

Speculation here, therefore, is that the latest action may have taken place some considerable distance north of the Namibian border in Swapo "rear base" areas, where concentrations of cadres are greater and camps more clearly delineated from those of Fapla in the area around Cassinga — where South African killed 300 Swapo people in a 1978 strike — Swapo is thought to have maintained bases.

So far this year, there have been at least three admitted clashes between security forces and Swapo fighters in southern Angola in which Fapla troops have been killed.

These occurred in January near Mongua, in June near the town of Anhanca and again in a fierce clash in southern Angola in July.

The latest engagement, which saw the death of 150 Swapo — brings the organisation's death toll this year to 726.

Graphic: James de Villiers

# Pik sends UN a note on Angola



● BOTHA

UNITED NATIONS — Angola has become a playground for the superpowers, and the Security Council should concern itself urgently with the situation, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in a note to the UN.

In the note, released yesterday, Botha said SA was not at war with Angola, but had a duty to protect the inhabitants of neighbouring Namibia — which it rules in contravention of numerous UN resolutions.

The Security Council last week authorised Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to try arrange a ceasefire between SA and black guerrilla forces in Namibia.

In his letter to De Cuellar, Botha

said if SWAPO ceased "acts of terrorism," there would be no need for counter-action by SA troops.

"The Security Council should urgently concern itself with the domestic crisis in Angola which has become the playground of the superpowers with tragic consequences for the Angolan populace," Botha said.

He repeated SA was ready to take part in a conference among all interested parties for peace in Angola and a resolution of the Namibian issue.

As long as the Angolan government was bolstered militarily by Cuban and other foreign troops and advisers, a peaceful resolution to the internal situation in Angola would be frustrated, he added. — Sapa-Reuter.

# 11 Soldiers die in attack on Swapo

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Defence Correspondent

**ELEVEN** members of the South African Defence Force and South West Africa Territory Force and more than 150 Swapo insurgents died on Saturday during a fierce fight in which a Swapo base was overrun in southern Angola, directly north of the Ovamboland border, according to Defence headquarters.

It is the highest death-toll to be suffered by the security forces since 11 SADF and SWATF soldiers died in action during the last large-scale "external" (cross-border) operation into southern Angola, Operation Askari, which lasted from December 1983 to January 1984.

News of the operation was held back till last night to enable next-of-kin to be contacted.

In an announcement that gave no indication of where the action had taken place, Defence Headquarters said yesterday:

"A pre-emptive attack was carried out on a Swapo terrorist base north of Ovamboland, South West Africa, on Saturday, October 31, 1987.

"More than 150 Swapo terrorists were killed in this operation, which was aimed at Swapo elements preparing for their seasonal infiltration of South West Africa, and the ensuing terrorist activities against the inhabitants."

Military sources were yesterday emphatic that the casualties had been incurred in an action totally divorced from the recent Lomba River fighting, and a military spokesman stated categorically: "There is no connection between the Uikha action in south-east Angola and this operation."

Tony Weaver reports that Swapo spokesmen in New York, London and Harare last night expressed surprise at the SADF statement and said all they knew was what they had heard from journalists making inquiries.

In New York Swapo's spokesman at the United Nations, Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, said: "This is news to us — I only know what journalists told me an hour ago."

In London, Mr Peter Manning said: "I only know what the Reuters (news agency) reporter told me — I am trying to get some clarity on the situation."

In Harare, a Swapo spokesman said: "We have heard nothing, and we would have heard by now if one of our camps had been hit."

Our London correspondent reports that Mr Sam Nujoma, who is currently in Dublin on a week-long tour of Britain and Ireland, has denied the claims that 150 Swapo fighters were killed.

Swapo said in a statement: "In truth, nothing like this has happened. This is the same kind of deceit and lies that Pretoria always tells whenever it wants to cover up its military aggression against Angola."

Mr Nujoma said that if South Africa had "killed people inside Angola, then they must be Angolan victims of its aggression."

● **Unita advances on Cuito Cuavavale — Page 3**

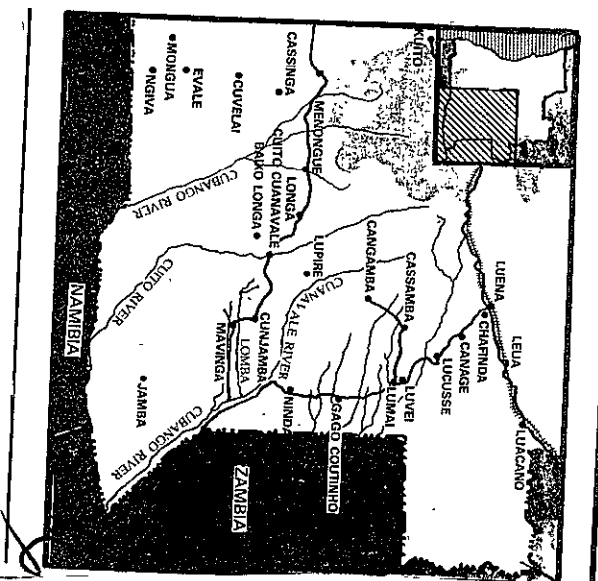
The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, last night said that those who were harbouring guerrillas had to remember South Africa was prepared to pay the high price of freedom in the interests of its people and its territorial integrity.

In a statement released to Sapa in Pretoria, General Malan expressed his deepest sympathy with the next-of-kin of the members of the SADF and SWATF who were killed in the operation.

"The price of freedom is always high and this is the reality which brings safety for South Africa.

"Terrorists are conducting an undeclared war against SWA/Namibia and South Africa but the ultimate objective is South Africa," General Malan said.

"For this reason South Africa will



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From page 1

never hesitate to strike terrorists in their hideouts wherever they might be.

"This is how South Africa serves the interests of all its peoples," General Malan said.

The Swapo base's location is not known, but according to local observers there are two possibilities:

● It was in the so-called "Dova Triangle", the area between the towns of Evale, Nehene and Dova, about 60km from the Angola-Namibian border, which for years has been used as a Swapo forward assembly area where last-minute training is carried out before southward infiltration.

Almost exactly two years ago, in September of 1985, a number of SWATF "romeo mikes" (vehicle-mounted reaction-force teams) crip-

pled the November-December short rainy season infiltration by hitting and totally dispersing several hundred Swapo members gathered in the Dova Triangle for retraining.

● It was in the area immediately south and south-west of Cassinga, a former mining town about 250km inside Angola, which suffered a parachute attack in 1978 in the first large-scale South African "external operations".

However, the observers added, it was unlikely SADF and SWATF forces would operate that far into Angola, especially at the start of the rainy season.

One commented: "The fact that our losses were the heaviest this year does not necessarily mean it was the biggest battle. If they were to hit a troop carrier, for example, they could kill that many with one rocket."

The nine members of the SADF and two of the SWATF who died in Saturday's attack are:

● Captain Andries Hercules Rademeyer, 27, who is survived by two brothers and a sister.

● Second Lieutenant Deon Botes, 20, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs D J Botes, of 4 West Street, Malmesbury.

● Second Lieutenant Dylan Chevalier Cobbold, 20, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs R G Cobbold, of Long Reach, Winterton.

● Corporal Nico Smith Olivier, 19, who is survived by his parents, Professor and Mrs L R Olivier, of 155 Anderson Street, Brooklyn, Pretoria.

● Lance-Corporal Raymond Mark Light, 21, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs R H Light, of 13 Tracy Wals Road, Pinetown.

● Rifleman Dirk Wilhelm van Rooyen, 20, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs D W van Rooyen, of 21 President van Rensburg, Phalaborwa.

● Rifleman Wayne Vallentine Ewels, 21, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs G R Ewels, of 6 Epsom Road, Stirling, East London.

● Rifleman Hugues Norbert de Rose, 21, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs R de Rose, of 11 Smith Street, Wiger Park, Harrismith.

● Sapper Erasmus Albertus Steyn, 19, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs H J Steyn, of Plot 118, 5 Oranje Street, Bloemfontein.

● Rifleman W Abrahams, 25, of Ovamboland.

● Rifleman B Petrus, 21, of Ovamboland.



Capt Andries Rademeyer



Second-Lt Deon Botes



L/Cpl Raymond Light



Rfn Wayne Ewels

## Families grieve their dead

By RONNIE MORRIS

THE last time the parents of Second Lieutenant Deon Botes saw him was on October 23 this year, two days after his 20th birthday.

Lt Botes, who was due to complete his call-up in December, was one of 11 SA soldiers who died during a clash with Swapo guerrillas in southern Angola on Saturday.

Speaking at the Botes' Malmesbury home last night, Mr D J Botes said his son had been a gentle, humble person with good leadership qualities.

Mrs Botes said he matriculated in 1985 and after doing his basic training, he was sent to 1 SA Infantry battalion in Bloemfontein. He then completed an officers course at Oudsthoorn and went on to Ondangwa.

He played under-19 rugby while at school and also played in the Craven Week.

Lt Botes had applied to the Cape Technikon for registration as a nature conservation officer, Mr Botes said.

He is survived by his parents and his elder brother Anton, 22, and his younger brother Andre, 14.

● Just six weeks before their wedding, Captain Andries Hercules Rademeyer, the fiance of 21-year-old Miss Tania Steyn of Port Elizabeth, was killed in the operational area.

Capt Rademeyer, 27, is originally from Humansdorp and survived by two brothers and a sister.

● Rifleman Wayne Ewels, 21, who died in action at the weekend, was a keen sportsman and a perfect gentleman, his brother, Mr Tony Ewels, said yesterday.

Rifleman Ewels is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs G R Ewels, of Vincent, East London, his two brothers and a sister.

● Two Natal men were among the 11 soldiers killed at the weekend.

The two Natal men were Lance-Corporal Raymond Light, 21, of Pinetown and Second Lieutenant Dylan Chevalier Cobbold, 20, of Winterton.

Capt Trinks 3/11/87  
people were expected to labour have to



### The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — At least 12 South African Defence Force/South West Africa Territorial Force troops and 150 Swapo members have been killed in one of the bloodiest battles in the more than 20-year war in SWA/Namibia.

A SADF spokesman has confirmed that the 12 soldiers were killed in an attack on a Swapo base 150km north of Owamboland on Saturday.

Swapo lost 150 members in the battle, he said.

Eleven soldiers were reported yesterday to have been killed, but the SADF announced today that Rifleman Jean Mark Schuurman, 20, had died of his wounds, raising the death toll to 12.

Military observers said the South African casualties were the result of a bloody and intense fire-fight as SADF/SWATF forces launched an all-out assault on a Swapo base in southern Angola.

### Ground battle

It was reported to be a ground battle. The SADF rejected claims that a helicopter was shot down.

Although the exact location of the base is not known, it is believed to be in the vicinity of Cuvelai, where SADF forces destroyed a major Swapo base during Operation Askari in late 1983.

The battle was said not to be related to the defeat of a Cuban-led Fapla force by Unita rebels.

An officer from Malmesbury who died in the battle had survived war wounds earlier this year and returned to the operational area.

Second Lieutenant Dean Botes, 20, was wounded in a skirmish on July 25, said his mother, Mrs Ena Botes of Malmesbury.

"He went back to 101 Battalion at the end of September and was there for 14 days before he came home for his last pass," said Mrs Botes.

"We put him on a plane on October 23 and he was killed seven days later."

Lieutenant Botes knew what was waiting for him when he reported back for duty after his pass.

"He was told that he had to go into Angola," said Mrs Botes. She and Mr Danie Botes, who works for the Department of Posts and Telecommunications, have two other sons.

### "Outdoor type"

Lieutenant Botes turned 20 on October 21. He went into the army straight from Swartland Hoërskool, where he played for the first rugby team and for Boland schools. His ambition was to become a nature conservationist and he had planned to study in Cape Town next year.

"He was keen to go, he was an outdoor type of person. He was genuine and was just marvellous. His death is a terrible shock," said Mrs Botes.

Another victim of the battle, Sapper Erasmus Albertus Steyn, 19, was one of seven children of Hans and Louise Steyn of Bloemfontein.

"The Lord lent me my son and He has now taken him back," Mrs Steyn said.

Mr Steyn was treated for shock at the news of his son's death.

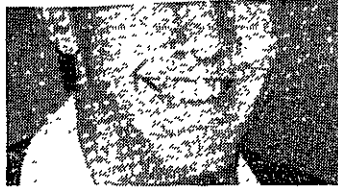
Sapper Steyn was to have finished his national service at the end of the year, but he had not formulated plans for next year.

The mother of Rifleman Hugues de Rose, 21, said she had last seen her son on her 50th birthday in September.

Mrs Therese de Rose said her son was a paratrooper and had spent most of his national service on the border. He was also due to finish his service next month. Rifleman de Rose is survived by his parents, who live in Harrismith, a brother and a sister.

"It is a terrible thing, he was such a lovely boy. They told us there were quite a few injured," said Mrs de Rose.

Mr R Cobbold said he was in no condition to speak about his



Lt Dean Botes

### 10 SADF men

#### The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The SADF men who died in the battle were:

Captain Andries Hercules Rademeyer, 27, who is survived by two brothers and a sister.

Second Lieutenant Dean Botes, 20, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs D J Botes of Malmesbury.

Second Lieutenant Dylan Chevallier Cobbold, 20, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs R G Cobbold of Winterton, Natal.

Corporal Nico Smith Olivier, 19, who is survived by his parents, Professor and Mrs L R Olivier of Pretoria.

Lance Corporal Raymond Mark Light, 21, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs R H Light of Pinetown.

Rifleman Dirk Wilhelm van Rooyen, 20, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs D W van Rooyen of Phalaborwa.

Rifleman Wayne Valentine Ewels, 21, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs G R Ewels of East London.

Rifleman Hugues Norbert de Rose, 21, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs A de Rose of Harrismith.

Sapper Erasmus Albert Steyn, 19, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs H J Steyn of Bloemfontein.

Rifleman Jean Mark Schuurman, 20, who is survived by his parents, Mr P H Schuurman of Randburg and his mother, Mrs J Janisch of Johannesburg.

Death toll after conflict in Angola rises as trooper dies

BLOODY BATTLEFIELD

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PTO

# Anti-tank blast killed five in Angola attack

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Five South African soldiers were killed when a troop carrier was hit by an anti-tank missile during an attack on an established Swapo base in Angola, a Defence Force statement has confirmed.

In all, 12 members of a combined South African Defence Force/SWA Territorial Force attack group and more than 150 Swapo fighters died during heavy fighting between 1pm and 8pm on Saturday, the statement said.

In another incident some troops were wounded when a mortar bomb exploded while they were deploying from a combat vehicle.

The Swapo fortifications were extremely well hidden in a difficult, densely wooded terrain, the statement said.

The latest engagement brings Swapo's death toll this year to 726.

The remnants of the Swapo force have broken up into small groups and are trying to link up with other established Swapo bases in the area.

"Although it is not possible to account for each and every terrorist in such difficult terrain it has been confirmed that Swapo suffered heavy casualties, including more than 150 dead and hundreds wounded," the statement said.

The success of the pre-emptive strike has crippled Swapo's annual rainy season infiltration of SWA/Namibia and it remains to be seen to what extent Swapo can reorganise, it added.

●The Unita rebel movement in Angola has claimed that it attacked retreating government troops in southern Cuando-Cubango province, killing 25 MPLA Angolan army regulars.

In a statement in Lisbon yesterday Unita also claimed that its units captured two Cuban army officers a week ago and took them to its bush headquarters at Jamba. — Sapa-AP.

The Argus ATKINSON'S TOYOTA

## Stick-a-Pic



HERE is today's piece of the picture puzzle in The Argus/Atkinson's Stick-a-Pic competition. Cut it out and paste it on the space on your entry form marked with the number corresponding to the one published alongside today.

The first correct entry to be drawn early in December will win a Toyota Hi-Ace Super 10 minibus retailing at more than R33 000. There are also five consolation prizes of R1 000 each.

If you miss any of the series, back copies of The Argus are on sale in the foyer of Newspaper House at 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

# 2

## Transplanted kidney a killer

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — When Kenneth Kolator had a kidney transplant he thought the organ had saved his life. But the kidney was cancerous and killed him.

Now his widow, Mrs Rae Ann Kolator, is suing for R7-million, claiming that the cancer in the transplanted kidney spread almost immediately to his brain, causing him an agonising death.

The kidney donor had died of multiple brain tumours. Mrs Kolator claims that the Downtown Medical Centre in Brooklyn failed to examine the kidney properly or to monitor her husband for signs of cancer.

The hospital denies any negligence and claims there is no proof that the kidney was cancerous.

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# Poor man's war

THE fact that each Angolan anti-Unita offensive of the recent past seems to have been planned and led by Russians and/or Cubans might be interesting to students of the total-onslaught concept, but it certainly does not seem to have done the Angolans much good.

My impression, now that the third successive Angolan thrust appears to have failed, is that these gentlemen do not seem to know what they are about — or maybe I should say they are trying to fight Russian-style in Africa, a sly old continent which has long specialized in making fools out of raw whites.

In Africa God is not necessarily with the big battalions; more than in the case elsewhere, the successful commander must know his enemy, his terrain and, above all, his own troops.

I believe this was not fully borne in mind by the expatriates, and they were sunk by their typically Russian obsession with rigid steam-roller tactics, employing large forces and enormous fire-power. In addition, they seem to have suffered from poor logistics — a vital aspect, given the feeble communications network — and to have failed to take account of the weather.

That is bad news in Africa, the place of the poor man's war, based on mobility, fairly small forces, good logistics and plain old-fashioned cunning.

As a result their much-vaunted thrust appears to have been a bloody fiasco. I can quite believe reports that South African aid to Unita was selective rather than large: given the circumstances, no more was required.

Perhaps the Angolans should award their "advisers" the Order of the Boot, First Class, and run their own show.

## Lomba River slenter?

IS THE SADF pulling a slenter by disguising Lomba River fatalities as the result of a mythical or partly mythical attack on a Swapo base hundreds of kilometres away? I fear that the first impulse of many people would be to say "probably", thanks to the general distrust of all official pronouncements and the paucity of information released about the latest military activities.

After making some roundabout inquiries I am satisfied the SADF statement in this regard was accurate. However, let us look at how these things work.

SADF standing policy is to inform the next of kin as soon as possible, although public announcements might be frozen for several days till the operation in question is completed or largely completed.

I have never known this policy to

be deviated from, and in fact purely practical reasons would make such a deviation extremely difficult.

If yesterday's announcement was a slenter, it means the SADF may have withheld news of at least some casualties for a month or more, which (to say the least) appears highly unlikely.

It is true Angola has been claiming substantial South African casualties for a long time. But this is no criterion: the Angolans have been doing so for years and have been proved wrong every time.

It is regrettable that so few details have been released; past experience has proved time and again that this is not the best *modus operandi*.

However, if normal procedures are followed it is likely that within the next few days an extensive press conference will be held at Oshakati or elsewhere. But a few early crumbs usually go down better than a whole loaf later on.

(L) (A) *Edy 1/17/87*



Kentucky Straight Bourbon Whiskey

'Swapo losses include hundreds hurt'

# SADF describes battle in Angola

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The SADF's preemptive strike into southern Angola last week had broken up a Swapo group at an established base north of the Angolan border, Defence Headquarters said last night.

Nine SADF and two SWATF members were killed in the attack — and it was confirmed yesterday that another has since died.

An SADF spokesman said Swapo had suffered heavy casualties. Apart from the 150 killed, hundreds had been wounded. The Swapo group had now broken up into smaller groups which were trying to link up with other Swapo bases.

Describing Saturday's operation, the spokesman said the base's fortifications had been well hidden in difficult, densely wooded terrain. Some of the SADF casualties had been incurred during heavy

fighting in the area from 1pm to 8pm.

In one incident, a troop carrier had been hit by an anti-tank weapon and five soldiers had died. In another, a number of soldiers had been wounded when a mortar bomb exploded among them as they were getting out of their combat vehicle. There was no evidence of support for Swapo by Angolan troops.

Although it was not possible to account for every terrorist in such difficult terrain, it had been confirmed that Swapo had suffered heavy casualties.

"In the light of the success of this operation, during which the security forces acquitted themselves excellently, it is expected Swapo's annual rainy-season infiltration of South West Africa will be seriously hindered."

**Defence Correspondent and UPI**  
**SEVEN HOURS** of fighting in densely wooded southern Angolan terrain preceded the capture of the Swapo base in which more than 150 insurgents and 12 South African soldiers died on Saturday — five of them when their vehicle was hit by an anti-tank projectile, military spokesmen said yesterday.

A statement from Defence Headquarters gave details for the first time about the way in which the security force men died and claimed that "hundreds" of Swapo had been wounded — and, presumably, captured.

At no stage were the Angolan armed forces involved in the attack, the statement said.

It was expected that Swapo infiltration into northern Namibia during the November-December short rainy season would be "seriously hindered".

The South African losses were the worst in a single engagement since January 1984 when 17 soldiers died in one battle. Unlike in previous strikes, the Swapo base was not identified. The reported attack takes the Swapo toll to 726 this year.

The full statement from Defence headquarters reads as follows:

"Defence headquarters confirms that the attack was launched on an established Swapo terrorist base north of the Ovamboland/Angola border.

"This fortification was extremely well hidden in difficult, densely-wooded terrain. Some of the Defence Force's casualties were incurred during heavy fighting in this area from 13h00 to 20h00 on Saturday.

### Mortar exploded

"In one incident a troop carrier was struck by an anti-tank weapon and five soldiers died.

"In another incident, a number of soldiers were wounded when a mortar bomb exploded among them as they were getting out of their combat vehicle.

"There was no interference or support to Swapo from the Angolan armed forces during this operation.

"Although it is not possible to account for each and every terrorist in such difficult terrain, it has been confirmed that Swapo suffered heavy casualties, including more than 150 dead, and hundreds wounded.

"They have now broken up into small groups and are trying to link up with other established Swapo bases in the area."

However, yesterday senior Swapo sources in offices in Africa and Europe stuck to earlier assertions that the SADF figures were "from battles they have fought with (Angolan) Fapla troops, not with our combatants".

Swapo leader Dr Sam Nujoma told reporters in Ireland, where he was on an unofficial visit, that no Swapo guerilla's were killed. He said Pretoria made up the report to account for soldiers killed in clandestine action to support the anti-Marxist Unita movement.

Dr Nujoma has had talks in London with British Foreign Office Minister of State, Mrs Lynda Chalker, who said in a written parliamentary reply that she had expressed to the Swapo leader British concern about alleged human-rights abuses by the organization.

Meanwhile the Unita claim that they had beaten back a combined Soviet, Cuban, East German and Angolan assault on its bush headquarters at Jamba unaided, was disputed by American and European intelligence sources which reported that the victory was achieved with the help of American Stinger and Tow missiles; and South African artillery, bombers and fighter aircraft.

Pretoria so far has declined to confirm or deny a major role in the successful Unita counter-attack and has not announced any casualties in the southern eastern region around Jamba.

Western diplomats in Lisbon also alleged on Monday that Pretoria "fabricated" the story to account for losses against Angola's Soviet-backed army.

However, local military observers suggested that Swapo's continuing denial that any attack had taken place had to be seen against the background of heavy losses by its military wing, Plan (People's Liberation Army of Namibia), since 1983.

Meanwhile, the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) said in a statement released by press officer, Ms Tracy Clayton, that "the deaths of these young conscripts is the price paid for the military aggression of the Nationalist government".

From Lisbon, Unita claimed yesterday that its forces attacked retreating government troops in southern Cuando-Cubango province on Monday, killing 25 Angolan army regulars and destroying 15 military vehicles, including two tanks.

They said the army was in full retreat from "free Angola".

# SA MISSILE SOLDIERS KILLED

APC - 5/11/84  
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ARGUS 5/11/87

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## Angolans want a just solution — Dos Santos

### The Argus Foreign Service

LISBON.— Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has told Soviet leaders "we want a negotiated, honourable and just solution for Southern Africa's problems," and has asked for continued support.

Mr dos Santos told a joint session of the Soviet Union's Communist Party Central Committee and Supreme Soviet in Moscow that his country does not want "peace at any price".

"The solution should safeguard the rights of peoples and not put at risk the principles of our socialist option."

The text of his speech was released here by the Angolan news agency Angop.

Mr dos Santos, in Moscow for celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, appealed to the Soviet leaders to continue with their "decisive support" for his Marxist regime which "has not lived a single day of peace" since independence from Portugal in 1975.

### "VERY FIRM"

"It is important that your solidarity and aid continue so that the socialist community ever more constitutes the necessary rearguard for nations such as ours, where the will to build a just and independent society on socialist bases is very firm," he said.

Mr dos Santos reiterated his call for a "global accord" in the region between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and Swaziland.

D. calls in

ANGOLA

# Magnus rules OK

The latest clash between the SA Defence Force (SADF) and Swapo — with a body count of more than 162 — underlines the importance of the balance of military power-play in the region, rather than quiet diplomacy as may be practised by Pik Botha's Department of Foreign Affairs.

Much as Botha's diplomats may be talking to their US counterparts behind the closed doors of Union Buildings, State Department or even embassy walls, it is Magnus Malan's troops who determine the future of Namibia. And, for that matter, Angola.

The SA Institute of International Affairs' André du Pisanie says outright that the SADF is intent on destroying Swapo. "I am not convinced that the overriding factor in the latest clash was to force Swapo to the negotiating table."

If the operation, in which SA lost 12 men (at going to press), had been calculated to weaken Swapo to get them to negotiate it served a purpose, says Du Pisanie.

"But I think the SADF is wrong if it thinks that Swapo losses will translate into a political setback for it in Namibia. Swapo's appeal in Namibia is still very strong and will not be affected by these losses."

Professor Mike Hough of the University of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies also sees SA's action as a preventive strategic move rather than anything else.

"I am not optimistic that the latest operation will enhance the negotiating process. There are still quite a few hindrances before the parties reach that stage. Apart from the Cuban presence, questions like Swapo's insistence that Walvis Bay be incorporated into Namibia will prolong the process."

But Hough does not fully agree with Du Pisanie's view that the recent bloody battle will not harm Swapo's political image. "If you accept that Swapo only uses about 1 500 men from its 8 000-strong force as part of its insurgency team in Namibia, the organisation has been hurt.

"I agree however that a revolutionary organisation relies on its visibility. And Swapo has been accentuating its political image in Namibia during the past few months."

From army sources it also becomes clear that the SADF regarded this latest operation more as a pre-emptive strike than retaliation. The sources say the rainy season is on hand and a setback to Swapo at this stage will seriously hamper its future strategic plans.

Both Du Pisanie and Hough reject rumours that SA's losses were due to helping Unita during the recent battle of Mavinga against Soviet-backed Angolan troops. The SADF has several times denied involvement.

Du Pisanie says the latest confrontation is



Malan... still showing the way

a classic example of Swapo being caught in a base camp. He says that because of territorial competition with Unita, Swapo forces have moved closer to the Namibian border.

"Swapo has a sizeable ground presence in Angola, as well as an extensive defence system. It has been using newly established transit bases to give access to Ovamboland," says Du Pisanie.

He does not however doubt SA's strong military assistance to Unita in other areas.

"Unita receives, according to US intelligence sources, about R400m annually from SA. That includes joint ventures, training, intelligence gathering and assessment, air and logistical support. And there is a strong bond with the Unita leadership."

So far overseas sources are having great difficulty in getting substantiated reports from Angola on the latest clash. Usually well-informed sources in London tell the *FM* that there has been some astonishment in the

British capital about the recent claims of a big Unita victory at Mavinga.

The sources say that Angola has not yet responded to these claims. It did however state that it has been subjected to long-range bombardment — which commentators accept as further proof that SA's G5 guns were used in the skirmishes.

SADF claims that 150 Swapo troops have been killed were denied in a statement by Swapo leader Sam Nujoma in Dublin, Ireland. He says if anyone was killed, it could only have been Angolan citizens.

The London sources say rumours have been surfacing of a new diplomatic deal between Angola and the US. Against that background they see SA's latest attack on Swapo as similar to the attack on Botswana during the visit of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to Pretoria.

All in all, it does look as if Du Pisanie is correct: a negotiated settlement in Namibia is still but a dream.

# Angolan peace force plan gains support

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14/1/87

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

**LONDON —** Nigeria and Kenya have become the first black African countries to respond positively to the call by the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, for the removal of all non-African troops from Angola.

According to a report in the London Observer newspaper yesterday, Nigeria is ready to pledge between 10 000 and 15 000 men to a peace-keeping force in an effort to end 12 years of bloodshed in the trouble-torn country.

The newspaper said the Nigerian President, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, and Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi had both indicated they were willing to support Dr Savimbi's call to withdraw non-African troops from Angola and start power-sharing talks with the communist-backed government in Luanda.

Other countries such as Ivory Coast, Zaire, Senegal, Togo and Gabon were likely to follow Nigeria's lead and back a peace initiative, the Observer said.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuters reports that the leaders of the six frontline states last night accused South Africa of preferring military methods to negotiation to solve disputes in the region.

In a communique issued after a one-day meeting in Luanda, the leaders of Angola, Bo-

swana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Tanzania condemned South Africa for its current incursion in Angola in support of Unita and pledged to defend their countries against attack by South Africa.

"South Africa prefers military solutions to negotiations," the communique said.

President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola told the meeting: "Today we have proof that South Africa, playing the role of gendarme in the region, is increasing its destabilisation of Angola and other frontline states.

Angola will take the necessary steps to defend itself," he said.

The head of the Organisation of African Unity, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, chaired the meeting, which was held amid reports of heavy fighting in south-eastern Angola between Soviet and Cuban-backed government forces and South African troops supporting Unita.

President Dos Santos said 3 000 South African soldiers, backed by 70 armoured vehicles as well as by aircraft and

artillery, were currently inside Angola and had clashed violently with Angolan forces. A further 30 000 South African troops, supported by tanks, aircraft and artillery, were concentrated on the northern border of Namibia poised to go into action, he said.

South Africa acknowledged on Wednesday its troops were inside Angola helping Unita and said they had clashed directly with Soviet and Cuban troops.

President Dos Santos said South Africa was trying not only to destabilise his country but also to force his government to accept talks with Unita.

In their communique, the frontline leaders condemned President P. W. Botha for the visit he had made with some of his ministers to the war zone.

Approached for comment, a spokesman for the SA Defence Force in Pretoria said yesterday he had nothing to add to the recent statements made by the State President, the Minister of Defence and the Chief of the SADF.

See also P3  
Editorial opinion P6



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WITHIN hours of the publication in South Africa last weekend of reports of a decisive victory by Unita rebels over Angolan Fapla forces, the South African Defence Force announced that its troops had carried out the biggest — and bloodiest — cross-border raid into Angola since the 1983-84 Askari invasion.

But, a spokesman for the SADF said, the pre-emptive raid against Angolan-based Swapo fighters had "no connection" with Unita's battle along the Lomba River in south-east Angola with Fapla soldiers.

His statement was immediately challenged by the Swapo leader, Sam Nujoma, who denied the SADF announcement that its forces had killed 150 Swapo guerrillas at the cost of 12 of its own men.

The SADF, Nujoma insisted, was trying to cover up losses incurred by its troops in support of Jonas Savimbi's Unita fighters.

André du Pisani, research director at the SA Institute of International Affairs, offered a different perspective: he did not question that there had been an SADF raid on a well-defended Swapo base, but he doubted whether, in strategic terms, SADF attacks on Swapo could be separated from South African support for Unita.

Namibian-born Du Pisani argued that SADF counter-insurgency strikes against Swapo were increasingly integrated with its backing for Unita. In large measure, he added, the integrated SADF strategy on Angola was a function of the *de facto* integration of Swapo and Fapla forces.

Whatever the degree of synchronisation between the SADF raid and re-

# Angola: Has Fapla lost the war? Or just a battle?



General Magnus Malan

The indications are that a new phase has been reached in the Angola war. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

ports of Unita successes, the indications are that a new phase may have been reached in the undeclared war for control of southern Angola.

There seems little doubt Fapla has suffered a defeat in its latest drive against Unita. But what is less clear is whether the defeat is a major disaster or a minor setback, whether Fapla has been routed or has conducted a strategic retreat.

The extent to which Unita successes were due to South African intervention — Defence Minister Magnus Malan admitted last month the SADF was providing "limited assistance" to Unita — is similarly unclear.

But in the absence of compelling proof to the contrary, it must be assumed that Fapla's main base, Cuito

Cuanavale, west of the strategic Unita-held hamlet of Mvingva, is still intact. As long as Cuito Cuanavale is in Fapla hands — its fall would certainly be trumpeted across the world by Unita's adroit propagandists — Fapla is still poised to make another push against Savimbi during the next dry season.

Cuito Cuanavale is one of several Fapla military bases which form what *Africa Confidential* has called a "line of steel". They stretch across southern Angola from Lubango in the West through Jama (not to be confused with Savimbi's headquarters of the same name) to Menongue.

The immediate aim in Fapla's latest offensive was to capture Mavinga, and more particularly its airfield, and

add it to the "line of steel".

Capture of Mavinga would have brought Fapla close enough to the SADF lifeline to Unita from Namibia to threaten it from the air, Angola having acquired MiG23s and trained pilots to fly them.

The threat was not realised. To that extent, Fapla suffered a reverse and Unita and its South African backers scored a victory. But the threat is still there.

Angolan air power is a vital new factor in the politico-military equation, with Fapla MiG23s and their reportedly well-trained pilots now threatening the air supremacy of the SADF's ageing Mirages. The seriousness of the threat to South African aerial supremacy over Angolan skies has been acknowledged by SADF generals, including the past chief of the South West African Territory Force, George Meiring.

Seen in that context it is clear Fapla still poses a substantial threat to Unita.

According to some observers, Fapla strategy is not to launch a frontal assault on Unita's highly-motivated, well-trained and mobile guerrilla forces but to strangle Unita by cutting off its supply line.

In short, it may be deploying what Captain BH Liddell Hart called the "strategy of indirect approach".

Against that, however, another factor needs to be thrown into the equation: the supply by the United States of Stinger ground-to-air missiles to Unita and the reactivation of the old US airbase at Kamina in Zaire, from where missiles could conceivably be flown to Unita in south-east Angola.

The SADF's loss of 12 men — 10 from South Africa rather than Namibia, including a captain and two lieutenants — raises a potentially critical question: at what point, if at all, will political resistance in South Africa to the death of young men in Angola begin to manifest itself?

Judging by the build-up of Fapla forces over the past two years and the continued survival of Swapo, despite repeated SADF claims of having inflicted crushing blows, more young South African lives will be in jeopardy in months ahead.

The financial cost of the war to South Africa is mounting, too. In 1984 it was estimated to be costing South African taxpayers R1.5 million a day, or nearly R1-million to kill one Swapo guerrilla.

# Time to discuss SADF's role in sub-continent

ONE TIMES 7/11/87

THE loss in action of 10 South African servicemen beyond our borders in Angola, which was disclosed to the public this week, has raised urgent questions about our interventionist military role in the sub-continent.

White public opinion has tended to accept that General Magnus Malan and his advisers know what they are about in their strikes across our borders, clandestine or otherwise.

The tax-paying public has been happy enough to cough up huge sums for the defence budget



**Political Survey**  
By GERALD SHAW

year after year, having been persuaded that there is a "total onslaught" to be repelled and the menace of communist expansionism to be kept at bay.

But there are other perspectives — and there are signs that the whole issue of regional defence strategy is becoming ripe for public debate. Some would argue that the real priority is a political settlement at home.

The recent military losses were apparently incurred in operations against Swapo, which, operating from Angolan bases, maintains an increasingly fitful and sporadic guerilla insurgency against South African rule in Namibia, which the Republic agreed to relinquish in Mr John Vorster's time nearly a decade ago.

So what is South Africa still doing in Namibia? Why have we dragged our heels in getting out?

There is also some reason to believe that the SADF is now also directly involved beyond our borders in the Angolan civil war — on the side of Dr Savimbi's Unita rebels, as well as backing Unita with supplies and armaments.

### MNR rebels

South African assistance has transformed Unita into a military threat to Luanda of an order which has prompted the MPLA government to call for and receive massive Soviet assistance in expertise and sophisticated weaponry.

Then there is also the clandestine assistance which we have given to the Renamo (MNR) reb-

oirs of Ian Smith's intelligence chief, Ken Flower\*, are published, as they have been recently, and a whole new perspective on events opens up.

Flower, who died just before his book came out in Britain, recalled receiving a high-powered military delegation from Pretoria in March, 1979, headed by General Magnus Malan, then chief of SADF. Mr P W Botha had taken over as premier the previous year.

As Flower noted at the time, it was plain from what the South Africans said that Vorster's diplomatic "detente" was out and that military influence would henceforth dominate Pretoria's domestic and foreign policies.

### No compromise

There would be no further compromise over Namibia, where South Africa expected to be in control for at least another decade. It would suit the South Africans to keep southern Angola destabilized, helping Unita and further hindering Swapo, as Flower told his government. The South Africans expected Mozambique to become an active ANC base and so would respond accordingly.

It is well known what happened a year or so later, with the MNR scourge being unleashed by Pretoria on a already tottering Mozambique.

Flower, a police officer in his early career, who was very much in the British tradition of non-partisan service to the government of the day, was retained by Mr Robert Mugabe after the latter's 1980 election victory, as noted in this col-

## MNR rebels

South African assistance has transformed Unita into a military threat to Luanda of an order which has prompted the MPLA government to call for and receive massive Soviet assistance in expertise and sophisticated weaponry.

Then there is also the clandestine assistance which we have given to the Renamo (MNR) rebels who are laying waste Mozambique on the other side of the continent and cutting off Zimbabwe from its outlets to the sea, while carrying out massacres of innocent civilians on a scale which must give pause to even the most callous of observers.

Yet General Malan does not agree that we are "destabilizing" these countries. He tells us that it is the Soviet Union that is destabilizing the sub-continent. Many, perhaps a majority of white South Africans are still inclined to accept this.

There are other views, however. Some analysts in the West, such as Dr Chester Crocker, take the view that it is precisely South Africa's aggressive military posture in the region which is drawing the Soviet Union into the sub-continent. Mr Gorbachev would much rather use his resources more productively at home and has a common interest with the West in maintaining the stability of the region.

## Delaying

If it was not for South Africa's role in keeping Unita's insurgency on the boil, we may conclude, Luanda would have been able to scale down its praetorian guard of Cuban protectors long ago or may even have been able to dispense with them entirely.

South Africa, as part of its delaying tactics, has made a Namibian settlement conditional on the withdrawal of the Cubans. At the same time it is able to ensure the Cubans remain by continuing and increasing aid to Unita!

What ultimate goal is the SADF trying to achieve? With the limited information available to us it is not easy to form a balanced judgment.

Yet occasional flashes of illuminating information penetrate the fog of evasion and disinformation, as when the mem-

coringly.

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Flower, a police officer in his early career, who was very much in the British tradition of non-partisan service to the government of the day, was retained by Mr Robert Mugabe after the latter's 1980 election victory, as noted in this column recently.

He immediately told Mugabe that he had handed over control of the MNR organization to South Africa. But he got one thing badly wrong, he related in his memoirs, in advising the new prime minister that South Africa "would not be so stupid or so short-sighted" as to pursue a policy of destabilization of Zimbabwe.

## Motive

Flower, admitting this major error of judgment, ultimately concluded that Pretoria believed it had an interest in wrecking the economy of its neighbours to ensure the failure of black government — and so confirm the superiority of white government.

Is this really the underlying motive for destabilization?

Obviously, there are other considerations — including the discouragement of our neighbours from allowing the ANC to use their territory as military bases against South Africa. But Mugabe's Zimbabwe has never allowed such bases and Mozambique sent the ANC packing at the time of Nkomati.

In the remote border and bush conditions of southern Africa, furthermore, movements of guerillas back and forth will continue to some extent, whatever the official attitude of neighbouring governments and whether or not Pretoria is intent on destabilization.

So let us hear the case for destabilization, openly and honestly stated. And let us hear the case against it.

It is time for a vigorous public debate about the SADF's regional role, and some discussion of alternative political and diplomatic strategies which would be less calculated to sow mayhem and misery around us.

*\* Serving Secretly by Ken Flower (John Murray).*

9/11/87 5

## SA soldiers hit by troops, air force — claim

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Angolan troops with fighter support attacked withdrawing South African troops during last week's bloody clash in Angola, it is claimed here.

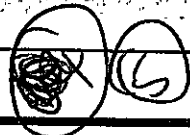
Four South African soldiers were wounded in the clash, which followed an attack on a Swapo base. They were caught by a cluster bomb dropped by an Angolan MiG-23, says Simon O'Dwyer-Russell of the Sunday Telegraph.

Angola's reaction to the raid has alarmed senior South African officers who see Angola's willingness to intervene with air strikes as an ominous sign in the war against Swapo.

"Chastened South African commanders realise that in any future across-the-border actions they risk heavy casualties and the loss of irreplaceable equipment, facing fighters flown by Angola's 'Top Gun' pilots, combat-trained by Soviet instructors and spoiling for a fight," he said.

O'Dwyer-Russell also claims South Africa lost two Mirage fighters in recent clashes — one in air combat over Cuito Cuanavale three weeks ago and the other hit by ground fire over Mavinga. The pilot was killed when he crash-landed.

The Angolan Air Force's 55 MiG-23s and 73 Mig-21s, combined with a sophisticated air-defence system, have made South African pilots realise they face a price for intervention, he says.



UK press report dismissed as 'absurd'

# Angolan air raid 'alarms SADF'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Angolan troops with fighter support attacked withdrawing South African troops during last week's clash at a Swapo base in Angola, says a report published in London.

Four South African soldiers wounded in the clash, which followed an attack on a Swapo base, were caught by a cluster bomb dropped by an Angolan MiG-23, says Simon O'Dwyer-Russell, of the *Sunday Telegraph*, reporting from the Angolan border.

He says Angola's reaction to the raid has alarmed senior South African officers. They see Angola's wil-

lingness to intervene with air strikes as an ominous sign for the future in the war against Swapo.

"Chastened South African commanders realise that, in any future across-the-border actions, they risk heavy casualties and the loss of irreplaceable equipment, facing fighters flown by Angola's 'Top Gun' pilots, combat-trained by Soviet instructors and spoiling for a fight."

O'Dwyer-Russell also claims that South Africa lost two Mirage fighters in recent clashes — one in air combat over Cuito Cuanavale three weeks ago and the other hit by ground fire over Mavinga. A pilot was killed when he crash-landed in Namibia.

The Angolan Air Force's 55 MiG-23s and 73 MiG-21s, combined with a sophisticated air-defence system, have made South African pilots realise they face a price for any future intervention in Angola, he says.

An SADF spokesman said last night that the report was absurd.

"No journalists accompanied the SA forces during the attack on a Swapo base last weekend nor on any other so-called operations in Angola."

"This report is a hodge-podge of official statements, discredited Angolan allegations, speculative reports in newspapers and other inaccuracies."

"It is in fact so far-fetched that the SADF is surprised it is given any credibility at all," said the spokesman.

He referred to an earlier SADF statement in which it was said there was no interference or support for Swapo by the Angolan armed forces during the recent operation.

SAB 10/11/87

# Witness tells of course in combat tactics Terror trial accused 'trained by ANCO at camps in Angola'

By Dirk Nel,  
Northern Transvaal Bureau

MESSINA — The two accused in the Messina terrorism trial attended African National Congress training camps in Angola, a state witness testified during the Supreme Court hearing yesterday.

The witness may not be identified.

He said he attended a camp where accused No 1, Mr Mthetheleli Mncube, was a firearm instructor. Other training offered at the camp included

combat tactics, map reading, the history of freedom struggles in other countries, and anti-aircraft weaponry.

He said Mr Mncube, with whom he had daily contact, was known as "Caesar" or "Scissor".

"I recognised him as soon as I entered this courtroom", the witness told the judge. He added that he had encountered the other accused, Mr Mzondeleli Nondula, at another training camp.

An explosives expert, Lieutenant JH Loubser, demonstrated to the court how various so-called terrorist devices are activated. These included a Czech-made land mine, a Russian anti-personnel mine and various handgrenades.

He said the weapons had been brought into South Africa from Zimbabwe and Botswana.

The accused have pleaded not guilty to charges of murder, attempted murder, terrorism, and illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

The case arose from a series of landmine blasts which killed eight people in the Messina area in 1985, and a shooting incident which claimed the lives of two policemen in 1986.

The State also alleges that the two men promoted the aims of the ANC, and that they were involved in attempts to overthrow the Government by violent means.

## 'It would be like talking to a ghost'

Northern Transvaal Bureau  
MESSINA - The Supreme Court trial of two alleged terrorists took a dramatic turn yesterday when Mr Justice JPO de Villiers ordered that the evidence of a State witness be heard in camera.

Mr Frans Roets, for the State, wanted the witness to wear a balaclava and also wanted the press barred from court.

He said disclosure of the identity of the witness and the nature of his testimony could endanger his life.

Mr Rodney Black, appearing for the two accused, Mr Mthetheleli Mncube (27) and Mr Mzondeleli Nondula (24), objected, saying it was unheard of to have a disguised witness testifying in court.

"I do not want a disguised person in the witness stand — it would be like talking to a ghost," said the judge. He suggested that, if the press was barred, a joint statement concerning the evidence would have to be issued by the prosecutor and council for the defence.

After an adjournment, Mr Roets told the judge that the State acceded to the defence's insistence that the press remain and the witness be undisguised.

APC Times 1/18/77

Angola  
denounces  
'SA strikes'

NEW YORK. — Angola has denounced what it said were recent South African military strikes deep inside its territory and called for UN intervention.

In a letter to the secretary-general circulated yesterday as a UN document, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said Pretoria was preparing to unleash its eighth tank division against the Angolan province of Kunene.

The letter said the fighting may reach as far as 350km inside the country.

Early last month, it said, South Africa bombed territory as far as 500km inside Angola.

It also charged Pretoria with concentrating military aircraft in northern Namibia.

In a statement from Lisbon on Monday, Unita said its forces "attacked and demolished" the 19th Brigade in five hours of combat along the banks of the Chambinga River.

It said they "demolished" an army brigade in the battle in southeastern Angola, killing 65 soldiers and destroying or capturing 34 military vehicles, including six tanks. — Sapa-Reuter, UPI

12645 11/11/87

# Signs that talks are nearer as Angola celebrates

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Angola is today celebrating the 12th anniversary of its independence from Portugal.

There are, however, signs that after a recent bloody battle in southern Angola the Unita rebel group and the MPLA government are now more willing to make concessions than a few years ago.

After victories against the MPLA, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is expected to announce a new peace plan to end the war.

Foreign journalists have been flown to his headquarters in Jamba to attend independence celebrations and they are also expecting to interview two captured Cuban air force officers.

In Luanda, where the MPLA has announced events to celebrate independence, the authorities have shown a willingness to negotiate a withdrawal of Cuban troops.

They have submitted a plan for the withdrawal of Cuban troops stationed south of the 13th parallel over a two-year period but the United States has demanded a shorter timetable.

Reports say the Angolan government is ready to accept American demands and agree to a Cuban withdrawal over 15 months.

After the defeat of its offensive against Mavinga there are also reports of growing political pressure on President José Eduardo dos Santos to seek a solution to the war.

President dos Santos returned from the Soviet Union on Sunday and indicated in an interview with Soviet journalists that he was ready to consider an "internal solution" to the Unita problem once the United States and South Africa stopped supporting the rebels.



# 'Devastating spiral of violence'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The costly regional conflict in southern Africa — the only area of the continent south of the Sahara where defence spending is increasing — is "compounded by South Africa's active destabilisation policies", the authoritative International Institute for Strategic Studies says in its latest global military review.

It says South Africa's "intransigent position", and the absence of movement towards resolving other conflicts in the area, are discouraging.

The institute says that in a region where economic performance "continues to disappoint", the continuing military and civil disorders have had disastrous effects on the Mozambican and Angolan economies, and have forced Zimbabwe to adopt a substantially increased defence budget.

The report says: "South African defence expenditure also continues to increase, but there are no indications that such economic sanctions as have been applied to the Republic have significantly increased the difficulty of meeting the defence burden.

"Defence expenditure in

# Regional wars take high toll

SPM 11/11/87

South Africa continues to rise in the face of undiminished internal and external opposition to the apartheid regime.

"Zimbabwe's defence budget went up by more than 40 per cent in 1986/87 ... which may partially indicate the costs of its operations to protect rail and oil lines in Mozambique from attacks by South African-backed MNR (Mozambique National Resistance) guerillas.

"The MNR campaign has had disastrous consequences on the Mozambican economy, threatening up to one quarter

of the population with starvation ..."

Defence was the largest single item in the 1987 Mozambique budget, at around 43 per cent of the total.

The effect of the war on Angola is described as disastrous. "Its agriculture has been devastated and its trade and transport network disrupted."

The report says that in Namibia security forces "continue to maintain control".

"Swapo has suffered severe casualties, and although incursions continue to be attempted, they have little effect."

P. 50

(5) SPAN 11/11/87

## Dos Santos calls for peaceful settlement

The Star's Africa News Service  
Angolan President Jose Eduar-  
do dos Santos has called for a  
negotiated and peaceful settle-  
ment to South Africa's apart-  
heid problem.

His views, expressed during  
an interview with Soviet jour-  
nalists, appear to be a rejection  
of the armed struggle as the  
only means to end white politi-  
cal domination in South Africa.

Mr dos Santos indicated,  
however, that in his opinion it  
was still too early to expect  
such negotiations.

The Angolan news agency  
Angop said yesterday Mr dos  
Santos had told the Soviet news  
agency Tass at the end of a  
visit to the Soviet Union that  
there was a need to find a ne-  
gotiated and peaceful way to  
resolve the apartheid problem  
"once contradictions within  
South Africa reached greater  
proportion".

South Africa was on the  
verge of a social explosion  
"which can have very serious  
consequences on the future of  
our region and put world peace  
and security in danger".

Mr dos Santos said his gov-  
ernment had tried to negotiate  
with the United States and  
South Africa but there had  
been no understanding from  
Washington and Pretoria.

His plans for negotiations  
were aimed only at finding a  
solution to the problem of Na-  
mibia and were not an attempt  
to solve the question of apart-  
heid.

Mr dos Santos also said an  
"internal solution" to the war  
with Unita could be found once  
the US and South Africa  
stopped supporting the rebels.

The Unita question should be  
regarded "as an Angolan prob-  
lem for which an Angolan in-  
ternal solution should be  
found".

"We have often said that  
once the members of Unita  
shook off traces of South Africa  
and their allies, they would be-  
come true Angolans and should  
be integrated in the country's  
social and economic recon-  
struction for the consolidation  
of national unity."

Mr dos Santos reaffirmed his  
"unshakeable solidarity" with  
the peoples of Namibia and  
South Africa in their struggle  
for independence and freedom.  
Angop said.

# 4 SA SOLDIERS KILLED IN ANGOLA

Gen MAGNUS MALAN  
PRETORIA — The SA Defence Force today announced the death of four soldiers in the latest fighting in southern Angola.

In a statement in which the first details of the fighting against Soviet and Cuban forces were given, Defence Headquarters said the four had died on Monday, November 9, in "an action" in south-east Angola.

"All four soldiers died after elements of the Defence Force involved in limited support to Unita acted in operations against Cuban and other Communist surrogate forces in the Cuando Cubango province on Monday," the SADF said.

Those killed were:

Sergeant Pierre James Digue, 25, who leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs L J Digue, of 10 Wattle Street, Tygerberg Hills, Bellville.

Corporal Theunis Anthony Duvenhage, 19, who leaves his wife, Mrs E Duvenhage, of 17 Rooibosch Street, Witbank.

Rifleman Anthony Steward, 19, who leaves his mother, Mrs G M D Lantsocht, of 17 Essenhout Street, Ottery, Cape Town, and his father, Mr S Steward, of 25 Ryan Street, Parow.

Rifleman Pieter Gerrit Claasen, 19, who leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs N A J Claasen, of 81 Raven Street, Els Park.

"During the battle a brigade supported by Cubans with tanks, artillery, anti-aircraft weapons, ground-to-air missiles and aircraft was successfully forced to withdraw from its position," the SADF said.

"A number of enemy tanks, armoured cars, anti-aircraft weapons and logistics vehicles were destroyed during the action.

"Indications were the Cubans were instructed to be evacuated by helicopter as soon as their personal safety was threatened, leaving

the rest (Angolan Fapla troops) to carry on."

The South African soldiers in the action had "acted with inspiration and determination, and helped to deliver a serious blow to the Russian-inspired offensive and their Communist aspirations in the sub-continent", the statement said.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said today that South

Africa had had to halt Soviet aggression in southern Angola or face the defeat of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces.

Unita had had the Angolan forces "on the run" in the current offensive, placing Moscow in a dilemma.

"It either had to stand by and witness the defeat of the MPLA forces, using Russian weapons, or it had,

in desperation, to become actively involved," Gen Malan said.

"The present Cuban-Russian offensive indicates it opted for the latter course.

"This, in turn, forced South Africa into a clear-cut decision: accept the defeat of Dr Savimbi or halt Russian aggression."

South Africa's action had been directed at its own national interests and



Gen MAGNUS MALAN

security.

Dr Savimbi cherished the same values as those held by South Africa and if he fell, the door would be opened to further impoverishment and enslavement as a result of Russian penetration.

"The suffering of Africa would be intensified and Southern Africa could then well be brought to the brink of the abyss." — Sapa

# SOUTH AFRICAN and Namibian troops have clashed head-on in fierce battles with Russian and Cuban air and land forces in south-eastern Angola, the Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuis, revealed yesterday.

5 (2) CAR TRHS 12/11/72

## Tanks, MiGs used in Angolan battles

**SOUTH AFRICAN and Namibian troops have clashed head-on in fierce battles with Russian and Cuban air and land forces in south-eastern Angola, the Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuis, revealed yesterday.**

In a statement from Pretoria — after weeks of pressure on the government to reveal the extent of its involvement in the Angolan war — General Geldenhuis gave the first confirmation of the SADF's fighting presence on the side of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita.

He said the Russians and Cubans had used tanks, sophisticated ground-to-air missiles, attack helicopters and fighter aircraft, including MiG 23s.

### Long-term security

They had entered the battle after the Angolan army, Fapla, had been badly beaten by Unita and suffered serious setbacks since their offensive launched a few months ago to dislodge Dr Savimbi from his stronghold at Jamba, in the Cuando-Cubango province.

Though General Geldenhuis gave few details, it appears from his statement that the "limited" engagement is still going on.

General Geldenhuis said it had been in South Africa's own long-term security interests to intervene.

General Geldenhuis's full statement reads: "In recent days, elements of the SADF and the South West Africa Territory Force were

compelled to take limited action against surrogate forces which intervened in the battle between Unita and the Angolan forces (Fapla) in south-eastern Angola.

"This intervention is further evidence of periodic active Cuban destabilization in Angola, which started in mid-1975.

"At that time, Cuban troops assisted the MPLA (the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, now the Angolan government, which provided for free elections and a democratically elected government in Angola.

"Russians and Cubans, using tanks, sophisticated ground-to-air missiles and fighter aircraft, including MiG-23s and attack helicopters, entered the battle after Fapla was badly beaten by Unita and suffered serious setbacks after launching their offensive a few months ago.

"As a result of these setbacks, they withdrew from the Lomba River area to regroup.

"Russian- and Cuban-backed Angolan forces are desperately trying to capture the Cuando-Cubango province in southern Angola, and therefore they pose a very real threat to Unita's position in the territory.

"If the Russian- and Cuban-supported Angolan forces succeed in gaining control of this area, which is dominated by Unita, then the situation will revert to that of the early 1970s, when Swapo was able to activate east and west Caprivi and the Kavango from Angola's Cuando-Cubango province, and thereby directly threaten the lives of innocent people in South West Africa/Namibia.

"The security forces' intervention is not only in support of Unita, but, as the Minister of Defence has repeatedly said, it is in South Africa's interest to safeguard South West Africa/Namibia from Swapo terrorist activities.

"Furthermore, MPLA control of Southern Angola would give the African National Congress greater freedom of movement, which would facilitate infiltration to South Africa.

"As it is, the Angolan government provides them with base and training facilities.

"The SADF's action is in line with the policy of the South African government to protect its own interests, wherever or whenever necessary.

"The Defence Force will therefore continue to act for as long as Russian and Cuban forces intervene in south-eastern Angola.

"For tactical and security reasons, the Defence Force can reveal no further information at this stage."

General Geldenhuis's statement was released only hours after Defence Minister General Magnus Malan told a group of visiting American businessmen in Cape Town that South Africa would continue to support Dr Savimbi.

General Geldenhuis did not, as scheduled, attend the commissioning ceremony of the Navy's latest ship, SAS Drakensberg, in Cape Town yesterday.

The Soviet news agency Tass quoted Angolan Defence Minister Mr Antonio dos Santos Franco yesterday as saying South Africa had deployed three battalions as well as armour and aircraft in support of Unita.

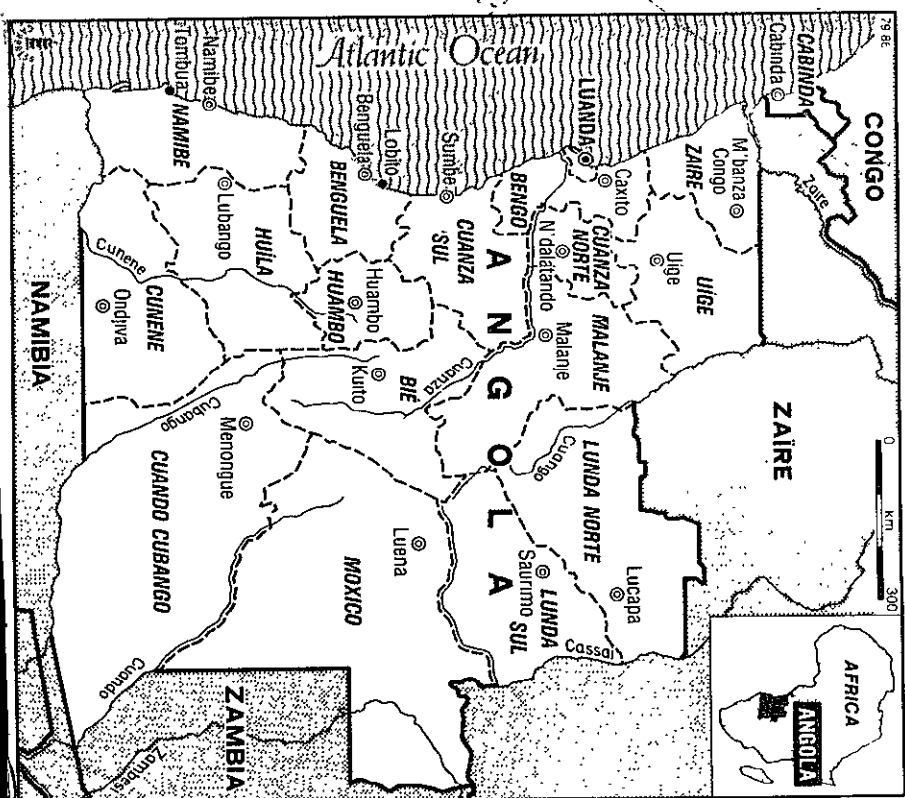
The South Africans had lost 250 men over the past two months, the statement claimed, in addition to 11 tanks, 24 armoured vehicles, 35 planes and helicopters.

### Casualties

In reaction, an SADF spokesman said the Defence Force had made its casualties known and "this is a matter of public record".

Last night, the Conservative Party's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thomas Langley, said the intervention of the Russians and Cubans in the power struggle between Unita and the MPLA was a very serious matter.

"The acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Hay Swart, said there was 'growing concern about the extent of our involvement in a situation which involves not merely defending our borders nor even engaging in a hot pursuit activities, but deeper involvement in a conflict taking place in a neighbouring state'."



NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

12/11/87 (5)

# SA forced to take Angola action — Geldenhuys

PRETORIA. — The Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said in a full statement South Africa had been "compelled to take limited action" against the Russians and Cubans, who had intervened in the battle between Unita and Angolan Fapla troops in south-eastern Angola.

He said yesterday the South African involvement was not only in support of Unita, but also to prevent Swapo from gaining greater freedom of movement to infiltrate South Africa.

"Russians and Cubans, using tanks, sophisticated ground-to-air missiles, fighter aircraft in-

cluding MiG 23s and attack helicopters, entered the battle after Fapla were badly beaten by Unita and suffered serious setbacks after launching their offensive a few months ago.

"As a result of these setbacks they withdrew from the Lomba River area to regroup.

"Russian- and Cuban-backed Angolan forces are desperately trying to capture the Cuandobungo province in southern Angola and therefore they pose a very real threat to Unita's position in the territory.

"If the Russian and Cuban-supported Angolan forces succeed in gaining control of this area, which is dominated by

Unita, then the situation would revert to that of the early 1970s.

"Then Swapo were able to activate the east and west Caprivi and the Kavango from Angola's Cuando-Cubango province and thereby directly threaten the lives and safety of innocent people in SWA/Namibia.

"The security forces' intervention is not only in support of Unita but, as the Minister of Defence (General Magnus Malan) has repeatedly said, it is in South Africa's interest to safeguard SWA/Namibia from Swapo terrorist activities.

"Furthermore, MPLA control of southern Angola would give the ANC greater freedom of movement, which would facilitate infiltration to South Africa. As it is the Angolan government provides them with base and training facilities.

"The Defence Force's action is in line with the policy of the South African Government to protect its own interests wherever or whenever necessary.

"The Defence Force will therefore continue to act for as long as Russian and Cuban forces intervene in south-east Angola.

"For tactical and security

"Of the communist involvement he said: "This intervention is further evidence of periodic active Cuban destabilisation in Angola which started in mid-1975.

"At that time Cuban troops assisted the MPLA to abrogate the Alvor Agreement, which provided for free elections and a democratically elected government in Angola." — Sapa.

Land, air clashes in southern Angola

# SADF, Reds battle for supremacy

(S) 5/1/80  
12/11/80

PRETORIA — SA air and land forces have clashed with a combined Russian-Cuban force in a fierce battle for supremacy in southern Angola.

SA Defence Force (SADF) chief Jannie Geldenhuys announced in Pretoria yesterday that SA and SWA Territory Force (SWATF) units had engaged a joint Cuban-Russian force armed with tanks, ground-to-air missiles, Mig-23 jet fighters and attack helicopters.

SA troops stepped in to "take limited action" against the "surrogate forces" which had moved south to assist Angolan government troops (Fapla) trying to dislodge Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces from Cuanda-Cubango province in the south-east of Angola.

Geldenhuys's statement did not indicate whether SA troops had been killed or injured or whether the battle was continuing. Neither did it indicate exactly when the battle took place, saying it had been "in recent days".

Reuters reports the Angolan news agency (Angop) as saying that 230 SA troops have died in the conflict in the last few months.

An SADF spokesman said in reply:

GERALD REILLY

"The SADF makes known all its operational losses and this is a matter of public record."

BARRY STREEK and WILLEM STEENKAMP report that Geldenhuys's unexpected statement is the first direct confirmation that Pretoria's forces have been present in Angola in significant strength and that they have been in toe-to-toe confrontations with surrogate forces.

The fact that SA's contingent apparently fought on its own instead of as a stiffening for the Unita troops indicates a substantial force level of at least battle-group strength (a minimum of about 1 000 men) and probably more.

The statement said Fapla forces had withdrawn north to the Lomba River area to regroup.

"Russian and Cuban-backed Angolan forces are desperately trying to capture the Cuando-Cubango province in southern Angola and therefore they pose a very real threat to Unita's position in the territory," Geldenhuys said.

He said SA forces wanted to prevent a

● To Page 2 ➡

## SA in fierce clashes with Reds

return to the situation in the early 1970s when Swapo was able to "activate the east and west Caprivi and the Kavango from Angola's Cuando-Cubango province and directly threaten the lives and safety of innocent people in SWA/Namibia".

"The security forces' intervention is not only in support of Unita, but, as the Minister of Defence has repeatedly said, it is in SA's interest to safeguard SWA/Namibia from Swapo terrorist activities.

"MPLA control of southern Angola would give the ANC greater freedom of movement which would facilitate infiltration into SA.

"As it is the Angolan government provides them with base and training and facilities.

"The SADF action is in line with the policy of the SA government to protect its own interests wherever or whenever necessary.

"The defence force will therefore continue to act for as long as Russian and

◀ ● From Page 1

Cuban forces intervene in south-east Angola," Geldenhuys said.

"For tactical and security reasons the defence force can reveal no further information at this stage."

Meanwhile, DIANNA GAMES reports that the battle of Mavinga, which took place in southern Angola last month, has changed the entire balance of forces in southern Africa, according to the influential London-based newsletter Africa Confidential.

It said the Unita-SA victory had resulted in the repulsion of 18 000 Luanda government troops backed by Cuban and Soviet advisors.

"There is now less pressure on the SA military, their confidence sky-high after Mavinga, to agree to an Angolan Namibian settlement," it said, effectively ending Chester Crocker's peace process.

# CAPTURED BETWEEN KIMBERD IN ANGOLOTTAAATION

Staff Reporters

*12/11/82*

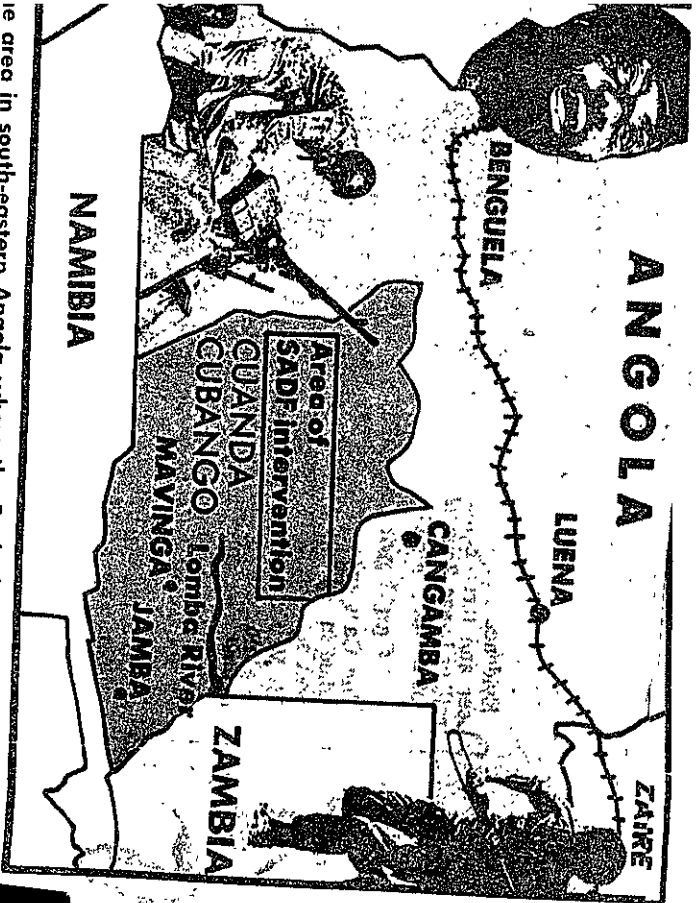
FOUR soldiers, two of them from the Western Cape, have died in action in south-east Angola, Defence Force headquarters announced today.

The four were killed after elements of the Defence Force involved in limited support of Unita acted in operations against Cuban and other communist forces in the Cuando-Cubango province on Monday.

The soldiers who died were Sergeant Pierre James Digue, 25, whose parents, Mr and Mrs L J Digue, live in Wattle Street, 25, Gerberg Hills, Bellville; Rifleman Anthony Steward, 19, whose mother, Mrs G M D Lantsoght, lives in Essenhour Street, Ottery, and whose father, Mr S S Steward, lives in Ryan Street, Parow; Corporal Theunis Antonie Duvenhage, 19, whose wife, Mrs E Duvenhage, lives in Roodbosch Street, Witbank; and Rifleman Pieter Gerrit Claassen, 19, whose parents, Mr and Mrs N A J Claassen, live in Raven Street, Elsispark.

During the action a brigade, supported by Cubans with tanks, artillery, anti-aircraft weapons and aircraft, was forced to retreat.

A number of tanks, armoured cars, anti-aircraft weapons and vehicles were destroyed.



Area in south-eastern Angola where the Fapla forces were turned back.





## Russian aggression

The Defence Force said the Cubans were ordered to leave by helicopter as soon as their safety was threatened, leaving the rest to carry on alone.

South Africa had to halt Russian aggression in southern Angola or face the defeat of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said today.

The decision to intervene in Angola was taken "in the full knowledge of and with recognition of the responsibility involved in respect of the sacrifices that would be required", General Malan said.

He said: "The price of peace is high but cannot be compared with the price of permanent domination of our part of the world by Russian and other alien power.

"It is thus imperative for South Africa to protect, in its own national interest, the peace and stability of its region."

The combined force of Unita and South Africa have, after a crushing defeat on Russians, Cubans and Angolan Government forces, according to sources today.

Confirmation of the extent of the battle was received from well-informed sources today following the announcement yesterday by Defence Force chief General Jannie Goldenhuys that South Africa was involved in a battle in southern Angola.

Indications are that the Fapla and their Russian and Cuban allies are in retreat with Unita hard on their heels and South Africa

continuing to provide limited assistance.

Hard rearguard battles are understood to be continuing as Angolan forces are driven from south-east Angola.

In a statement issued in Pretoria today, General Malan said South Africa had been expecting the assault for some time, and he reaffirmed South African support for Unita.

He said Russia had been placed in the dilemma of having either to stand by and witness the defeat of the MPLA forces or get involved actively.

### Clear-cut

General Malan said: "The present Cuban-Russian offensive indicates that it opted for the latter course.

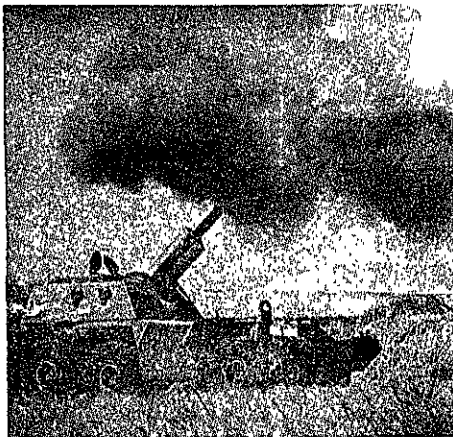
"This, in turn, forced South Africa into a clear-cut decision: accept the defeat of Dr Savimbi or halt Russian aggression."

General Malan said a Unita defeat would result in the borders of SWA/Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia being "thrown wide open" and these countries would then be overwhelmed by Russian-Cuban aggression — the whole of southern Africa destabilised and subjected to Russian domination.

Such moves would also give Swapo more freedom.

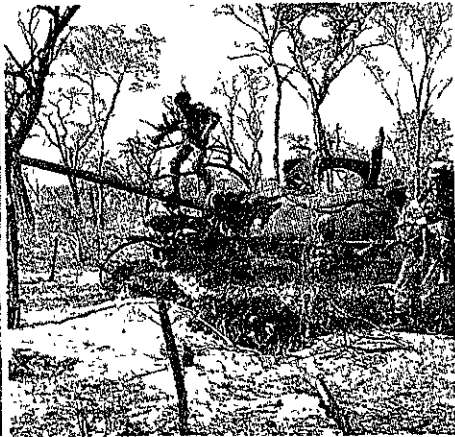
"South Africa identifies itself with Africa. The progressive development of the sub-continent, and of the continent as a whole, is of the utmost importance to South Africa.

"South Africa is accordingly committed to stability and progress in the region and to the enhancement of the quality of life of its people."



Picture: Armscor

An SA-made G6 155mm cannon which sources say was used.



Picture: CLOETE BREYTENBACH

One of the tanks which was destroyed during the Fapla offensive.

## Battle in southern Angola

(Continued from page 1)

the action taken by South Africa was consequently directed at its own national interests and security and had to be seen against the background of South Africa's position as a regional power committed to countering destabilisation.

It also had to be seen as a warning to those who continued to accommodate terrorists and to permit the export of revolution.

He said: "South Africa's commitment is such that it cannot stand idly by while countries allow their territory to be used or exploited for terrorist and criminal onslaughts against our people and our future."

Reports reaching South Africa indicate that the Angolans and their allies threw everything into a final effort against Unita.

After weeks of heavy fighting, in which South African generals are understood to have advised on strategy, the battle turned firmly in favour of Unita.

Angolan casualties are estimated to be between 6 000 and 10 000.

Sources insisted today that South African involvement, although vital to the outcome, had been limited.

In spite of speculation to the

contrary, air support was limited because of the foreign-manned, sophisticated anti-aircraft missile system in Angola.

Speculation is that the main assistance came from heavy artillery: South African 155mm G5 and G6 cannons with a range of 40km.

It is understood major changes are now under way in the Angolan Government and in its armed forces at senior levels.

Unita is now expected to launch a major campaign for negotiations to bring the war to an end.

ARGUS 12/11/87 (5) (12/11/87)

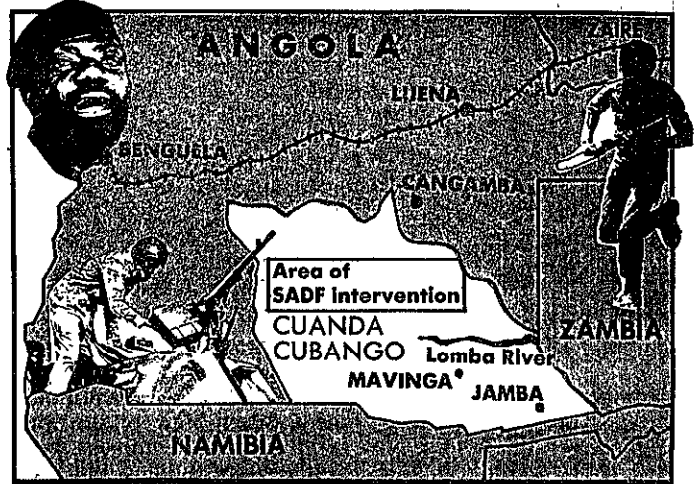


# Angolans, Cubans forced to retreat in clash

## 4 SADF

## soldiers

201  
12/11/87



# killed in fierce fight

Four South African soldiers have been killed in fierce fighting with a Cuban-backed Angolan brigade in south-east Angola, South African Defence Force headquarters announced today.

The battle took place on Monday. An Angolan brigade supported by Cubans "and other communist surrogate forces" and armed with tanks, artillery, anti-aircraft weapons, ground-to-air missiles and aircraft was "successfully forced to withdraw from its position", the SADF statement said.

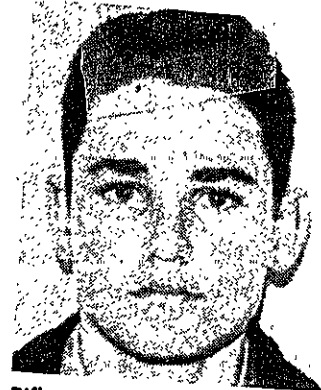
General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, said today South Africa had gone into the battle realising that sacrifices could be involved.

"The price of peace is high but cannot be compared with the price of permanent domination in our own part of the world by Russia and other allied powers," General Malan said.

Defence sources today indicated that the operation was continuing. South African and South West African Territory (SWATF) troops were

My son lived for the army, says father

The officers commanding the units in which the four dead sol-



Rifleman Gerrit Claasen (19) of Elspark was one of four soldiers who died in Angola on Monday. Rifleman Claasen was to have completed his military service three days before Christmas. His family had planned to spend the Christmas holidays together.

ting



Jackson has fans screaming



Crazy prices for art?

BOSTON — US and Chinese doctors said yesterday they had developed a laser technique to destroy tumours in bladder cancer patients.

NEW YORK — Vincent van Gogh's "Irises", painted in a mental asylum 98 years ago, fetched \$108 million at Sotheby's here yesterday, becoming the most expensive painting sold at auction.

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# 'Ready to die'

AK6us 13/11/87

## Captured Cuban pilot face to face with Savimbi

From KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service  
JAMBA. — A captured Cuban lieutenant-colonel told Dr Jonas Savimbi he was "prepared to die" when he was publicly introduced to the Unita leader at a military parade at the rebel movement's bush headquarters here.

Colonel Manuel Rojas Garcia and his co-pilot, Captain Ramon Aguilar Quezados, were captured after their MiG 23 was shot down near Luvel in central Angola just over a week ago.

When the grey-haired colonel was brought face-to-face with Dr Savimbi in front of a large group of foreign pressmen on Wednesday, the Cuban was heard to say: "I don't need any international mobilisation (to work for my release). I am prepared to die right now."

"No, no, no, you are not going to die," Dr Savimbi replied.

### Revolutionary fervour

The Cuban officer's bravado failed to impress journalists, who said the Unita leader was hardly likely to have them shot after presenting them to the Press.

A Cuban journalist who lives in the United States said the "brave" display by the officer was probably intended to prove his revolutionary fervour to his superiors in case he is returned to Cuba.

The journalist claimed that the colonel in charge of the Cuban contingent on Grenada who surrendered to US Marines was now a sergeant at a remote outpost in Angola.



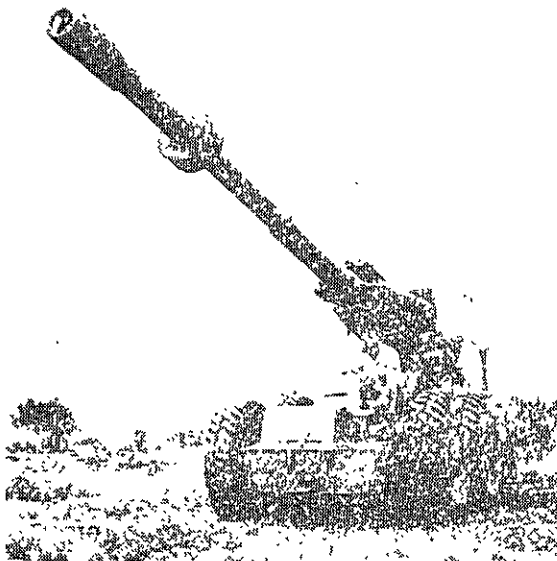
**CAPTURED:** Cubans captured by Unita when their MiG 23 was shot down near Luvel in Angola watch a parade at the Unita headquarters at Jamba. They are Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Rojas Garcia, left, and Captain Ramon Aguilar Quezados.

Picture: KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News-Service

## SADF/SWATF/ UNITA weaponry

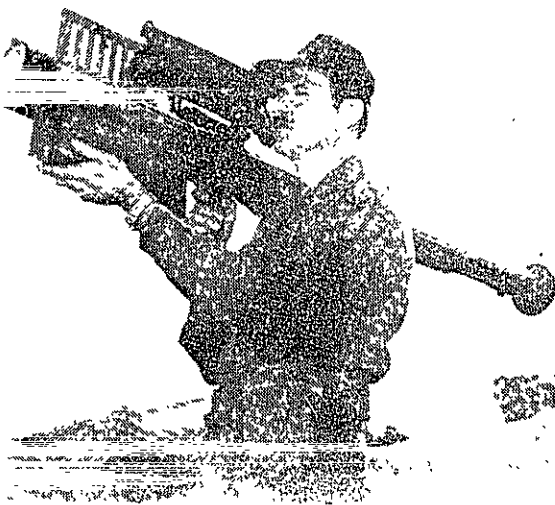
Not all these weapons are common to all three forces. Only Unita possesses the Stinger anti-aircraft missile, while the artillery, aircraft and armour are operated only by the SADF and SWATF.

### ARTILLERY

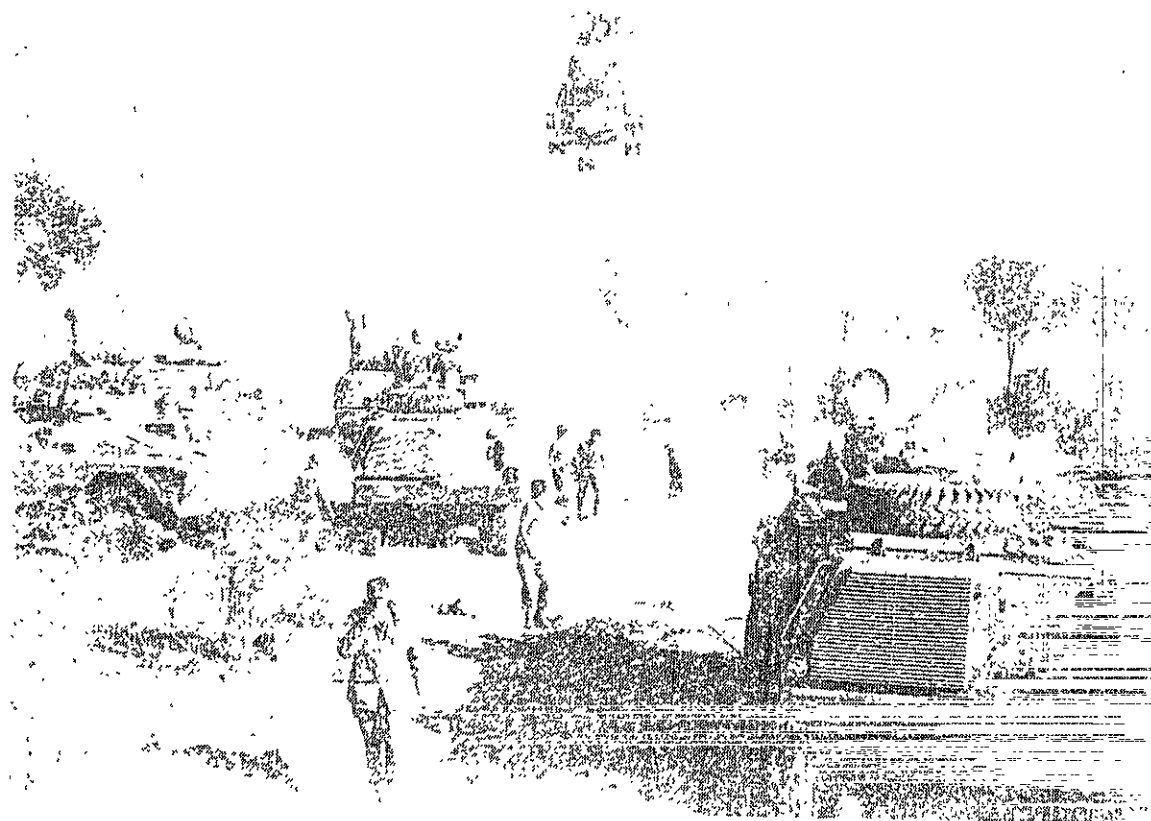


**G-5**  
**Origin :** RSA.  
**Type :** Gun-howitzer.  
**Calibre :** 155mm.  
**Range :** 35km effective, 40km maximum.  
**Shell :** 45,5kg.  
**Move :** Towed.  
**Remarks :** Can be used in anti-tank role.

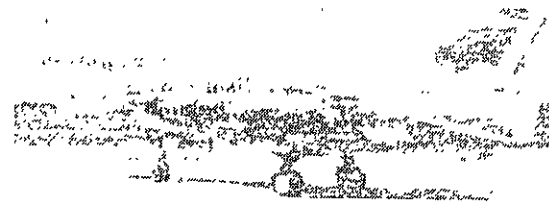
### ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES



**Stinger**  
**Origin :** USA.  
**Type :** Man-portable, heat-seeking.  
**Range :** Unknown.  
**Efficiency :** Capable of "killing" any Fapla aircraft.  
**Remarks :** Ultra-modern system which has proved extremely efficient in both Angola and Afghanistan.

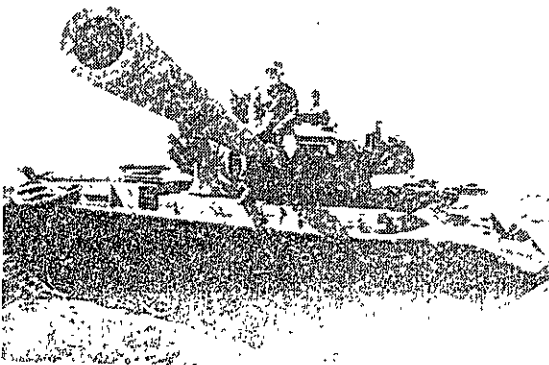


### COMBAT AIRCRAFT



**Mirage F-1**  
**Origin :** France.  
**Type :** Air-superiority/ground attack fighter.  
**Max speed :** 2 335km/h (Mach 2,2)  
**Range :** Maximum 1 000km (radius of action)  
**Armament :** Two 30mm machine cannon, air-to-air missiles, bombs and unguided rockets up to 4 000kg.  
**Efficiency :** Can handle MiG-21 and MiG-23; efficient ground-attack fighter.  
**Remarks :** SAAF's most high-performance aircraft.

### HEAVY ARMOUR



**Olifant**  
**Origin :** Britain (Centurion rebuilt and updated by Armscor).  
**Type :** Main battle tank.  
**Gun :** 105mm.  
**Veh Range :** Classified.

### COMBAT AIRCRAFT



**MiG-23**  
**Origin :** USSR.  
**Type :** Interceptor, secondary ground-attack role.  
**Max speed :** 2 446km/h (Mach 2,3) at 12 000m.  
**Range :** 1 000km (operational radius).  
**Armament :** One 23mm machine cannon and four Apex or Aphid air-to-air guided rockets or bombs and unguided rockets.  
**Efficiency :**  
**Remarks :** Not very highly rated by Western experts.

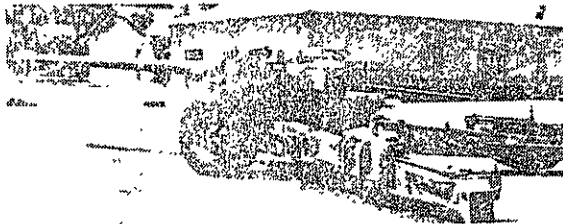
### HEAVY ARMOUR



**T-55**  
**Origin :** USSR.  
**Type :** Main battle tank.  
**Gun :** 100mm.  
**Veh Range :** 600km (on ideal hard surface with external auxiliary fuel tanks).

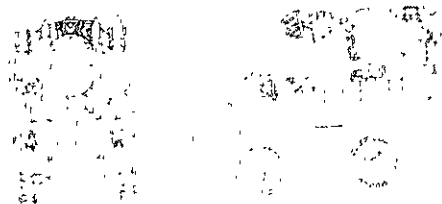
# Angolan/Cuban Russian weaponry Unita claims big victory

## ARTILLERY



**M-46**  
**Origin :** USSR.  
**Type :** Artillery piece.  
**Calibre:** 130mm.  
**Range :** 27km.  
**Shell :** 33,4kg.  
**Move :** Towed.  
**Remarks:** Can be used in anti-tank role.

## ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES



**SA-9**  
**Origin :** USSR  
**Type :** Vehicle mounted, radar-guided.  
**Range :** 5 000m (vertical), 7 000m (horizontal).  
**Efficiency:** Capable of "killing" any RSA aircraft.  
**Remarks:** Some reported captured as yet.



**BM-21**  
**Origin :** USSR  
**Type :** Multiple rocket launcher.  
**Calibre:** 122mm.  
**Range :** 20,5km.  
**Shell :** 77,5kg.  
**Move :** Self-propelled.  
**Remarks:** Has 40 launcher tubes; strong blast effect but little fragmentation; accuracy variable.

JAMBA, Angola. — Rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday said his forces had won their most important victory in 12 years of civil war, crushing a Soviet- and Cuban-backed offensive with "decisive" help from United States supplied weaponry.

He said the rebels killed or wounded more than 7 000 of the Marxist government's 18 000-man assault force without requiring aid from South African ground troops or air power. He told foreign journalists he was "very surprised" by South Africa's announcement this week that its combat forces had intervened in support of the rebels.

Angola said on Wednesday that 230 South African troops had been killed in recent fighting. It has acknowledged that several hundred of its own troops had also been killed, but has not yet conceded that its offensive has failed.

Unita commanders said 1 984 Angolan soldiers, 27 Soviets and 21 Cubans had died and more than 5 000 were wounded since the offensive began in July, compared to rebel casualties of 155 killed and 662 wounded. They said Unita attacks on retreating battalions were continuing.

Dr Savimbi, who disavows any hopes of toppling the government by force, told a news conference at his headquarters that South Africa had assisted Unita in some fashion during the recent fighting, but he refused to elaborate and insisted that this support involved neither ground troops nor air power.

Dr Savimbi suggested that the South African statements were an attempt by its generals to share the credit for Unita's success. — Sapa AP

## Swapo praises Angolan govt

HARARE. — Swapo has hailed the Angolan government for "supporting the struggling Namibian people" in spite of "incessant military aggression by South Africa", the Zimbabwean news agency, Ziana, reported here.

The congratulatory message was sent by Swapo's secretary-general, Mr Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, to the MPLA Workers' Party on the occasion of Angola's 12th anniversary of independence.

The Swapo message, a copy of which was released here, said: "Your (Angola's) victory and the combat actions by Fapla which safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of your beloved country will always serve as a source of courage and inspiration to our fighting people."

Since independence on November 11, 1975, Angola had played a vital role and continued to support the struggle of the Namibian people, Swapo said.

"This support has been in spite of racist South Africa's aggression which has resulted in the extensive destruction of the economic infrastructure, social dislocation and loss of lives."

It added that the "military aggression and destabilization of Angola" by "the racist Pretoria regime goes unabated".

Swapo also called for the "immediate unconditional withdrawal" of South African troops from Angola and the cessation of the support given the "Unita bandits" by the Reagan Administration and the "Pretoria regime". — Sapa

Defence Force chief says...

# Reds on the retreat as battle rages

(S)  
Blauy  
13/11/87

SA FORCES remained locked in battle with Cuban and Soviet-assisted Angolan forces yesterday as Unita leader Jonas Savimbi claimed his biggest victory against government forces in 12 years.

Four SA soldiers died on Monday in what the SA Defence Force (SADF) described as "a limited action" to drive back the Cuban and Soviet-assisted forces to secure south-east Angola for Unita.

The SADF announced in Pretoria yesterday that the four died when SA forces came to Unita's support in operations against Cuban "and other communist surrogate forces" in the Cuanda-Cubanga province.

"All four soldiers died after elements of the defence force involved in limited support to Unita acted in operations against Cuban and other communist surrogate forces in the Cuando-Cubango province on Monday," the SADF said.

"During the battle a brigade supported by Cubans with tanks, artillery, anti-aircraft weapons, ground-to-air missiles and aircraft was successfully forced to withdraw from its position."

A number of tanks, armoured cars, anti-aircraft weapons and logistic vehicles were destroyed during the action, the statement said.

It added there were indications the Cubans were evacuated by helicopter as soon as their personal safety was threatened, leaving the Angolans to go it alone.

## Business Day Reporters

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said yesterday SA had been forced into a clear-cut decision to either accept the defeat of Savimbi and his Unita forces or halt Soviet aggression.

SA's decision to act against the Soviet and Cuban-controlled offensive against Unita was taken responsibly and in the knowledge of the sacrifices that would be required, said Malan.

He called on Western powers to "ponder carefully" the impact on the free world of large scale Cuban and Soviet involvement in battles against the pro-Western and democratic-orientated Unita.

He said Unita's action had placed Moscow in the dilemma of either standing by and witnessing the defeat of Angolan government forces using Soviet weapons, or to become actively involved.

"The present Cuban-Soviet offensive indicated it opted for the latter course," Malan said.

He said SA's action should also be seen as a warning to those who continued to accommodate terrorists and to permit revolution to be exported to SA.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi told AP yesterday that weaponry provided by the US, particularly anti-aircraft missiles, had been "decisive" in enabling Unita to repel the offensive launched by 18 000

● To Page 2 →

# Reds on retreat in Angola

(S)

government troops in July.

"This offensive is over. My commanders are here," Savimbi told foreign journalists at his headquarters at Jamba.

He said the Angolan government would "not be in a position to launch another offensive in 1988".

Savimbi expressed "surprise" at the statement by the SADF that its forces had intervened on behalf of Unita.

Savimbi said SA had assisted Unita "in some fashion", but he refused to elaborate.

BARRY STREEK reports that independent MP for Claremont Jan van Eck said in Cape Town yesterday that SA's involvement in the war boiled down to a declaration of war against the sovereign government of Angola and turned South

Africa into an aggressor.

SAPA reports that SADF headquarters yesterday declined to comment on reports quoting military sources in Namibia saying an SA-led battalion of black Angolan soldiers had suffered heavy losses in battle against Soviet and Cuban-backed government troops.

The reports quoting the Namibian sources said there might never be a public report of the losses suffered by the SADF's 32 Battalion, made up of black Angolans who left their country in 1975.

Approached for comment, a defence force spokesman said he had "nothing to add to earlier statements".

← ● From Page 1



# Victory at the Lomba River

By Ken Vernon  
Argus Africa News Service  
in Jamba, southern Angola

**UNITA** has decisively defeated the Russian-led offensive aimed at destroying the movements' Jamba headquarters, according to Unita leader General Jonas Savimbi.

And he says he won the massive "battle of the Lomba River" without any SADF personnel taking part in the fighting.

However the general did admit that South African and United States support and supplies had been 'decisive' in enabling him to win the huge battle.

General Savimbi said he was "surprised" by a statement attributed to the head of the SADF, General Janne Geldenhuys, that the SADF had been involved in the heavy fighting against the 18 000 strong MPLA army north of Mavinga last month.

## Air superiority

Clearly exasperated by continued questioning on the apparent conflict between his position and the SADF statement, he suggested that journalists return to South Africa and "ask General Geldenhuys" what the SADF had meant in issuing the statement.

However, when questioned closely on the issue of exactly what South African "support" Unita had received, the General chose his words very carefully, saying explicitly that there had been no SADF "troops or aircraft" involved.

This left open the question of the use of the South African Long-Range G5 artillery in the Lomba battle, and when specifically asked 'if the G5s had been used, General Savimbi side-stepped the question.

Explaining the reasons why



**CAPTURED:** A long line of MPLA prisoners file past their captors during the military parade at Jamba on Wednesday.

his troops had been so successful in repulsing the huge army aligned against them, he said that in the past the MPLA had been able to claim complete air superiority in its attack on Unita held territory.

The US supplied Tow anti-tank missile had been equally effective in neutralising the MPLA superiority in tanks and armoured vehicles the General said.

At present all but two of the original 16 MPLA brigades involved in the offensive had retreated back to their base in Cuito Cuanavale, and those two were being harassed by Unita troops very close to the city.

In the wake of his victory he said he was renewing his proposals for peace talks between Unita and the MPLA. He said that just as the

United States and South Africa were supporting Unita and at the same time talking to the MPLA, so he intended to try to establish contact with the Russian and the Cuban governments to discuss the possibility of peace.

The high ranking Cuban pilots he had captured might be able to play a role in establishing this contact he said. At the press conference General Savimbi introduced two

Swedish nationals captured by Unita in an attack on an MPLA convoy just outside Luanda on September 7.

It is unclear how long Unita intends keeping the Swedes, who were in good health and spirits after their 63 day walk through the Angolan bush to Jamba.

The previous day at a military parade General Savimbi had expressed his displeasure

at the Swedish government for having labelled him a "terrorist", and it is expected that he will keep the Swedes until sometime near Christmas in order to bring home to the Swedes his displeasure.

The captives, Kent Anderson, 28, and Gunnar Sjoeborg, 30, said they were simple drivers who had been working in Angola on contract when they were captured.

## UK newsmen slam denials

From GARNER THOMSON  
The Argus Foreign Service  
Dateline: LONDON

**THE** South African Defence Force's confirmation of fierce fighting with Cuban-backed soldiers in south-east Angola has "sown the seeds of distrust" among foreign pressmen, according to a leading Fleet Street correspondent.

Simon O'Dwyer Russell, the Sunday Telegraph reporter whose account of fighting in Angola was dismissed by the SADF as "absurd", believes events have now vindicated his report.

But, he said yesterday: "I find it rather strange that my story was denied so emphatically, to the point that they claimed never to have seen me, only to be followed by yesterday's report that, yes, there was fighting where I'd said there was."

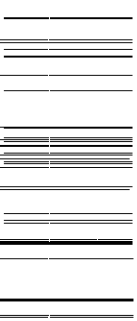
He admitted he had been "a little perturbed" by the blanket denial and regarded it as "an extremely strange way to behave".

He added: "I can only assume the original denial was a knee-jerking response, and an ill-thought-out one at that."

"Another Fleet Street journalist, Fred Bridgland, says that according to his sources at least 18 white South African soldiers and two SAAP pilots have died since the latest fighting began about two months ago."

Mr Bridgland, who writes for 'The Scotsman', is the author of a biography of Mr Jonas Savimbi and has been to Angola several times.

The Foreign Office says it is "aware of, and watching developments in Angola," but has no comment.



# 'We beat MPLA alone'

By Ken Vernon,  
Argus Africa News Service

**"A** victory has many fathers, but defeat is an orphan."

That is the way that the Unita leader, General Jonas Savimbi choose to comment on the apparent contradiction between the Unita and SADF versions of the role of the SADF in the victory that Unita is claiming over the MPLA offensive in southern Angola.

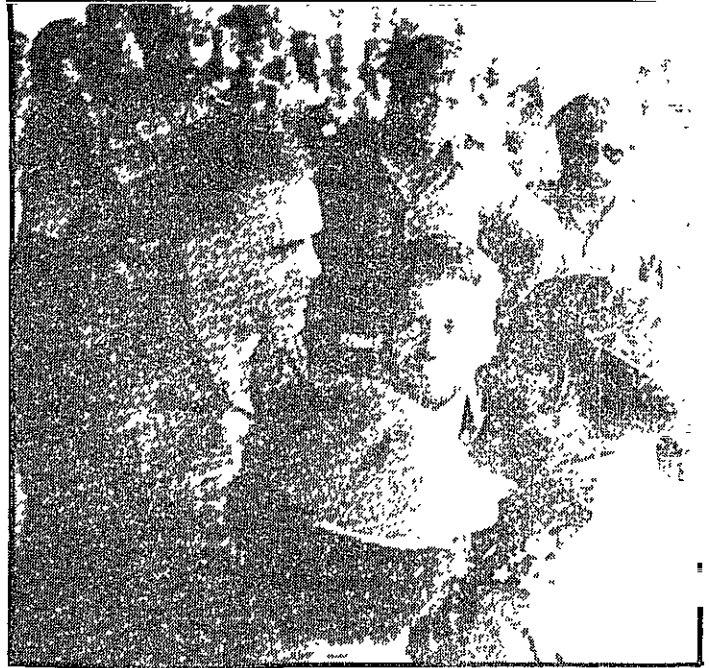
Just hours after the head of the SADF, General Janjie Geldenhuys, stated that SADF and SWADF soldiers were engaged in fighting Russian and Cuban forces which had come to the aid of apparently defeated MPLA forces, General Savimbi said that the fighting in southern Angola had come to an end.

"The MPLA have all retreated to their base in Cuito Cuanavale, and the 1987 offensive is effectively ended," he told newsmen at his headquarters at Jamba in south-eastern Angola.

## No help needed

General Savimbi rejected outright any suggestion that the SADF, or anyone else, had had to come to the aid of Unita in its fight against the 18 000 strong Russian led army that has been threatening Unita held territory in the south of the country for the past three months.

He denied categorically that any SADF soldiers — or aircraft — were fighting with Unita forces at any stage in the offensive, but sidestepped questions on the possibility that South Africa's long range



**MIG PILOT:** The captured Cuban pilot of a MIG-23 downed by Unita, Lt Col Manuel Rojas Garcia looks General Savimbi in the eye as he says he is "prepared to die". Looking at his senior office is the co-pilot of the Mig Captain Ramon Aguilar Quezado.

G5 artillery pieces had at one stage intervened to stop the MPLA advance.

It was impossible for the South Africans to be engaged with "Russian and Cuban forces" in south-eastern Angola, "because there is no fighting going on" he said.

In his statement, General Geldenhuys said that the SADF would "continue to act" for as long as the Russian and Cuban forces continued to intervene in south-east Angola.

The Unita secretary for information, Colonel Jaka Jambe, said that the last major contact with the MPLA

had occurred on Monday, when 65 MPLA soldiers had been killed, adding that since then there had only been one brief skirmish on Wednesday, when one soldier had been killed.

General Savimbi said that he had been taken by surprise by the SADF statement, and told visiting newsmen that they would have to clarify the meaning of the statement with General Geldenhuys.

But clearly he was of the opinion that the SADF was trying to claim credit for a victory over the MPLA offensive that he says is his, and his alone.

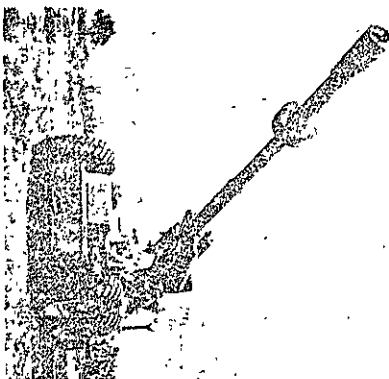


**SWEDES:** The two Swedish nationals captured by Unita almost two months ago after they were shown to the Press at Jamba on Thursday. They are, from left, Gunnar Sjöberg and Kent Anderson.

**SADF/SWATF/  
UNITA weaponry**

Not all these weapons are common to all three forces. Only Unita possesses the Stinger anti-aircraft missile, while the artillery, aircraft and armour are operated only by the SADF and SWATF.

**ARTILLERY**



**Stinger**  
Origin: USA  
Type: Man-portable, heat-seeking  
Range: Unknown  
Efficiency: Capable of "killing" any Fapla aircraft  
Remarks: Ultra-modern system which has proved extremely efficient in both Angola and Afghanistan

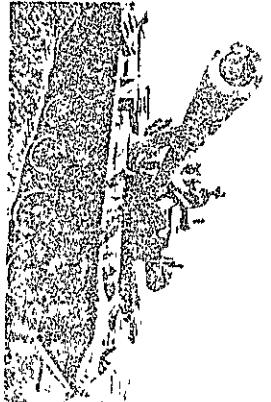


**Anti-aircraft missiles**  
Remarks: Can be used in anti-tank role

**COMBAT AIRCRAFT**



**Mirage F1**  
Origin: France  
Type: Aeronautically ground attack fighter  
Max speed: 2,335km/h (Mach 2.2)  
Range: 2,335km (1,000km (radius of action)  
Armament: Two 30mm machine cannon, air-to-air missiles, bombs and unguided rockets up to 4,000kg  
Efficiency: Can handle MiG-21 and MiG-23; efficient ground-attack fighter  
Remarks: SADF's most high-performance aircraft

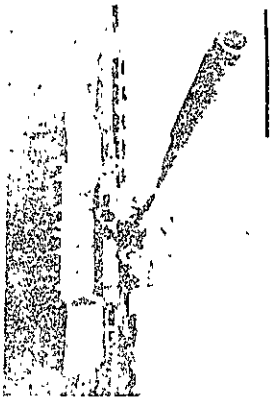


**HEAVY ARMOUR**  
Origin: Britain  
Type: Main battle tank  
Remarks: Centurion rebuilt and upgraded at Armstrong's 100mm, classified

**COMBAT AIRCRAFT**

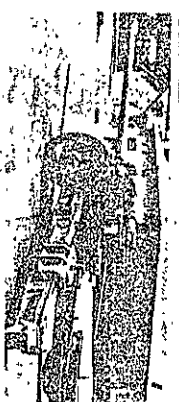


**MiG-23**  
Origin: USSR  
Type: Interceptor, secondary ground-attack role  
Max speed: 2,440km/h (Mach 2.3) at 12,000m  
Range: 1,000km (operational radius)  
Armament: One 23mm machine cannon and four Apex or Aphid air-to-air guided rockets, or bombs and unguided rockets  
Efficiency: Not very highly rated by Western experts  
Remarks: SADF's most high-performance aircraft



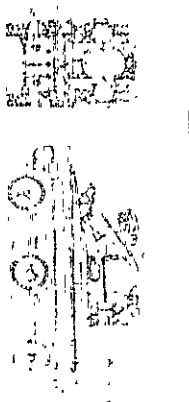
**HEAVY ARMOUR**  
Origin: USA  
Type: Self-propelled howitzer  
Remarks: M109 (self-propelled howitzer)

**Angolan/Cuban  
Russian weaponry  
big victory**

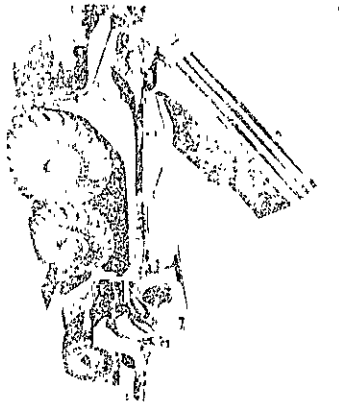


**M-46**  
Origin: USSR  
Type: Anti-aircraft missile launcher  
Remarks: Can be used in anti-tank role

**ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES**



**SA-9**  
Origin: USSR  
Type: Vehicle-mounted, radar-guided  
Range: 5,000m (vertical), 7,000m (horizontal)  
Efficiency: Capable of "killing" any RSA aircraft  
Remarks: None reported captured as yet



**BM-21**  
Origin: USSR  
Type: Multiple rocket launcher  
Remarks: Has 40 launcher tubes; strong blast effect but little fragmentation, accuracy variable

**Unita claims  
big victory**

JAMBIA, Angola — Rebel leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi yesterday said his forces had won their most important victory in 12 years of civil war, crushing a Soviet- and Cuban-backed offensive with "decisive" help from United States-supplied weaponry.

He said the rebels killed or wounded more than 7,000 of the Marxist government's 18,000-man assault force without requiring aid from South African ground troops or air power. He told foreign journalists he was "very surprised" by South Africa's announcement this week that its combat forces had intervened in support of the rebels.

Angola said on Wednesday that 230 South African troops had been killed in recent fighting. It has acknowledged that several hundred of its own troops had also been killed, but has not yet conceded that its offensive has failed.

Unita commanders said 1,984 Angolan soldiers, 27 Soviets and 21 Cubans had died and more than 5,000 were wounded since the offensive began in July, compared to rebel casualties of 185 killed and 662 wounded. They said Unita attacks on retreating battalions were continuing.

Dr. Savimbi, who disavows any hopes of toppling the government by force, told a news conference at his headquarters that South Africa had assisted Unita in some fashion during the recent fighting, but he refused to elaborate and insisted that this support involved neither ground troops nor air power.

Dr. Savimbi suggested that the South African statements were an attempt by its generals to share the credit for Unita's success. — Sapa-AP

**Swapo praises  
Angolan govt**

**HARARE** — Swapo has hailed the Angolan government for "supporting the struggling Namibian people" in spite of "incessant military aggression by South Africa", the Zimbabwean news agency, Zimra, reported here.

The congratulatory message was sent by Swapo's secretary-general, Mr. Andimba Toivo ya Toivo, on the MPLA Workers' Party on the occasion of Angola's 13th anniversary of independence.

The Swapo message, a copy of which was released here, said: "Your (Angola's) victory and the combat actions by people which safeguarded the independence and territorial integrity of your beloved country will always serve as a source of courage and inspiration to our fighting people."

Since independence on November 11, 1975, Angola had played a vital role and continued to support the struggle of the Namibian people, Swapo said.

"This support has been in spite of racist South Africa's aggression which has resulted in the extensive destruction of the economic infrastructure, social dislocation and loss of lives."

It added that the "military aggression and destabilization of Angola" by the racist Pretoria regime goes unabated.

Swapo also called for the "immediate unconditional withdrawal" of South African troops from Angola and the cessation of the support given the "Hitler bandits" by the Reagan Administration and the "Pro-fascist regime" of Sapa.



# The sons and husbands who died fighting for the SADF in Angola battle

The Star Friday November 13 1987



The captured pilot of a MiG-23 which was downed by Unita, Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Rojas Garcia (left), looks Dr Jonas Savimbi in the eye as he says he is "prepared to die."

## Pressmen do not impressed by Cuban's display of bravado

JAMBA — A captured Cuban Lieutenant Colonel told Dr Jonas Savimbi that he was prepared to die when he was publicly introduced to the Unita leader at a military parade at the Unita bush headquarters in Jamba yesterday.

Colonel Manuel Rojas Garcia and his co-pilot Captain Ramon Aguilar Quezadas were captured after the MiG-23 they were flying was shot down near Luena in central Angola just more than a week ago.

When grey-haired Colonel Garcia was brought face to face with Dr Savimbi in front of a large group of foreign pressmen, the Cuban was heard to say: "I don't need any international mobulation (to work for my release), I am prepared to die right now."

Dr Savimbi replied: "No, no, you are not going to die."

The Cuban officer's bravado failed to impress many of the journalists present, who pointed out that the Unita leader was hardly likely to have the pilots shot after having presented them to the international press.

The four families yesterday spoke of their men who died in the battle in south-east Angola.

Sergeant Pierre James Digue (25) wanted to be a soldier more than anything else, said his father, Mr L J Digue of Tyberberg Hills, Beville.

When his twin brother Andre and older brother Johan (26) went to do their national service, Pierre was desperate to go, but he wasn't allowed to because he held a key position in the post office at Bioemtonain.

"Pierre, then 17, made special application and was finally told he could go.

Born in Maritzburg, Sergeant Digue stayed in Bioemtonain with his brothers when his parents moved to the Cape, where they attended Jim Ponde High School.

"Pierre never married," said his father. "The army was his whole life. He came back from the border a few weeks ago and then phoned us to say he had to go back.

"We got a letter on Friday, saying he was well and happy."

A grief-stricken Mr Nick Claassen of Ettersburg, yesterday said: "My son died for his country."

His son, Rifleman Gerrit Claassen (19), would have completed his two years' military training three days before Christmas. His parents said his death was a great victory over the MPLA offensive in southern Angola.

Just hours after the head of the SADF, Dr Janina Geldenhuys, stated that SADF and SWATF soldiers were engaged in fighting Russian and Cuban forces that had come to the aid of apparently defunct MPLA forces, Dr Savimbi announced at his Jamba headquarters that the fighting in southern Angola had come to an end.

Dr Savimbi rejected outright any suggestion that the SADF or anyone else had come to the aid of Unita.

Dr Savimbi told newsmen they would have to clarify the meaning of the SADF statement with General Geldenhuys. "If spokesmen for the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, told Sapa last night — the SADF was trying to claim credit for a victory over the MPLA offensive that

# Grief-stricken families speak of dead men

shock — the family had planned to spend the Christmas holidays together.

Rifleman Claassen was the eldest of four children. His brother, Petrus (18), who is in a nurse, is to begin his military training next year.

These Anders reports that only two months and six days after her wedding day, young Witbank bride, Mrs Elaine Duvange, was told her national serviceman husband Theunis had been killed in action in Angola.

Mrs Duvange is two months pregnant. Yesterday she was under sedation following a visit the night before from an army chaplain with the tragic news he had been killed "in manoeuvres".

Her mother, Mrs Annette Strauss, said the only thing comforting the family was the fact he says is his, and his alone.

In a reaction which did not condemn South Africa's intervention in Angola, US State Department spokesman Charles Redman said in Washington yesterday the fact that South Africa had announced it, came as no surprise.

But the SADF's confirmation yesterday of fierce fighting with Cuban-backed soldiers in south-east Angola has sown the seeds of distrust among foreign pressmen, according to Simon O'Dwyer Russell of the *Stranday Telegraph* in London.

The reporter, whose account of fighting in Angola was dismissed by the *Stranday* as "absurd", believes events have now vindicated his report.

that Theunis knew he was going to be a father before he died.

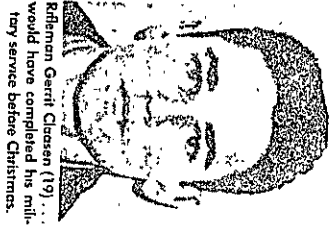
The young couple, who both attended high schools in Witbank, had been close friends since Sid 7.

After school Theunis began an apprenticeship as a linestman for Eskom. Elaine has a secretarial diploma and works in a stationery shop.

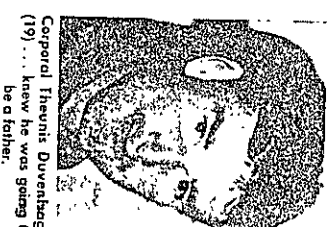
After their large family wedding in September, the young couple had only a week together before Theunis had to return to his base.

Mrs Strauss said the Defence Force had not given the family any details of how her son-in-law had died.

He was to finish his national service in 40 days time.



Rifleman Gerrit Claassen (19) would have completed his military service before Christmas.



Corporal Theunis Duvange (19) ... knew he was going to be a father.

Rifleman Anthony Steward (19) was to have completed his national service three days before Christmas this year.

"He had just bought a little Mini ... It's sitting in my driveway," said his sister, Mrs Tanya Hannah at her mother's home in Okley.

Crying quietly, she said her young brother planned to enrol at the Westlake Trade School next year. He wanted to be a fitter and turner.

Asked what she felt about the SADF presence in Angola, Mrs Hannah said simply: "Bitter."

"Nobody knows what's going on up there. We'd like to know what happened," she said. — Staff Reporters and Own Correspondent.

## Victory Unita's alone — Savimbi

A victory has many fathers, but defeat is an orphan.

That is the way Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi comments on the apparent contradiction between the Unita and SADF versions of the role of the SADF in the victory that his rebel movement is claiming over the MPLA offensive in southern Angola.

Just hours after the head of the SADF, Dr Janina Geldenhuys, stated that SADF and SWATF soldiers were engaged in fighting Russian and Cuban forces that had come to the aid of apparently defunct MPLA forces, Dr Savimbi announced at his Jamba headquarters that the fighting in southern Angola had come to an end.

Dr Savimbi rejected outright any suggestion that the SADF or anyone else had come to the aid of Unita.

## SA 'must not become too involved'

By Craig Kotze

South Africa's battle against Soviet and Cuban forces in south-eastern Angola heralds a new phase in the current MPLA offensive against Unita and exposes the SADF to the risk of becoming involved in static, conventional fighting in the area.

And the SADF should guard against over-extending itself in a static defence of Unita.

This is the view of Professor Mike Hough, head of the strategic studies faculty at the University of Pretoria.

He says factual conditions in Angola — such as the cutting off or surrounding of South African contingents — could result in an escalation of the fighting.

"There is a risk that South African troops might be drawn inadvertently into escalated



Professor Mike Hough.

fighting with the Russians or Cubans, but the SADF has in the past always tried to avoid this," says Professor Hough.

It is not in South Africa's interest to become involved in static, conventional fighting with Angolan or Cuban forces, not because of a fear of being defeated but because of political considerations, he says.

"However, I think South Africa is likely to avoid escalation, as a positional type of warfare is not desirable. I don't think we will necessarily become involved in a conventional combat because of its potential for escalation and the political consequences," Professor Hough says.

Speaking on the implications of the Soviet and Cuban attack on the SADF, Professor Hough says it shows the Russians and Cubans have a vested interest in not having the Angolan offensive against Unita defeated as a failure.

"This would lead to a loss of prestige for the Soviets."

He says direct South African involvement on Unita's side could be an attempt to keep the Cuban and MPLA forces off balance after their recent defeat and to prevent them from regrouping.

The meeting between the two men was the highlight of an otherwise long, hot day on the parade ground at Jamba.

A Cuban journalist present at the parade pointed out that the "brave" display by the captured Cuban was probably aimed at proving his revolutionary fervour to his superiors against the time he might be returned to Cuba, rather than any real willingness to die.

The journalist recalled that the colonel in charge of the Cuban contingent on the island of Granada at the time of the US invasion, and who surrendered his force to the US marines, was now a sergeant in a remote outpost in Angola.

He said the pilot was probably trying to guard against a similar fate.

Colonel Garcia was just as defiant when interviewed by journalists at a press conference on Tuesday, asserting he was not concerned at the prospect of long captivity "because that is the risk you take when you are a soldier."

He added he had not been flying as part of the MPLA offensive at the time his plane was downed. He refused to disclose exactly what his position was in the Cuban contingent in Angola.

The Transvaal National Party annual congress starting in Pretoria today takes place under the pall of South Africa at war with the Soviet Union in Angola.

President P W Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan are certain to address the matter during the two-day meeting, and emotion is likely to run high during debates and speeches.

The right wing in particular has recently come under fire from Nationalist leaders for dividing South African unity in times of turmoil.

Opening the Cape

## Tvl Nat Congress under pall of war

5  
S.M.K.  
13/11/87

National Party congress in Cape Town earlier this week, President Botha said South Africa was caught up in an undeclared Third World War between the super powers.

He called on the opposition media to help the Government combat "Godless forces" more efficiently.

Unlike the other three provincial parties, the Transvaal National Party fared less well in the May general election than in the previous election, so

Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk is likely to give delegates a pep talk to prop up morale.

The Conservative Party captured all 22 of its Parliamentary seats in the Transvaal.

The CP has also publicly vowed to fight for political control of every Transvaal rural town council in next year's municipal elections, to enable it to wreck Government plans for regional services councils and local control of own affairs from within.

## Council 18 named

Coetsee silent on quotes issue.

# MARCH ON REED BASE

CHE Times 13/1/87

By WILLEM STEENKAMP  
Defence Correspondent

**SOUTH AFRICAN forces are advancing towards the key Angolan forward base of Cuito Cuanavale after reportedly hurling back a combined Angolan-Cuban-Russian mechanized brigade on Monday, information indicated last night.**

Cuito Cuanavale has been the jumping-off point for repeated Angolan military thrusts aimed over the Lomba River at the airport town of Mavinga, Dr Jonas Savimbi's main supply link with the outside world.

Yesterday Dr Savimbi confidently told journalists at Unita headquarters in Jamba: "The battle for Mavinga and the Lomba (River) is over."

## The weapons of war — PAGE 7

All indications, however, are that fighting continues, with the focus of the battle for the Cuando-Cubango province shifted westwards towards the Cuito River, just 30km from Cuito Cuanavale itself.

As long ago as October 24 at least some Unita elements reportedly had reached the Cuito River, and yesterday Dr Savimbi claimed some Angolan elements had already retreated westwards past Cuito Cuanavale.

By last night the names of four South African soldiers — of the estimated 6 000 involved in Angola — had been announced as dead in the battle, while unconfirmed reports from Windhoek claimed the crack black 32 "Buffalo" Battalion had suffered heavy losses.

According to Angolan cabinet minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem, two of the battalion's dead are Melvin Ashley Benecke and J R Munhanza. Mr Van-Dunem also said the Ango-

lans had shot down 16 South African aircraft, although "Pretoria refuses to confirm these facts out of hypocrisy", and that South Africa "was intervening directly in support of Unita just at the time when Angolan armed forces were inflicting heavy losses on Unita".

He dated "the present escalation of aggression against Angola" as beginning on August 26, when "a commando of South African divers" sabotaged a strategic bridge on the Cuito River.

Mr Van-Dunem's claim is thought to refer to an early reverse — the nature of which has been unknown up to now — suffered by the Angolans after they left Cuito Cuanavale in mid-August.

General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, yesterday said South Africa had intervened in Angola to halt Russian aggression — or face a Unita defeat with disastrous consequences for South Africa and the sub-continent.

Russia's ultimate target was South Africa, and the Soviets had been offered "a unique opportunity to penetrate South Africa" since October 1986, when the United States Congress had imposed economic punitive measures on the Republic "and thereby tried to isolate the country from the Western community".

Defence Headquarters spokesmen yesterday described Monday's battle as an action in which a brigade supported Cubans "with tanks, artillery, anti-aircraft weapons, ground-to-air missiles and aircraft, was successfully forced to withdraw from its position, adding "a number of tanks, armoured cars, anti-aircraft weapons and logistics vehicles" had been destroyed.

Local military observers last night speculated that Monday's battle was the result of a rescue attempt which went disastrously wrong.

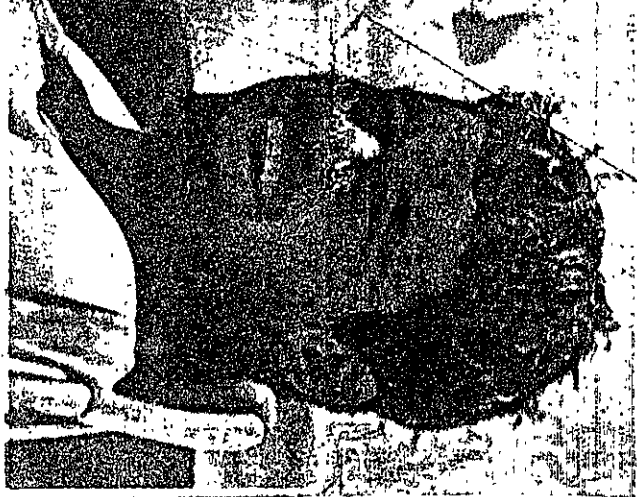
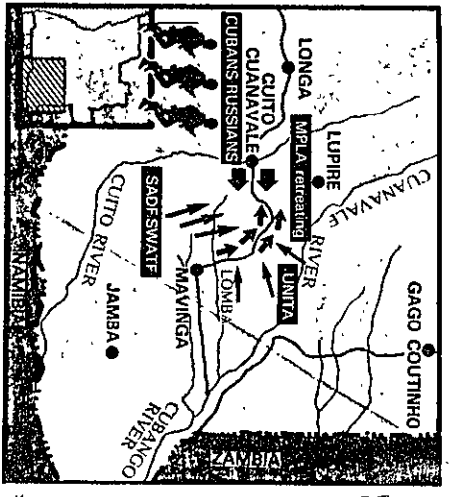
They said it appeared Russians and Cubans at Cuito Cuanavale had sent a reserve force eastwards to link up with Angolan troops retreating towards the base under heavy harassment by Unita insurgents.

Before they could achieve this purpose, however, they were attacked by a comparatively small SADF/SWATF mechanized force.



**DISTRAUGHT** ... Mrs Tanya Hannath, sister of Angolan war victim Rifleman Anthony Steward of Oftery, reads the army letter informing his family his border duty had been lengthened.

Picture: ANNE LANG



**'GO-GETTER'** ... Sergeant Pierre James Digue, 25, of Tygerberg Hills.

# 'They've taken him away'

CHC Times 13/11/82 (5)

By CHRIS BATEMAN  
SERGEANT Pierre James Digne, 25, of Tygerberg Hills, killed in action in Angola with three others on Monday, need never have joined the army — he was a post office technician exempt from service.

And the sobbing sister of another of the men killed in recent SADF action in south-eastern Angola, Rifleman Anthony Steward, 19, of Ottery, said yesterday: "It's just not fair. They've taken him away from us for two years; now they've taken him away from us for ever. So why can't we know the truth?"

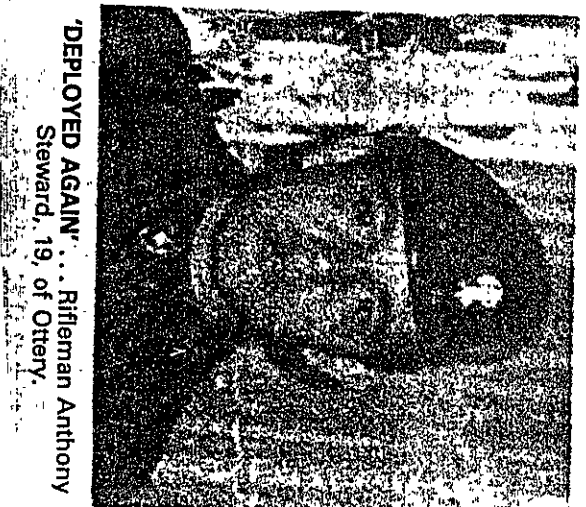
Rin Steward completed Std 8 at Windorsor High School and had intended taking a fitter-and-turner course at Westlake College, she said. It had been his first border stint. She showed the Cape Times a letter from the SADF which confirmed that Rin Steward had completed his "operational duty" but which added that he had been "deployed again".

The letter added that due to "specific tasks" he would be unable to take any leave before December 22, when his service would be completed. Sergeant Digne's father, Mr "Bunny" Digne, a technical superintendent with SATS, yesterday spoke about a poignant letter from his son which arrived from the border only two days before he was killed.

Mr Digne said his son had written that he was looking forward to coming home for Christmas. "He said it was going very well". Mr Digne said his son had signed up seven years ago because he had two brothers doing their national service — one his twin and both with rank. He described his son, who did mostly border duty, as "a real soldier who enjoyed every minute of it". Mrs Toy Digne said her son was "a real go-getter". "He liked to be in command. He would walk in here for a holiday, ask me for a list of things needing doing and get straight on with it," she said.

Sgt Digne, a former Bloemfontein Technical High School pupil, will be buried with full military honours in Durbanville next week. His twin, André, is a University of the Orange Free State student and employee in Bloemfontein. Neither of the families have yet been told in what circumstances the men were killed.

● The other dead are Corporal Thennis Antonie Duvenhage, 19, whose wife, Mrs E Duvenhage, lives in Rooibosch Street, Witbank, and Rifleman Pieter Gerrit Claassen, 19, whose parents, Mr and Mrs N A J Claassen, live in Raven Street, Elspand.



'DEPLOYED AGAIN'... Rifleman Anthony Steward, 19, of Ottery.

⑤ NMMML  
13-19 Nov '87

# Now it's head-on conflict as SA tackles Soviet forces

By PATRICK LAURENCE

SOUTH AFRICA is involved in a deadly conflict of will with the Soviet Union over the fate of Angola.

That was the unmistakable message in a statement yesterday from Minister of Defence Magnus Malan, announcing the death of four South African soldiers in a battle against Soviet and Cuban forces in Angola.

The four soldiers, three of them under the age of 19, were killed in Cuanda-Cubango province in south-east Angola, an area normally controlled by South African-backed Unita rebels.

The Unita stronghold, however, as Malan made clear yesterday, was under threat from the Angolan government's Soviet and Cuban allies in the latest phase of the drive to destroy Unita.

The intervention by Soviet and Cuban "surrogate" forces equipped with modern weapons, including tanks, MiG-23 fighter aircraft and attack helicopters, threatened the survival of Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas, Malan said.

The Soviet-led offensive confronted South Africa with a grave decision: "accept the defeat of Dr Savimbi or halt Russian aggression".

South Africa, according to Malan, had no option but to intervene, as the fall of Savimbi would open the way to further Soviet penetration and bring the sub-continent to the "brink of the abyss".

At Unita's Jamba headquarters, Savimbi told visiting journalists yesterday the South African statement was an attempt to share credit with Unita for the repulsion of the attack by Angolan government forces.

Two Cuban air force officers were displayed to journalists. They were captured when their MiG-21 fighter aircraft was shot down by an American-built Stinger-missile on October 28. Exhibited with the captured Cubans were 300 Angolan prisoners-of-war, some as young as 14, and a vast array of captured military equipment.

South African soldiers clashed with a Soviet-led force on Monday. The four soldiers killed in the ensuing battle died less than a fortnight after 12 of their compatriots perished during a cross-border attack on a Swapo base.

"The price of peace is high," Malan said, declaring that the alternative to intervention and loss of life was Soviet domination.

He named South Africa as the ultimate target of Soviet ambitions in Southern Africa, citing as evidence of his thesis the presence of a high-ranking Soviet officer, General Konstantin Schagnowich, in Angola and his role of commander of the offensive against Unita.

Developing his argument, Malan said: "It has become abundantly clear since October 1986 when the United States Congress imposed economic punitive measures on South Africa, and thereby tried to isolate the country from the Western community, that Russia had been offered a unique opportunity to penetrate the country."

Malan's announcement of South African casualties yesterday came after the chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, officially disclosed that South African forces had been in action against Soviet and Cuban forces.

Geldenhuys gave two central reasons for South Africa's entry into the Angolan conflict: capture of the Unita's Angolan stronghold would expose the north-east of South African-administered Namibia to direct raids by Angolan-based Swapo fighters; at the same time, it would open up new infiltration routes by African National Congress guerrillas from camps in Angola into South Africa.

"The Defence Force's action is in line with the policy of the South African government to protect its own interests wherever or whenever necessary," he said.



Magnus Malan

"The Defence Force will therefore continue to act for as long as Russian and Cuban forces intervene in south-east Angola."

It was unclear whether South African forces were still in Angola or whether they had withdrawn. pending a fresh push by Angolan government forces in conjunction with their Soviet and Cuban allies.

Geldenhuys declined to give further details for "tactical and security reasons".

Malan's contentions that Soviet ambitions extend to the whole of Southern Africa and that South Africa is its ultimate and prize target are open to dispute.

While the Soviet Union would dearly like to see the fall of the South African government, and while it is a major supplier of weapons to ANC guerrillas, it is not prepared to commit major resources to the conquest of Southern African for communism.

Southern African is too far down on its list of priorities; it does not rank with regions on its borders — Europe, the Persian Gulf and north-east Asia — as major strategic priorities.

Angola, however, is an exception. The Soviet Union has put its prestige on the line in Angola and it will fight there rather than see Angola's MPLA government toppled by South Africa and its Unita "proxy".

The Soviets reportedly communicated that message to South African diplomats in New York in the early 1980s.

It is for that reason that the Soviet Union has helped its Angolan ally build up a formidable army, equipping it with MiG-23 fighter aircraft and training Angolan pilots to fly them.

It is for that reason, too, that the Soviets helped Angola's Fapla forces build a string of forts, the "line of steel", as the journal *Africa Confidential* has dubbed it, across Southern Angola, from Lubango in the West to Cuito Cuanavale, within striking distance of Unita-held Mavinga.

South African support for Unita has now brought it into a bloody confrontation with the Soviet Union. It is a fight both sides will find hard to walk away from.

Footnote: Geldenhuys described the SADF intervention as "limited". The Fapla commander, Antonia dos Santos Franca Ndalú, has spoken of an "excessive concentration of sophisticated equipment" by the SADF in southern Angola and the deployment of between 30 000 to 35 000 South African troops on Namibia's border with Angola.



(5) B/Bar  
13/11/78

**O**UTSIDE the magistrate's court in this northern Transvaal town just south of the Limpopo River a woman is holding an artificial limb; nearby one of a group of bristly-haired men is playing with a set of leg irons.

Inside court five tables have been laid out with the kit alleged to have belonged to two African National Congress insurgents. There are biscuits, orange juice powder and snuff from Zimbabwe; rifles and bullets from the Soviet Union.

A little later the exhibits are covered with grey blankets in a manner that suggests corpses.

Into this macabre setting shuffle the accused: Mheheteji Mnucube, 27, and Mzondeleli Nondula, 24. Their leg irons rattle as they walk.

**M**ncube, the State alleges, trained in Angola where he "underwent an intensive six-week course in the use of weapons and the killing of people". He is wearing what appears to be a Springbok tracksuit.

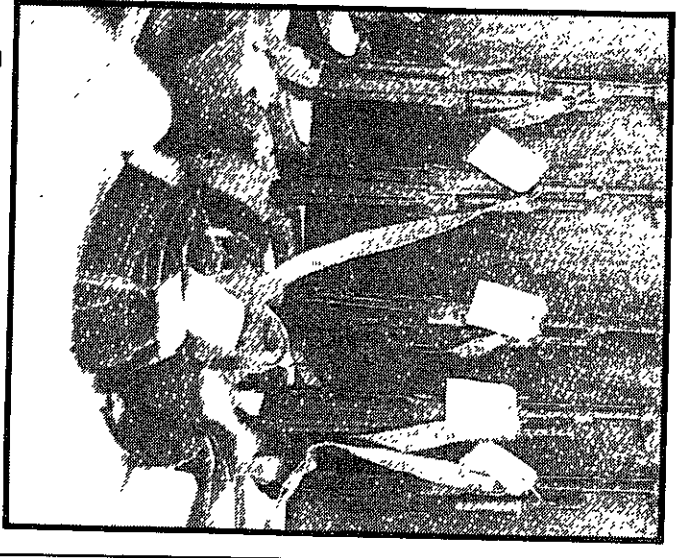
These are some of the many images of a protracted and historic war taking place up north.

In its frontier aspect, it echoes the war Afrikaner trekboers once waged against indigenous tribes like the Pedi. In the Eighties their opponents are more likely to be urban men well travelled in Eastern Bloc countries.

It would be mistaken to say the Afrikaner has learned to live with war — on the contrary, conflict has been an integral part of his historical development. War is all pervasive; its imperatives conditioning

# War is a growth industry up north

## PATRICK BULGER in Messina



□ **TOOLS OF TERRORISM** . . . the two accused's alleged military hardware exhibited in court

now, as in the past, Afrikaner political and social structures.

Sometimes the enemy can be seen, caught and brought to court — but more often than not the enemy is believed to be a faceless force masked as liberalism, "soft attitudes" towards blacks. Xenophobia is an important contribution to the war psychosis of the northern frontier.

More practically, war is a growth industry in the north — its presence not only shapes social attitudes but forms an important part of cultural life.

The Noord Transvaal, a newspaper serving the north, reports on what has become a traditional farmers' day in the region.

A Commandant Pretorius, the paper reports, addressed a farmers' gathering outside Ellisras, a railway junction that has had more than its fair share of landmine attacks.

farmers about the assault against SA on all fronts — "social, economic, military and political".

The report continues: "Later that day, police destroyed a vehicle about one kilometre away to demonstrate the impact of a landmine". There were also displays of "Russian weapons, handgrenades, landmines, handmade dolls and leatherwork".

War has an important economic function in the northern Transvaal. There is hardly a single larger town in the area that does not derive some benefit from the proliferation of security institutions.

The spending power alone that comes with police stations, Air Force bases and Army camps is phenomenal and well recognised as such.

Far from disdaining war and what comes with it, Northern Transvaal towns are only too eager to get their share of the benefits flowing from a permanent war-footing.

The Nystroom Pos reports somewhat sulkily that in spite of having made SA Police Commissioner General Hendrik de Witt an honorary citizen of the town, "the police did not build their pleasure resort in Nystroom". Consolation was to be had, however, from the announcement that the SAP would build a R20m divisional headquarters there.

In another report in the Noord Transvaal, Defence Minister Magnus Malan opened an Air Force base in Louis Trichardt. He speaks plainly about "the new job opportunities and the buying power that will be stimulated as a result of the large numbers of people working at the base".

It is no coincidence that it is precisely in the areas most threatened by insurgent warfare that the call for an independent Boerestaat has been strongest. Boerestaat proponents believe their "mini-state" would mark a decisive break with the spoiled metropolitan Afrikaners further south. It would leave the Boeré of the north free to wage their "good fight" — a state whose citizens would not flinch to take up arms when and how they see fit.



Mr Jones, Savinbhi paraded two captured Cuban pilots before the international press in Jamba yesterday. See Page 15.

By David Braun and  
Chris van Gass

South African troops are still in south-east Angola following Monday's heavy battle against Cuban-backed MPLA forces.

The battle, in which Angolan forces are said to have been routed, is over but Defence Force sources said activity was continuing.

The sources said this was the implication of a detailed statement made by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuis.

General Geldenhuis said, in a statement issued on Tuesday, the SADF would "continue to act as long as Russian and Cuban forces intervene in south-east Angola.

# Battle is over, but troops still in Angola, say SADF sources

"For tactical and security reasons the SADF can reveal no further information," said General Geldenhuis.

Today a spokesman for the SADF said there was nothing to add at this stage to the statements already issued by the Chief of Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuis, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

No details were therefore forthcoming of any mop-up operations following Monday's battle.

Defence sources, meanwhile, said the Monday strike was a one-off operation involving a very small group of South African forces, "miscellaneous" in comparison with the large numbers of surrogate forces on the other side.

The South Africans had been mainly involved in a technical and advisory capacity with the supply and operation of sophisticated weapons, they said.

International Press reports have said that the South African G-5 cannon was used in the battle.

The extent of the South African involvement was smaller than that in some recent operations against Swapo, they said.

They denied South Africa was in pursuit of fleeing enemy forces.

Defence Headquarters yesterday announced the deaths of four South African soldiers who died in fierce fighting against the Cuban-backed Angolan brigade on Monday.

They were: Sergeant Pierre James Digue (25), who leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs L.J. Digue of Tygerberg Hills, Bellville, Cape; Corporal Theunis Antonie Duvenhage (19), who leaves his wife, Mrs E. Duvenhage of Rootbosch Street, Witbank; Rifleman Anthony Steward (19), who leaves his mother, Mrs G.M.D. Lantsoght of Ottery, Cape Town, and his father, Mr S. Steward of Parow; and Rifleman Pieter Gerrit Claassen (19), who leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs N. Claassen of Espark.

● See Page 15.

Net INT T  
Mag 5/1/77

# Castro threatens to send more Cubans

w/c MAGAS 14/11/77 (50)

by NEIL LURSSSEN  
Weekend Argus  
Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Cuban leader Fidel Castro is considering an increase in military support for Angola's embattled communist regime.

According to reliable information from Havana President Castro discussed stepping up military support with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Moscow this month.

They were there to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the November 5 Russian revolution.

President Castro also discussed the communists' Angola problems with Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev — who is also likely to be confronted by the issue when he meets President Ronald Reagan at a three-day superpower summit starting here on December 7.

## Unwilling

President Reagan is trying to persuade Mr Gorbachev to agree to a plan that will remove all foreign forces from Angola, sponsor negotiations among the internal parties and guarantee international economic support for a new government of reconciliation.

But the Russians and Cubans are unwilling to fall in with a plan that may be seen as a defeat for a revolutionary regime in the Third World.

Estimates of the number of Cubans in Angola vary between 30 000 and 40 000.

Defectors say that many of the Cubans are unhappy about their service in a bleak,

## PW WAS IN ANGOLA — MALAN

PRETORIA. — President Botha was in southern Angola "very recently", the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, officially disclosed for the first time today.

Addressing the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria, General Malan said that Mr Botha had by his visit shown his empathy, involvement and personal responsibility.

The NP's Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, had also recently been in Angola, as had the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Finance, Mr Bar-end du Plessis.

"I also took a group of parliamentarians from various political parties to Angola," General Malan said.

The visits showed that the Government was acting as a team, "as a unit".

Those who were trying to create the impression that he and Mr Pik Botha were not in the same team were wrong — "We serve in the interest of South Africa." — Sapa.

disease-ridden and dangerous part of Africa.

As the Marxist leaders discussed their Angolan security crisis their combined forces had a major military setback at the hands of American-armed Unita rebel troops with South African support.

Their problems may worsen. There are reports of a strong move within the Reagan Administration to increase military aid to Unita, including ground-to-air missiles.

## Reconciliation

The Americans are not trying to defeat the MPLA regime but want to demonstrate that Unita must be involved in reconciliation negotiations on the future of the war-torn country. They have said there will be no military solution.

The report from the Cuban capital said that President Castro and President Dos Santos talked about "the future strengthening of Cuba's internationalist co-operation in the defence of Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity".

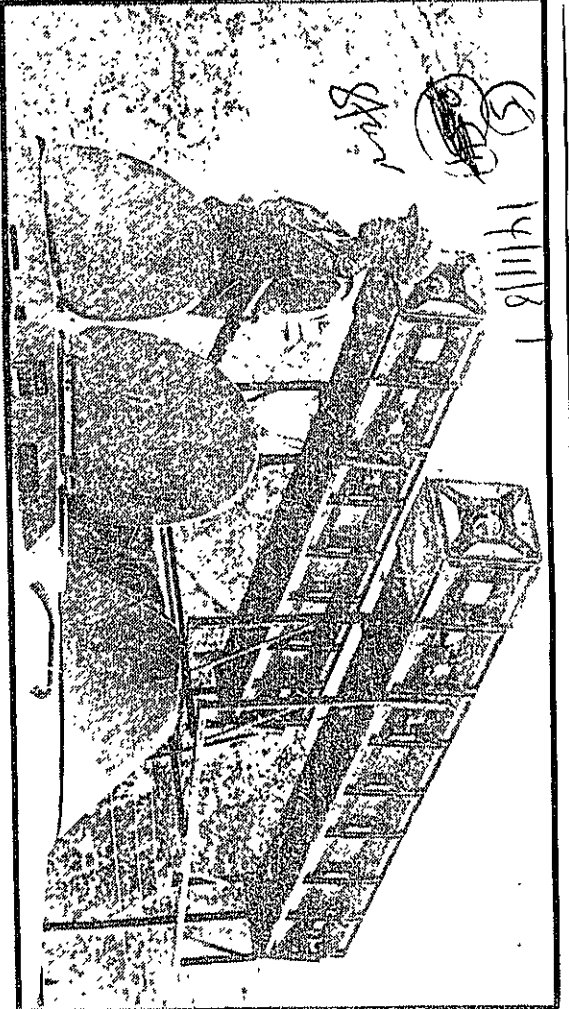
This was a "fundamental premise for the solution of the problems of the Southern Africa region".

President Dos Santos told communist leaders and other guests — such as PLO leader Yasser Arafat — that the US and South Africa had "prevented the total defeat" of Unita by introducing important war equipment and forces to fight alongside the movement.

used artillery with a range of 30 km, self-propelled artillery, armoured cars, helicopters and modern warplanes. The MPLA leader said.

■ See page 4 and page 17.





## The faces of conflict

**VICTORS AND VANQUISHED.** Top left: Unita leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi after this week's battle in south-east Angola. "A victory has many fathers, but defeat is an orphan," Dr. Savimbi said, commenting on the apparent contradictions between the the Unita and SADF versions of the role played by the SADF in the battle. He rejected suggestions that the SADF had come to Unita's aid. Top right: a Fapla soldier stands guard over two SAM-9 missiles. Bottom left: the captured Cuban pilot of a MiG-23, Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Rojas Garcia (centre) tells Dr Savimbi that he "is prepared to die". Above: captured Fapla troops after the battle.

**The dead soldiers: family members talk**

**STAFF REPORTERS**

Relatives and friends of the five SADF soldiers killed in the latest fighting in Angola reacted with shock and grief last night to the loss of their loved ones.

The death of Rifleman John Mark Howes (19) came as a great shock to his family. "We took it badly," Mr Benjamin Howes said from his Bothasig, Cape Town, home last night.

Rifleman Howes, a former pupil of Cape Town High School, was the youngest of four sons. "He was the apple of his mother's eye," said Mr Howes.

The shock of his death has aggravated an illness Mr Howes is suffering from following a car accident last year.

John was to have finished his national service at the end of the year. His parents last saw him in July for five days when he was home on leave.

Mr Howes, now on pension, was a painter with the Department of Public Works.

**TURNED DOWN**

Rifleman Howes wanted to join Sarmarine next year, but his application was recently turned down because he did not have the right qualifications yet. He was also thinking about becoming an engineer, his father said.

Mrs Isabella van Zyl, of Edenburg in the Free State, said her son Rifleman Daniel Willem Hendrik (20) was to have finished his national service on December 22.

"Daniel was the fifth of my seven children. I had six boys and one girl. He was a quiet but friendly boy," said Mrs van Zyl.

She said Daniel had not made definite plans for the future. "Sometimes he spoke about going to university but at other times he wanted to go and work," she said.

Rifleman van Zyl married in Phillipolis and had many girl friends but no one special.

"We heard of his death on Thursday night. It was a great shock," said Mrs van Zyl.

The 20-year-old Rifleman Pieter Marthinus

● TO PAGE 2.

Ongoing battles, skirmishes have cl

5 19/11/87  
**Angola: 5 m**



**UNITA PRISONERS:** Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi talks to two captured Cuban pilots, Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Rojas Garcia (centre) and Captain Ramon Quesada Aguilar.

**MARK GLEESON**

SADF headquarters in Pretoria has announced the deaths of other five South African soldiers in fighting with Angolan forces in the Cuando-Cubango province of Angola.

The announcement was made last night by General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the South African Defence Force. It means the number of soldiers killed in action in Angola in the past two weeks has gone up — including two Namibian soldiers.

The latest killed are:

- Rifleman Adriaan Thorn (19), who leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs CS Thorn, Saldanha Street, Ruyterwacht
- Rifleman Frederick Augustus Mublenbeck (20), who leaves his mother, Mrs Mublenbeck, of 18 Nefdt Street, Pretoria, and his father, Mr J A Mublenbeck, of 2 Juters Road, Georgina Road
- Rifleman Pieter Marthinus Schut who leaves his father and stepmother, Mr and Mrs J Schutte, of 21 Lichtenburg
- Rifleman John Mark Howes (19) leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs B Howes, of 85 Steenhoven Street, Bothasig
- Rifleman Daniel Willem Hendrik Zyl (20), who leaves his father, Mr Zyl, of 10 Siccoveld Street, Vredesburg, and his mother, Mrs Zyl, of 24 Mark Street, Edenburg

Rifleman Thorn and Rifleman Mublenbeck died in action on Monday. They died in skirmishes on Wednesday.

The late announcement of the deaths of Rifleman Thorn and Rifleman Mublenbeck was because of "operational circumstances", and the requirement to inform next-of-kin first, said General Geldenhuys.

He added that the soldiers' commanding officers would personally visit relatives to give them more details of the circumstances of their sons' deaths. The visits would be made as soon as the officers could be made available.

General Geldenhuys expressed his sympathy with the next-of-kin, relatives and friends of the soldiers, and assured them of all possible support from the SADF.

The SADF said Swapo had lost more than 150 men in the attack on the Swapo base on October 31. The fighting was reported to be of the "bloodiest" in the 20-year bush war. The security force losses were among the highest of the war and the worst in one

● TO PAGE 2.

**Minister threatens to get tough with the Sowetan**

The Government last night threatened the Johannesburg black daily newspaper, the *Sowetan*, alleging it had contravened state of emergency regulations.

The newspaper received a letter from the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, threatening that he was considering issuing a warning to the newspaper in the Government Gazette for alleged contravention of press restrictions and publication of "subversive propaganda".

The *Sowetan* is owned by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company.

It is the second newspaper to receive such a threat, following a similar letter to the "alternative" weekly, *The New Nation*, funded by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, early last month.

Opposition sources yesterday accused the Minister of embarking on a campaign to gag the black press and said attempts

to curb reports on the activities of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress would prove unsuccessful.

Mr Botha said he had examined six issues of the *Sowetan* during the period September 4 to October 20 and had concluded they "tend to promote the public image or esteem of *inter alia* the ANC and the PAC, which are unlawful organisations".

But in a statement issued last night, the *Sowetan* said it had endeavoured at all times to abide by State regulations.

"We are not aware of any contraventions of the state of emergency regulations by this newspaper," said deputy editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste.

"The latest warning illustrates the difficult task of producing newspapers in

● TO PAGE 2.

**SATYR**



"Quick! Doc Craven feels another tour coming on."

**MNR raid: 1 dead**

HARARE — MNR rebels raided an estate in Zimbabwe yesterday, killing a worker, police said — Reuter.

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# 5 more die

## MARK GLEESON

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The announcement was made last night by General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the South African Defence Force. It means the number of SADF soldiers killed in action in Angola in the past two weeks has gone up to 23 — including two Namibian soldiers.

The latest killed are:

- Rifleman Adriaan Thom (19), who leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs CS Thom, of 48 Saldanha Street, Ruyterwacht.
- Rifleman Frederick Augustus Muhlentbeck (20), who leaves his mother, Mrs RH Muhlentbeck, of 18 Nefdt Street, Roodepoort, and his father, Mr JA Muhlentbeck, of 30 Outery Road, Georgina, Roodepoort.
- Rifleman Pieter Martinus Schutte (20), who leaves his father and stepmother, Mr and Mrs J Schutte, of Zoetmelsvlei, Lichtenburg.
- Rifleman John Mark Howes (19), who leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs B B Howes, of 85 Steenhoven Street, Bothasig.
- Rifleman Daniel Willem Hendrik van Zyl (20), who leaves his father, Mr C van Zyl, of 10 Sneeuvelde Street, Vaalpark, Sasolburg, and his mother, Mrs I van Zyl, of 24 Mark Street, Edenburg.

Rifleman Thom and Rifleman Muhlentbeck died in action on Monday. The others died in skirmishes on Wednesday.

The late announcement of the deaths of Rifleman Thom and Rifleman Muhlentbeck was because of "operational circumstances", and the requirement to inform next-of-kin first, said General Geldenhuys.

He added that the soldiers' commanding officers would personally visit relatives to give them more details of the circumstances of their sons' deaths. The visits would be made as soon as the officers could be made available.

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The SADF said Swapo had lost more than 150 men in the attack on the Swapo base on October 31. The fighting was reported to be of the "Bloodiest" in the 20-year bush war. The security force losses were among the highest of the war and the worst in one

● TO PAGE 2.

## Big guns in Angola?

● FROM PAGE 1

encounter in five years:

A defence spokesman said at the time there was no connection between the Unita action in south-eastern Angola and the SA operation against Swapo.

The "pre-emptive" strike against Swapo was aimed at countering insurgency in Namibia during the coming rainy season.

But the latest South African deaths came in direct intervention in the Angolan civil war by SA troops, on the side of Unita against Angolan MPLA government forces, beefed up by Russians and Cubans, the SADF said.

Meanwhile, the probability that South Africa's new ultra-long range cannons have played a pivotal role in the battles in south-east Angola — including the latest clash against Cuban and Soviet surrogate forces — has been strengthened by the latest developments.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has strongly implied it was one or both of the G5 and G6 cannons that were deployed on his side in the crucial battle of the Lomba river in September.

There have also been persistent reports from foreign sources that the G5 or G6 (which can lob shells for 40 km) were used. These reports have been strongly supported by Dr Savimbi's statement.

Dr Savimbi said South African troops and air power were never involved in the battle "But we got other forms of support that I cannot elaborate on."

The possibility that the G-guns were also involved in the engagement on Monday is raised by a statement, attributed to defence sources, saying the South Africans had been mainly involved in a technical and advisory capacity with the supply and operation of sophisticated weapons.

● Allegations that 32 Battalion — the unit of mainly black soldiers formerly living in Angola — suffered heavy losses in recent clashes with MPLA forces were yesterday denied by the SADF.

SADF headquarters in Pretoria released a statement in which it said it "would like to place into perspective allegations that 32 Battalion suffered heavy losses in action recently".

It said only 10 members of 32 Battalion had been killed in action since June 1, the majority against Swapo "terrorists" (Angola claims 230 South African soldiers have been killed in recent fighting).



Identified Adriaan Vlok, last seen not holding "political" office by The Saturday Star. He is in New Nation, Mr Vlok has been in detention since the Supreme Court appeal.

## Siamese twins ill but serious

### SARA MA

The Mathibela twins turned an corner yesterday they were declared ill, but not serious. Mphonyana, the smaller twin, the nursing Baragwanath H showing off her and drinking fruit for the first time for the first time the operation.

"Both twins are but not serious," Hester Vorster, the public relations officer for the hospital.

The date for the next phase of the operation, which could involve the separation of the twins, has not yet been set. It will be based on the outcome of the venograms and brain scans which may be conducted next week.

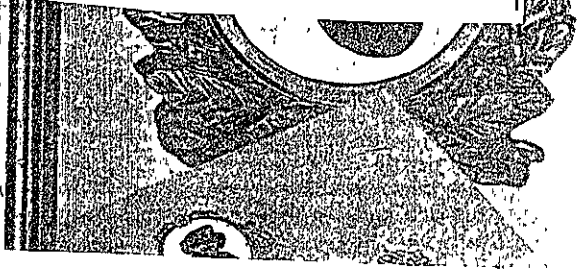


Lieutenant-Col...



Quick! Doc Craven another tour coming on.

MNR raid: 1 dead — MNR rebels an estate in Zimbabwe yesterday, killing a police said.





# Five more die in Angola war

CMT Tmp's  
12/11/87

5  
~~5~~

By WILLEM STEENKAMP  
AND CHRIS ERASMUS

**THE deaths of five more South African soldiers killed in the fighting in south-east Angola were announced late last night by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jan Geldenhuys.**

The announcement brings to nine the number of soldiers who are known to have died in action this week, and 21 since the beginning of the month, when 12 lost their lives in a separate operation against a Swapo insurgent base.

Two of the soldiers, Rifleman Adriaan Murray Thom, 19, and Rifleman Frederick Augustus Muhlhenbeck, 20, were killed on Monday this week, when a South African force routed a Soviet-Cuban-Angolan column, reportedly along the Cuito River.

The other three — Rifleman Pieter Marthinus Schutte, 20, Rifleman John Mark Howes, 19, and Rifleman Daniel Willem Hendrik van Zyl, 20 — died in skirmishes on Wednesday.  
General Geldenhuys said the delay

## Killed in action

THE five dead South African soldiers are:

● Rfn Adriaan Murray Thom, 19, survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs CS Thom of 48 Saldanha Street, Ryterwacht.

● Rfn Frederick Augustus Muhlhenbeck, 20, survived by his mother, Mrs R H Muhlhenbeck of Roodepoort, and his father, Mr J A Muhlhenbeck, of Roodepoort.

● Rfn Pieter Marthinus Schutte, 20, survived by his father and step-mother, Mr and Mrs T J Schutte, of Lichtenburg.

● Rfn John Mark Howes, 19, survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs B B Howes of 85 Steenhoven Street, Bothasig.

● Rfn Daniel Willem Hendrik van Zyl, 20, survived by his father, Mr C van Zyl of Sasolburg, and his mother, Mrs I van Zyl, of Edenburg.

in announcing their deaths had been due to "operational circumstances" and the requirement to first inform their next-of-kin.

To page 3



**GRIEVING ...** Mr Benjamin Howes and his wife Daphne at their Bothasig home last night with a photograph of their son John and a friend. The photograph was taken about two years ago. See Page 5  
Picture: OBED ZILWA



**KILLED ...** Rifleman John Mark Howes of Bothasig

## SA soldiers capture top-secret Soviet weapons

By WILLEM STEENKAMP  
and CHRIS ERASMUS

**ADVANCED** Russian electronic weaponry — not thought to have been in the hands of the West before — was captured by South African soldiers in the battle in Angola this Monday, a source close to United States intelligence circles said yesterday.

The booty is believed to include top-secret artillery locating devices as well as anti-aircraft weapons and equipment.

According to the source, defence advisers in the Reagan administration are "delighted" with the South African success in Angola — and var-

iously the capture of high-tech Soviet weaponry.

The source added that the capture of the Soviet weaponry had stymied moves in the US Congress to terminate US-South African military intelligence links because conservative parliamentarians feared they would not be able to benefit from the Repub-

lic's battlefield booty.

He said that while Unita fighters had been mainly responsible for stopping the Fapla advance at the Lomba River in September and October, it was probably with South African G-5 artillery pieces.

Although the Angolans claimed to

have shot down 16 South African aircraft, actual losses were believed to be one light spotter aircraft and one Mirage fighter.

Local sources yesterday independently confirmed these figures, adding that the Mirage had not crashed on Angolan soil but had returned to Namibia in a badly damaged condition.

He said the soldiers' commanding officers "will personally visit them (next-of-kin) to give more detail of the circumstances surrounding the action. This will happen as soon as they can be made available".

The announcement of the deaths last night came hours after unofficial reports from abroad that a "continuation" of Monday's battle was still being fought — and an SADF announcement that participants in Monday's battle were still engaged in south-east Angola.

SADF spokesmen said at least 2 000 Angolan government troops, 48 Soviets and Cubans and 155 Unita members had been killed.

According to a source close to United States intelligence circles, some US government circles now fear that the South Africans intend to sweep westwards, capturing Cuito Cuanavale and bases manned by Swapo and mixed Swapo-Fapla garrisons, till they reach the coast or international pressure and increasing resistance force them to stop.

If so, he said, White House intelligence and defence advisers felt there was a possibility of "an extensive and long-term South African incursion".

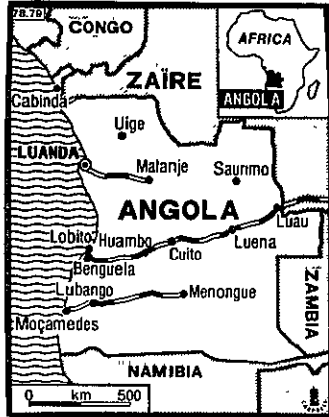
Local observers pointed out yesterday that if estimates are correct that South Africa has at least 6 000 men in Angola, the present force level is higher than during the fighting phase of the nine-month 1975-1976 incursion.

The US source said Dr Savimbi's denial on Thursday that South Africa had assisted in the initial Fapla defeat along the Lomba River was designed to reinforce moves by conservatives in the Reagan government to expand military assistance to Unita.

A Defence Force spokesman yesterday rejected claims that South Africa's famous 32 Battalion had suffered heavily, saying: "The facts are that since June 1, 1987, 10 members . . . have been killed in action, the majority against Swapo terrorists."

The SADF's policy of not announcing every 32 Battalion fatality stemmed from the request of members of the unit not to release personal details "because of possible victimization of their family members, relatives and friends still living in Angola".

## SUPPORT GROUPS



# ANGOLA

**A**S the Russians, Cubans, South Africans, MPLA and Unita counted their gains and losses this week after one of the toughest battles yet on Angolan soil, fascinating new insights were offered on how it all started.

What is emerging is a story that thickens with intrigue with every new fact, claim or disclaimer added — of under-counter dealings, of deceit, breathtaking bungling and vast misunderstandings and miscalculations that led to this protracted, mostly low-key war that has at times, like the past weeks, broken into fullscale battle.

And every time these flare-ups have happened, the global implications of what started off as Angola's domestic tussle for post-colonial power have increased dramatically, making it more difficult for the powerful foreign military forces involved to withdraw.

**T**HE way it started was sinister by any East-West cold-war standards, as further revealed this week by American diplomat Bruce Porter who was based in Luanda at the time and by Peter Stockton who flew from Vietnam to head the secret CIA task force assigned to assess and protect US interests in Angola.

By then matters were already in a mess.

■ DEON du Plessis, deputy editor of The Argus, was in Angola at the time as a reporter for the Argus Company's Africa News Service. He recalls:

*Nobody slept very much in Luanda during the second half of 1975 because that once-beautiful city had become a killing ground. The armed forces of the three liberation movements, MPLA, Unita and the FNLA, now comprising an uneasy government of national unity, each occupied their own sectors of the city's muceques — the, mainly black, slum areas.*

*At times the armed fighters were separated by no more than a road. And increasingly the soldiers turned to settling their differences with rockets, rifles, even recoilless cannon. The crackle and bang of gun battles in the muceques resounded over the city every night, together with the siren wail of the ambulances of the fast-disintegrating municipal health services.*

*Everything was collapsing, even the brewery. I remember being served a beer in the dining hall of Luanda's smartest hotel by a black-garbed waiter with a white napkin over his arm. He poured it as reverentially as if it were the finest champagne. In a sense it was. The hotel, the waiter said, would run out of beer that day and after that there was no more...*

*People who were not killing people or trying not to be killed themselves were packing: It was the time of the great airlift. The roar of aero engines from the airport was unceasing as tens of thousands of Portuguese (many Angolan-born) headed back for the motherland. Perhaps some 300 000 Portuguese in all were airlifted to a home many did not even know — mostly aboard mercy flights provided by Western Air Forces. They left with what they could carry. It was possible to stand at Luanda airport and receive, for example, the keys to a fleeing Portuguese's Mercedes Benz for 50 American dollars.*

*On the black market American dollars were traded for Angolan escudos at more than 200 times their official value. At least dollars were*



**Unita soldiers beneath a huge banner of Dr Jonas Savimbi.**

something you could take with you.

*As the MPLA gained the upper hand in the battle for Luanda the FNLA fled to the north where they made a last and doomed stand with mercenaries recruited from the seedier bars of Britain before finally dribbling back into the bush or across the Congo River to Zaire.*

*Unita simply vanished. At the time of their brief participation in the government of national unity, correspondents used to call at their party headquarters every day to find out what was new. One day we called as usual and their headquarters office was quiet and deserted. So were their military positions in the muceques... But as the world knows by now, Unita at least lived to fight another day...*

**T**HE surrounding foreign-power game was confounding to all except the Russians. As recounted on SABC TV's Network programme this week by the two Americans, little then appeared to be known about Unita, except that its leader, Jonas Savimbi, was not an admirer of the US. The leaders of the MPLA had been drawing the limelight and it was regarded as the central power-grouping and natural heir to the vacated Portuguese throne.

As confusion spread and tensions mounted, US diplomat Porter was amazed to see the quantities of Soviet weaponry poured from Luanda harbour into the city at night and later to discover that the clean-cut foreigners standing round in hotel foyers were not Spanish tourists but Cuban soldiers in civilian dress.

## WEEKEND FOCUS

## SAGA OF DECEIT

WEEKEND  
ARGUS  
SPECIAL  
REPORT

by LEON MARSHALL  
and FRANS  
ESTERHUYSE

THIS is a story that thickens with intrigue with every new fact, claim or disclaimer added — of under-counter dealings, of deceit, breathtaking bungling and vast misunderstandings and miscalculations that led to this protracted, mostly low-key war that has at times, like the past weeks, broken into fullscale battle.

Recently admiral Antonio Alva-Rosa Coutinho, who became military governor of Angola after the Portuguese revolution of April 1974, revealed how he visited Havana to secure Cuban help in installing the MPLA in government without elections, turning the prior Alvore agreement to the contrary into nothing but a fraud.

For the Americans the options were diminishing. Nothing covert could be done to stop the Russian-Cuban advance. Congress would not allow it. Which is how CIA agent Stockton came to turn to the South Africans, who, in his words, seemed only too eager to please.

Thus came about a military excursion, afterwards satirically described by renowned Afrikaans newspaper editor and commentator Schalk Pienaar as a *ligte mistykje* (a slight mistake).

**M**R John Vorster was Prime Minister at the time, Mr PW Botha Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, chief of the Defence Force, and General Hendrik van den Bergh the security chief. The operation embarked on was called Savannah.

Much about how it came about is still shrouded in official secrecy. But in a biography of Mr P W Botha, entitled *PW*, the authors, Dirk and Johanna de Villiers, noted the then Minister of Defence's role.

One of the options the Government considered was: If it did not help in the Angolan conflict, it would alienate moderate leaders in that country. With the necessary backing, Unita and the FNLA could be helped to resist the MPLA if they formed a united front.

By then South Africa had already sent troops into Angola to defend the Calueque pump station. And the Americans had indicated they would supply arms to the anti-communist forces.

In the circumstances it was hardly possible for South Africa to refuse the requested assistance, and approval was given by Mr Vorster.

The political and military moves after the decision to enter Angola have been pieced together by Professor Deon Geldenhuys, head of the political science department at the Rand Afrikaans University, who claims there were profound deficiencies in top-level decision-making in Pretoria at the time.

**I**N his book, *The Diplomacy of Isolation*, he writes that as head of the Bureau for State Security, General Van den Bergh was opposed to the venture and that neither the full Cabinet nor the National Party had been consulted.

But once the decision had been taken to commit South African military personnel and arms to the



MPLA soldiers brandished ancient Soviet weapons when they were visited by Dr Agostinho Neto in 1975

conflict in Angola, the Defence Force devised a four-phase plan for a military offensive. It was an operational plan, identifying specific military targets and calculating the resources required to achieve them.

The phases were progressively more ambitious. Phase Four provided for the capture of Luanda, the ultimate military objective.

The decision to escalate from one phase to another was left to the political decision-makers and day-to-day operational control to a special committee composed of military chiefs was set up in Pretoria. Representatives from the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Bureau for State Security were on occasion invited to participate in meetings, but their presence may have been little more than symbolic since the military saw the war as very much its responsibility.

Amid all the operational planning, the political objectives of South Africa's military involvement remained unclear. The forces were given permission by Vorster and P W Botha to proceed to Phase Three, which included capturing the towns of Cela and Nova Redondo — targets that were in fact reached by the South Africans.

**I**T was when the South African forces were executing the third phase that the US Senate blocked any further American military involvement in Angola. It left Pretoria with a crucial political decision: Should South African forces be allowed to proceed with Phase Four, or should they start pulling back?

It was decided in principle to withdraw, Vorster and P W Botha again being the key figures involved.

After two years of clamping down on information on the operation, Mr P W Botha in 1978 officially accused the US of having "left South Africa in the lurch" in the Angolan campaign.

Responding in Parliament to accusations against South Africa in the UN Security Council resolution relating to the arms embargo, he rejected charges of "persistent acts of aggression" by South Africa against neighbour states.

"Against which neighbour states have we ever taken aggressive steps? I know of only one occasion in recent years when we crossed a border and that was in the case of Angola when we did so with the approval and knowledge of the Americans.

"But they left us in the lurch. We are going to retell that story: The story must be told of how we, with their knowledge, went in there and operated in Angola with their knowledge, how they encouraged us to act and, when we had nearly reached the climax, we were ruthlessly left in the lurch by an undertaking that was broken. It is necessary that we should say this..."

During the same debate on the Defence budget vote, Mr Botha disclosed that he himself had witnessed the off-loading of American arms in Angola. After referring to "the collapse of American leadership in Angola", he said: "We are being condemned because we were in Angola on a limited scale, but there was a time when American aircraft offloaded arms at military positions and bases in Angola which were held by South African troops.

"I was there myself and I saw those arms being offloaded. What happened then? President Ford spelt it out for us when he said: 'It was a disastrous decision by Congress'.

"Why was that Congress misinformed? I think the reason is that influences are at work in the West which achieve two things. In the first place there is an attempt 'to out-Moscow Moscow'..." He a Hungarian professor on "the way in which Marxism is manipulating the Christian world to achieve its own purpose".

**C**IA man Stockton's version this week of how it happened was startling in its simplicity: The South Africans thought that by going in they would gain US support for their policies. This the US was not prepared to give, and we called it off.

On the effect of the Clarke amendment in the US Congress which stopped military intervention in Angola against the MPLA, the US diplomat, Porter, remarked: "It happened in the belief that up till then we were backing the wrong side — Unita. And so defeat was snatched from the jaws of victory."

The intensity of the border conflict remained high after the Angolan invasion had been called off. Swapo took advantage of the protection of MPLA and Cuban units which had been sent into the south of Angola in an attempt to defeat Unita.

There were persistent reports abroad that South Africa was assisting Unita in its war against the MPLA. The reports were officially denied by South African Government spokesmen, though the Reagan administration and other Western governments openly declared that they believed them to be true.

One of the most ominous aspects of the war is the extent to which it has escalated. Arms build-ups have continued, the death toll and casualties have risen, and there appears no end to the devastation caused by the conflict. At the same time the political issues involved have become more complex and infinitely more difficult to unravel.

The situation is bedevilled by the SWA/Namibian independence issue and the condition of Cuban withdrawal from Angola as a pre-requisite for independence. The longer the Angolan conflict drags on, the more remote the chances seem to be of a Cuban withdrawal.

A further complicating factor is that the South African Government seems to regard the war increasingly as a direct struggle against what it sees as a possible invasion of Southern Africa by the Russians and Cubans.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan this week spelt out the Government's involvement in these terms: The reality facing South Africa is that if Unita is defeated, the borders of SWA/Namibia as well as those of countries such as Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia would be thrown wide open. These countries would then be overwhelmed by Russian-Cuban aggression. The whole of Southern Africa would be destabilised and be subjected to Russian domination...

# The sting of the Stinger

by HENRI du PLESSIS,  
Weekend Argus Reporter

**U**NITA leader General Jonas Savimbi this week admitted American and South African support and supplies had been "decisive" in his movement's successes in Angola.

Having succeeded in pushing back a huge Soviet and Cuban backed MPLA force attacking Unita strongholds in southern Angola during the past months, the rebel leader's relatively lightly equipped troops had faced the might of modern Soviet weaponry — and overcame it.

This could in no small way be ascribed to America's selective but strategic supply of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and TOW anti-tank weapons, and South Africa's willingness to share of its newest artillery technology in the form of the long-range G-5.

The controversial United States announcement in 1985 that it would supply the Stinger to Unita forces must have come as welcome news for the General who has no air support under his own command.

An air force dominating the skies above battlefields has become a vital strategic need for conventional operations such as that launched by the Angolan government against Unita recently and without protection, things might not have turned out so well for Savimbi's forces.

The Stinger, according to Jane's Weapon Systems 1985/86, is the successor to the US Redeye, a portable shoulder-fired guided missile system.

Officially designated as the FIM-92A, it is the current US Army and Marine Corps man portable air defence system (MANPADS) and has a range believed to be in excess of three kilometres.

It is an infra-red seeking missile which enables the soldier to combat effectively low-flying jet-propelled or propeller-driven aircraft and helicopters.

With its weight of 15,8kg, it would not be a piece of equipment commandos would take with them on secret long-range missions, but in a semi-conventional situation such as in Angola, an infantryman armed with a Stinger could be highly effective in countering strafing or low-level bombing runs.

It is propelled by a solid fuel rocket at a supersonic speed, normally manned by two crew and has been designed to be adaptable for the threat beyond the 1980's.



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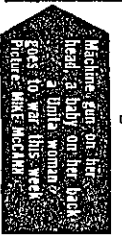
'Once and for all' battle still rages in Angola

# PW FIGHTERS TO WAR ZONE

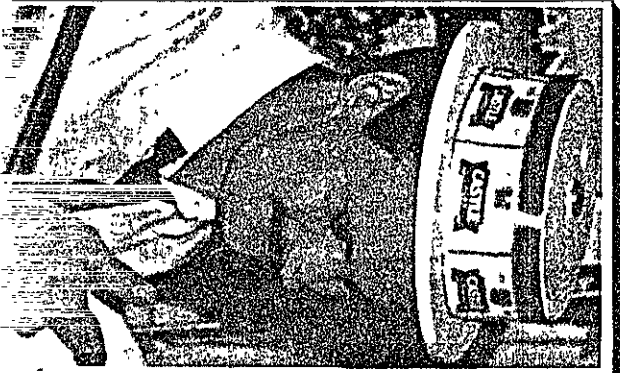


President PW Botha... addressed South African troops 'in the midnight hours'

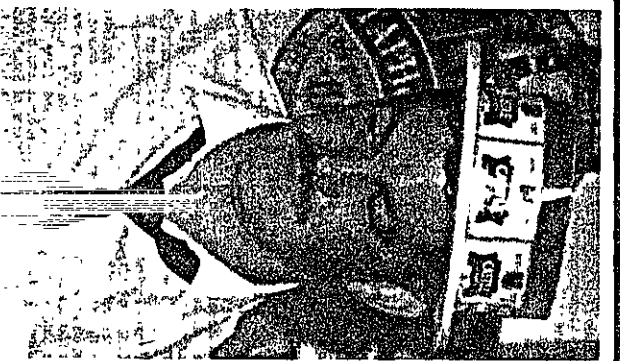
By LESTER VENTER and NEIL HOOPER  
**PRESIDENT Botha made a dramatic visit to the war zone in Angola during the make-or-break battle that is still raging between a combined Unkta-SADF force and a Russian-and-Cuban-led army.**  
 The first official, but sketchy, details of the visit were disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.



Magline gun on the head - a lady on the back - India woman - give to war this week - picture - Mrs. Malan



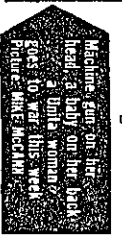
**Tomatoes! The flag! It's the President's Men, taking the micky**



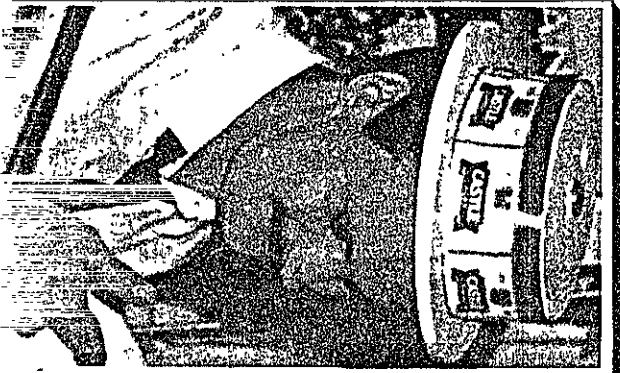
**Slap on wrists for SA rugby**  
 By IAN HOBBS  
 France  
 SA RUGBY BOARD vice-president Fritz Elff last night said South Africa had been treated like "naughty schoolboys" at the International Rugby Board meeting in Agen. But he said he was confident they would get the love they so desperately sought if they behaved themselves at the 1988 annual meeting in Marseilles, South Africa was given a final warning that further rebelions could lead to its expulsion from the IRB. The IRB also announced yesterday it had suspended

# Divorce lawyer is sued over

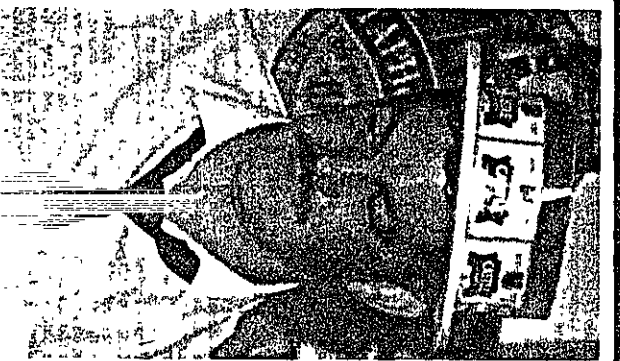
By SHAWN HARRIS  
**A POPULAR divorce lawyer is being sued - for having an affair with a client's wife.**  
 Attorney Jeffrey Fobb admitted in court to having the affair with the pretty blonde woman while mediating in her divorce.



Magline gun on the head - a lady on the back - India woman - give to war this week - picture - Mrs. Malan



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to the war zone in Angola during the make-or-break battle that is still raging between a combined Unita-SADF force and a Russian-and-Cuban-led army.

The first official, but sketchy, details of the visit were disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Machine gun on her head, a baby on her back — a Unita woman goes to war this week  
Picture: MIKE McCANN

He told the Transvaal congress of the National Party that other Cabinet Ministers — including Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Barend du Plessis — as well as "parliamentarians from various parties" had visited Angola "very recently".

President Botha had addressed South African troops "in the midnight hours", General Malan said in an interview afterwards.

He declined to say exactly when the visits were made, but there was "plenty of action" at the time.

"I can't say they saw the action, but they were in radio contact while reports of the fighting were coming in," General Malan said.

The visits to southern Angola had been made separately, and President Botha and the others had been in touch with fighting units and their commanding officers. Each of the visits had lasted about 26 hours.

President Botha wanted to demonstrate his sympathy, involvement and personal responsibility, General Malan said.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said: "You sleep next to your fox-hole and eat army rations. You really become part of the battle."

The symbolism of black and white troops fighting a common enemy had made a deep impression on him.

Yesterday the combined Unita-SADF force was in hot pursuit of Angola's Fapla army, which is led by Soviet and Cuban officers.

### Details

Its aim is to inflict a "once-and-for-all" defeat which Pretoria hopes could be a turning-point in the Angolan war.

Fierce skirmishes were still taking place in south-eastern Angola this weekend, but defence headquarters in Pretoria is withholding details "for operational reasons".

So far 23 South African and SWA-Namibian soldiers have been killed in battles against Fapla and Swapo bases in south-central Angola in the past two weeks.

Yesterday General Malan said secrecy was necessary to safeguard troops, but he nevertheless gave what he called "a glimpse of the factors behind the scenes".

His speech at the NP congress in Pretoria made it clear that South Africa's intervention in the battle was aimed at convincing the Soviets that Pretoria would not stand back and see Unita defeated.

Such an event would allow the Soviet proxies direct access through Botswana to Zimbabwe, Zambia and SWA-Namibia.

Hinting at the long-term significance of the recent battles, General Malan said this week's events could significantly change the rules of the game in Angola and create a "new era of stability" — thus raising the possibility that the military victory

# Divorce lawyer is sued over affair with wife

By SHAUN HARRIS

A POPULAR divorce lawyer is being sued — for having an affair with a client's wife.

Attorney Jeffrey Fobb admitted in court to having the affair with the pretty blonde woman while mediating in her divorce.

And while Mr Fobb was having the steamy affair, his lover's husband and client — restaurant owner Mr Errol Mande — was pouring his heart out to the lawyer.

The woman at the centre of the affair, the former Mrs Debbie Mande, who now calls herself Cope-man, her maiden name, says she is now "caught in the middle" between her former lover and former husband and that it has become "a nightmare".

Details of the affair were heard in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg, on Friday.

Mr Mande, who owns a Mongolian restaurant in Durban, is claiming R11 000 damages from his former attorney for committing adultery with his wife.

It is believed to be the first case of its kind to be heard in the Supreme Court, and has no legal precedent.

The Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, is presiding.

The case has also resulted in Mr Fobb appearing before a Law Society disciplinary hearing, the results of which are still pending.

Mr Fobb, in papers before the court, admitted committing adultery with Mrs Mande while she was still married.

He also admitted he was Mr Mande's attorney when he was acting as mediator in their divorce action.

This hurt Mr Mande, who told the court he felt "sickened" when he learned his wife had begun the affair with Mr Fobb only days after she had instituted divorce proceedings.

### Suspicious

He said he learned that his wife and Mr Fobb had spent a weekend together in the Drakensberg mountains, and to confirm his suspicions that they were having an affair he hired a private detective.

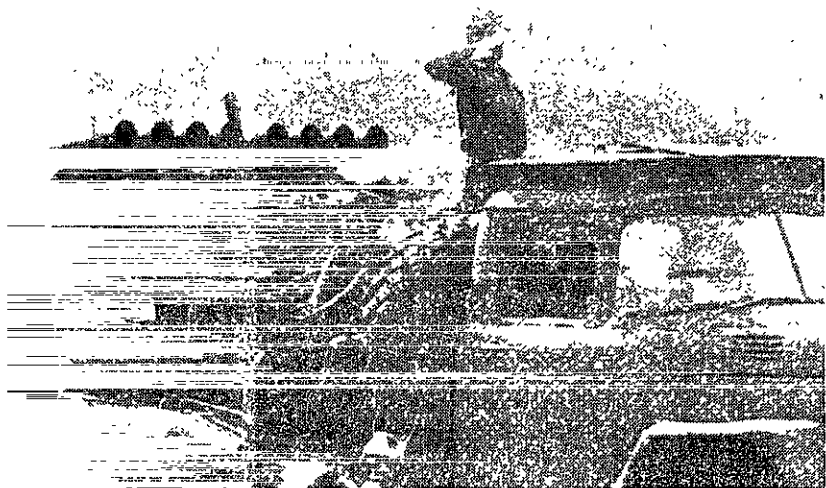
"One does not want to believe things like that. I was sick that the two of them had connived to go away.

"Who could I trust? I had poured my heart out to him (Fobb) 48 hours earlier.

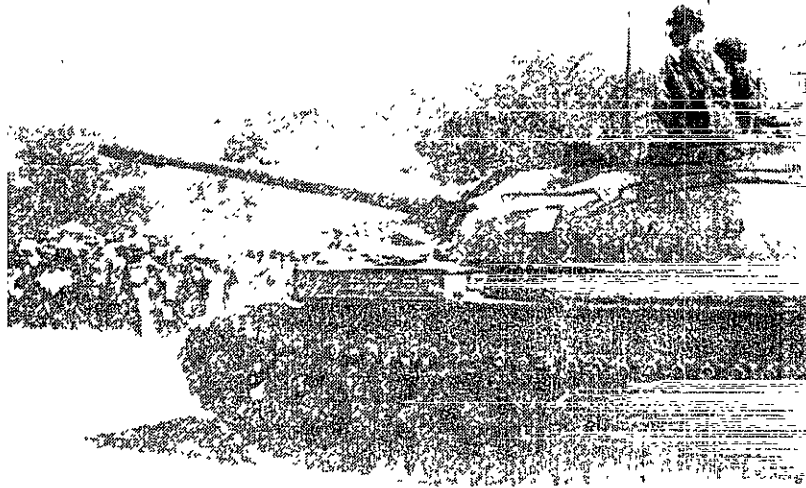
"I still love my wife. I was going to be divorced but the manner in which this was done hurt me," Mr Mande told the court.



Debbie Mande: the wife "in the middle" whose home was bugged Picture: JIMMY HUTTON



A "Stalin organ" rocket-launcher joins the parade



PROUD PRIZE ... a captured Soviet T54 tank

# PW in war zone

□ From Page 1

might be followed by a diplomatic initiative.

The SADF has refused to spell out details of Unita-SADF operations which claimed the lives of nine South African conscripts and many Angolans and Cubans.

But, from piecing together information from official statements and other sources, the following picture emerges:

The ferocious battles along the Lomba River between September 8 and October 8 saw Unita forces — probably supported by South African artillery — threw Luanda's troops back across the river.

The Fapla forces retreated in the face of constant Unita attacks, which claimed hundreds of lives. Fapla lost substantial amounts of equipment to Dr Jonas Savimbi's forces.

## Jubilant

But it was near the small town of Cuito Cuanavale, on the Cuito River and about 100km north-east of the Lomba River battles, that the real test of mettle came this week.

Angolan forces, backed by Cuban armour and artillery and advised by Russians, dug in round Cuito Cuanavale determined to defend the base with its hard-topped helicopter landing sites.

The reason: without Cuito Cuanavale the Angolans would be unable to launch another assault against the Unita-held south-east next year.

Unita forces, jubilant victors at Lomba, clashed with the entrenched Angolan forces and suffered heavy casualties from artillery, armour and air strikes.

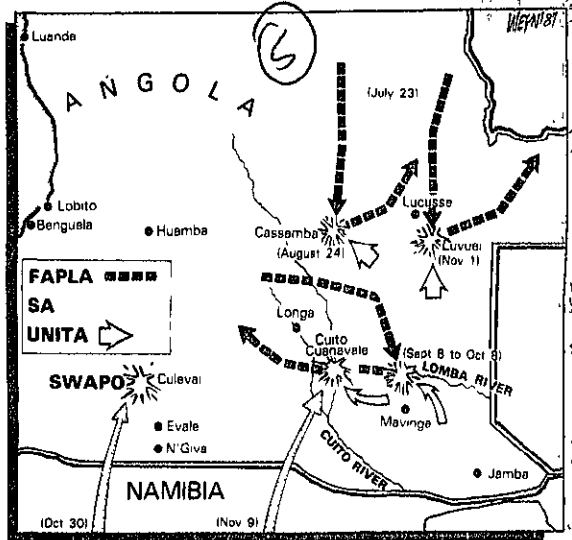
It was then that the South African Government decided to intervene.

The full extent of the South African attack force is unknown.

The outcome of the recent battles, however, appears beyond dispute.

The defenders of Cuito Cuanavale broke before the combined Unita-SADF attack and have begun retreating even further west towards other defended sites.

General Malan reported yesterday that the Cubans



had been among the first to desert their Angolan allies under the hammer blows from the South African forces.

Uncertainty still exists about what happens next. The defeat near Cuito Cuanavale has set back whatever hopes the Angolans had of launching another major offensive against Dr Savimbi in the near future.

## Stresses

But it could mean considerably more. The severe hammering of Angolan and Cuban forces may introduce new stresses within the Angolan government and could lead to renewed efforts at a reconciliation in the war-torn country.

This week's battle ends the longest and bloodiest clash on conventional and semi-

conventional lines in the history of the southern sub-continent

The campaign, directed by Russian General Shogonov, began in April this year as the Angolan forces slowly pushed towards their key targets Cangamba and Caga Couthino in east-central Angola and Mavinga north of Dr Savimbi's headquarters of Jamba.

The overall losses in the three months of heavy fighting are difficult to assess because of the wildly conflicting claims by opposing sides. Independent assessments, however, claim that Fapla losses are well over 2,000 men killed while Unita's are considerably less.

Vast amounts of material, including tanks, armoured personnel carriers and artillery, have been captured by Unita.



A Unita soldier salutes from an enemy personnel carrier

## UNITA'S WAR BOOTY

# Four SA soldiers die in Angola

FOUR SADF members were killed in the latest fighting in Southern Angola, it was announced yesterday.

In a statement in Pretoria in which the first details of the fighting against Russian and Cuban forces were given, Defence headquarters said the four had died on Monday, November 9, in "an action" in South-East Angola.

Their next of kin had been informed. "All four soldiers died after ele-

ments of the Defence Force involved in limited support to Unita acted in operations against Cuban and other communist surrogate forces in the Cuando-Cubango province."

Those killed were:

- Sergeant Pierre Jame Digue, 25, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs LJ Digue, of 10 Wartle Street, Tygerberg Hills, Bellville.
- Corporal Theunis Anthonie Duvenhage, 19, who is survived by his wife, Mrs E Duvenhage, of 17 Rooi Bosch Street, Witbank.
- Rifleman Anthony Steward, 19, who is survived by his mother, Mrs GMD Lantsof, of 17 Essenhout Street, Ottery, Cape Town, and his father, Mr S Steward, of 25 Ryan Street, Parow.
- Rifleman Pieter Gerrit Claassen, 19, who is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs NAJ Claassen, of 81 Raven Street, Els Park, - Sapa.



Mandla Sithole

# A 'war' must be

THE KAIZER Chiefs-Orlando in a deadlock last weekend at Ellis Park Stadium to believe that Chiefs really equalise in the last three minutes talking point of the match.

# Historic moment for landowners

BY DERRICK LUTHAYI

TWO blacks — one a Soweto councillor — were yesterday granted full property freehold title at the Registrar of Deeds offices in Johannesburg.

Councillor Siegfried Manthatha and David Mkhabela, of Spruitview, Katlehong, made history by becoming the first blacks in the country to be granted freehold rights.

Mkhabela said had the granting of freehold title rights to blacks in South Africa happened in the 18th Century, it would have averted bloodshed and many lives would have been saved.

Mkhabela is building a R85 000 house in Spruitview, Katlehong.

The other recipient was Soweto councillor and housing committee chairman Siegfried Manthatha, for his property in Naledi, which he does not occupy because he stays in the posh councillor suburb of Power Park outside the township. Manthatha was not present at yesterday's event.

Registrar of Deeds Cor Wolfardt presented the title deeds to the mayor of Soweto, Nelson Botile, and Katlehong mayor Thami Sithuma who, in turn, passed them on to the two residents.

Mkhabela, a garage supervisor and brother of former Azapo president Ismael, said he was delighted with the opportunity, which was announced on such a special day — November 5 — when ANC leader Govan Mbeki was released from prison.

Botile remarked that history had been made in South Africa. "It was the same National Party which cancelled our title deeds in Sophiatown, Alexandria and other areas and again it's them giving back to us our deeds.

It was also disclosed that more stands in the townships will be available for registration for freehold rights and Sowetans hope to lead the way with many stands. It is hoped that by next February, all 87 464 housing units in Soweto would be available for freehold title.



David Mkhabela

*CP 15/11/87*



(5) Simon 19/11/8

**MOST** people know a 500kg gorilla when they see one. They do not have to wait for the gorilla to describe his dimensions before they get the message.

It is therefore somewhat strange that Generals Magnus Malan and Jannie Geldenhuys should feel it necessary to trumpet the SADF's involvement in last month's events in southern Angola.

The chest-thumping is entirely superfluous. Indeed, something would have been profoundly awry had the Defence Force *not* been involved. So what's with all the sudden candour? *Cui*, as lawyers like to say, *bono*?

Certainly not Unita, which, brag the generals, would now be history but for their intervention. Even if that were true, and Dr Savimbi insists it isn't, why say it? Why humiliate the man in his apparent hour of triumph?

Savimbi, as the generals must be aware, has a little problem of legitimacy, a problem which is entirely Pretoria's fault. Militarily, South Africa may be one hell of an ally. Diplomatically, she is the pox.

Were it not for South Africa's poisonous affection, there could be little question in the West about the relative merits of Unita and the MPLA. Savimbi would win the international battle for hearts and minds hands down.

By a terrible irony of geography and circumstance, the one man who could make the Reagan doctrine fashionable (and thereby effective) is rendered a stooge by the neighbour he is forced to depend on, and his cause, the defeat of *balalaika lebensraum* in Angola, is made to appear racist.

### PREJUDICES

Now it may not be all that important in the overall scheme of things, but there have been small signs here lately that Unita is managing to escape from the deadening shadow of its patron.

Last Tuesday, a group calling itself African-Americans for Peace and Democracy in Angola held a news conference at the National Press Club. The event was thinly attended, in part because the whole idea whiffed of prevailing prejudices of Uncle Tom.

This was a pity, because Aafpada (as it rather laboriously acronyms itself) is nothing of the sort. Indeed, it counts among its number Dr Ralph Abernathy, the man in whose arms (*pace* the Rev Jesse Jackson) Dr Martin Luther King really died.

The chief speaker was the Rev T L Lewis, a Baptist minister who is leading the Shell boycott in Birmingham, Alabama. Also present was Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Mississippi, brother of the late Medgar Evers, a brutally

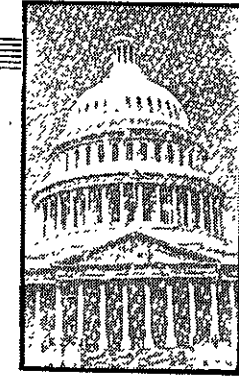
# HAS MALAN RESTOOGED SAVIMBI?

**'Militarily, South Africa may be one hell of an ally for Unita. Diplomatically, she's the pox'**

murdered martyr of the civil rights struggle.

Following a recent visit, Mayor Evers had Jamba officially declared Fayette's sister city and arranged for the Medgar Evers Foundation to send Unita a R94 000 mobile clinic plus a rotating team of doctors and surgeons to man it.

"I'm for the democratic form of government, and that's what I saw," he told us. "The initiative and the



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**SIMON BARBER'S**

**WASHINGTON DIARY**

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nator of the thought appears to have been Unita itself. Prominent on Aafpada's board is the Rev Maurice Dawkins, until recently a registered Unita lobbyist.

Now it is worse than ironic that, in the very week that this group introduces itself to the world to push the idea that Unita and Pretoria are not the same thing, the generals should get up and make the opposite case so convincingly.

Evidently, they like the idea that Savimbi should be theirs and theirs alone. Who cares if the US Congress turns round and cuts off his aid? They knew he was going to give a triumphant Press conference on Thursday and they didn't want him getting too uppity.

### HORRIFYING

More to the point, they clearly didn't want him using this latest and most crushing defeat of the Angolan army (Fapla) and its allies to pursue anything subversive. A settlement, for example. Even the remotest chance that peace might break out must be horrifying. It might even mean having to give up Namibia. Heaven forbid!

So what do the generals do? They re-stooge their man, and then publicly rub Moscow's face in their own military prowess for good measure — lest anyone forget what the war is really all about.

They can now be assured that nothing untoward is going to happen in Geneva this week when Under-Secretary of State Michael Armacost sits down for pre-summit talks on the issue with his Soviet opposite number.

Not that much would likely have happened anyway, but the generals, in their sublime arrogance, have brought themselves a little more insurance. That will no doubt be a comfort to the families of the re-turning body bags

spirit of the people impressed me greatly."

### OPTIMISTIC

Not everyone related to Aafpada is equally enthusiastic, but all at least do Savimbi the justice of believing that he and his movement are genuinely representative, not just a South African front, and must share power in a reconciled Angola.

Furthermore, the group is agreed that the Cubans, along with all other foreign forces, must leave, and that free elections must be held, to which end, and perhaps a trifle optimistically, it has enlisted former UN ambassador Andrew Young to offer his services as a mediator between the two sides.

To anti-apartheid leaders like Transafrica's Randall Robinson, this verges on thoughtcrime, the more so since the origi-

# Nigeria, Kenya in peace plan for Angola

Argus 16/11/87

The Argus Foreign Service  
Dateline: LONDON

**N**IGERIA is ready to contribute a peace-keeping force of between 10 000 and 15 000 towards an African solution to the 12-year Angolan war, according to a report here.

The Observer newspaper yesterday reported that the Nigerian President Major-General Ibrahim Babangida and Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi have indicated that they are ready to "respond positively" to last week's call from the Angolan rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, for the removal of all non-African troops and the start of power-sharing talks with the Communist-backed government of President Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda.

The announcement follows South African Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's announcement that South Africans had died in recent fighting in Angola.

## Key battle

In a key battle last Monday close to the Loma River, Dr Savimbi claims to have sent Luanda forces into retreat. The failure of the latest Luanda offensive against Savimbi and the direct clashes between South African and Soviet forces have added urgency to the search for an Angolan solution.

Leaders of the Frontline states were considering the crisis at a meeting in Botswana at the weekend.

Other African countries, including Ivory Coast, Zaire, Senegal, Togo and Gabon are likely to back the peace moves, the Observer claims.

The new African initiative, which is supported by Washington, will require an invitation from the beleaguered MPLA Government in Luanda. President Dos Santos was in Moscow last week and his attitude to the new peace plan will depend on how far the Russians are prepared to go on backing him.

## Ill-disciplined

**GERALD L'ANGE** of The Argus Africa News Service reports from Johannesburg that the relatively high casualties suffered by South African troops in Angola recently suggest they have been involved in some of the heaviest fighting there since 1975 when South African forces penetrated almost to Luanda.

The losses also suggest that the South Africans encountered sophisticated opposition in the form of armaments, if not troops.

The largely conscripted Fapla soldiers of the MPLA government, many of whom are press-ganged off the streets, are notoriously ill-disciplined and trained and said to have little stomach for fighting Unita.

Their poor performance in action against the highly mo-

tivated Unita forces is said to have caused despair among their Russian instructors who are reported to have been with them in relatively large numbers in the latest campaign.

The Cuban soldiers are said to have no great desire either to fight in Angola, but to be better-trained and more effective than the Fapla troops.

In the past, the Cubans have been used mainly to guard towns, bases and communication lines while FAPLA fights at the front.

## Heavy air strikes

The SADF's claim that the Cubans deserted the Fapla soldiers in engagements with South African troops indicate that the South Africans came up against either heavy air strikes or artillery fire.

The crushing defeat suffered by Fapla in the offensive against Unita in Cuando Cubango in recent months has also been a severe setback for the Soviets who armed and trained them.

The extremely brief accounts of the fighting given by the SADF suggest that the Soviets sent in Cuban troops in a desperate and all-out bid to save the situation before the onset of the rains make conventional warfare impossible.

## Looming defeat

There is an apparent contradiction between the SADF's assertion that its troops went in to save Unita from looming defeat and Unita's claim that they did not need saving, having defeated the enemy on their own.

The skimpy evidence available indicates that the South Africans were not necessarily fighting alongside Unita, but in another area of the action, possibly in an attack on the Fapla-Cuban flanks or rear.

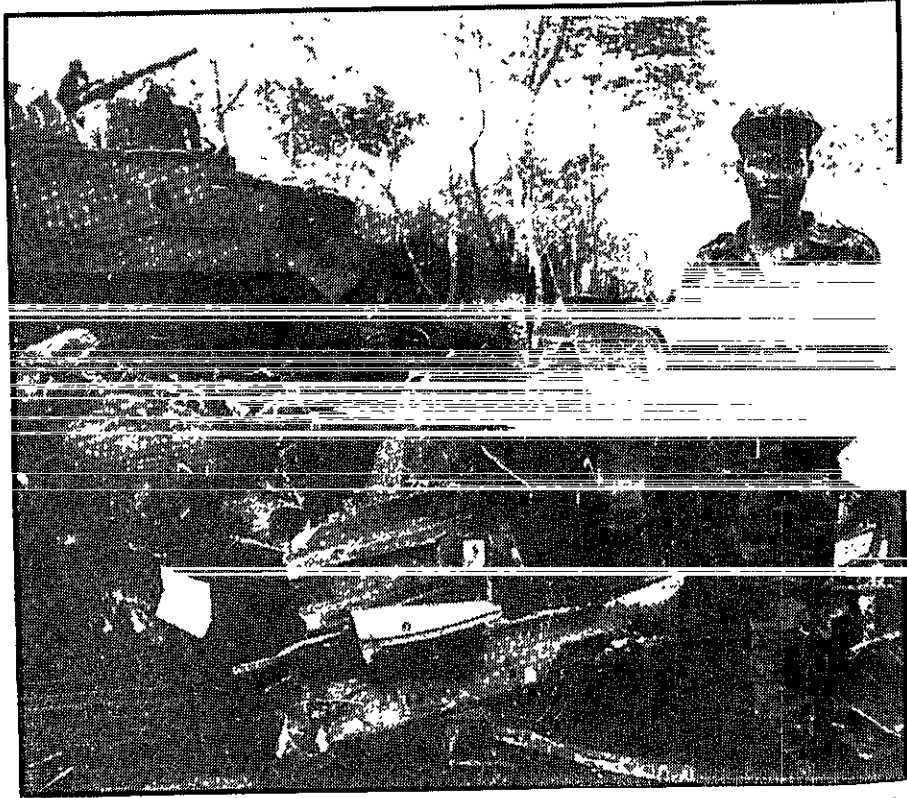
While the SADF has described the action as limited engagements and skirmishes, the casualty rate, apparently spread over several days, indicates fairly heavy fighting compared to anything the SADF has been engaged in since 1975.

The area in which the action took place has not been disclosed but appears likely to have been on the western rather than the northern front of the Fapla offensive.

## Crucial battle

The offensive in the west was launched from Menongue and Cutio Cuanavale and was turned back by Unita at the crucial Lomba River battle last September.

The northern front was based on Luena and Lucusse and while some fighting appears to have taken place on that front in recent weeks, it is unlikely that the South Africans would have been involved there.



**AFTER THE BATTLE:** A soldier surveys the scene after heavy fighting in Angola recently.



Frontline states meet on crisis

# Plan for an Africa force in Angola

5  
Blaow  
15/11/87

LONDON— Nigeria and Kenya have become the first black African countries to respond positively to the call by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi for the removal of all non-African troops from Angola.

According to a report in the London Observer newspaper yesterday, Nigeria is ready to pledge between 10 000 and 15 000 men to a peace-keeping force in an effort to end 12 years of bloodshed in the trouble-torn country.

The newspaper said Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi have both indicated they are willing to support Savimbi's call to withdraw non-African troops from Angola and start power-sharing talks with the Communist-backed government in Luanda.

Other African countries, like Ivory Coast, Zaire, Senegal, Togo and Gabon, were likely to back a peace initiative, the Observer said.

The move has become more urgent with South Africa's acknowledgement for the first time that it is fighting alongside Unita.

In the past two weeks, 23 South African and Namibian soldiers have died, ac-

Own Correspondent

ording to the SA Defence Force. Nine of them were killed last week.

Leaders of the Frontline states gathered in Luanda yesterday to consider the crisis, reports Reuter. No details were immediately available.

The London Sunday Telegraph said SA warplanes in Angola were equipped with Israeli-developed, electronic systems to counter advanced Soviet air defence missiles.

This was seen as reflecting the growing sophistication of Soviet air defence of Angola and SA's difficulty in obtaining Western equipment to combat it.

Apart from advanced Israeli counter-measures attached to SAAF Mirage fighters, the Israeli equipment was said to include small, remotely piloted vehicles to jam the radar Angola is using to direct anti-aircraft missiles.

The paper said the SAAF, aided by Israel, was understood to have converted a Boeing airliner into an airborne electronic warfare control centre to direct air strikes.

● To Page 2 →

## Nigeria offers peace force

It said Israel's experience in destroying a similarly advanced Soviet air defence system, deployed by Syria in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley in 1982, had proved invaluable to SA during the latest clash.

In the last five weeks, SAAF intelligence officers claimed SA forces destroyed three Soviet-built mobile SA-8 missile launchers and one SA-12 launcher, according to the Sunday Telegraph report. They also claimed Angolan forces lost two SU-22 Fitter ground-attack aircraft, three MiG-21s and one MiG-23 Flogger fighter, as well as four attack helicopters.

During the Mavinga battles, Angolan missiles were moved round the battlefield rather than being dug into static positions — tactics which caused the loss of one SAAF Mirage, hit by an SA-8 missile.

SA military sources were quoted as saying the pilot flew the badly damaged plane back to Namibia but crashed on the edge of an airfield. He ejected but was killed.

“Another disturbing development for the South Africans is the Angolans' recent use of Soviet-made 'beyond visual

← ● From Page 1

range' air-to-air missiles such as the AA-7 Apex, which has a range of more than 30km.

Apart from possibly trying to develop a local fighter using Israel's technology, Pretoria hoped to use the Lavi radar and electronic counter measures in the Cheetah aircraft, said the Sunday Telegraph.

In return for Israel's electronic counter measures for use in the Angola battles, SA has supplied its G5 155mm gun (believed to be the longest range gun of its type in the world) to the Israelis.

□ Armscor spokesman Johan Adler yesterday rejected most of the claims in the report. He denied Israeli involvement in the development or supply of electronic anti-missile systems or remote-piloted radar-jamming vehicles.

He said they were SA-developed and were definitely not Israeli systems.

He refused comment on the Boeing said to have been converted into an airborne electronic warfare control centre.

An SADF spokesman said it was not SADF policy to comment on the procurement of arms.

# Frontliners blame SA for war in Angola

The Star's Africa  
News Service

MAPUTO — Leaders of the six Frontline states ended a weekend meeting in the Angolan capital yesterday with a statement condemning South Africa's involvement in the war.

They heard a report by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos according to which there are 3 000 South African troops in Angola.

In a report from the Angolan capital, the Mozambique News Agency, AIM, said the leaders of Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe were told by President dos Santos that those troops were supported by 70 armoured vehicles.

In addition South Africa had 30 000 troops, 435 tanks and armoured vehicles, more than 80 planes and 400 pieces of artillery concentrated on the Namibian border, the agency said.

Mr dos Santos told his guests that South African troops were involved in fighting in the provinces of Cuando-Cubango and Cunene.

The Frontline states also condemned the visit to Angolan territory by South Africa's President P.W. Botha, describing it as proof of South Africa's continued aggression and occupation of parts of Angola.

It was clearly a war of invasion and destabilisation by South Africa, they added.

An SADF spokesman said today the SADF had nothing to add to recent statements by President Botha, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys.

See Page 4.

# Nigeria ready to send peace force to Angola

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nigeria is ready to contribute a peace-keeping force of between 10 000 and 15 000 towards an African solution to the 12-year Angolan war, according to a report here.

The *Observer* newspaper yesterday reported that Nigerian President Major-General Ibrahim Babangida and Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi have indicated that they are ready to respond positively to last week's call from the Angolan rebel leader, General Jonas Savimbi, for the removal of all non-African troops and the start of power-sharing talks with the communist-backed government of President Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda.

## CRISIS MEETING

The failure of the latest Luanda offensive against Savimbi and the direct clashes between South African and Soviet forces have added urgency to the search for a solution.

Leaders of the Frontline states were considering the crisis at a meeting in Botswana at the weekend.

Other African countries, including Ivory Coast, Zaire, Senegal, Togo and Gabon are likely to back the peace moves, *The Observer* claims.

The new African initiative will require an invitation from the MPLA government. President dos Santos was in Moscow last week and his attitude to the new peace plan will depend on how far the USSR is prepared to back him.



CMG Times 16/1/87

# Son's raw deal — dead soldier's father

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Jimmy Muhlenbeck had no idea his son was in Angola till the army called to tell him Freddie was dead, incinerated by a Soviet T55 rocket that hit his Ratel armoured car hundreds of kilometres outside South Africa's border.

Freddie Muhlenbeck, 20, was within six weeks of his discharge when he died somewhere in Cuando Cubango province, possibly 500km across the Namibian border into Angola.

His death was among four reported on Thursday. The deaths of nine soldiers were reported last week.

"My son got a raw deal," Mr Muhlenbeck told reporters at his home in Roodepoort. "Freddie had no choice.

"It is so unfair to send boys who have not even had the chance to mature to the frontline. Why can't the paid professionals face the fighting," he said.

"The government has already handed over the country to the blacks," said Jimmy Muhlenbeck, whose call-up papers coincided with news of his brother's death. "I don't see why we should be fighting."

Professor Mervyn Frost, an international affairs expert at Natal University, warned: "South Africa's action amounts to kicking the shins of a giant. There is no way the Soviets are going to give up or retreat in the face of a small power like SA.

"What South Africa has done is to enter a conventional war with a superpower,

which is extremely dangerous," he said. Professor John Barratt, of the South African Institute for International Affairs, said the Angolan conflict had the seeds of a major confrontation that could eventually involve the United States.

● An SADF spokesman rejected the suggestion that Permanent Force members rather than young national servicemen be sent to the frontline in Angola.

"With reference to remarks about the use of a force consisting of professional soldiers only, the Geldenhuys Commission investigated all aspects of the composition of the SADF and this was subsequently debated in Parliament. It was found that the present structure of the SADF is the most effective." — UPI

# Angolan forces on the retreat

PRETORIA — South African forces were maintaining a position near the battle zones in south-eastern Angola while Angolan government troops were retreating, military sources indicated here yesterday.

They said although this marked a second stage in the conflict between South African troops and Russian and Cuban-led Fapla forces, flare-ups could recur at any moment.

The sources said that a number of Fapla brigades, which suffered heavy losses in terms of men, weaponry and logistics support machinery, had retreated from the Mavinga area to near Cuito Cuanavale.

Giving indications of the extent of South Africa's "genuinely limited support" operations in the area, the sources emphasised "it is Unita's fight, and they are the ones who are chasing the Angolan Fapla forces".

Although reluctant to give details of the strength of South Africa's forces on the "Eastern front" because "lives are at stake, and we obviously don't want to show our cards", the sources said the number of troops was "way below" the many thousands claimed by the Angolan armed forces.

From July 13 to November 3, when the fighting was between Unita and Fapla, 3 037 Fapla troops and six Soviets or Cubans were killed, the sources said.

From November 4 to November 13, when South African forces are understood to have given "limited" support to Unita, 590 Fapla cadres were killed.

Losses of tanks and armoured vehicles numbered over a hundred.

Nearly 300 "logistics" items, being mainly vehicles, six aircraft, seven helicopters, and dozens of missiles were lost, and three radar installations were "taken out".

The sources were again reluctant to disclose details of South African losses but emphasised that the death of every South African killed so far had been announced already.

Nineteen deaths have been announced so far and the sources indicated the same 3:1 ratio could be applied for the number of wounded.

Losses of "hardware" in the form of tanks, armoured vehicles and other weaponry had been minimal.

The fate of the SA Air Force Mirage fighter aircraft claimed by Angolan forces to have been shot down recently in fighting in south-east Angola was also laid to rest yesterday by military sources.

They confirmed that "in recent weeks" an Air Force Mirage jet fighter had been hit by "enemy forces" and damaged.

The pilot had, however, managed to return the aircraft back to base.

Upon landing, the jet fighter's brake parachute failed to open and the Mirage overshot the landing strip.

Owing to a technical fault as a result of the damage incurred by the aircraft, the pilot's ejector seat was activated and the pilot was ejected.

The pilot was seriously injured and is in hospital. — Sapa

# Unita seems set to attack retreating Fapla troops

*Micas 17/11/87 (5)*  
By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

UNITA appears set to launch a major attack against the key Cuito Cuanavale staging post of the Fapla army as the Angolans' retreat continues.

A battle for the town could be preceded by a tough fight to stop retreating Fapla brigades crossing a bridge over the Chambinga River. It appears the ravaged Fapla forces have fallen back 100km towards Cuito Cuanavale.

South African forces are still in the battle region but their numbers are limited.

## BRIGADE WIPED OUT

The two-pronged Fapla attack has been a dismal failure for Angola, with Unita thrashing one prong of the attack on its own while driving back the second leg of the attack on the Lomba River with limited South African support.

One entire Fapla armoured brigade has been wiped out while others have been mauled.

Military analysts estimate Fapla's losses at topping R2 000-million. They include a substantial number of vehicles, including almost 80 tanks, almost 300 support vehicles, artillery and missile systems as well as six Mi-25 helicopter gunships and six fighter aircraft.

The attack on Unita has clearly failed and although the Fapla forces have not been defeated, they are in no position to renew their offensive. Fapla has repeatedly broken off engagements half-way through, with Cuban troops and East bloc advisers being pulled out by helicopter when in danger.

## SEPARATE OPERATIONS

It has become clear that South African troops have been involved in two entirely separate operations. One was a raid on Swapo's regional headquarters about 250km north of the Owambo border of SWA/Namibia. The second has been limited but key aid to Unita about 300km to the east at Mavinga.

There has been no announcement of South African withdrawal on either front but it is not clear if SADF troops are involved in the pursuit of the Fapla forces.

SADF sources would say only that the situation could be compared with a Currie Cup final. "After winning the first half you don't give away your tactics for the second half."

They said Unita was tying down Fapla and Cuban troops all over Angola, using sabotage, mines and hit-and-run attacks.

● See page 3.

# ANGOLA NOT ANOTHER VIETNAM

5

Eme RST  
17/11/87

PRETORIA — South Africa is "unlikely" to be in for a protracted, escalating Vietnam-type military involvement in Angola following its recent battles with Soviet and Cuban-led Fapla government forces to save Western supported Unita rebels after the big offensive against Dr Jonas Savimbi's forces.

The reason, according to top Government and military sources here, is the Soviet's "glasnost" policy under Premier Mikhail Gorbachev.

These Pretoria sources contend that maintaining the new Kremlin image of "nice guys with no visibly dirty fingers" is more important to the Soviets for the moment than despatching the big Russian bear to stomp all over the relative backwater of Cuando Chibango.

The logistical problems in geographical terms of reinforcing directly, but mainly through surrogate Cuba, the already highly so-

phisticated men, machinery and weaponry in Southern Angola at such short notice is, however, cautiously noted.

SA forces are maintaining positions at, or at least near, battle zones of the past weeks, some 250km deep into the country, while Fapla brigades, said to have suffered heavy losses, are executing a more or less orderly retreat, having moved about 100km northwest so far.

The "battered" Fapla brigades are maintaining positions in and around the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale, having retreated there from the bloody battles along the Lomba River.

The SA sources maintain that the involvement of their troops in the Cuando Chibango fighting was, and

quite possibly still is, in genuine limited support of Unita.

Unita is "strongly operational" over the length and breadth of Angola now with the exception of the area immediately surrounding the capital Luanda, and the desert region in the southwest coastal corner of the country bordering on SWA/Namibia.

Maps of Angola, almost obliterated with symbols showing Unita's occupational areas and attacks in recent weeks are produced, based on the latest, up-to-date South African intelligence, which the sources say are "highly reliable".

Unita attacks and other activities are only listed after confirmation from "independent" information which backs up the rebels' claims and the sources indi-

cated the SADF's "grass-roots" gathering of intelligence was well organised.

Unita cadres' efficiency has "successfully" "pinned down" particularly Cuban and then Fapla forces defending scores of strategic cities, towns and outposts, particularly those vital to maintaining the faltering economy of Angola and, for the moment, away from the

mainstream of conflict. In fact, the recent offensive, mounted by the Angolan government necessitated skeleton defence points so that manpower could be provided for the thrust southwards against Unita in July this year.

Although Unita has engaged the majority of its forces in Cuando Chibango, and been saved only western flank by South Africa, its forces behind the lines have not been shy to take the advantage.

For all their prognoses however, Pretoria's analysts and statisticians emphasise the situation is volatile and "things might be changing even as we speak" — Sapa

# Peace talks rumoured

# Angola

# expects

# major clash with SADF

The Star's Africa News Service

Angolan government forces are preparing for major battles against South African troops in the south of the country. But, at the same time, reports from Mozambique say Pretoria and Luanda will soon be involved in talks mediated by the United States.

In another development, the Angolan rebel group Unita has indirectly criticised South Africa for its recent statements on its involvement in the war in Angola, describing them as "counter-productive".  
Angola's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Franca dos Santos, told the Mozambique News Agency, AIM, that the Angolan army was preparing for heavy battles with the SADF in the coming weeks.  
"We are now fighting mainly in Cuando-Chobango province but we expect fighting to break out in Cuanene province as soon as the South Africans move their 8th Motorised Division from northern Namibia into Cuanene," he said.

AIM said that, in the recent fighting, the Angolan army had suffered 242 dead, 728 wounded and 16 missing. In addition, it had lost 126 vehicles, four helicopters, two MiG jet-fighters and 27 tanks.  
The agency said 606 Unita rebels had been killed and the SADF had lost 12 tanks, 24 vehicles and 39 planes.

AIM said the Angolan army was preparing itself for a massive South African attack as it did not want to allow South Africa to create a de facto South African-controlled area in much of the south prior to the new round of US-mediated talks between Luanda and Pretoria.  
AIM did not give any details about the proposed talks.

Pretoria Correspondent

Angolan forces now face one of their toughest battles — getting back to safety after their desperate but vain effort to take Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's headquarters.

Military sources in Pretoria said Unita crushed one Fapla attack from the north and, with the help of the South African Defence Force and the South West African Territorial Forces, another from the north west.

Both were aimed at breaking Unita's hold in south-eastern Angola with the town of Mavonga as the key point.  
After a series of battles which

## Fapla push for safety line begins

culminated in heavy fighting along the Lomba River, about 250 km north of the SWA/Namibia border, Fapla were beaten back and have retreated more than 100 km to the north west to an area east of Cuito Cuanavale, which is their main forward base.

The fighting killed more than 3 600 Fapla, about 2 000 Unita and nine SADF troops, and

wounded about 15 000 others. Billions of rands worth of equipment was also destroyed.  
At least one Fapla brigade appears to have been virtually wiped out but the remaining forces are re-grouping for a withdrawal to Cuito Cuanavale, about 145 km south-west of Mavonga.

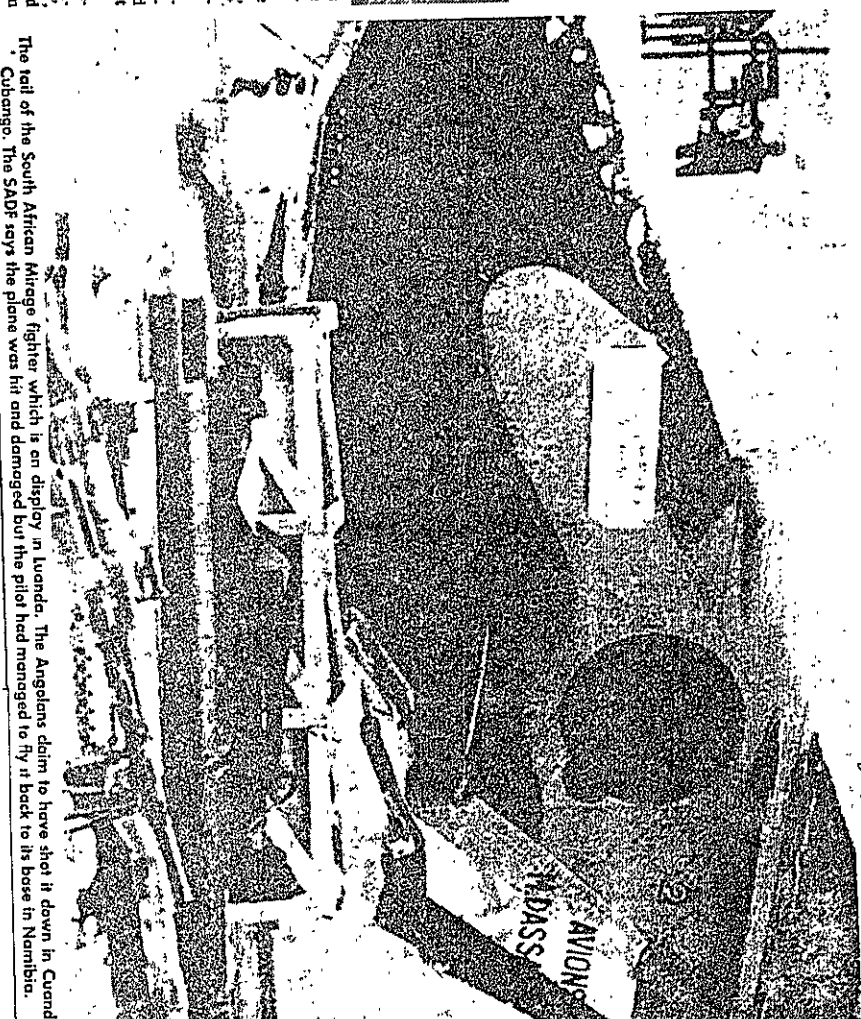
But in order to reach the comparative safety of Cuito Cuanavale the Fapla troops have to keep two vital bridges open.  
The key lies in the control of a bridge at Chamabunga, in an area already pockmarked by Unita-led sabotage incidents, raids and attacks — and with Unita forces following the retreating Fapla forces.

## Moi could be mediator — Savimbi

Dr Jonas Savimbi was quoted today as saying he was ready for talks with the Luanda government and suggested Kenyan President Moi as mediator.

In an interview in the West German daily, Die Welt, Dr Savimbi said the only Angolan solution lay in negotiating a coalition between his South African-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) and the Marxist government.

Proposing President Moi as mediator, he said "We Angolans need his experience."  
Dr Savimbi said government troops had suffered defeats and he expected increased pressure to solve the conflict by political means.



The tail of the South African Mirage fighter which is on display in Luanda. The Angolans claim to have shot it down in Cuando-Chobango. The SADF says the plane was hit and damaged but the pilot had managed to fly it back to its base in Namibia.

# major clash with S

The Star's Africa News Service

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AIM did not give any details about the proposed talks.

## Talking directly

Last week Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said at a news conference at his Jamba headquarters that South Africa and the United States were engaged in direct talks with the MPLA.

It is not clear from General dos Santos' statement yesterday whether the US-mediated talks between Angola and South Africa to which he referred would be about Namibia or the war in Angola. If the latter, it would be the first suggestion from Luanda that the MPLA was prepared to hold discussions with South Africa.

Reports from Lisbon say that Unita has criticised statements that it had been saved by SADF action.

Although no direct mention of South Africa was made, a statement released by the rebels described as unacceptable "counter-productive and contradictory statements" made by its allies.

Unita plans to send delegations to Washington, Pretoria and "friendly African countries" to explain the situation in southern Angola.

## Angolans display SA relics

The Angolan government has put on display the tail of a plane it claims is a South African Mirage shot down by its forces.

In a report from Luanda the Mozambique News Agency, AIM, said the plane was shot down in Cuando-Cubango province on August 14.

South Africa has acknowledged that a Mirage crash landed in Namibia but has denied that any other Mirage was shot down.

Also on display were five vehicles, including a South African "Casspir" and a "Deutz", a B-12 cannon, an unexploded napalm bomb and a 127 mm rocket.

The Angolan government also displayed the identity documents of South African and Namibian soldiers they claimed were killed in combat.

One of these belonged to Melvin Ashley Benecke who, according to the Angolan authorities, was killed in Cuando-Cubango on August 20.

The SADF announced in September that a lance corporal named M Benecke had died on September 6.

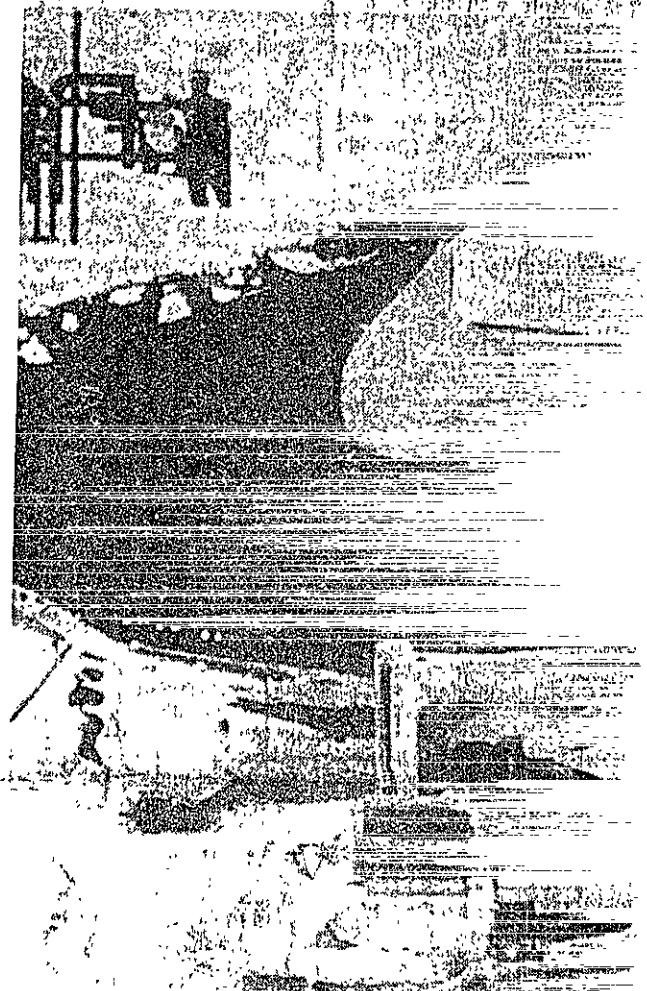
Military sources in Pretoria said that "in recent weeks" an Air Force Mirage jet fighter had been hit by enemy forces and damaged.

The pilot had managed to return from the conflict zone back to base in Namibia.

On landing, the jet fighter's brake parachute had failed to open and the Mirage overshot the landing strip.

Due to a technical fault, as a result of the damage, the pilot's ejector seat was activated and the pilot was ejected.

The pilot was seriously injured and he was being treated at No 1 Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria. — The Star's Africa News Service and Sapa.



The tail of the South African Mirage fighter which is on display in Cuando-Cubango. The SADF says the plane was hit and damaged.

# Swapo claims of mutiny in SWATF 'hilarious'

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
**LONDON.** — Black soldiers in the South African forces in SWA/Namibia are mutinying against being sent to fight in Angola, according to a Swapo communiqué.

In the latest of its "war dispatches" Swapo says low morale, frustration and lack of discipline "continue to beset the army of occupation".

The claims were denied in Windhoek today by a spokesman for SWATF headquarters who described the Swapo state-

ment as "poor propaganda and wishful thinking".

According to the Swapo communiqué two units of the "notorious 202 Battalion of the so-called South West Africa Territory Force mutinied on October 29 against their commanders' orders to go and fight in Angola".

The 202 Battalion units based at Omusheshe and Omauni in Kavango, Swapo said, had deserted their military bases on the Angola-Namibia border near Unita's headquarters at Jamba.

"After a special six-week commando training course at the Betersuit base in Kavango they refused to obey orders to go and fight in Angola."

The communiqué said the mutineers trekked to SWATF headquarters in Windhoek on November 10 and demanded their demobilisation. "The occupation army is now interrogating the men and has threatened heavy punishment against them."

Swapo said suicide, desertion and drug addiction were also "rampant" in the ranks of the

occupying forces. "In many cases enemy soldiers have refused to go into combat action against the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) combatants for fear of being eliminated."

The spokesman for SWATF headquarters said the Swapo statement was "such poor propaganda that it is hilarious".

"Since June 1985 Kavango has been clear of Swapo terrorists and there is no threat by them in that area."

"If the troops had to exist on fighting Swapo alone they

would die of boredom. At present they are helping the local population with community projects and are also deployed in other areas.

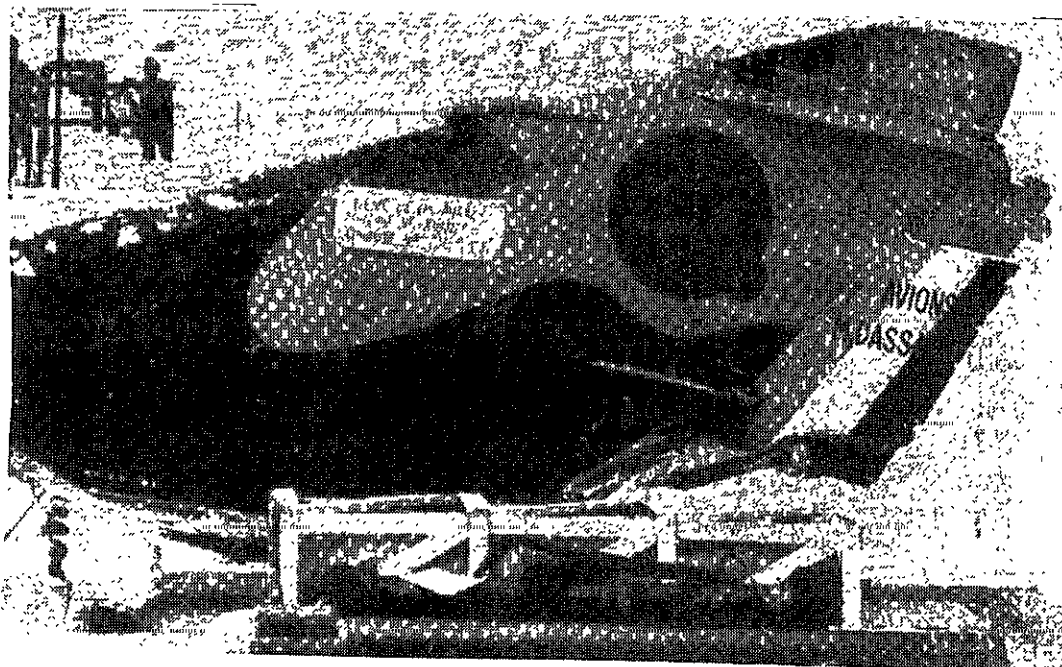
"The morale of the unit is exceptionally high and they recently walked away with many prizes a SWATF winners' evening. They also have time to take part in cultural events."

"As for the alleged march from Rundu to Windhoek, it will create great mirth for those in the know because there is more than 800km separating the two centres."



President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania, extreme left, and President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, third from left, inspect what are claimed to be captured South African uniforms and documents.





On display in Luanda is the tailplane of the jet — claimed to be South African — shot down in Angola.

# Part of 'SA plane' put on show in Angola

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**Argus Africa News Service**  
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South Africa has acknowledged a Mirage crash-landed in

Namibia, but has denied any other Mirage was shot down.

Also on display in Luanda yesterday were five vehicles, including a South African Caspir and a Deutz, a B-12 canon, an unexploded napalm bomb and a 127mm rocket.

Aim said there were also several South African or Western-made firearms.

The Angolan Government also displayed the identity documents of South African and

SWA/Namibian soldiers it claimed were killed in combat.

One of these belonged to Melvin Ashley Benecke, identity card number 671215 50380007 who, according to the Angolan authorities, was killed in Cuando-Cubango on August 20.

There were some letters in Afrikaans, possibly written by the soldier.

The SADF said in September a lance-corporal named M Benecke had died on September 6 "in action against terrorists in the operational area".

## Damaged

Military sources in Pretoria said "in recent weeks" a South African Mirage had been hit by enemy forces and damaged.

But the pilot had managed to return from the combat zone to its base in SWA/Namibia.

On landing, the fighter's brake parachute had failed to open and the Mirage overshot the landing strip.

A technical fault, caused by damage to the plane, activated the pilot's ejector seat.

The pilot had been seriously injured and was being treated at No 1 Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria.




# Only Eastern bloc likely to heed call

# Frontline states urge

# world to aid Angola

Stew 17/11/87



LUSAKA — The Frontline states have called for international support to help Angola defeat a South African invasion.

In practice, diplomats say, such assistance is likely only from the communist bloc which has already committed an estimated 35 000 Cuban troops, an unknown number of Soviet commanders and large quantities of arms and other aid to the Marxist government's war effort.

Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who has been under prolonged Western pressure to get rid of the Cubans, said at the weekend that his country would seek help from anyone who would give it.

This month, South Africa confirmed for the first time that its troops were fighting alongside pro-Western rebels in southern Angola. It said the Unita rebels would have been wiped out by a Soviet and Cuban-backed government offensive if Pretoria had not gone to their aid.

Leaders of the six Frontline states met in Luanda on Sunday and strongly condemned what they called South Africa's open war on Angola. They urged the international community to send material and financial support to the Angolan government.

"This is an open war of invasion, aggression, occupation and destabilisation by South Africa," the heads of state of Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique said in a communique issued after the meeting.

The Luanda meeting focused on the South African incursion in support of Unita.

#### CALL TO OAU

In their communique, the heads of state called on Organisation of African Unity nations to help Angola to drive back the South African army.

Western and African diplomats in Lusaka questioned whether African nations, many with security problems of their own, would be either able or

willing to provide anything more than moral and political support to the beleaguered Angolan government.

They said it was also extremely unlikely that any Western nation would become involved militarily in defending Angola against South Africa and Unita.

"Basically, we are on our own out there on the ground; it is our troops who are doing the fighting," an Angolan diplomat said in Lusaka yesterday.

Asked about South African claims that its forces had clashed directly with Soviet and Cuban troops, the diplomat said: "You won't see any Cubans or Soviets fighting there on the ground."

The Angolan government has not permitted foreign reporters to visit the war zone in the south-eastern province of Cuando Cubango where Unita and the South Africans have fought Soviet and Cuban-backed government forces.

The Cuban troops stationed in Angola and the millions of rands of Soviet military aid it receives each year have been the major obstacles to Angola developing closer ties with the West.

Mr dos Santos said the South African force in Angola had 3 000 troops backed by armoured vehicles, heavy artillery and air cover.

A further 30 000 South African soldiers, supported by armour and aircraft, were poised on the Namibian border ready to enter Angola, he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

# WAR CASUALTIES

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## LUANDA CLAIMS:

Angolan losses:

242 dead, 728 wounded and 16 missing.

126 vehicles, 4 helicopters, 2 MiG fighters and 27 tanks.

Unita losses:

606 dead.

South African losses:

12 tanks, 24 vehicles and 39 planes.

## PRETORIA CLAIMS:

Angolan losses:

3,600 Fapla and six Cubans dead, 10,000 wounded.

62 tanks, armoured vehicles, 78 artillery or mortar weapons, 280 other vehicles, six aircraft, seven helicopters, dozens of missiles and three radar installations.

Unita losses:

2,000 dead.

South African losses:

23 dead.

Loss of tanks, armoured vehicles and other weaponry "minimal".

# SA JET PILOT IS LOST IN ANGOLA

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 17/11/87  
 C. Grobler



Winner of Port Elizabeth modelling school Mod Scene's Model of the Year Competition, CORNE GROBLER, has captured the attention of Cape Town casting agents. The nineteen-year-old matric pupil has been awarded a modelling contract with a leading Cape agency, Top Mod.

**PRETORIA —** A South African Air Force pilot is missing after his Impala jet aircraft crashed in southern Angola during a night operation against Swapo forces, Defence Headquarters announced today.

The search for Captain Andre Anthony Stapa, 30, was continuing, but more details of where the Impala crashed would not be released for the time being, a spokesman said.

An earlier brief statement from the SA Defence Force said an aircraft "crashed during a night operation against Swapo terrorists north of Owambo".

This, the spokesman confirmed, meant the aircraft crashed in southern Angola. The missing pilot's wife, Mrs C F Stapa, had been notified.

Top military sources in Pretoria also confirmed yesterday that "in recent weeks" an SA Air Force Mirage jet fighter had been hit by "enemy forces" and damaged.

This follows Angolan claims that a Mirage had been shot down recently in fighting in south-eastern Angola.

The sources said the pilot had, however, managed to return the aircraft to base in SWA/Namibia.

Upon landing, the jet fighter's brake parachute had failed to open and the Mirage overshot the landing strip.

Due to a technical fault as a result of the damage incurred by the aircraft, the pilot's ejector seat was activated and the pilot was ejected from the aircraft.

The pilot was "seriously injured" and was being treated at No 1 Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria.

A spokesman at Defence Headquarters in Pretoria said today the tailpiece of an SA Air Force Mirage jet fighter the Angolan Government claims its forces shot down recently was part of the wreckage of a Mirage III which "crashed" in southern Angola in 1979.

"The wreckage being displayed is part of a Mirage III fighter aircraft which crashed near N'Giva (about 40km from the SWA/-Namibia border) in 1979," he said "The pilot escaped unharmed." — Sapa

● See Page 2

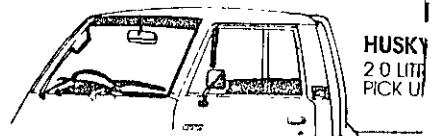
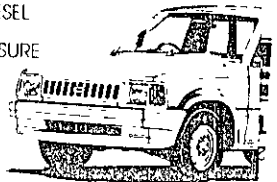
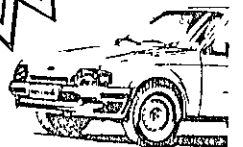
**THIS IS HOW OUR  
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 YOUR REQUIRE!**



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**COURIER**

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- 2.2 LITRE DIESEL
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- 3.0 LITRE LEISURE



**HUSKY  
 2.0 LITRE  
 PICK UP**

# Frontline states seek world aid for Angola

LUSAKA — The Frontline states have called for international support to help Angola defeat an SA invasion.

In practice, diplomats say, such assistance is likely only from the Communist Bloc, which has already committed 35 000 Cuban troops, an unknown number of senior Soviet commanders and large quantities of arms and other aid.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, under prolonged Western pressure to get rid of the Cubans, declared at the weekend that his country will seek help any place it can get it.

SA has this month confirmed for the first time that its troops are fighting alongside pro-Western Unita rebels.

Leaders of the six Frontline states, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique, meeting in Luanda on Sunday condemned "SA's open war on Angola".

Western and African diplomats in Lusaka questioned whether African nations would be either able or willing to provide anything more than moral and political support to Angola.

They said it was also extremely unlikely that any Western nation would get involved militarily in defending Angola against SA and Unita, which receives military aid from the US.

The 35 000 Cuban troops in Angola and the Soviet military aid it received have been the major obstacle to Angola developing closer ties with the West.

Dos Santos said the South African force in Angola had 3 000 troops backed by armoured vehicles, heavy artillery and air cover, with a further 30 000 waiting in Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter

CAPT TIPS 17/11/87  
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# SA troops stay put in Angola

**Defence Correspondent**  
SOUTH AFRICAN troops are in southern Angola to stay — at least for the immediate future, according to information received yesterday from reliable sources.

It is understood that the two separate South African and Namibian presences — one in Swapo territory due north of Ovamboiland, the other, several hundred kilometres away between the Lomba River and Cuito Cuanavale — will not leave Angola till they have completed "certain tasks".

These are thought to include actions to ensure that:  
● Swapo is not able to gather its forces for the customary rainy-season infiltration of Ovamboiland; and  
● There is no chance that the Fapla (Angolan government forces) attempt to capture the Unita-held Cuando-Cubango province can be resumed this year.

It is now clear that a relatively small contingent of South African troops — put at 3 000 by President

Eduardo dos Santos of Angola — has helped to achieve what appears to be a remarkable victory over Fapla by the guerrilla and semi-conventional troops of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

According to reliable information Unita has bloodily repulsed not one but two large-scale advances on its vital stronghold of Mavinga by a total of about 25 000 Angolan, Russian and Cuban troops armed with some of the most sophisticated military equipment currently in service.

The first, launched southwards from the Benguela railway line town of Luena (formerly Luso), was met and destroyed by Unita forces acting entirely on their own, hundreds of kilometres before it reached Mavinga.

The second, moving from the forward base of Cuito Cuanavale, was blunted along the Lomba River by Unita forces assisted by a South African Namibian element, and then severely mauled as it began to withdraw to Cuito Cuanavale.

Now four Fapla brigades, all damaged to a greater or lesser extent, are about 30km south-east of Cuito Cuanavale, withdrawing slowly but in reasonable order.

The whereabouts of another formation, 47 Brigade, which was virtually wiped out, is not known and it is possible it has disintegrated.

Meanwhile, reliable sources claim that staggering losses in men and materiel was suffered by the Fapla columns.

The total Fapla death-toll by the end of last week is said to have been more than 3 600, with an estimated 10 000 wounded.

Fapla is said to have lost equipment and weaponry worth more than R2 billion so far, including:

- Twenty-nine T-55 main battle tanks;
- Nine pieces of field artillery;
- Seven anti-aircraft guns;
- Three SA-8 mobile anti-aircraft missile-launchers;
- One SA-9 mobile anti-aircraft missile-launchers;
- Fifteen other missile launchers;
- Ninety-eight logistics vehicles;
- Seven combat aircraft, mostly MiG-21s and MiG-23s, and one of Angola's six operational SU-22 fighter-bombers; and

● Seven helicopters, most of them the fearsome Mi-25 gunships.

To make matters worse, the withdrawal of troops from other parts of Angola — one 1 200-man brigade was actually despatched from counter-insurgency duties in the far northern Cabinda enclave oilfields — has resulted in a nationwide upsurge of Unita insurgent activity.

The Fapla presence is understood to have been driven out of 98% of the vitally strategic "Cazombo Salient", which projects into Zambia and Zairean territory on Angola's eastern borders, with only the town of Cazombo itself still in Angolan hands.

South African-Namibian losses between November 9 and November 11 total 12 dead — four regulars and eight national servicemen of various units — and two Ratel infantry fighting vehicles destroyed.

Another Ratel and two other armoured vehicles were damaged but were all repairable.

Aircraft losses are said to total one light spotter aircraft shot down with the loss of its two occupants, while a Mirage fighter was returned to its base damaged and crash-landed, injuring the pilot.

## Pilot hurt as Mirage crash lands

**PRETORIA.** — An SA Air Force Mirage jet fighter crash landed in Namibia after it was hit during fighting in Angola, military sources said.

Angola recently claimed to have shot down a Mirage.

The sources confirmed that in recent weeks a Mirage was hit by enemy forces and damaged. The pilot brought the jet back to base in Namibia.

On landing, the fighter's brake parachute failed to open and the Mirage overshot the landing strip.

Because of a technical fault as a result of the damage incurred by the aircraft, the pilot's ejector seat was activated and the pilot was ejected from the aircraft.

The pilot had been "seriously injured" and was in No 1 Military Hospital at Voortrekkerboom here. — Sapa

## Swapo claims SWATF mutiny

**Own Correspondent**

**LONDON.** — A Swapo spokesman here last night claimed that "two units" of the South West Africa Territory Force's 202 (Bushman) Battalion had "mutinied on October 29 against their commanders' orders to go and fight in Angola".

The soldiers, based at Omusheshe and Omauni in Kavango, revolted and deserted from their military bases on the Angola-Namibia border, near the Unita headquarters of Jamba in the Cuando-Cubango province", the spokesman added.

"The mutineers trekked to the SWATF headquarters in Windhoek on November 10 and demanded demobilization from that conscript army. The occupation army is now interrogating the men and has threatened heavy punishment against them."

● The Cape Times Defence Correspondent comments: Reacting to claims about the all-volunteer battalion — regarded as one of SWATF's top fighting units — a SWATF spokesman said last night that he had "no comment to make at this stage", but added that the Swapo claims would be investigated today.

# US, Israeli officials with Unita forces

By WILLEM STEENKAMP  
and CHRIS ERASMUS

HIGH-LEVEL United States military observers are attached to Unita forces, evaluating the effectiveness of the TOW anti-tank and Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. High-level Israeli observers are also said to be present, overseas sources said yesterday.

And, according to informed sources in Washington, Cuito Cuanavale, the Angolan government's strategic forward base in the battle for the Cuando-Cubango province, is almost certainly the next target for Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces.

It is believed the South African forces in the area will play only a limited role — possibly by pounding the base with artillery while Unita soldiers physically attack it.

As a result of totally defeating an attack from the north a few weeks ago, Dr Savimbi now has an estimated 25 000 battle-tested troops at his disposal, some of them his "regular battalions" who are trained for conventional warfare and armed with anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles.

The sources said last night that the South Africans were securing the area up to Chambinga on the Cuito River, about 30km from Cuito Cuanavale.

The aim of the area operation was to clear the way for a Unita advance towards Chambinga, site of the only local bridge across the Cuito.

They added the South Africans appeared to be avoiding direct contact and that it seemed the Angolans were aware that the South Africans were

not "pushing as hard as they could".

The area between Chambinga and the Vempulo River to the south might be the scene of more fighting between Unita and Fapla forces.

According to the latest information, two Fapla elements, 21 and 25 Brigades, are located around the Vempulo River. Both brigades are seriously under-strength after suffering heavy losses in the fighting along the Lomba River in September and October.

Covered by a tactical fighting group on their eastern flank, the brigades are withdrawing slowly but in good order towards the Chambinga bridge, where another Fapla element, 59 Brigade, is reportedly located on the northern bank of the Cuito River close to the Chambinga bridge.

The most likely plan would be for the South Africans to secure the eastern flank while Unita forces attack 21 and 25 Brigades, destroy or disperse them and then drive north to cross at Chambinga.

If the Unita forces succeed, they will attack 59 Brigade and advance on Cuito Cuanavale.

● The sources said that a "great deal of significant military information" was emerging, adding that the Angolan fighting had proved "good public relations" for the South African G-5 155mm artillery pieces.

Among the equipment captured from Fapla so far was part of a sophisticated radar system capable of tracking missiles and artillery shells. This has been confirmed by reliable military sources in Pretoria.

## Unita: We shot down Soviet plane Unita 'ready for talks' — Savimbi

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — Unita guerrillas said yesterday they shot down a Soviet-manned Ilyushin transport plane over central Angola.

They also claimed Cuban-backed government troops were abandoning "much armament" in fleeing advancing rebel forces in the southeast.

In a statement released in Lisbon, the insurgents said they downed "the giant Soviet transport plane" 10km from the highland city of Huambo at 2.30pm on Saturday.

The Ilyushin's "entirely Russian crew all died", the statement said, without providing further details. — UPI

LONDON. — Unita is ready for peace talks with the government in Luanda, with Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi as an intermediary, according to Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

In an interview in the West German newspaper Die Welt, Dr Savimbi conceded that Unita does receive South African help in the war against the Soviet-backed Angolan regime and its Cuban foreign legion. He denied, however, that South African troops were engaged in the civil war.

Mr Savimbi denounced the provision of aid for the Angolan government by West Germany and other Western countries, claiming that such money would only be used to escalate the war.

"These diplomats obviously do not want to recognize reality," he said. "They believed that Portugal would never withdraw from Angola. When that happened, however, they were left without a sensible policy in Africa. The Russians, on the other hand, had one."

The Unita leader said that he was ready to work alongside the Marxist President Dos Santos in a coalition government, but that he doubted whether the Luanda regime would agree to such a solution.

'Cuito Cuanavale next flashpoint'

# Impala pilot is missing in Angola

B/day 18/11/87

(S)

CAPE TOWN — South African pilot Captain Andre Stapa, 30, was still missing late last night after his Impala ground attack fighter "crashed during a night operation against Swapo terrorists" in southern Angola.

There was no indication whether Stapa was still alive. SA Defence Force HQ in Pretoria said the search for him was continuing and that his wife CF Stapa had been informed.

Stapa was reported missing on Sunday. Defence sources said the exact location of his plane was no known but that it was probably in the region where SA forces overran and destroyed a Swapo base on November 9.

The SA contingent was remaining in Angola to prevent Swapo regrouping for the wet season infiltration of Owamboland in northern Namibia, sources said yesterday.

Stapa's Impala is the second SA aircraft to be lost in action in southern Angola since September. A spotter plane was shot down and a Mirage fighter damaged by groundfire was forced to make a crash landing at Kavango in north-eastern Namibia, during which the pilot ejected.

## Own Correspondents

He is in a serious condition at 1 Military Hospital in Pretoria. His name has not been released. The incident was claimed as a "kill" by Angolan forces, SAPA reports. The plane is currently being repaired.

Meanwhile, rebel Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has told the West German newspaper Die Welt that Unita is ready for peace talks with the MPLA government — with Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi as an intermediary.

Unita said in Lisbon yesterday its forces shot down a Soviet transport plane in central Angola last week and that all the aircraft's Soviet crew were killed.

It said the Ilyushin carrier was shot down on November 14, 10km from Huambo in central Angola.

The SADF yesterday denied that the Mirage tailfin being exhibited in Luanda was part of a plane that had recently been shot down. It said the tailfin was part of the wreckage of a Mirage III that crashed near Ongiva in southern Angola in 1979. A spokesman said no other Mi-

● To Page 2 ➡

## SA pilot missing in Angola

rages had been lost since then.

Cuito Cuanavale, the Angolan government's strategic forward base in the battle for the Cuando-Cubango province, is almost certainly the next target for Unita forces, according to informed sources in Washington DC.

It is being suggested that South African forces in the area will play only a limited role in the campaign — possibly by pounding the base with artillery while Unita soldiers physically attack it.

As a result of totally defeating an attack from the north a few weeks ago, Savimbi now has an estimated 25 000 battle-tested troops at his disposal, some of them his "regular battalions" who are trained for conventional warfare and armed with anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles.

The sources said last night SA forces were securing the area up to Chambinga on the Cuito River, about 30km from Cuito Cuanavale.

The aim of the operation was to clear the way for a Unita advance towards Chambinga, site of the only local bridge across the Cuito.

They added the South Africans appeared to be avoiding direct contact and that it seemed the Angolans were aware the South Africans were not "pushing as hard as they could".

➡ ● From Page 1

The area between Chambinga and the Vempulo River to the south might be the scene of more fighting between Unita and Angolan government (Fapla) forces.

According to the latest information, Fapla's 21 and 25 Brigades are presently located around the Vempulo River. Both brigades are seriously under-strength after suffering heavy losses in the fighting along the Lomba River in September and October.

Covered by a tactical fighting group on their eastern flank, the brigades are withdrawing slowly but in good order towards the Chambinga bridge, where another Fapla element, 59 Brigade, is reportedly located on the northern bank of the Cuito River close to the Chambinga bridge.

The most likely game-plan would be that while the South Africans secure the eastern flank, the Unita forces will attack 21 and 25 Brigades, destroy or disperse them and then drive northwards to cross the Cuito at Chambinga.

If the Unita forces succeed in this they will attack 59 Brigade — unless it has already withdrawn — and then advance on Cuito Cuanavale.



10 Mar

MS 45 18/1/87

# Riddle of missing SA jet pilot

THE search continued in southern Angola today for the missing SAAF pilot, Captain Andre Stapa, who faces a desperate journey to safety — if he is still alive.

Although nothing has been heard from 30-year-old Captain Stapa since his Impala jet went missing in an action against Swapo on Sunday, it is possible that he could have baled out.

At this stage the only deduction that can be made is that he has not been captured by Angolan forces, who would have rushed him immediately before the world's Press.

"As far as we are concerned he is alive until we get a body. And that's the basis we're working on," an air force spokesman said today.

Angola forces have claimed to have shot down three South African planes in southern Angola this week — two Impalas and one Mirage. However, the SADF has denied losing any Mirages in Angola.

While the search for the missing pilot continues, the South African Defence Force is extremely reluctant to release any details of where his jet disappeared for fear of jeopardising his chances.

However, it is probable that he could have ditched up to 100km into Angola and faces a desperate march back to safety through dense bush, facing searing daytime temperatures of over 35 deg C.

## Russian plane downed

The rainy season has not yet started in the area, and once the rains come they will make his journey that much tougher.

However, the hardest task will be his battle for survival. He will have to use every trick learnt in the tough SAAF survival course all pilots undergo to survive.

Meanwhile, Unita guerrillas say they have downed a Soviet-crewed Ilyushin transport plane over central Angola and claim Cuban-supported government troops are abandoning "much armament" to flee rebel forces in the south-east.

The guerrillas said they shot down "the giant Soviet transport plane" 10km outside the central highlands city of Huambo, Angola's second largest city, on Saturday.

"The entire Russian crew were killed." Ilyushin planes, normally manned by at least three people, are used by Angola for both military and civilian missions.

Unita also said its forces were pursuing government units in south-eastern Cuando Cubango province and had seized the central Bie province garrison town of Kakuola.

## Government stronghold

The Angolan army was leaving behind "much armament" in its hasty withdrawal across the Cuito River to the government stronghold at Cuito Cuanavale. Unita added it had captured 23 soldiers.

Two more South African soldiers have died in action in south-east Angola.

They were Corporal Jacob Carel van Heerden, 20, of Tulbagh Avenue, Extension 4, Bethal, and Lance-Corporal Johannes Jacobus Redelinghuys, 20, of West Avenue, Ferndale, Randburg.

Both soldiers were fatally wounded in the same action in Angola's Cuando Cubango province, Defence headquarters said. Corporal van Heerden died on Monday and Lance-Corporal Redelinghuys yesterday.

Corporal van Heerden is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs C H van Heerden, and Lance-Corporal Redelinghuys is survived by his parents, Mr and Mrs J J Redelinghuys.

Twenty-four South African soldiers wounded in recent battles in southern Angola are still being treated in No 1 Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte in Pretoria.

Five of them are in a serious condition, but 18 of the 42 soldiers admitted to the hospital have already been discharged.

The warfront in south-east Angola was confused today with scanty reports reaching South Africa of desperate attempts of retreating Fapla forces trying to push past Unita. — The Argus Foreign Service, Argus Africa News Service, Staff Reporters, Sapa.



Angola has become a swirling vortex of forces, making it one of the hottest trouble spots on the globe.

DAVID BRAUN of the Political staff reports

ARCUS 18/1/87

# It's a desperate struggle for regional supremacy

**T**HE conflict in Angola which in recent months has claimed close on 6 000 lives, including about 30 South Africans, is a complex struggle between different interests and groups.

It has turned the troubled former Portuguese colony into a swirling vortex of forces, making it one of the hottest trouble spots on the globe.

In one respect the conflict in Angola is one of about two dozen fronts in the undeclared war between the Soviet Union and the United States.

In another it is a struggle about regional supremacy.

## Contradictions

And in the final analysis it is a power struggle inside Angola between an embattled government and a desperate guerrilla movement.

Because of these complexities, the situation in Angola is fraught with contradictions.

America, for example, has found itself giving aid to the MPLA government as well as military assistance to the Unita rebel movement.

American oil companies have massive investments in Angola, protected by the MPLA government, yet American-backed Unita has made numerous attacks on these same installations.

Unita, with American and South African backing, is fielding between 20 000 and 30 000 conventional troops and about the same number of guerrillas. This enables it to not only occupy and ad-

minister" a third of the country, but also to wreak havoc across the length and breadth of the remaining two-thirds in the form of sabotage and hit-and-run attacks.

Into this maelstrom has stepped Cuba, the Soviet Union, East Germany and other East European powers - and South Africa.

South Africa's interests in the country are plain: it seeks to retain total control of the Caprivi Strip, that most strategic finger of bush and swamp that extends from Zimbabwe and Zambia across the northern border of Botswana to join up with the rest of Namibia.

South Africa also has the responsibility to defend Namibia from guerrilla attacks by the South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo), which uses southern Angola as a sanctuary for its 8 700-man forces and as a springboard for operations against Namibia.

President Botha has often stated that were it not for South Africa's role in defending Namibia from communist insurgency, the war against South Africa would now be on the banks of the Orange River.

Not only that, but Botswana would most likely have also become a Marxist state, forming part of a solid phalanx right along South Africa's northern borders.

Instead, South Africa supports Unita, enabling this movement to control the south-eastern third of Angola, effectively closing the Caprivi Strip to Swapo.



President Botha ... warding off Soviet advancement in Southern Africa

Few South Africans realise that Unita ties down some 51 percent of Swapo's forces, and that a limited South African presence in Angola north of Ovamboland has largely neutralised the rest.

According to South African sources, Swapo has so effectively been cut off from Namibia that it is no longer able to make any significant recruits, explaining why its numbers have dwindled from 12 000 to less than 9 000 in the last four years.

The war against Swapo is boasted about in certain circles as one of the most successful in the history of counter-insurgency. But there is little doubt that it would not have been so successful were it not for the South African and Unita control of a vast part of southern Angola.

Whatever the cost to South Africa of supporting and equipping Unita, it is estimated to be substantially less, particularly in human lives, than a heavy SA Defence Force presence along the en-

tire northern Namibian border would be.

Faced with the magnitude of Unita's attacks on every part of Angola, aimed particularly at disrupting the economy, the MPLA Government long ago turned to the Soviet bloc for assistance.

This has come in the form of upwards of 30 000 Cuban troops and thousands of Russians and East Europeans to act as "advisers" and trainers.

The Cubans and other "surrogates" are deployed mainly around Luanda, other large towns and economic key points in that part of Angola not controlled by Unita.

## Soviet equipment

The MPLA's own army, Fapla, makes up the great bulk of the forces fielded against Unita.

South African information is that Fapla committed 25 000 troops in this latest concerted attack against Unita's "capital" Jamba. In the fighting since July Fapla lost 3 600 troops to Unita's 2 000. Another 16 000 Angolans were estimated to have been wounded between the two sides.

The Fapla side is known to have lost equipment worth in the region of R2 000 million, almost all of it provided by the Soviet Union.

Fapla has been unable to absorb losses of this magnitude, so once again, for the fourth year in a row, it has been forced to abandon a campaign to rout Unita.

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# Unita was the victor, not SA

DID South Africa win Dr Jonas Savimbi's battle for him? It is worth examining this question, which is a matter of some speculation among the population at large and a source of considerable embarrassment to Dr Savimbi himself (and, needless to say, glee on the part of his opponents).

The answer is "no". Unita committed most of the manpower (about 25 000 men, I am told), did most of the fighting and suffered by far the most casualties — 2 000 dead seems the generally accepted figure.

It seems clear that Pretoria's commitment in the Lomba River-Cuito Cuanavale battles was, in fact, a fairly limited one, as the Minister of Defence has claimed — albeit an important one. "Invaluable help" would probably be a better description.

One can say the following:

- The South African commitment was limited to one of the two major campaigns fought in the September-November period, namely the thrust on Mavinga from Cuito Cuanavale. In this campaign, the South Africans and Namibians helped by way of artillery and air attacks, and participated (as far as is known) in one medium-sized and one large action.

South African help in the other campaign — in which Dr Savimbi repulsed a thrust southwards from the Benguela railway line — consisted, I have it on good authority, of a lone medical officer.

This is particularly interesting because Unita could not have smashed this latter attack without deploying its so-called "regular battalions" — shoot-and-scoot guerillas cannot stop a conventional advance.

What this indicates is that Unita has now moved into the third or semi-conventional stage of insurgency. According to the book, the government in question now either collapses, having been bled dry by the long war, or falls into a state of conventional warfare with the insurgents, and loses.

What the future holds is anybody's guess. The Angolan economy is certainly wonky, to say the least, but it still has a lot of military bite: There is a great difference between fielding some "regular" forces and having enough of them to defeat the government, and Dr Savimbi has a long way to go in that regard.

On the other hand, the Russians and Cubans have been curiously unenthusiastic in their participation, by reliable accounts.

- The South African commitment appears to be no more than 3 000 men, counting both "teeth" and "tail"; even the Angolans concede this.

Another point which has since become clear is that the South Africans' revelation of their commitment was no mere expression of braggadocio; they would sooner have said little or nothing about it, but their hand was forced because casualties were suffered and it is impossible for them to conceal this.

## Why us?

THERE is one question many readers have asked me about the recent battles in Angola: "If the South West Africa Territory Force is so efficient, as we're told, why are South African national servicemen fighting in Angola?"

The answer is that SWATF's all-regular border battalions are light infantry units, equipped and organized primarily for counter-insurgency warfare, not the semi-conventional mechanized-infantry operations that have been going on in Angola in the past fortnight.

The result is the required "mech" troops were obviously brought in from one of the SADF's national service battalions trained in this speciality.

This being so, I believe there are three good reasons why SWATF should speedily acquire its own mechanized infantry battalion or battalion group.

- It would provide SWATF with a better structural balance.

- The days are gone when Namibia had no defence force of its own and had to rely on South Africa — and make no mistake about it, the Angolan fighting is not mere military adventurism aimed at bringing down the Luanda government: It is an extension of the border struggle, designed primarily to prevent the Swapo insurgents from operating in the border areas.

- Many South Africans, even pro-government ones, have mixed feelings about the war. Some have doubts about its morality, others do not know what to think and yet others do not see why South Africans should be fighting someone else's war in a third party's country.

This is not a matter of facts or strategy but a question of perceptions which can easily be harnessed to anti-conscriptionist propaganda.

## Not like that

WITH all due respect to Mr Pik Botha, he is off-beam when he says (*apropos* his recent visit to the Angolan fighting zone) that "you sleep next to your fox-hole and eat army rations. You really become part of a battle".

You become part of it when you are shot at, when you have felt the dread-filled excitement of battle, when you see death and wounds, the memories of which haunt you for years afterwards. That other business about sleeping next to a "foxhole" (an archaic word in today's army) is just camping out.

On the other hand, to his credit it can be said it is not often a cabinet minister comes that close to the actual fighting — particularly in this era of long-range weapons and strafing aircraft.

# War toll rises, 42 wounded

Capt Tents  
18/1/87

TWO more South African soldiers have died in the war in south-east Angola, Defence Headquarters announced last night. Both men died this week after the same action in Cuando-Cubango province on Monday.

They were Corporal Jacob Carel van Heerden, 20, of 14 Tulbach Avenue, Extension 4, Bethal, and Lance-Corporal Johannes Redelinghuy, 20, of 451 West Avenue, Fendale, Randburg. Their deaths bring to 25 the number of South African and Namibian soldiers who have died in Angola in recent weeks.

Meanwhile, it was reported yesterday that 24 of 42 South African soldiers who had been wounded in the recent battles in southern Angola were still being treated in 1 Military Hospital at Vooortrekkerhoogte in Pretoria.

Five of them are in a serious condition.

And, by late last night, there was still no indication of whether South African Air Force pilot Captain Andre Anthony Stapa was alive or dead after his Impala ground-attack fighter crashed during night operations against Swapo insurgents in southern Angola on Sunday.

It was also learned that the SAAF Mirage fighter widely claimed as a "kill" by the Angolan armed forces is already being repaired after crash-landing at its base. The pilot whose name has not been released, is in a serious condition at 1 Military Hospital after being injured during the landing.

Announcing the deaths of Corporal Van Heerden and Lance-Corporal Redelinghuy, SADF headquarters said it "regrets to announce the death of two soldiers, one of whom died in action in Cuando-Cubango province in south-east Angola on Monday, November 16, 1987, and the other who died today, November 17, 1987, of wounds sustained during the same action".

The SADF statement said their next of kin had been informed and their commanding officers would "personally visit them to give more details of the circumstances surrounding the action. This will happen as soon as they can be made available.



Jet downed in '79

The spokesman admitted it was that of an SAAF Mirage IID shot down in Angola — but added that the aircraft in question had gone down in 1979 over Ongiva, 400km from the recent fighting.

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# Nigerian troops for Angola?

CAPC-TM FS  
18/11/82  
E. B. B.

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — Nigeria and Kenya have become the first black African countries to respond positively to the call by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi for the removal of all non-African troops from Angola.

According to a report in London's Observer newspaper yesterday, Nigeria is ready to pledge between 10 000 and 15 000 men to a peace-keeping force in an effort to end 12 years of bloodshed in the trouble-torn country.

The newspaper said the Nigerian President, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, and Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi have both indicated they are willing to support Dr Savimbi's call to withdraw non-African troops from Angola and start power-sharing talks with the communist-backed government in Luanda.

Leaders of the frontline states met in Botswana at the weekend to consider the Angolan crisis. Other countries such as the Ivory Coast, Zaire, Senegal, Togo and Gabon were likely to follow Nigeria's lead and back the peace initiative, the Observer said.

In another report at the weekend, the Sunday Telegraph said South African warplanes operating over Angola are now equipped with Israeli-developed electronic counter-measure systems against advanced Soviet air defence missiles.

## Jam Angolan radar

The move is seen as reflecting the growing sophistication of Soviet air defence of Angola and South Africa's difficulty in obtaining Western military equipment to combat it.

Apart from the advanced Israeli systems attached to SAAF Mirage fighters, the Israeli equipment is said to include small, remotely piloted vehicles to jam the radar Angola is using to direct anti-aircraft missiles, the Telegraph report said.

Aided by Israel, the SAAF is also understood to have converted a Boeing airliner into an airborne electronic warfare control centre to direct air strikes into Angola within range of the Luanda regime's missile screen.

The newspaper quotes unnamed "senior South African military sources" as saying Israel's experience in destroying a similarly advanced Soviet air defence system, deployed by Syria in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley in 1982, has proved invaluable to South Africa during the latest clash.

In the past five weeks, while backing the Unita forces, SAAF intelligence officers claim South African forces destroyed three Soviet-built mobile SA-8 missile launchers and one SA-12 launcher.

They also claim Angolan forces lost two SU-22 Fitter ground-attack aircraft, three MiG-21s and one MiG-23 Flogger fighter as well as four attack helicopters.

During the Mavinga battles, Angolan missiles were moved round the battlefield rather than being dug into static positions, tactics which caused the loss of one SAAF Mirage, hit by an SA-8 missile.

SA military sources said the pilot flew the badly damaged plane back to Namibia but crashed on the edge of an airfield. He ejected but was killed.

● Son got raw deal, says dead soldier's father — Page 2

● Reds 'ultimate goal' is SA — Page 7

To page 2



Mr Daniel Arap Moi

Dr Jonas Savimbi

## 3 000 SA troops in fighting — claim

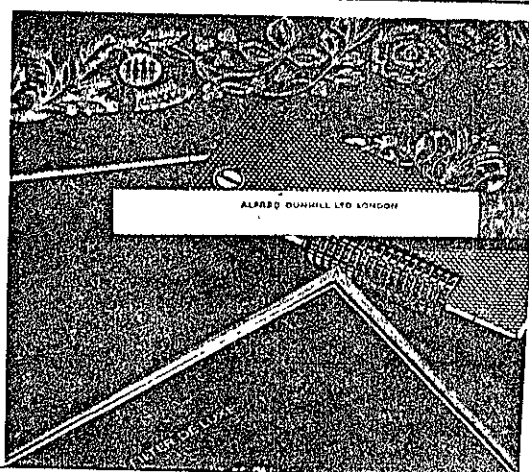
**LUANDA.** — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday said South Africa has more than 3 000 troops and 70 armoured vehicles in his country and 30 000 along the border.

Speaking at a meeting of the leaders of the frontline states, President Dos Santos warned that South African troops and armour were massing along the Namibian border for new strikes in support of the Angolan Unita guerrillas.

He told the summit that the South African armed forces have concentrated 30 000 men along Angola's border with Namibia. He said South Africa had more than 435 tanks, 80 warplanes and 400 pieces of artillery in the territory it administers in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

Mr Dos Santos said Angolan armed forces (FAPLA) were continuing to engage South African forces and Unita.

He showed the six Southern African leaders war material allegedly captured from South African forces. According to the Angolan news agency Angop, the material consisted of combat vehicles, missiles, explosives, the wreckage of downed aircraft and documents seized from South African and rebel forces in recent fighting. — Sapa-Reuter-AP



# Two more SA troops killed in Angola

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(S)  
PRETORIA — Two more South African soldiers have died in action in south-east Angola, Defence headquarters announced here last night.

They were Corporal Jacob van Heerden, 20, of Bethal, and Lance-Corporal Johannes Redelinghuys, 20, of Randburg.

Both soldiers were fatally wounded in the same action in Angola's Cuando-Cubango province, Defence headquarters said.

Corp Van Heerden died on Monday and Lance-Corp Redelinghuys yesterday. Both men are survived by their parents.

Defence headquarters said their next of kin would be personally visited and given more details of the action.

Meanwhile, there was still no indication last night of whether Captain Andre Stapa of the South African Air Force was alive or dead after his ground-attack fighter crashed during night operations against Swapo insurgents in Angola.

Capt Stapa was re-

ported missing after his Impala went down north of Ovamboland. He has not been found in spite of extensive searches.

Although the exact area of the crash is not known, it is thought to be in the region where South African and SWA-Namibian ground forces overran and destroyed a Swapo headquarters on November 9.

Defence headquarters said if he survived the crash he had either been taken captive or was walking south for home, possibly a journey of hundreds of kilometres through dense bush.

"As far as we are concerned he is still alive until we get a body — and that is the basis we're working on," a Defence spokesman said.

"If we find him before they do, we will obviously inform the public immediately."

So far, Angolan forces and Swapo have remained silent on the Impala's crash.

While the search for Capt Stapa will continue, the Defence

Force declined yesterday to reveal Mrs Stapa's whereabouts, saying she should not be approached by the media while her husband's fate was unknown.

The Impala is the second South African aircraft to be lost in action in southern Angola since September, although the anti-Swapo operations north of the Ovamboland border are not connected with SAAF operations hundreds of kilometres away in the Mavinga-Cuito, Cuahavale vicinity where a spotter plane was shot down and a Mirage fighter damaged.

Military spokesmen in Pretoria said yesterday the tail section of a Mirage fighter on public display in Luanda was not from the jet said to have been shot down in the Angolan fighting.

The spokesmen admitted the tail section was indeed from a SAAF Mirage, but added the aircraft in question went down in 1979.

In fact, the Mirage fighter claimed as a 'kill' by Angola is already being repaired after crash-landing at its base. The pilot, whose name has not been released, is in a serious condition at 1 Military Hospital in Pretoria.

The Mirage was damaged, apparently by ground fire while on a strafing run.

After it landed, however, its braking parachute malfunctioned and it overshot the runway, resulting in what was described yesterday as "not a crash-landing, but a hard landing." In the process the ejection seat was triggered, throwing out the pilot.

● The 24 South African soldiers wounded in recent battles in southern Angola are still being treated in 1 Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte.

Five are in a serious condition, but 18 of the 42 soldiers admitted have been discharged.

The Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said after visiting the hospital that the morale of the soldiers was high.

As Fapla makes for home the analysts see new opportunities for the war-torn area

# Is this the last battle for Angola?

By Gerald L'Ange,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

The most powerful army ever sent by the MPLA government against the Unita rebels is now in humiliating retreat and fighting to save a large part of its forces from being cut off and captured or destroyed.

It is still a fairly orderly and controlled retreat, not a rout. But there is no longer any doubt that the offensive has been defeated, though at huge cost to both sides. And the defeat is likely to

have a major effect on the course of events, not only in Angola but elsewhere in southern Africa, especially Namibia.

Analysts now think the Luanda government will find it difficult to launch another offensive during next year's dry season, even if the Soviets are prepared to re-arm the Fapla army and the Cubans are willing to provide troops.

A more important factor may be the mood in Luanda. Fapla's defeat yet again must increase the domestic pressure on the MPLA to stop trying to crush Unita by force and to negotiate a political set-

tlement.

Negotiations would not necessarily lead to the Cuban troops going home, but they almost certainly would have to deamp if the negotiations succeeded.

The departure of the Cubans is being demanded by South Africa and the United States as part of a settlement in Namibia and would put enormous pressure on Pretoria to grant independence to the territory without further conditions.

But the very fact of the defeat of the communist offensive will be seen as hugely positive by South Africa and possibly

other governments.

Unita and South Africa have claimed that had the offensive succeeded it would have exposed a large part of southern Africa to an expansion of Soviet influence and ultimate domination by Moscow.

Pretoria has made it plain that for this reason it cannot allow Unita to be defeated. This was confirmed when South African forces intervened to help Unita fend off a massive counter-attack by the Fapla-Cuban-Soviet forces after they had been repulsed by the rebels at the battle of the Lomba River.

South Africa also saw a danger of Swapo again being able to launch insurgency directly from Angola and through Botswana into Kavango, Cunene and Kaokoveld as well as Ovambo.

With Unita occupying the south-east, Swapo have been forced to limit their incursions to the Owambo sector.

A Unita-MPLA settlement would suit South Africa if, as seems possible, the new government refused to grant Swapo continued refuge in Angola. In the meantime, both Unita and South Africa have an inter-

est in discouraging the Luanda allies from launching another offensive next year.

This aim would greatly be furthered if Unita could score a further dramatic success by trapping the Fapla forces now heading for home across the single bridge over the Chambinga River just east of the of fensive's forward base at Cuito Cuanavale.

Unita has paid heavily for its victory, with 2 000 of its estimated 30 000 fighting force dead and an estimated 6 000 wounded. South Africa, too, has lost men — and the fighting is still going on.

## Angola — a cold war — a hot war — and a power struggle

By David Braum  
Political Correspondent

The conflict in Angola which, in recent months, has claimed close on 6 000 lives, including about 30 South Africans, is a complex struggle between different interests and groups.

In one respect it is one of about two dozen fronts in the undeclared war between the Soviet Union and the United States. In another, it is a struggle about regional supremacy. And, in the final analysis, it is a power struggle inside Angola between an embattled government and desperate guerrillas.

The Angolan situation is full of contradictions. America, for example, has found itself giving aid to the MPLA government as well as military assistance to the Unita rebels. American oil companies have massive investments in Angola, protected by the MPLA government, yet American-backed Unita has made numerous attacks on these installations.

Unita, with American and South African backing, is fielding between 20 000 and 30 000 conventional troops and about the same number of guerrillas. This enables it to not only occupy and "administer" a third of the country but also to wreak havoc in the remaining two-thirds in the form of sabotage and hit-and-run attacks. Into this maelstrom has stepped Cuba, the Soviet Union, East

Germany and other East European powers — and South Africa.

South Africa's interests in the country are plain. It seeks to retain total control of the Caprivi Strip, that most strategic finger of bush and swamp that extends from Zimbabwe and Zambia across the northern border of Botswana to Namibia.

South Africa also has the responsibility of defending Namibia from guerrilla attacks by Swapo which uses southern Angola as a sanctuary for its 8 700-strong forces and as a springboard for operations against Namibia.

Few South Africans realise that Unita ties down about 51 percent of Swapo's forces and that a limited South African presence in Angola, north of Ovambo land, has largely neutralised the rest.

The war against Swapo is said to be one of the most successful in the history of counter-insurgency. But there is little doubt that it would not have been so successful were it not for the South African and Unita control of a vast part of southern Angola.

Whatever the cost to South Africa of supporting and equipping Unita, it is estimated to be substantially less, particularly in human lives, than a heavy SA Defence Force presence along the entire northern Namibian border would be.

The MPLA government long ago turned to the Soviet bloc for assistance. This has come in the form of about 30 000 Cuban troops and

thousands of Russians and East Europeans to act as "advisers" and trainers.

The MPLA's own army, Fapla, makes up the great bulk of the forces fielded against Unita.

South African information is that Fapla committed 25 000 troops in the latest concerted attack against Unita's stronghold of Jamba. In the fighting since July, Fapla lost 3 600 troops to Unita's 2 000. Another 16 000 Angolans, of both sides, were estimated to have been wounded.

The Fapla side is known to have lost equipment valued at R2 000 million, almost all of it provided by the Soviet Union.

Fapla has been unable to absorb losses of this magnitude so, for the fourth successive year, it has been forced to abandon a campaign to rout Unita.

But, with each succeeding year, Fapla, aided, advised and equipped by the Soviet Union and its allies, has mounted larger campaigns.

There is a school of thought in South Africa which believes the doves in the MPLA government must eventually win and that Luanda will negotiate a settlement with Unita.

But, if the annual campaigns against Unita do not stop, if they get bigger and more sophisticated, South Africa may find itself involved in a lot more than it bargained for.

SR 18/11/87



45 wounded but many already out of hospital

# 2 more SA soldiers killed in Angola

5  
SADP  
18/11/87

Two more South African soldiers have been killed in fighting in Angola's Cuando Cubango province, bringing the number of Defence Force and South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) members killed in Angola recently to 23. The SADF also announced that 45 soldiers had been wounded.

South African sources today rejected Mozambican news agency reports that the SADF was about to be engaged in major battles with Angolan government forces in southern Angola.

The SADF was in a consolidated position in the south-eastern part of the country from which the MPLA was retreating, the sources said.

Although the SADF was still present in the area, no major battles were projected. The South African forces were in tactical positions.

But the sources did not rule out the possibility of further major battles between the MPLA and Unita, north-west of the SADF positions, near the town of Cuito-Canavale.

The Defence Force has confirmed that an Impala jet was shot down over the western operational area where South Africa is engaged against Swapo. The fate of the pilot is not known.

The loss of the Impala brings to the total of 23 the number of South African soldiers killed in Angola since September 3. The loss of the jet was reported by a spokesman for the SADF. He said the jet was shot down over the western operational area where South Africa is engaged against Swapo. The fate of the pilot is not known. The loss of the Impala brings to the total of 23 the number of South African soldiers killed in Angola since September 3. The loss of the jet was reported by a spokesman for the SADF.

## Soviet plane 2 SAAF planes downed, 'destroyed, one damaged'

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Unita guerillas said yesterday they had downed a Soviet-crewed Ilyushin transport plane over central Angola and claimed Cuban-supported government troops were abandoning armaments in their flight from the rebel forces.

The guerillas said they shot down the plane near Huambo late on Saturday, killing the all-Russian crew.

Ilyushin planes are used by Angola for both military and civilian missions.

Unita also claimed that its forces were pursuing fleeing government units in south-eastern Cuando Cubango province and had seized the garrison town of Kakuola.

In their hasty withdrawal across the Cuito River the Angolan army was leaving behind "much armament" and Unita had captured 23 soldiers.

Two South African Air Force planes have been destroyed and another seriously damaged in operations in Angola since September 3, according to SADF reports.

On September 3, a light reconnaissance aircraft, believed to be a Bosbok, crashed while on a mission in the Namibia/Angola area, killing pilots Commandant Johan du Randt and Lieutenant Richard Glynn.

A Mirage jet fighter was damaged by Angolan groundfire earlier this month but returned to Kavango, where the pilot ejected from his aircraft. He is in a serious condition at 1 Military Hospital, Voortrekkerhoogte.

Captain Andre Stapa, pilot of an Impala jet fighter thought to have crashed in Angola during an operation against Swapo forces on Sunday night, is still missing.

SADF patrols are continuing their search for Captain Stapa (30).

A spokesman at SADF headquarters in Pretoria said yesterday: "As far as we are concerned, (Captain Stapa) is still alive until we get a body."

So far, the Angolans and Swapo have been silent about the Impala crash.

If Captain Stapa has been captured it will be of enormous propaganda value to them.

The Star's Africa News Service reports that Angola has claimed to have shot down two South African Impalas and one Mirage on November 13 and 14.

The pilot of one of the Impalas had died, it said.

## Namibian Nats thank soldiers

WINDHOEK — The National Party of South West Africa has expressed its gratitude to South Africa's armed forces for defending this territory during the fighting in southern Angola.

A statement by the party executive said it deeply regretted the loss of life of South African soldiers during the actions.

It added that they were also aware of the important role played by South African and Namibian security forces in maintaining law and order here. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Royals see blast victims

suiting from the secret detail services officers caused the baby's death before it was due to be born

## Two more SA soldiers die

SOUTH Africa said two more of its soldiers were killed in southern Angola, raising to 21 the number of its troops who have died fighting in Angola in the past three weeks. Four SWATF members have also been killed.

Defence headquarters in Pretoria also said an Impala jet fighter had crashed in Angola while attacking Swapo forces and that its pilot was missing.

*Sowetan*



Is a settlement in Angola imminent?  
 Due to super-power impatience and  
 Fapla's recent failure to capture  
 Mavinga, experts think it may well  
 be.



**DR JONAS SAVIMBI** ...  
 Unita's successful defence of Mavinga recently bodes well for the future of Angola.

*Cap Times 20/11/87*

# Glimmer of hope for swift Angolan settlement

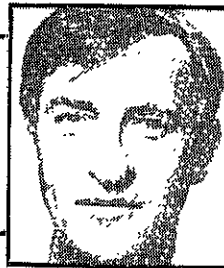


SOME political and military thinkers as far afield as Pretoria and Washington are becoming increasingly optimistic about the chances of a settlement between Dr Jonas Savimbi and the Angolan government ... to be followed reasonably swiftly by the long-awaited settlement in Namibia.

The optimism may be unfounded but there can be no doubt that one reason why so many pundits were wrong about the real chances of a Namibian settlement is because they have not considered the regional military factor.

A settlement in Namibia will not get off the ground, never mind succeed, till there is an end

By Defence Correspondent  
**WILLEM STEENKAMP**



to the war in Angola because the conflicts in Angola and Namibia are actually functions of one another.

One of the main reasons why Angola supports the Swapo insurgents is that it believes a Nujoma government would protect its southern flank from Unita.

It retains its large Cuban garrison to protect itself from Unita.

South Africa, on the other hand, supports Unita primarily to ensure there is no heavy Swapo infiltration, not only from Angola but also from Botswana.

The common factor in both situations, therefore, is Unita. If Unita becomes part of the Angolan solution, both countries' problems fall away.

Another hopeful factor at present is that both the Americans and Russians are becoming ever more weary of the endless Angolan-Namibian conflict.

This is why the abandonment of the Angolan government forces' drive on the Unita-held town and airfield of Mavinga should not be seen as merely another episode in the bloody 12-year-old spectacle of the civil war.

Mavinga is not simply another Unita-held dot on the map: In military parlance it is "vital terrain" for both Fapla (the Angolan forces) and Unita.

It is Unita's main air-head and supply base; without it, the Unita "capital" of Jamba becomes untenable. On the other hand, Fapla needs it to re-conquer the Cuando-Cubango province and thus Jamba.

That is why the Fapla commanders threw vir-

tually everything they had into their attempt to capture Mavinga before the onset of the rainy season.

● If Fapla could have taken Mavinga this year it would have been one step nearer to a 1988 assault on Jamba. It would also have scored a tremendous propaganda victory — sorely needed after 12 years of fruitless warfare — because it would have put the lie to Unita's claim to control a "liberated zone", one of the most prestigious feats to which any insurgent can aspire.

More than that, however, Dr Savimbi would have had to ask himself if it would be worthwhile to try to stop Fapla's drive on Jamba in 1988.

Yielding up Jamba, the scene of so many spectacular media conferences in the past, would be an even greater propaganda blow than losing Mavinga. In the end, however, military realities would probably have required an evacuation, which would certainly have set back the Unita war effort by several years.

● The Fapla failure must be seen as a grave setback for President Eduardo dos Santos because in the eyes of the new-look Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev a victory for Luanda per se might no longer be very important.

The Russians have long since achieved their main purpose in Angola: to acquire a base from which to operate by land and sea along the south-western coasts of Africa and in the South Atlantic.

Given the fact that the Russians appear to be cutting down on endless

small wars — at least *pro tem* — and that Mr Gorbachev's personal prestige is not involved, since he inherited the Angolan war, it might very well be that Luanda will receive an ultimatum: Make a deal with Savimbi — or we shall.

It is also likely the Americans, who are going into their customary prestige-building convulsions in the run-down to the presidential elections, would welcome such an initiative.

If this is the case, intransigence on Dr Savimbi's part might well lead to an American threat to cut off vitally important supplies like the Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and TOW anti-vehicle projectiles.

Although some thinkers are talking partition, a more likely outcome might be an officially non-aligned Angola under Luanda's nominal control but which in practice would be run south of the Benguela railway line by Dr Savimbi.

It might not sound very viable, but this is Africa; for more than two decades Tanzania has survived a similarly loose arrangement involving Zanzibar.

In such a scenario there would be something for almost all concerned.

● The Russians would retain their unrestricted base facilities from which to operate in the south-western Atlantic and run their electronic surveillance of Southern Africa. No doubt they would also retain a loyal voting ally in the United Nations.

● The Angolans would be able to send the Cubans home, drastically reduce military spending and look forward to strong foreign-currency earnings from their diamond-fields and Benguela line — both of which are now crippled by Unita.

In addition, it is very probable America would institute full diplomatic ties resulting in various distinctly useful trade and aid advan-

tages. ● Dr Savimbi would have, for the first time, a secure tribal power-base below the Benguela railway line and, as virtual king of the grain-producing south, would wield some economic clout as well.

● Pretoria would score because Dr Savimbi would certainly retain his own armed forces and make sure his lines of communication to Pretoria stayed open in case of a future falling-out with his new partners in government.

The practical effect of this might well be an informal agreement which would block effective future Swapo infiltration out of southern Angola.

This might force the de facto (if not de jure) disbandment of Swapo's military effort — a switch many fairly senior Swapo members are said to favour.

This, in turn, would bring a viable and internationally acceptable Namibian settlement that much closer.

About the only losers in such a scenario would be Swapo's present leader Mr Sam Nujoma and Cuba's President Fidel Castro, who would lose a good source of foreign exchange and be forced to find other employment for his soldiers.

For Moscow — and Washington — it might well seem the lesser of two evils: a path out of the Angolan quagmire ... at least this time around.

# path to peace

## All along the Magnus line, 500km deep into Angola



Jonas Savimbi

### A message from the Angolans: stop the war now

BY SHAUN JOHNSON  
REVEREND Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, has returned from a tour of the United States and Europe with a peace message from the Angolans. Vice-Minister of External Relations Venancio de Moura, Democrat of the United Front and SACC have issued impassioned calls for an end to the bloody war in Angola.

Chikane related a conversation with de Moura, in which the minister said the Angolan government is prepared "in a spirit of co-operation to sign an agreement involving Angola, Cuba, South Africa and Swapo which will recognise the legitimate right of all the people of the region to self-determination without any external interference."

De Moura, in restating Angola's willingness to "renouncing withdrawal Cuban forces should South Africa remove its forces from Angola", said his government had demonstrated that it sought



FRANK admissions of the link between apartheid and the boys on the border are not usually the stuff of statements by South African cabinet ministers. Yet over the last two weeks the government has on a number of occasions acknowledged what the war is all about.

Addressing the Cape National Party the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Piet Claes, said: "We have an expensive policy which we all want and for which we are fighting on the borders and for which we are having to endure sanctions."

The same day Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said South Africa insisted on the right to help formulate the ground rule for intervention in the region.

Ground Rule Number One seems to be that the South African border extends all the way through Namibia and 500km into Angola.

This fact of Southern African reality was brought home in an display of geo-political cheek when the South African Defence Force proudly announced that the state president had briefly set up camp in Angola to give the boys some encouragement.

For the first time in 12 years the government has been forced to admit the large number of details of white troops.

Last week SADF chief General Janne Geldenhuys confirmed what the Angolan government had been saying for the previous three months — that South African soldiers were directly involved in the war.

Geldenhuys said it was in South Africa's interests that Unita controlled southern Angola and the SADF was not prepared to countenance any threat to this control. Malan went a step further, making it clear that Pretoria's ultimate interest was to see Jonas Savimbi in Lunda.

The official explanation for last week's announcement of the SADF's intervention was that the Soviets and Cubans had entered the fray, forcing South Africa to apply the equaliser to prevent the extermination of its friend. For three weeks earlier it had been announced that Unita had singlehandedly routed a combined force of Angolans, Cubans and Fapla.

The Soviet Union has denied that its soldiers were involved in the fighting, and South Africa has not been able to produce any concrete evidence to counter this denial.

The SADF has stressed its desire to prevent Swapo incursions into Namibia. Perhaps if the government had followed its commitment, made pure

Usually, we're told the war is about defending the country against marauding communism. But now and then government officials admit to a franker interpretation: We're fighting on the borders in defence of National Party policy. GAVIN EVANS reports

to retreat, but it took months before the government was prepared to admit its participation, let alone defeat.

The next stage of South Africa's involvement in Angola came in turning a rag-tag guerrilla outfit into the well-equipped 30 000-strong Unita army of today. Initial reports of Unita units being trained in the Northern Transvaal were vigorously denied.

Unita has never been completely self-sustaining and has, since 1980, required direct South African assistance to stave off Fapla attacks.

South Africa has also been keen to boost Unita's international image. The frequent SA-sponsored press jamborees to Jamba began to have an effect and Savimbi was adopted by the American right as a cause celebre.

However, at the time Pretoria was attempting to portray itself as a regional peace maker and was gaining international kudos from the Nkomati Accord. In late 1984 it entered a border monitoring exercise with Angola, and was forced to re-assess its denial of any military support for Unita.

This period came to an abrupt end on May 21 1985 when SADF "Reece" Captain Wynand du Toit and his team were captured at the Cabinda oil installation.

While the discrepancies between the Angolan and the South African accounts on Fapla losses are minor, the gap in the two accounts of South African losses is huge.

The Angolan government says 3 000 SADF troops are in Angola — accompanied by at least 70 tanks and armoured vehicles and air support. Angola also claims that 30 000 to 35 000 troops are stationed on the Namibian-Angolan border, together with 435 tanks and armoured vehicles, 80 warplanes and 400 pieces of artillery. On November 10 the Angolan News Agency said 230 SADF troops had died in Angola and 16 warplanes had been shot down.

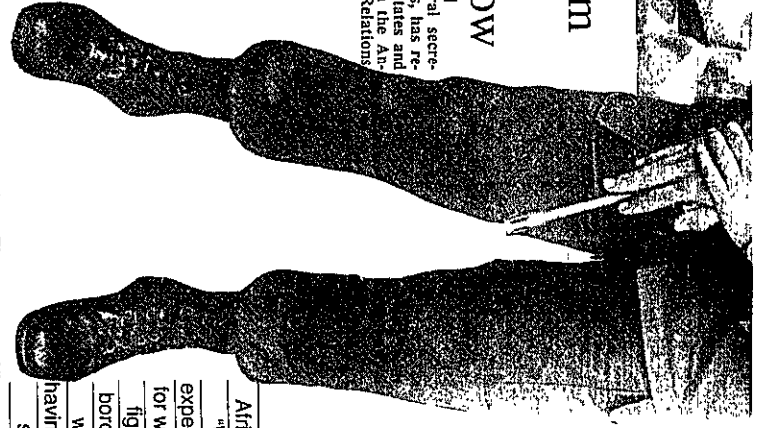
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The photograph includes captions on the left side of the page.

# A message from the Angolans: stop the war now

By SHAWN JOHNSON

REVEREND Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, has returned from a tour of the United States and Europe with a peace message from the Angolans to the SA Council of External Relations.



**The South African soldier:** "We have an expensive policy for which we are fighting on the borders and for which we are having to endure sanctions ..."

Chikane related a conversation with de Moura, in which the minister said the Angolan government is prepared "in a spirit of cooperation to sign an agreement involving Angola, Cuba, South Africa and Swazopi which will recognise the legitimate right of all the people of the region to self-determination without any external interference."

De Moura, in restating Angola's willingness to "gradually withdraw Cuban forces should South Africa remove its forces from Angola," said his government had demonstrated that it sought peace and security. "It is now up to South Africa and the US to respond to this constructive proposal."

De Moura had set out the Angolan position in a major speech to the African-American conference, also attended by Chikane, at the Aspen Institute, Mary and, earlier this month.

There he told delegates Angola had "never known a single day of peace (since independence 12 years ago) and is the victim of armed aggression by the South African regime which is waging an undeclared war on us."

The church leader said: "The ground fact is that South Africa is the aggressor in Angola. It is South Africa which is occupying the territory of Angola. It is the president of this country who must move into someone else's territory."

He said the invasion of Angola and the continued support of UNITA by the United States, is a blatant act ensuring the protection of apartheid and must be condemned outright. He appealed directly to the US government "for the sake of the stability of the Southern African region to withdraw support from UNITA and open the way for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 (on Namibia)."

Chikane said it was of "vital importance" that South Africans were told of the "true nature" of the crisis in Angola. Press restrictions, he said, meant that South Africans, both white and black, were hearing "the government voice alone" and could not be expected to trust the official and military spokespersons who are being prevented from giving their views.

The statement condemned SADF intervention in neighbouring South Africa and called for the immediate withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola, and to totally reject the war-mongering of the government.

South Africa has also been keen to boost UNITA's international image. The frequent SA-sponsored press jamborees to Jamba began to have an effect and Savimbi was adopted by the American right as a cause celebre. However, at the time Pretoria was attempting to portray itself as a regional peace maker and was gaining international kudos from the Nkomati Accord. In late 1984 it entered a border monitoring exercise with Angola, and was forced to re-assess its denial of any military support for UNITA.

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The SADF has acknowledged 35 deaths, 45 wounded, a missing arm and three aircraft "out of action" between September 3 and November 17. Of the 35 dead, 31 have been South African soldiers and four SWATF troops.

However, no deaths of black South African troops have been reported. In response the SADF said it announced all its dead and that only 10 members of 32 Battalion had been killed in the operational area since June 1.

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SNIPPET BY SNIPPET, THE STORY OF THE SECRET ANGOLA WAR IS SLOWLY BEING PIECED TOGETHER ...

# Strangely, this battle may lay a

"If Savimbi takes over Luanda," said the military officer, pointing at a mass of pins on a wall-size map of Angola. "Our war would be over."

It was a sentiment unged with regret — for the crucial withdrawal of American support when South African troops were in spitting distance of Luanda in 1975 and for the refusal of the politicians to allow the military to wipe out Lubango, the headquarters of Angola's fifth military region and of Swapo, in 1983.

At the same time it was an ominous indication of the military's possible expectations in Angola, which would be at variance with the current prospects of a negotiated peace between Unita and the MPLA.

The fact that Unita, with substantial South African backing, has just repelled the most serious Fapla offensive in the 12-year-long war does not mean that its leader, Jonas Savimbi, has won the war or that the stalemate has been broken. It has shown the MPLA that Unita cannot be eradicated and in so doing could merely have established the balance of power for talks.

Savimbi has said he is not only prepared to serve under Angolan president Eduardo dos Santos, but he would not set the withdrawal of the Cubans as a precondition for a settlement. This latter concession — which he announced at Jamba last week — takes him somewhat further than the United States, which has consistently linked the Cuban presence not only to an Angolan settlement but to a Namibian one.

From this side, Dos Santos indicated in an interview with Soviet journalists last week that he would be prepared to consider an internal settlement once South Africa and the United States stopped supporting Unita.

The fact that this was mooted immediately on his return from the Soviet Union confirms, to some extent, speculation that Moscow wants to see an end to this distant war, which it believes could escalate into a super-power conflict.

While there is little doubt that the Soviet Union was deeply involved in advising the Fapla forces during the recent offensive, the actual extent of Soviet and Cuban involvement on the ground is questionable.

South African newspapers have taken their lead from the statement by the chief of the Defence Force. General Jamie Geldenhuis, explaining that his forces were "compelled to take limited action against the Russians the Cubans".

Angola's rains didn't come so the troops came instead. The MPLA learnt that they could not simply eradicate Unita. And South Africa discovered that it no longer had unchallenged command of the air. Both sides have good reason to settle, and the early indications are that they may want to. PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports from Namibia

Windhoek the weather was against Savimbi.

The rain didn't come. The extended dry season increased the potential for conventional attack on Unita positions.

Raising the spectre of the Red threat could simply be a way of evading anti-communist support in the West, particularly America, where congress could withdraw support for Savimbi next year.

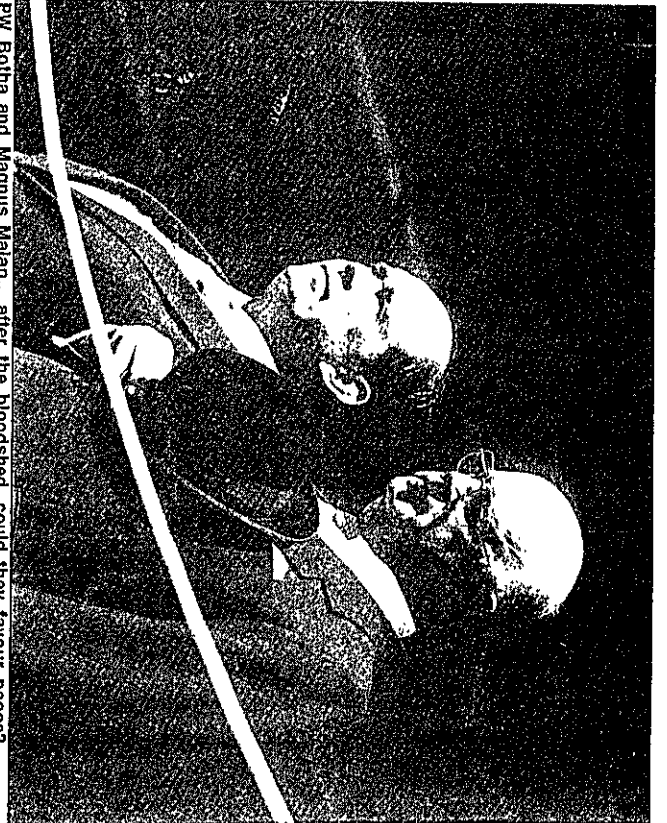
Despite the shifts in policy, the Soviet Union has invested too much in terms of superpower prestige in Angola to leave without an honourable deal and neither they nor the Cubans would simply abandon their MPLA ally to Unita and the South Africans.

Despite their recent victory, South Africa also has some good reasons to view the prospects of peace favourably.

Since 1983, the situation in Southern Angola has gradually started to shift against them. Radar stations and aircraft such as the Mig-23 which is technically superior to South Africa's outdated Mirages and Chieftans, have altered the balance of power in the air and made cross-border raids far more hazardous undertakings.

In a report that was denied by the Defence Force, Simon O'Dwyer, Russell of the conservative London Sunday Telegraph, quoted a South African pilot as saying the SA Air Force had found Angolan aircraft operating in packs of six, carrying out bombing missions with sophisticated top cover provided by Mig-23 fighters, some of which stayed under the radar cover while others remained very high.

"If we try to attack any of the formations, we are bounced by the one element of the top cover," the pilot said. "Two years ago, the Angolans would try to avoid us in a dogfight. Now they're spoiling for a fight and even buying ambulances for our pilots. The military is already heavily in-



PW Botha and Magnus Maian... after the bloodshed, could they favour peace?

## US report claims link to Comoros

Weekly Mail Reporter

TWO South African cabinet ministers have recently visited the Comoros Islands, believed to be the staging post for arms shipments to the anti-government Renamo rebels in Mozambique, and for trade to and from South Africa, an authoritative newletter on Africa claimed.

A Washington Report on Africa, a bi-monthly publication, claims that Defence Minister Magnus Maian made secret trips to the islands in August and September, and vowed to make the defence of the Comoros "my business". The islands are about 160km from the Mozambique coast.

A trade mission led by Economic Affairs and Technology Minister Danie Steyn visited the islands in August.

Washington Report claims the significance of the Comoros for South Africa has increased since pressure from the frontline states forced Malawi President Hastings Banda to curtail shipments through his country. A former French colony, the weapons shipments is not known.

Comoros government of President Ahmed Abdulla Abderramane still receives assistance from France. But sources on the island claim that Pretoria gives \$45 million (about \$35 million) annually to the Comoros president that guard, the islands most powerful military force.

The guard is under the control of Bob Denard, a former mercenary, who is also alleged to be behind the Comoros other arms trade activity — secret arms transfers to Iran.

Consignments of 155mm shells, ground-to-air missiles and sophisticated guidance systems reportedly arrive by night at the Hayaya International Airport in Heracles L-100 transports, and are then transferred to Boeing 707s and DC-8 aircraft for despatch to Tehran.

The original source of the weapons shipments is not known. An ally in Luanda could cripple overnight the waning armed struggles in Namibia and South Africa. The fact that Unita guerrillas are now operating through most of Angola and a perception, despite the propaganda, that Soviet support is growing increasingly half-hearted particularly after the latest debacle, has encouraged the military to believe the project

5

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South African newspapers have taken their lead from the statement by the chief of the Defence Force, General Jamie Geldenhuys, explaining that his forces were "compelled to take limited action against the Russians the Cubans".

Geldenhuys claimed Russians and Cubans entered the battle after Fapla was badly beaten by Unita, a reference to the decisive battle of the Rietvlei in early October.

However, a Unita representative said the Cubans were merely involved in reorganizing logistical operations such as guarding bridges and only their pilots were directly involved in the fighting.

In addition, the South Africans have provided no reason why Soviet advisers and trainers should be at the battlefield at all, and the charges has been firmly denied by the Soviets.

A more cogent reason for the regrouping of the Fapla forces was provided by a military source in

view. Unita has invested too much in terms of superpower prestige in Angola to leave without an honourable deal and neither they nor the Cubans would simply abandon their MPLA ally to Unita and the South Africans.

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The military is already heavily involved in quelling the rebellion in South Africa's townships and 65 per cent of the troops on the Angolan border are from the South West African Territorial Force, 85 per cent of them black Namibians.

Their commitment to defending South African objectives could potentially waver in a crunch situation.

For the white South African conscripts, the publicly-announced casualty figures are becoming relatively high.

From the beginning of September, 35 white soldiers, 10 members of 32 Battalion — made up largely of black former Angolans — and two members of the SWA Territorial Force

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Pw Botma and Magnus Malan... after the bloodshed, could they favour peace?

### Weekly Mail Reporter

TWO South African cabinet ministers have recently visited the Comoros Islands, believed to be the staging post for arms shipments to the anti-government Renamo rebels in Mozambique, and for trade to and from South Africa, an authoritative newsletter on Africa claimed.

*Washington Report on Africa*, a bi-monthly publication, claims that Defence Minister Magnus Malan made secret trips to the islands in August and September, and vowed to make the defence of the Comoros "my business".

The islands are about 160km from the Mozambique coast.

A trade mission led by Economic Affairs and Technology Minister Danie Steyn visited the islands in August.

*Washington Report* claims the significance of the Comoros for South Africa has increased since the forced Matsiwi President Hastings Banda to curtail shipments through his country.

A former French colony, the Comoros have been reported killed in action in Angola.

Progressive Federal Party MP Roger Hilly wanted in parliament in September that the annual offensive against Unita was "slowly but surely getting lighter and lighter" and asked whether "there is not going to come a point where South Africa might find itself in deeper water than we can handle".

Without a settlement, Fapla could be compelled to launch a dry season offensive against Unita next year, or in 1989 employ different tactics with even more sophisticated weaponry.

Perhaps South African can delay that possibility and provide Savimbi with a few years' grace if his forces

now in Angola move on and destroy the militarily important town of Cuito Chanavala, still in MPLA hands.

As things stand, Unita's control of southeast Angola helps the South African ally, particularly if there was no simultaneous deal on Swapo and ANC bases in Angola. The military have an important political weapon in their armoury to prevent Savimbi from moving independently: they need merely trumpet their support for him — as they have in recent weeks — to send respectable nations running from Unita in horror.

The question is: having thwarted a military solution in Angola, will South Africa now stand in the way of a political one?

war in Namibia.

Military sources believe Swapo has substantial if diminishing support in its heartland of Ovamboland and that South Africa's work in Namibia will only be finished when it has won the hearts and minds, which implies a South African presence in Namibia for a considerable time.

A further linkage made by Geldenhuys was that if Savimbi had been defeated it would have given the African National Congress — which has key bases near Lusanda — greater freedom of movement on the long trail to South Africa.

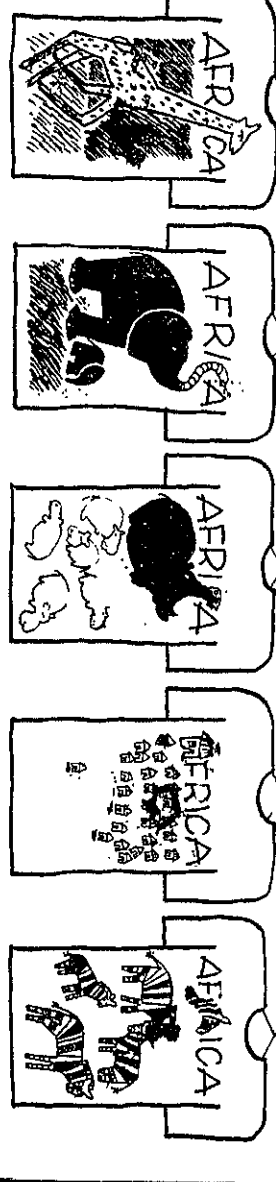
There is no doubt that Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and a significant group in the military who see themselves as defenders of the Free World against Marxist expansionism would dearly love to see Savimbi installed in Lusanda.

An ally in Lusanda could cripple overnight the warring armed struggles in Namibia and South Africa. The fact that Unita guerrillas are now operating through most of Angola and a perception, despite the propaganda, that Soviet support is growing increasingly half-hearted, particularly after the latest debacle, has encouraged the military to believe the project is feasible.

A government of national unity, accepted by the world community and retaining membership as a Frontline state, would not even necessarily be an ally, particularly if there was no simultaneous deal on Swapo and ANC bases in Angola. The military have an important political weapon in their armoury to prevent Savimbi from moving independently: they need merely trumpet their support for him — as they have in recent weeks — to send respectable nations running from Unita in horror.

The question is: having thwarted a military solution in Angola, will South Africa now stand in the way of a political one?

# T-SHIRTS FOR AFRICA, AT HELEN DE LEUW



To show a brave face to the world greenhorn



Hundreds of troops in 101 Battalion refuse to fight  
 Dissent in ranks of Owambo unit leads to detentions  
 Resignations after men given Unita uniforms to fight

# Mutiny as troops say no to Angola

WMMU 20-26 NOV '87

By MARK VERBAAN  
 In Namibia

MORE than 400 members of the 101 Battalion of the SWA Territorial Force (SWATF) have mutined by refusing to fight inside Angola on the side of Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement.

Dissent among soldiers of 101 Battalion, a voluntary unit manned by Owambo-speaking troops and based at Oshakati in northern Namibia, has apparently led to a number of resignations and detentions of soldiers.

Asked to comment yesterday, SWATF liaison officer, Commandant GRC Bester, said: "No comment."

Commandant JP Botha, second-in-command of 101 Battalion, also declined to comment. He referred queries to other officers in the battalion, all of whom were unavailable.

The mutiny is the first significant sign of discontent among South African and allied forces with the invasion of southern Angola.

It comes alongside growing concern about the number of South African fatalities in the conflict — 25 conscripts, according to official figures — and a rare admission by the South African military that its purpose is to bolster Unita in its fight against the MPLA government, described as "Russian and Cuban surrogates".

## CROSSING THE MAGNUS LINE

Previously, the South Africans have claimed they invaded Angola only to counter Swapo's guerrilla war.

The mutiny can be reported only because the SWATF does not fall under the Defence Act, which is being used to restrict unofficial accounts of the SA Defence Force's involvement in the Angolan conflict.

One source, who claimed to have resigned very recently from 101 Battalion, alleged this week that more than 400 members of the SWATF unit "have gone on strike" at Oshakati and Mavinga in Angola.

A journalist who returned to Windhoek yesterday from the north confirmed that several independent sources in the area had reported a large number of 101 Battalion troops were refusing to fight in Angola.

It was also reported that members of the unit were given Unita uniforms before going into Angola.

The soldier who had resigned accused the SADF of using 101 Battalion members as "Unita mercenaries against our will."

TO PAGE 2

## Mutiny as Owambo troops say no to Angola

FROM PAGE 1

"I am one of those who resigned. I received my training at Oluno, with the aim and principle being to defend the Namibian border.

"In August this year, we were transported from the north to Mavinga, via Caprivi, to fight against our will on the side of Unita," he said.

He said former Swapo guerrillas, who had become members of 101 Battalion, had been captured by Angolan Fapla troops at Mavinga and handed back to Swapo.

"Fapla are using sophisticated weapons while we were only armed with light ones," he said.

The soldier made an appeal to all Namibians who wished to join the

SADF. "To go and fight Swapo in Angola is a crime against our society. To go and fight against Fapla in their own country is a fight against God's will," he said.

The SWATF has been described by members of the territory's interim government as "our own national army".

Established in 1980, the SWATF claims 60 percent of the troops in the north are Namibians in the SWATF.

Claimed to be a force larger than the armies of 39 African states, it consists of eight full-time battalions, 27 area force units, one reaction force brigade and a large number of support and training units.

Meanwhile, the Angolan news agency (Angop) yesterday said South

South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan said last week Botha and several other ministers had recently visited the troops in southern Angola after what he described as clashes with Soviet and Cuban military units fighting alongside the regular Angolan army.

Botha's presence in Angola, the Angop despatch said, "proves once again" that South Africa "isn't and never was" interested in a peaceful solution to conflict in the region.

See PAGES 6 and 7



...bian village, but it's not for real

## Not to UDF Mbek

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TO PAGE 2

# What Angolans are being told of the war

The Argus Africa News Service reports on news from 'the other side'

11/26/87 5 20/11/87  
5

THE Angolan public has been told for the last few days that an invasion from "racist South Africa" is taking place in the Southern parts of the country. But details of the fighting against the "troops from racist South Africa and the Unita armed bands" are restricted to government communiques or condemnations of South Africa's actions by foreign countries.

Radio Nacional de Angola broadcasts its main news bulletin from Luanda at 9 pm every evening and by now Angolans should know that 1987 is "the year of consolidation of people's power and the 10th anniversary of the party".

Unlike South Africa, where radio news bulletins are sponsored by commercial products, Radio Angola always starts its news broadcasts with the same slogan, a reminder that in Angola the MPLA Workers' Party is supreme.

From its news broadcasts it is also obvious that one man in Angola is ensured the main story in the news whenever he does or says something publicly.

That man is of course Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos who, Radio Angola sometimes reminds its listeners, is also the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

Since South Africa's intervention in Angola was confirmed by the South Africans themselves Radio Angola has tried to keep the war story on top of its news bulletin.

On Tuesday listeners were told that Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had sent his Foreign Minister, Franca Van Dunem, to Brazzaville with a "personal" message to the Congolese president regarding "the military intervention of racist South Africa in Angola".

Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos also sent a message on the same subject to the Algerian President.

The messages were the main story on the news bulletin and this was followed by an announcement that three planes from "racist South Africa's air force" had been shot down.

It said two were Impalas and one a Mirage and added that the pilot of one of the Impalas had died.

On Wednesday evening Radio Angola's news bulletin started unusually late as the MPLA/Workers' Party radio programme *Combatant Angola*, which precedes it, had been longer than usual.

A lively Caribbean rhythm ended *Combatant Angola* and carried on after 9 pm delaying the news broadcast for about five minutes.

After reminding its listeners that 1987 is the year of consolidation of people's power and the 10th anniversary of the party, the radio told its listeners that the head of a visiting Spanish delegation had expressed his support "for the integrity of Angola's sovereignty threatened by racist South Africa".

It ran a long interview with the Spanish Secretary of State for Co-operation which was broadcast in Spanish.

This was followed by a story which the announcer emphasised had come from the French news agency, AFP, saying that "racist South Africa" had announced the death of two more of its soldiers and that "24 members of racist South Africa's army had been wounded".

It recalled the previous evening's story about the three planes which it claimed had been shot down and then said the Organisation of African Unity had called on the United Nations Security Council to take measures against "the war of aggression launched by the South African racists".

Cuba had also come out against South Africa's "war of aggression" and had promised to continue its support to Angola.

This, the radio said, had been said in an editorial published by the Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Gramma*.

France, Burundi and Tanzania had condemned the visit that "President Pieter Botha of racist South Africa" had made to his troops inside Angolan territory.

The sports news on that day concentrated on sport in Africa but even there there was condemnation of South Africa.

The Australian tennis player Pat Cash had been strongly condemned for his decision to play "in racist South Africa".

# PW's visit to Angola 'made him an outlaw'

5

LISBON — President P.W. Botha made himself an outlaw when he crossed the Angolan border illegally and visited the southern region of the country, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

SA Defence Minister Magnus Masetlan said Botha and several SA Ministers recently visited his troops in the southern Angola after what he described as clashes with Soviet and Cuban military units fighting along

side the regular Angolan Army.

Botha's presence in Angola, Angop said, "proves once again" that SA "isn't and never was" interested in a peaceful solution to conflict in the region.

The US Administration and other Western countries were an accessory and sympathetic to the SA invasion of southern Angola, Angop said.

Angop also protested against a recent visit by a political aide of Portuguese President Mario Soares to Unita's Jamba headquarters.

A presidential spokesman in Lisbon said the aide, Joao Carlos Espada, visited Jamba in his private capacity.

In a separate dispatch yesterday, Angop quoted Angolan Foreign Minister Afonso Van-Dunen as saying the SADF was preparing another invasion of Angola.

Van-Dunen said SA was massing "important military forces in Namibia".

In a statement distributed in Lisbon yesterday, Unita leader Jonas

Savimbi repeated an appeal for Nigeria, Kenya and other African countries to unite in the search for a solution to the 12-year Angolan civil war.

The appeal was made after a four-day meeting of Unita's political bureau at Jamba to assess the rebels' reported defeat of a major Angolan offensive against Unita in southeastern Angola.

In his statement, Savimbi said Unita would use military force until the Angolan government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos accepted a

negotiated settlement to the armed conflict.

SADF headquarters said yesterday it had nothing to add, "for the moment", to recent statements and other information given on its southern Angolan conflicts.

Earlier yesterday, a spokesman said the search for Captain Andre Stapa, the pilot of an Impala jet which crashed in southern Angola during a night operation against Swapo on Sunday night, was continuing. — Sapa-AP, Sapa.



Luanda has agreed to the setting up of an international company with an operating concession on the railway — the Caminhos de Ferro de Benguela (CFB).

In exchange, Angola, presently owning 10% of the company, will get total control over the line. The deal has broken a seven-month deadlock — the Angolans have consistently opposed the idea of turning the CFB into an internationally-controlled operating company.

#### Compromise

CFB's majority shareholders, Societe Generale Belgique (SGB) — with a 90% stake through a subsidiary company — proposed the new arrangement in response to an attempt by Luanda to take over a majority shareholding in the CFB. The Angolans had proposed dividing up the remainder of the shares with the national railways of Zaire and Zambia.

Diplomats in Lisbon say Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos personally agreed to the compromise, during a meeting in Brussels in September with SGB governor Rene Lamy, and Viscount d'Avignon, the administrator of the CFB multinational.

The capital of the new company will be divided between Angola, Zaire, Zambia, SGB and financial groups involved in fixing up the railway — a prime target in the past decade for sabotage by Unita guerrillas. Getting the line back to work, which involves restoration of the track, bridges and tunnels and the repair of rolling stock, is scheduled to cost some US\$300m.

Luanda, however, seeks to incorporate the rehabilitation of the line into a wider project known as the Lobito Corridor Project, involving further investments to improve ports, roads, transport and coastal shipping firms, and raising the estimated cost of the overall project to US\$500m.

The European Community and other western institutions are potential financiers. The Lobito Corridor Project is due to take 10 years. The first phase, designated an emergency, is designed to get the CFB open to international traffic. Transport experts calculate this will take until 1989, as long as there are no unforeseen hold-ups and if security does not become a problem. Intelligence sources claim that Luanda has military plans (including the relocation of people) to diminish the vulnerability of the 1 200 km line.

In 1978 Luanda established an independent military force to safeguard the line. It was known as the Iron Plan, initially commanded by a Captain Kiamuxinda and later by a Lt-Col Margoso. The plan hinged on reinforcing highly mobile brigades in Lobito, Longonjo and Luena. With air cover they provided escorts for trains and protection against guerrillas along the line.

It was abandoned in 1984, after proving less than successful. No details are available of Luanda's latest security efforts, but most observers are sceptical that a purely military strategy can secure the line.

BENGUELA LINE

### New management

Legal and financial obstacles to getting trains running on the Benguela railway line appear to have been overcome, in a recent compromise between the Angolan government and foreign shareholders in the line's operating company.

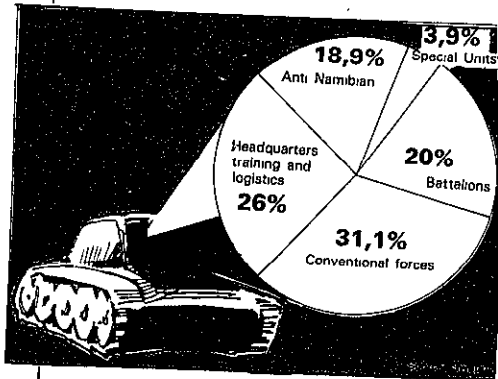
According to reliable reports reaching Lis-

## The final battle?

SA's current involvement in Angola will not be coupled to a time-table. The country's military chiefs are determined to "finish the job" before returning the 3 000 troops to friendly territory.

20/11/87

59



Military sources say the importance of the SA Defence Force's support of Jonas Savimbi's Unita lies not only in the rebel leader's opposition to Soviet expansionism, but in Unita's potential to keep Swapo at bay. At present about half of Swapo's 7 000-8 000 men are being kept busy by Unita.

There are strong arguments from certain quarters that if the Angolan MPLA government's Fapla forces succeed in pushing Unita out of the south-east of Angola, even the situation in Botswana could change drastically and the country could be used as a springboard against SA.

Swapo's activities and cross-border incursions have suffered greatly since Unita took charge of that part of the south-east. White farmers in the Grootfontein, Tsumeb and Otavi areas on the northern borders of Namibia have been prime targets of Swapo raids.

Currently, Swapo's incursions take place only through Ondangwa. But military sources warn that if Unita gets pushed out by Fapla, SA will find itself in the previous position of having to contend with Swapo raids from three directions.

Intelligence reports suggest that only about 19% of Swapo's total force is presently conducting cross-border raids into Namibia (see graph). The SADF has, however, recently clashed with Swapo's anti-Unita battalions between the north of Ovamboland and the Cunene province of Angola. In that skirmish a Swapo HQ was hit by South African troops.

Conventional Swapo forces, which comprise about 31% of its total force, are used to combat Unita and are integrated into the Angolan army. These forces use armoured vehicles and other modern equipment.

Although no timetable is set for SA's withdrawal from the war zone on the route between Menongue, Cuito Cuanavale and Mavinga, military intelligence may well advise that there is a purpose beyond a successful military operation. Some strategic experts are convinced that to push further north will speed up the deterioration of already strained relations within the Angolan Cabinet. This might enhance a political settlement.

The sources go as far as to say this may be the final battle, and that it is becoming increasingly difficult politically for the Angolans to muster forces for this kind of opera-

tion.

Still, indications are that SA's present involvement is not greater than it was during Operation Protea in 1975. It is completely coincidental that the two battles — in Cunene province and the one near Cuito Cuanavale — were raging at the same time, say the South African sources.

(See Leaders)

# SADF invasion slammed

THE Reverend Frank Chikane, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, has condemned the involvement of the South African Defence Force in Angola.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday, he called the invasion in

## SOWETAN Reporter

south-east Angola by the SADF a "blatant act aimed at ensuring the protection of apartheid."

Mr Chikane has just returned from visiting London, Belgium, West Germany and other

countries, including Angola.

Mr Chikane said the invasion by the South African troops, with the help of the United States Government, had forced the Angolan Government, the MPLA, to seek support of the Cuban soldiers.

"As long as the South African Government continues to occupy Angolan territory with the support of the USA, the government of Angola will have no option but to continue its request for the provision of Cuban troops as protection

against these foreign invaders," Mr Chikane said.

Mr Chikane also appealed to the SADF to pull out of Namibia and allow people there to elect their own government. So far, 21 South African soldiers have died in the recent fighting in Angola.



REV Chikane, general secretary of the SACC.

# SADF RAID IS CONDEMNED

THE United Democratic Front yesterday condemned the invasion of Angola by South African soldiers.

"The army that is threatening Soweto and East Rand residents with evictions in early morning raids is the same army creating death and destruction in Angola," the UDF said in a statement.

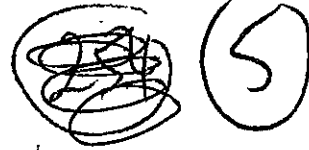
The UDF said statements by the South African Defence Force about pitched battles with Russians and

Cubans were attempts to obscure the fact that the SADF "is fighting against the army of Angola in an attempt to bring down the government of that country."

"We call on the people of South Africa to demand the immediate withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola", the statement said.

• This article has been censored in terms of the emergency regulations.

20/11/8 Sowetan



# Angola tells a story of 'invasion by racist SA'

(5) The Star's Africa News Service 20/11/87

The Angolan public has been told for the last few days that an invasion from "racist South Africa" is taking place in the southern parts of the country.

But details of the fighting against the "troops from racist South Africa and the Unita armed bands" are restricted to government communiques or condemnations by foreign countries of South Africa's actions.

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Radio Angola starts news broadcasts with the same slogan, a reminder that in Angola the MPLA Workers' Party is supreme.

From its news broadcasts it is also obvious that one man in Angola is ensured the main story in the news whenever he does or says something publicly.

That man is, of course, Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

Listeners were told on Tuesday that Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had sent his Foreign Minister, Mr Franca van Dunem, to Brazzaville with a personal message to the Congolese president regarding "the military intervention of racist South Africa in Angola" and had sent a message on the same subject to the Algerian president.

## THREE RACIST PLANES SHOT DOWN

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After reminding its listeners that 1987 was the year of consolidation of people's power and the 10th anniversary of the Party, the radio said that the head of a visiting Spanish delegation had expressed his support for the integrity of Angola's sovereignty "threatened by racist South Africa".

Then it ran a long interview in Spanish with the Spanish Secretary of State for Co-operation.

This was followed by a story which the announcer emphasised had come from the French news agency, AFP, saying that "racist South Africa" had announced the death of two more of its soldiers and that "24 members of racist South Africa's army had been wounded".

It recalled the previous evening's story about the three planes which it claimed had been shot down and then said the Organisation of African Unity had called on the United Nations Security Council to take measures against "the war of aggression launched by the South African racists".

Cuba had also come out against South Africa's "war of aggression" and had promised to continue its support to Angola.

# SA 'division' fighting in Angola claim

*Mr. Tank 2/11/82*

NEW YORK — One of the most important South African military units, "the Eighth Tank Division", with all equipment, is advancing in combat order towards Cunene province under heavy air cover, the Angolan President has claimed in a letter to the United Nations.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos called on the UN Secretary-General in the letter, published yesterday to halt what he said were large-scale South African incursions deep inside Angola.

Angola has introduced a resolution to the UN Security Council condemning South Africa's presence there and demanding her withdrawal.

And last night the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, accused Angola of attempting to "twist the facts" about South Africa's intervention and of disguising the Soviet-Cuban involvement.

The South African Embassy at the UN and all foreign missions had been

fully informed about the Soviet and Cuban involvement and the threat this involvement held for the security of this region, he said.

The South African Embassy at the UN had also been instructed to inform the Security Council fully about the facts.

"South Africa is not a party to this civil war, but South Africa cannot sit with folded hands and allow Russian and Cuban-supported violence to threaten our country's security interests in southern Africa."

Mr Dos Santos's letter, addressed to Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, was circulated as the Security Council prepared to meet later in the day in response to a motion on Thursday from Angola alleging aggression by South Africa.

Over the past few days, he added, the South African army had been carrying out large-scale armed incursions in Cuando-Cubango province. — Sapa-Reuter-AP, UPI

*Opp. Times 21/11/87*  
**Sayco praises  
Angolan army**

*S* **Own Correspondent**

DURBAN. — The South African Youth Congress (Sayco), one of the biggest and most militant affiliates of the United Democratic Front (UDF), has telexed the President of Angola, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, hailing the Angolan army (Fapla) for "keeping the apartheid army at bay".

In a statement signed by Sayco's president, Mr Peter Mokaba, Sayco sent revolutionary greetings to President Dos Santos on behalf of "the millions of youths struggling against apartheid".

# Hope for deal after

W/ E-ARGUS  
21/11/87  
5

## MPLA's setbacks

by NEIL LURSEN  
Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — White House officials are hoping that military setbacks suffered by MPLA forces in Angola will encourage the Government in Luanda to come up with reasonable proposals for a Cuban troop withdrawal from the southern part of the country.

The Americans believe that the fighting during the past two months has proved Washington's point that the war cannot be ended by military means and that the Unita rebels have shown they can fight conventional battles as well as wage the hit-and-run guerrilla warfare of the past.

The MPLA's Fapla army, with Cuban and Russian assistance, planned to wipe out Unita with a final conventional onslaught. But their effort failed.

The feeling here is that the climate is becoming more favourable for renewed talks between US and Angolan officials in which the Americans will again emphasise their readiness to act as brokers in a deal which would meet the security needs of Angola and South Africa.

### Resolution 435

The basis of the deal would remain the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 435 with SWA/Namibia acting as a buffer state between South African troops south of the Orange River and Cuban troops north of the 13th parallel in Angola.

Renewed talks could take place in the next few weeks, probably in Luanda itself, and they could have important consequences at the December 7 summit meeting in Washington where Angola is likely to be on the agenda when President Reagan sits down with Mr Gorbachev.

The Americans are anxious to bring East-West confrontation in Angola to an end — primarily by getting the Cubans out — but the problem is to convince the Russians that their interests will not be harmed by Angola's emergence as a non-aligned country free of foreign troops.

### Face-saving

Another problem is to provide the Cubans with a face-saving reason for leaving Angola. Some American analysts believe that an independent SWA/Namibia could be that reason — allowing President Castro to claim that his military intervention in Southern Africa set in motion the events leading to SWA/Namibia's independence.



# SA death toll in Angola (3) <sup>Claves</sup> climbs to 23 <sup>22/1/87</sup>



**By REVELATION NTOULA**  
THE death toll of members of the South African Defence Force killed in recent fighting in Angola now stands at 23.

Defence Force Headquarters in Pretoria announced early this week that two more soldiers had died in clashes with the Angolan army.

They were Corporal Jacob Carel van Heerden (20), of Bethal, and Lance Corporal Johannes Jacobus Redelinghuys (20), of Randburg.

Both were fatally wounded in the same action in Angola's Cunado-Cubango province, an SADF spokesman announced.

The losses of the SADF and South West Territorial

Force is believed to be the biggest in a single clash with the Angolan forces, said to be backed by Cuban and Russian troops.

South Africa has claimed that about 230 Angolan, Cuban and Russian forces were killed in the skirmish, while Luanda claimed to have killed the same number of South African and Unita forces.

SADF aircraft, according to Pretoria, has been flying combat, intelligence, reconnaissance and other missions into Cuando-Cubango as part of the operation with Jonas Savimbi's SA-US backed Unita movement.

The aim, the SADF has said, was to drive back the annual Fapla offensive in

which Angola is trying to overrun Unita.

Further major battles between South Africa and Angolan troops were "unlikely," according to sources close to the government.

From Luanda, however, Angola's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Francisco Santos, told the Mozambican news agency Aim that the Angolan army was preparing for further major battles with the SADF in the next few weeks.

# BATTLEFRONT ANGOLA

By NEIL HOOPER

UNITA forces in Angola are within striking distance of the vital strategic centre of Cuito Cuanavale.

Having beaten back the biggest-ever Cuban and Russian-led assault on his redoubt in the south-east, Dr Jonas Savimbi's forces, with limited assistance from South African units, have pushed the Fapla army northwards.

Military observers said yesterday that Unita troops had never been better placed to turn the tide completely in the conflict.

They say that if Dr Savimbi decides to attack Cuito Cuanavale, and is successful, he will have expanded the territory under his control to include a vitally strategic centre.

He will also have deprived the government Fapla troops of their most important southern springboard for the offensives they have annually launched against Unita, and he will have deprived the Angolan Air Force of its southernmost strike base.

## KEY LINK

Equally important, the loss of Cuito Cuanavale will mean that the MPLA government will have lost a key link in its first defensive line, which runs from Namibe harbour on the west to Cuito Cuanavale.

Sustained pressure on the Fapla troops could force them to fall back to their second line of defence, which is roughly along the Benguela railway line from Lobito in the west through to Luau on the border of Zaïre.

# Unita poised to strike at retreating MPLA's key line of defence

Should the government forces ever have to abandon this second line of defence they would have to fall back on their third and last line of defence — a semi-circular area around the capital of Luanda.

A breakthrough at Cuito Cuanavale would thus lay much of southern Angola open to total Unita domination, and at the same time deprive Svrpo insurgents of their traditional routes into northern Namibia.

Latest intelligence information indicates that after a hull following the initial Lomba River battle, the retreating Angolan brigades were ordered to advance south of the Chambinga and Mianel rivers on November 6 and to attack Unita.

Nothing came of this, and on November 9 Unita forces attacked the 16th Brigade's Chambinga River headquarters, only to find

it abandoned. They then attacked the brigade, which had withdrawn three kilometres, and destroyed seven tanks and captured one.

A Fapla tactical brigade arrived the following day to help the besieged 16th, and on November 11 Unita attacked both, first hitting the tactical brigade. Several tanks were knocked out.

## AIRLIFTED

The same day troops from 16th Brigade were seen deserting when ordered to collect equipment abandoned at the Chambinga headquarters.

Two days later Cubans and Russians with the brigades were airlifted to Cuito Cuanavale.

① 5/11/87



Unita troops parade before a massive backdrop. Picture: MIKE McCANN

On November 14, Fapla's 21st and 25th Brigades began withdrawing northwards, arriving at Viposta the following evening. Last Monday, Unita attacked the two brigades, killing between 30 and 60 Fapla troops and destroying three T55 tanks, two troop carriers and five logistics vehicles.

On Tuesday, the Fapla units tried to cross the Huibe River, sending across an initial force of 150 infantrymen. Unita is said to have killed 100.

On Wednesday the 16th Brigade started retreating towards Tupo, while the remnants of the other units withdrew to a point just east of Cuito Cuanavale.

Two Fapla brigades began digging in to stop Unita crossing the river and advancing on Cuito Cuanavale, to which all the other brigades had retreated.

## SPOILS

Military observers say that the two Fapla units at the bridge can at best hold out for 11 days.

Informed sources say that between July 13 and November 17, Unita forces had destroyed or captured Fapla equipment worth more than \$2-billion, including:

Fifty-four tanks; 65 troop carriers; 246 logistics vehicles; 29 infantry fighting vehicles; 18 "Stalin Organ" mobile multiple rocket launchers; 13 82mm mortars; 11 SAM 8 missile launchers; 10 anti-aircraft guns; 3 radar systems; 7 helicopters; 3 transport aircraft and 5 fighter aircraft.

The British journal *The Economist* says South Africa's Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has done well enough in Angola to shift his sights to peace.

# Setting sights on peace in Angola

11/6/85  
23/10/87

**T**HE dry season in Angola is drawing to its close, and with it this year's offensive by the Angolan government and its Cuban helpers against Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels.

Dr Savimbi's men have held on to their stronghold in Angola's south-eastern corner. They will now presumably re-expand through the eastern half of the country in the wet season, as they have done in the past.

Dr Savimbi's men have fought well enough, and Dr Savimbi himself speaks for enough Angolans to repeat his side's claim to a place in the governing of that still ungoverned country.

But his very success poses a question to South Africa, which has helped with the success.

This year, South Africans have helped Unita on the ground as well as from the air. For the moment South Africa's Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, is happy to be seen doing that.

## Expensive

General Malan, however, has no clear-cut victory in view. Like the Israeli army that invaded Lebanon to support its local friends in 1982, his troops cannot expect to install Dr Savimbi in power, and then retire elegantly home. The most they can do is keep Dr Savimbi in play until his Angolan enemies wearily agree to do a deal with him.

Keeping Dr Savimbi in play is getting expensive. Since September, when the fighting began in earnest, it has cost

more than 20 white South Africans their lives. This is the moment to urge on South Africa the case for a settlement of its north-west frontier.

South Africa has two reasons for putting soldiers into Angola. The publicly professed reason is that, if Dr Savimbi were to fall, the 30 000 or so Cuban troops in Angola would threaten South Africa itself. But the Cuban army in Angola justifies its presence by pointing to the South African army in illegally occupied Namibia, next door.

## Empty coffers

So does Russia, which has 1 000 advisers in Angola and has sent R10-billion worth of military supplies since 1985. Russia will send more weapons and advisers rather than let its Angolan clients collapse, but Mr Gorbachev's new cash-conscious Russia might accept peace if it were offered a deal that suited it.

So might the Angolan government, which has demonstrated empty-coffered pragmatism by saying it would like to join the IMF.

The deal that could suit Russia and Angola — and get rid of the Cubans — is the one which Dr Chester Crocker, President Reagan's Africa man, has long advocated: the Cubans should leave Angola in exchange for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia.

Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos has long refused to agree. This year may be different. In August he said the Cubans would leave Angola within two years of South Africa's withdrawal.

When he met Dr Crocker in September, he may have cut that to 18 months. A shift or two more from Mr dos Santos will make South Africa's fear of those Cubans a rotten excuse for not changing policy.

South Africa's second, undeclared, and probably stronger reason for not changing policy is that it wants to hold on to SWA/Namibia. Dr Savimbi's war in effect protects South Africa's puppet government in Namibia from the guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), who have their bases in Angola.

President Botha and General Malan are trying to keep Swapo out of power in Namibia, even if that means a fuzzy, open-ended commitment to Dr Savimbi.

## No regrets

They should recall South Africa's policy towards Rhodesia in the late 1970s. Instead of backing the doomed white government led by Mr Ian Smith, South Africa accepted the idea of a black-ruled Zimbabwe. It has had no cause to regret that decision. Zimbabwe, like South Africa's other black neighbours, has been too weak to cause it any serious trouble.

The same would certainly be true of an independent, black-ruled Namibia, whose 1.5m people would remain dependent on South Africa's economy and at the mercy of South Africa's army.

If getting out of Namibia is the price of getting Cuba and Russia out of Angola, it is a price South Africa can afford: and a price the West would love it to pay.

It is time to think seriously about holding an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to deal with the problems of the southern African region. The core members of such a conference would be the two superpowers, Cuba, and the local parties involved in the region's conflicts.

The factors that have contributed to the present dangerous conflict in the African sub-continent are complex. However, they are no more complex than those in the Middle East which have not discouraged the superpowers and some of the key governments in the region from the current initiative to arrange an international conference to try to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict.

It may, in fact, be easier to reach agreement over an international conference in southern Africa than in the Middle East. The international climate is propitious and the situation in southern Africa has reached so dangerous a stage in the rapid intensification of military conflict and destabilisation as to cause as much concern to Pretoria as to the Frontline States, and to the United States, as to the Soviet Union.

The greater urgency is due to two major developments: the current fighting in Angola where the Cubans and, more reluctantly, the Soviets have, for the first time come into direct confrontation with the South African army; and the extent of destabilisation along South Africa's borders necessitating the military intervention by some of the Frontline States in Mozambique.

In Angola, the South African army — fighting in an alliance with Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces — has begun to suffer casualties on a scale that has shocked the white South African community. More important, it

THIS is the first in a two-part series.

FOCUS

has begun to lose its former domination of the skies because of the sophisticated fighter planes and missile systems provided by the Warsaw Pact powers and Cuba.

On the other hand, the Angolan army, though much stronger than before, still lacks the capabilities of winning the war against the Unita-South African alliance, while the country's economy is gravely imperilled.

With the Soviets and Cubans committed on one side in the Angolan fighting, and the United States now engaged as a military supporter of Savimbi, the threat of open confrontation between the superpowers has grown.

Conflict

Neither the Americans nor the Soviets wish to be drawn into a military conflict against each other in the region, a desire expressed by both sides in a series of bilateral talks. However, both are trapped by their respective commitments.

In a number of recent statements, Mikhail Gorbachev has made it clear that although the Soviet Union is not prepared or able to renege on its commitments to the MPLA regime in Angola and to Swapo and the African National Congress, it has no wish to become

# Angola: 7 points for peace



SA Defence Minister Magnus Malan.



ANGOLAN President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

embroiled in the region's widening conflicts.

Similarly, the United States has a strong interest in preventing greater violence in the region. Unlike the Botha Government, the Reagan Administration does not believe the Soviets are engaged in a "total strategy" in the sub-continent.

Summit

With the imminence of a summit between Gorbachev and Reagan and the promise of an easing of East-West tensions through an agreement on the reduction of nuclear weapons, the moment is opportune to place the conflict in southern Africa high on the agenda of the superpowers.

Gorbachev has emphasised his desire for Soviet-American co-

operation in helping to reduce regional conflicts. Although the United States has reacted positively to this idea in the Middle East it has, so far, refused to extend it to southern Africa.

South Africa's Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, recently expressed Pretoria's wish to see the elimination of Soviet and American military involvement in southern Africa. This requires the agreement of both superpowers, which can be achieved only on terms that satisfy the interests of both sides and on terms that would not leave South Africa as the unchallenged military top-dog in the region — which is obviously what General Malan has in mind.

In deciding the agenda for an international conference it is important to include only those

issues that are likely to prove negotiable. It is therefore necessary to exclude from the agenda the question of the internal struggle within South Africa for the elimination of apartheid. This is a subject where the strong conflict of interests between Pretoria and its challengers cannot be settled through international negotiations, but only through a negotiating process involving South Africans

• To be continued tomorrow.

Lest we forget

THE Sowetan today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention



# Unita 'on verge of split' with Pretoria

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — Unita appears on the verge of a split with South Africa, according to reports reaching here at the weekend.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is said to be furious over Pretoria's claim 10 days ago that its forces had intervened massively in southern Angola to "save" Unita from annihilation at the hands of Soviet- and Cuban-backed government troops.

The leading weekly paper "Expresso" said South Africa's claim was a clear bid to affirm its importance as a regional military and economic power on the eve of the December 7 Reagan/Gorbachev summit — where Southern Africa is on the agenda.

Dr Savimbi's response was to call an emergency meeting of his central committee to re-examine Unita's relations with its allies — in the main Pretoria and Washington.

In private, according to sources quoted by "Expresso", Dr Savimbi alleged that South Africa had sabotaged Unita's current strategy in favour of peace talks and national reconciliation.

Diplomatic sources here said Dr Savimbi had been greatly embarrassed by the statement and had remonstrated forcibly with Pretoria.

His movement has attributed its claimed military successes against the government's dry-season offensive to the supply by Washington of Stinger anti-air missiles and TOW anti-tank weapons.

Analysts here have suggested that Moscow is rethinking its involvement in Angola.

● Angolan army commander tells of defeat — Page 7

## PFP calls for urgent session on Angola

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PFP called yesterday for Parliament to be summoned "as a matter of extreme urgency" to discuss the SA Defence Force's involvement in Angola.

In a statement issued by MP Ken Andrew on behalf of the federal council, the party said it understood that matters of national security can be sensitive, but that "MPs at least must be kept informed".

A spokesman for the Office of the State President said last night that Mr P W Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had commented fully on SA's position in the situation, and had nothing to add at this stage.

# Angolan army commander tells of defeat

MAPUTO. — An Angolan army commander, in an interview reported here on Saturday, acknowledged that one of his brigades was defeated recently by rebel and South African forces but denied his troops suffered heavy casualties.

Lieutenant-General Antonio Dos Santos, Angola's armed forces chief of staff, was quoted by the Mozambican news agency AIM as saying 243 of the Marxist government's soldiers had been killed in recent fighting.

SA claims more than 3 600 government troops have been killed in the past few months.

General Dos Santos, interviewed by AIM director Mr Carlos Cardoso during a recent visit to Luanda, Angola, said the army's 47th Brigade was beaten back last month when it reached the Lomba River in south-eastern Angola.

The brigade "ran into lots of problems and lots of its equipment was captured or destroyed", General Dos Santos was quoted as saying. "This was due to faulty logistics — the brigade was not resupplied in time with fuel or ammunition."

The general reiterated Angola's claim that 230 South African soldiers had been killed in the recent fighting. SA has announced the deaths of 25 soldiers in the past three weeks, but General Dos Santos claimed that the deaths of some black soldiers were not being reported.

General Dos Santos said the government's recent offensive was not aimed at capturing Unita's headquarters in Jamba but at cutting rebel supply routes to its guerillas in central Angola.

● Angola has asked for an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from its territory. — Sapa-AP

# Unita officer <sup>5</sup> 'cut throats' to flee Luanda jail

A UNITA officer, Captain Francisco da Silva, has said in Windhoek that he escaped from Luanda's Sao Paulo jail after seven years of a 30-year sentence by cutting the throats of three guards with a sharpened spoon.

Heavily tattooed on his forearms, Capt Da Silva said he had met both Major Wynand du Toit and Sapper Van der Mescht, captured South African soldiers released after negotiations between Pretoria and Luanda.



Capt Da Silva said the strict prison regimen became too much for him after seven years and he began spending days and nights sharpening a spoon on the cell's cement floor in preparation for escape.

On a Saturday evening when most of the prison warders were out on the town, he kicked up a row in his cell and cut the throat of a guard who came to investigate. He claimed he overpowered another guard in an office and drove to the prison gates where he killed a third guard.

From the prison, Capt Da Silva said, he drove to Luanda harbour where he hid in a container waiting to be shipped and at sea showed himself to the ship's captain who helped him get to France.

With the help of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the South African Embassy in Paris, he found his way back to Windhoek. — Sapa

# Angola: The way to peace

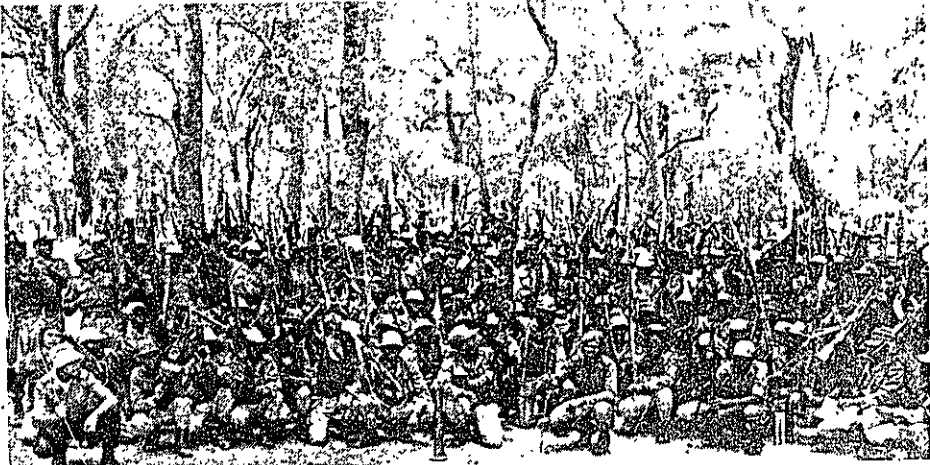
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Somehow  
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**T**HE internal conflicts in Angola between the MPLA regime and the Unita rebels, and in Mozambique between Frelimo and Renamo, should be treated as domestic concerns which cannot be solved by outsiders, although their gravity can be diminished considerably by eliminating external support for the rebel movements.

Defusing the conflicts along South Africa's borders and removing the threat — however imaginary — felt by Pretoria from the Soviet and Cuban military presence in the sub-continent, could contribute substantially to persuading white South Africans to adopt a more realistic attitude in facing up to the true nature of their internal crisis, which is not caused by communism but by the country's long history of gross racial inequities. It would also remove the main reasons for the external support given to Unita and Renamo.

The agenda of an international conference should include the following seven main points:

1. Independence for Namibia within the framework of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.
2. Withdrawal of the



UNITA displays its arms.

## FOCUS

THIS is the end of a two-part series.

South African army from the territory of Angola.

3. The rapid phasing out of the Cuban combat forces from Angola once agreement has been reached over Namibia's independence and the complete withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

4. The ending of South Africa's military support for Renamo and Unita.

5. An international agreement subscribed to by all the major powers to reduce substantially the flow of arms to the region beyond reasonable levels required for

internal defence purposes by the Frontline States.

6. An undertaking by South Africa not to attack, directly or indirectly, the communication lines being developed through Mozambique and Tanzania as a means of reducing the Frontline States' dependence on transport routes through South Africa.

7. An understanding over the ways of reducing the climate of violence in the region.

### Insurgents

The most difficult problems, will arise over what can be expected to be a major demand from South Africa: That its neighbours should prevent armed ANC insurgents from operating from their territory.

Such an undertaking was included in the aborted Nkomati Accord of 1984 between Mozambique and South Africa. The governments of all the Frontline States bordering on South Africa have committed themselves to not allowing the ANC to establish bases on their territory.

It is inconceivable that the Frontline States of the Organisation of

African Unity (OAU), would agree to ending their support for the ANC or Pan Africanist Congress unless and until a serious negotiating process had begun in South Africa with the representative leaders of all four major communities

The Frontline States and the OAU are pledged to discourage armed violence against South Africa once such negotiations have begun. Therefore, the key to ending the armed struggle by the opponents of apartheid is in Pretoria's own hands.

If agreement could be reached on the points of the proposed agenda an entirely new situation would be created. It would remove what the Pretoria regime offers for its reason for not implementing the UN proposals on Namibian independence — the presence of the Cuban troops in Angola. It would open the way for a new initiative on the basis of the proposals made by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which the Botha Government came close to accepting

For the moment, all the attempts at negotiations that have been made — through the five Western Powers Contact Group, the mediation efforts of the United States with Angola, and the Commonwealth —

have ended in deadlock. The need is for an entirely fresh initiative which can best be promoted through an international conference involving the superpowers and all the parties engaged in the conflicts in the region

Apart from the superpowers, the other parties that should be invited to take part in the preparations for such a conference are Cuba, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania Swapo, the ANC and PAC should be present as observers, or as members of the delegations of the Frontline States. There would be difficulties about accepting Unita as a party to the negotiations, but Savimbi is an important element in the conflict.

If such a large contingent of delegations is thought to be too cumbersome, it might be possible to arrange for the Frontline States to agree to a composite delegations, since they invariably act in unison.



**Lest we forget.**  
THE *Sowetan* today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:



CAPT TINTS

day, November 24, 1987

# SA on Angolan pullout

PRETORIA. — South Africa was prepared to withdraw its troops from southern Angola from December 9 if all other foreign troops were also withdrawn from Angola, the UN Security Council was told last night.

South Africa's ambassador to the UN, Mr Les Manley, was addressing the Security Council debate on a motion condemning South Africa's "aggression" in southern Angola and calling for the Republic to withdraw. The text of his speech was released in Pretoria.

"The South African government is not unaware of the fact several African leaders would like to see the withdrawal of all foreign forces, including the South

African troops, from Angola," Mr Manley told the UN. "I have been authorized by my government to affirm that South Africa will be able to support such a proposal and my government proposes that December 9 be set as the date of implementation for such an agreement."

It remained his government's firm conviction that the only route to peace in the sub-region — Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa — "lies ... in the real willingness of all parties to come together to address their differences and thereby contribute towards stability and progress to the benefit of all our peoples".

Responding to criticism of State President P W Botha's recent visit to the southern Angolan battlefield, he said Mr Botha

had a duty, as commander-in-chief of the SADF, to visit the area.

"South Africa is determined to defend its interests against foreign aggression in the region."

● From Harare, meanwhile, Sapa reports that Swapo claims that South Africa is infiltrating more troops into Namibia "to reinforce the more than 100 000 occupation troops there".

In a statement yesterday, Swapo secretary for defence Mr Peter Mweshihange said that because of the escalating war in and around Namibia, South Africa was landing troops in Walvis Bay.

"More than 1 000 anti-personnel carriers have been detected being transported from South Africa to Namibia," he said.

# SA ready to pull out

## of Angola

PRETORIA — South Africa was prepared to withdraw its troops from southern Angola from December 9 if all other foreign troops were also withdrawn from Angola, the United Nations Security Council was told last night.

South Africa's ambassador to the UN, Mr Les Manley, was addressing the Security Council debate on a motion condemning South Africa's "aggression" in southern Angola and calling on South Africa to withdraw.

Mr Manley said the government was convinced that the only route to peace on South Africa's border "lies not in sterile confrontation in international fora outside our region, and still less via military confrontation inside our region."

He said peace depended on the willingness of all parties "to come together to address their differences and thereby contribute towards stability and progress in the region".

Mr Manley said it was the Angolan MPLA regime itself which had forced the country's civil war into a dangerous regional issue by bringing in foreign troops to bolster it militarily — and therefore politically against popular opposition.

Responding to criticism of State President P. W. Botha's recent visit to the southern Angolan battlefield, he said Mr Botha had a duty, as commander in chief of the South African Defence Force, to visit the area.

"South Africa is determined to defend its interests against foreign aggression in the region."

Mr Manley said the

present convening of the Security Council to discuss "distorted claims of alleged South African aggression against the people of Angola amounts, as on previous occasions, to nothing more than a renewed attempt by the MPLA regime to avoid addressing the root cause of the conflict which has plagued that country for over 12 years".

The present claim was all the less credible against the background of a number of "undeniable facts".

The MPLA could not deny its flagrant transgression of the (1975) Alvor agreement when it seized political control of Angola, with the direct support of Cuban forces, "in the face of rival movements and of

massive opposition by the majority of the Angolan people".

Angola was spending several billion dollars annually of its diminishing revenue on importing and maintaining foreign troops and sophisticated weaponry.

The present series of battles were in fact led by Unita, which had in recent weeks made significant gains against Soviet and Cuban led forces threatening the stability of the entire Southern African region.

Mr Manley said: "Under these circumstances, South Africa could not sit back and allow these forces to threaten its security interests by flooding the whole region with Soviet arms."

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Botha rejects demand by PFP

# Parliament won't meet over Angola

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PRETORIA — President P W Botha last night rejected a PFP demand that Parliament should meet urgently to discuss the SADF's involvement in southern Angola.

He said that MPs were being kept informed of the situation in Angola and that there was insufficient motivation for the convening of Parliament.

"What is needed now is that South Africans stand together to convince our enemies of our determination to protect the integrity of our borders."

He said it was not the practice anywhere in the world for operational and tactical details to be made known at the time of the operation.

He claimed MPs had been continuously informed over the past month.

"It goes without saying that details of this nature could endanger our own forces and play into the hands of the enemy."

It could therefore not be alleged that MPs in particular and members of the public in general had been left in the dark about SA's limited involvement in southern Angola and in support of Unita.

Sapa reports that SA is prepared to withdraw its troops from southern Angola from December 9 if all other foreign

GERALD REILLY

troops were also withdrawn from Angola, the UN Security Council was told last night.

SA UN Ambassador Les Manley was addressing the Security Council debate on a motion condemning SA's "aggression" in southern Angola and calling for the republic to withdraw.

Manley said the SA government was not unaware of the fact several African leaders would like to see the withdrawal of all foreign forces, including the South African troops, from Angola.

"I have been authorised by my government to affirm that SA will be able to support such a proposal, and my government proposes that December 9 be set as the date of implementation for such an agreement," Manley said.

Responding to criticism of President P W Botha's recent visit to the southern Angolan battlefront, he said Botha had a duty, as Commander-in-Chief of the SADF, to visit the area.

He said "South African participation is limited and constitutes less than 5% of

To Page 2

## PW rejects plea on Angola

personnel in the area."

Reuter reports that Nigeria said yesterday it was ready to mediate in the civil war in Angola.

"Nigeria is ready to play a mediatory role in the Angolan war," a foreign ministry statement said.

This would be on condition that the mediation was acceptable to all the parties in the conflict and the objective was in the overall interest of Angola and Africa, the statement added.

Unita last week renewed its call on Kenya, Nigeria and other African nations to participate in bringing about what it called "an African solution" to the 12-year-old civil war.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from London that while the SA military had won the battle of Mavinga, it was losing control of the skies over Angola, according to the authoritative British journal on African affairs, Africa Confidential (AC).

AC said retreating Angolan forces had regrouped around Cuito Cuanavale and

established a major air base from which MiGs were able to dominate the skies as far as the border with Namibia.

The report said that contrary to recent SADF statements, "Angola's Soviet allies have taken no part in the actual fighting so far".

It said: "SA pilots have developed a healthy respect for their Angolan opposite numbers trained at the pilot school at Lubango by Soviet instructors. From Xangongo to Jamba, SA is losing control of the skies, bearing out the worst fears of the SA generals."

AC estimated that 230 SADF personnel have been killed. The figure includes "black Angolans from the 32 'Buffalo' Battalion which has been decimated".

It said up to 3 000 SA soldiers were fighting alongside Unita in Cuando Cubango province, while the 8th Tank Division is active in Huilla province.

From Page 1

Such an agreement would be "infinitely superior" to the intermediate nuclear forces treaty. "It is a measure of US-St... tions that such statements ca... made with credibility," he sa... The US Secretary of State... range weapons talks faced t... questions: verification, Star... he "broad parameters of... greement".

# Diplomacy takes Angola war stale

⑤ SML 24/11/87.  
By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The conflict in Angola is moving into the diplomatic arena after the military stand-off in the south-east of the country which has cost nearly 6 000 lives in the past few months.

Diplomatic sources said today that Unita was trying to get permission to put its case to the UN Security Council, which is currently hearing a request from the Angolan government that it order South African forces to withdraw from the country immediately.

Should its request be turned down, the rebel movement intends to hold an international news conference in New York to put its case to the world.

Yesterday South Africa told the Security Council that it would withdraw its troops from Angola by December 9 if all other foreign troops left the country.

## Includes Cuban troops

This included the estimated 30 000 to 40 000 Cuban troops in Angola and thousands of Soviet and other Eastern bloc "advisers".

Other recent developments arena include an offer by Nigeria to act as a broker in the war, provided all interested parties agreed, and a request by Unita that Kenya and Nigeria be involved in finding an "African solution" to the conflict.

Local sources indicated today that South Africa was not interested in any mediator being appointed.

South Africa is known to be anxious that Unita and the MPLA talk and believes it is supported in this by most African and Western countries.

In this regard, the fact that Angola has gone to the Security Council at this late stage in the latest military hostilities in the country (the first big battle was in mid-September) is being interpreted diplomatically as an admission by the MPLA that it has failed in its attack on Unita.

**'We'll pull out — if all others do'**

According to diplomatic sources, the hawks in the Luanda government had confidently predicted that this year's campaign against Unita would be victorious.

The retreat of the MPLA attacking forces, in spite of being equipped with the most sophisticated Soviet weaponry, has been a huge setback for the hawks and, in turn, a victory for the doves who favour talks with the guerilla movement.

NEW YORK — South Africa was prepared to withdraw its troops from southern Angola from December 9 if all other foreign troops were also withdrawn, the United Nations Security Council was told last night.

South Africa's Ambassador to the UN, Mr Les Manley, told the Security Council, debating the motion condemning South Africa's "aggression" in southern Angola and calling for the Republic to withdraw: "The South African Government is not, unaware of the fact that several African leaders would like to see the withdrawal of all foreign forces, including the South African troops, from Angola."

● Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Foreign Affairs Mr Ray Swart today reacted angrily to President Botha's decision not to allow an emergency meeting of Parliament to discuss the Angolan situation.

● Nigeria said yesterday that if it were acceptable to all parties in the conflict, it was ready to mediate in Angola. — Sapa-Reuters.

Mr Swart said the decision was typical of the Government which was totally reluctant to keep the public informed about what was going on beyond the country's borders.

UK.

# Powerful Angola peace moves

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

MGS 24/11/82  
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A POWERFUL initiative for peace in Angola has started and the struggle today moved from the battlefield to the diplomatic circuit.

South Africa's main aim appears to be getting the Angolan rivals Unita and the MPLA to start talks without Pretoria becoming directly involved.

The offer to withdraw South African troops from Angola provided other foreign forces are withdrawn is a part of the peace initiative.

There is said to be considerable interest in the rest of Africa in efforts to have foreign troops withdrawn from Angola. Members of the Organisation of African Unity are in favour of a withdrawal which includes Cubans and Russians.

An indication of growing African desires for peace was Nigeria's offer to mediate in the civil war.

In the United Nations Security Council South Africa's ambassador, Mr Les Manley, said there had been distortions about South African attacks.

South Africa's limited military involvement had become necessary as a result of the invasion of non-African soldiers.

South Africa was determined to defend its interests against foreign aggression in the region.

The Government, he said, knew that several African leaders would like to see the withdrawal of foreign troops.

Mr Manley also announced that South Africa would support such a proposal and that December 9 could be the date for implementation.

It was understood today that Unita would seek an opportunity to put its case to the United Nations. If this is

not allowed, the movement plans to hold a Press conference in New York.

Although the Security Council debate was called to condemn South African involvement in Angola and to call for its withdrawal, the debate was not entirely unwelcome to the Government.

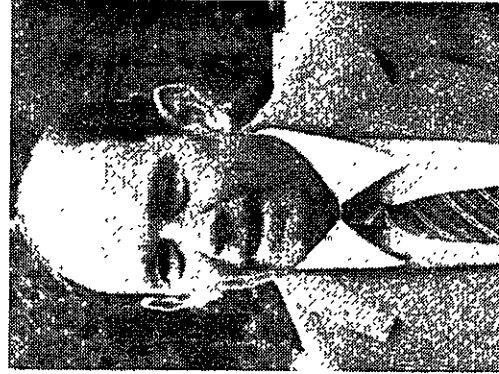
In a way it was a concession of defeat by the MPLA and it gave South Africa the opportunity to make the offer of withdrawal as part of a new diplomatic move to get peace talks under way.

Meanwhile President Botha has turned down a request from the federal council of the Progressive Federal Party to have a special session of Parliament to discuss South African involvement in Angola.

Parliament, he said, was meeting in two months and the matter could then be discussed extensively.

# Now is the time for SA to seek peace in Angola

Like Zimbabwe, a black-ruled Namibia would be too weak to cause serious trouble, argues The Economist.



Malan ... "no clear-cut victory in view".

The dry season in Angola is drawing to its close, and with it this year's offensive by the Angolan government and its Cuban helpers against Dr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels. Dr Savimbi's men have held on to their stronghold in Angola's south-eastern corner. They will now presumably re-expand through the eastern half of the country in the wet season, as they have done in the past.

Dr Savimbi's men have fought well enough, and Dr Savimbi himself speaks for enough Angolans to repeat his side's claim to a place in the governing of that still ungoverned country. But his very success poses a question to South Africa, which has helped with the success.

## The cost rises

This year, South Africans have helped UNITA on the ground as well as from the air. For the moment South Africa's Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, is happy to be seen doing that. General Malan, however, has no clear-cut victory in view. Like the Israeli army that invaded Lebanon to support its local friends in 1982, his troops cannot expect to install Dr Savimbi in power, and then retire elegantly home. The most they can do is keep Dr Savimbi in play until his Angolan enemies wearily agree to do a deal with him.

Keeping Dr Savimbi in play is getting expensive. Since September, when the fighting began in earnest, it has cost 20 white South Africans their lives. This is the moment to urge on South Africa the case for a settlement of its north-west frontier.

South Africa has two reasons for putting soldiers into Angola. The publicly professed reason is that, if Dr Savimbi were to fall, the 30,000 or so Cuban troops in Angola would threaten South Africa itself. But the Cuban army in Angola justifies its presence by pointing to the South African army in illegally occupied Namibia, next door. So does Russia, which has 1,000 advisers in Angola and has sent \$3.5 billion-worth of military supplies since 1985.

Russia will send more weapons and advisers rather than let its Angolan clients collapse, but Mr Gorbachev's new cash-conscious Russia might accept peace if it were offered a deal that suited it. So might the Angolan government, which has demonstrated empty-coffered pragmatism by saying it would like to join the IMF.

The deal that could suit Russia and Angola — and get rid of the Cubans — is the one which Dr Chester Crocker, President Reagan's Africa man, has long advocated: the Cubans should leave Angola in exchange for South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia.

Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos has long refused to agree. This

year may be different. In August he said the Cubans would leave Angola within two years of South Africa's withdrawal. When he met Mr Crocker in September, he may have cut that to 18 months. A shift or two more from Mr dos Santos will make South Africa's fear of those Cubans a rotten excuse for not changing policy.

South Africa's second, undeclared, and probably stronger reason for not changing policy is that it wants to hold on to Namibia. Dr Savimbi's war in effect protects South Africa's puppet government in Namibia from the guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organisation, who have their bases in Angola. President Botha and General Malan are trying to keep Swapo out of power in Namibia, even if that means a fuzzy, open-ended commitment to Dr Savimbi.

They should recall South Africa's policy towards Rhodesia in the late 1970s. Instead of backing the doomed white government led by Ian Smith, South Africa accepted the idea of a black-ruled Zimbabwe. It has had no cause to regret that decision.

Zimbabwe, like South Africa's other black neighbours, has been too weak

to cause it any serious trouble. The same would certainly be true of an independent, black-ruled Namibia, whose 1.5 million people would remain dependent on South Africa's economy and at the mercy of South Africa's army.

If getting out of Namibia is the price of getting Cuba and Russia out of Angola, it is a price South Africa can afford: and a price the West would love it to pay.

*Spec. Int. 25/1/87*  
**5**

# Nigeria denies Angola policy change

LAGOS. — Nigeria moved rapidly yesterday to quell speculation that it had changed its Angolan policy.

Foreign Minister Mr Bolaji Akinyemi denied suggestions, arising from a statement he made on Monday night, that Lagos was rethinking its total support for the MPLA regime.

"Nothing we have said marks a shift in policy," Mr Akinyemi said.

He denied that his statement that Nigeria was willing to play a mediatory role in the Angolan war if all parties requested it implied any recognition of Dr Jonas Savimbi's South African-backed rebels.

British Deputy Foreign Secretary Mrs Lynda Chalker is to further sound out frontline leaders' views when she visits Mozambique and Malawi from Friday.

Although the main reason for the visit is to carry out an on-site inspection of British aid projects — in particular the Limpopo line — a spokesman said it was inevitable that she would discuss Mozambique's security problems. "We would also be interested to hear Mozambique's views on the situation in Angola," the spokesman said. — Own correspondent and Sapa

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

CMG Tavis 25/11/87

# Angolan war: Anger over PF role

READERS' feedback indicates there is widespread public anger because of the perception that national servicemen have to do all the fighting while the home fires warm the Permanent Force as it lolls at its collective desk in Pretoria.

In all fairness, this is not correct. For example, as far as I can ascertain, at least two-thirds of the fighting troops in the Mavinga-Cuito Cuanavale theatre were *regular Namibians* of the border battalions, and PF losses there have actually been disproportionately high.

However, the above does not alter people's perceptions, which are based on the undeniable fact that virtually the entire PF (Army) has non-combatant tasks; and the military would be wise to take account of that perception.

Let us look at national service casualties in more detail: Why have there been so many of them over the years? Why have there been any at all?

The answer is to be found in the structure of the South African Army.

First of all, generally speaking, the average army has a regular fighting element and a conscript element to provide full-time or reservist bulk.

This was the way the SADF looked in 1912. The fighting Army comprised five regular regiments of mounted riflemen and some artillery, and trained citizen-soldiers for various part-time regiments which could be mobilized as needed.

The mounted riflemen were disbanded in the 1920s, mainly to save money, and so World War II was fought almost totally by mobilized citizen-soldiers. After World War II, generally speaking, the trend was maintained because there were no wars in sight and it was enough to have a trained reserve only.

This dispensation was made obsolete by the emergence of a new type of warfare: The decades-long counter-insurgency campaign. At first national service training battalions were used for all first-line tasks. Later various indigenous border units were raised, but for certain tasks, particularly those needing mechanized infantry, the training battalions are still called in.

## Wrong question

Reader M F Blatchford of Observatory takes exception to my statement last week that the Angolan fighting was won by Unita, "even though the SADF did most of the fighting. Couldn't one also say that South Africa won World War II with a little help from Britain, Russia and America?"

South Africa did *not* do most of the fighting. Numbering about 3 000 men (compared to 25 000 Unita troops), the ground forces fought a couple of actions in one of the two combat theatres and provided artillery backup, while the Air Force flew some strike missions.

Unita, on the other hand, fought a series of toe-to-toe battles and suffered something like 2 000 dead in the process.

● Willem Steenkamp is a Citizen Force reserve officer.



# UK to discuss Angola during Africa visit

⑤  
P. 5  
Lynda Chalker

LONDON — British deputy Foreign Secretary Lynda Chalker will sound out Frontline leaders' views on the ongoing battle in Angola, when she begins a tour of the region on Friday.

Chalker is to visit Mozambique and Malawi.

Although the main reason for the visit is to carry out an on-site inspection of British aid projects — in particular the Limpopo line — a spokesman said it was inevitable that she would discuss Mozambique's security problems.

MIKE ROBERTSON

"We would also be interested to hear Mozambique's views on the situation in Angola."

It is Chalker's second visit to Mozambique — she attended the funeral of President Samora Machel — and the first by a British minister to Mozambique since President Joaquim Chissano visited Britain earlier this year. It is the first British ministerial visit to Malawi since President

Kamuzu Banda came to Britain in 1985.

An Foreign Office spokesman said the main reason of the visit was to look at aid projects, in particular the rehabilitation of transport routes.

Outlining the British position on Angola, the spokesman said: "We strongly support UN resolution 435 and all that entails, but believe one way to move towards a resolution of the conflict would be for all foreign troops to withdraw from the country."

**EDITORIAL OPINION**

D/D 25/11/87

# Angola: a way out

(5)

Angola is a synonym for chaos. A country that badly needed development when Portuguese rule ended has been set back for generations by 12 years of civil war.

This has been exacerbated by super power and surrogate involvement and by active and passive South African aid to Unita that is becoming increasingly expensive in terms of lives lost, material and cost. It is in a sense another struggle for power that evokes Vietnam: easy to become an antagonist (at first low key), commitment piles upon commitment, and extrication becomes difficult in terms of pride and honour.

There will be no winners out of war. The Russians, who lately under Mr Gorbachev have become increasingly more concerned at the poor quality of life in their own land and the defects of the communist system, have poured billions of rands into weapons in an effort to crush Unita and to prop up the Luanda government.

Even if there was a crushing defeat of Unita, the fighting would go on. Savimbi's men would melt into the bush, regroup, and resort to guerilla tactics with continued support from countries that abhor communism. Peace for Angola is in compromise.

Luanda must come to terms with Savimbi and fulfil the promise made before independence that

there would be a place for them in government. Russian and Cuban troops must leave Angola, if necessary to be replaced by a United Nations peacekeeping force and by skilled civilian workers genuinely concerned with the development of a third world country.

South Africa's pledge to the United Nations Security Council to withdraw its troops from Angola by December 9 if all other foreign military personnel were also pulled out is to be applauded, even if it is impracticable given the level of the Russian/Cuban involvement and the dependence of the country upon them.

If it is construed merely as a ploy in the game this, coupled with Savimbi's peace offering and muted noises for settlement coming out of Luanda, indicates a weariness, a realisation that any battles ahead might be more bloody and expensive in casualty and material even than the recent one along the Lomba river.

It is in South Africa's interests to be out of Angola and South-West Africa, with reasonable safeguards for the integrity and security of its own borders. The money, resolve, energy and manpower at present involved in both those countries should be invested in trying to build up this land and in solving problems to the non-discriminatory benefit of all who live here.

# US and UN cool on SA conditional withdrawal offer

25/11/87  
The Star's Foreign News Service

WASHINGTON — The United States has come out against South Africa's offer to withdraw its troops from Angola if all other foreign troops do likewise.

The United Nations gave a decidedly cool reception to the offer made by the South Africa ambassador to the UN, Mr Les Manley, to the Security Council on Monday.

"We do not believe South Africa's withdrawal from Angola can be pre-conditioned on the withdrawal of Cuban forces," a US State Department official said yesterday.

A spokesman for the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, said: "We have always rejected any linkage between the South African forces and the Cuban troops in Angola, whose presence is a matter for the Angolan government."

Repeating a belief that the Angolan and SWA/Namibian conflicts could not be settled militarily, the American official said the US was seeking a political settlement that would lead to all foreign forces leaving the region.

## 'SA RIGHT' NOT RECOGNISED

While the US was working to get the Cubans out of Angola to facilitate independence for Namibia, "we do not recognise any South African right to use Namibia as a base to intervene militarily in the Angolan civil war."

"We have consistently urged an end to cross-border violence in the region, including by South African forces," the official said.

The US did not believe South Africa should remain in Angola until the Cubans were out.

The UN spokesman, Mr Francois Giuliani, said: "It is a bilateral matter for the Angolans and South Africa. It is not a matter for the Security Council."

Diplomats said there was no chance that the proposal would be acceptable to the other parties.

The Security Council was expected to vote today on a resolution to condemn South Africa for sending troops into Angola although Mr Manley said South African troops represented only about five per cent of the total personnel involved in recent fighting in southern Angola.

12/11/87

REVEREND

**BRIEFS**

**Beaufort West men jailed for murder, public violence**

GRAHAMSTOWN — Two Beaufort West residents were jailed for an effective 21 years and five years for murder and public violence. Sinandu Duma and a 17-year-old youth were part of a group of 31 residents charged with two counts of murder and one of public violence. Six others were convicted on charges ranging from public violence to culpable homicide. Five left the country before the trial started and a further three were discharged at the end of the state's case.

Another accused was sent for mental observation. The Judge President, Mr Justice Eksteen, this week acquitted 14 of the remaining 22 still on trial. He convicted Duma and the youth for the murder of Mr George Nelani and three-year-old Ntombentsha Nelani who died when their house was set alight in 1985. The eight, all of whom pleaded not guilty, have applied for leave to appeal. — *Albany News Agency*

**CTPA in publication launch**

THE Cape Teachers' Professional Association is set to launch two alternative education publications at its Representative Council Meeting next week. The meeting, on December 3, will

also discuss the organisation's international programme and its position on the Freedom Charter. All interested teachers and students are invited to attend.

**Africanist movement Ama-Afrika to be launched**

PORT ELIZABETH — An Africanist movement, Ama-Afrika, will be launched on the Day of the Vow, the day thousands of Zulu warriors were slaughtered by Voortrekkers at Blood River. Ama-Afrika leader the Rev Ebenezer Maqina said December 16 was significant because "white settlers will have to come face-to-face with the Africanists" fighting for a new South Africa. Maqina, "an Africanist with a divine

mission", said he saw Ama-Afrika as playing a part in changing South Africa — leading to the creation of Azania. In the past two weeks, seven people have died in Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township. Although past violence has been the result of Ama-Afrika—UDF rivalry, there are signs of a split in the Ama-Afrika movement. An official launch would either aggravate or unify opposing factions in the Africanist movement. — *Pen*

**Police swoop on vigilantes**

DURBAN. — Police launched a big swoop on alleged vigilantes in the strife-torn south coast Kwamakutha township this week. One resident said she was relieved when she saw about 50 vigilantes at the local police station. Some of them had taken part in an attack on her home last week, she said.

Archie Gumede, UDF co-president, said: "This is the news we have long been waiting for. These attacks have been going on for a long time. "We hope the investigations will lead to action which will bring prospects of peace to the troubled township." — *Concord News Agency.*

**Stofile's wife, five others, detained in Ciskei**

EAST LONDON — Several people from the Rev Makhenkesi Arnold Stofile's Ciskei hometown of Alice, including his wife, are believed to have been detained. The detentions follow speculation that Stofile's trial may be invalid because the Supreme Court interpreter had not been sworn in. Stofile and his four co-accused were sentenced to lengthy jail terms for terrorism and the illegal possession of

arms. Those believed to be detained are Stofile's wife Nambitha, Fort Hare lecturer Shepard Mayatula, an employee at Lovedale Press, Thamsanqa Dick, Harry Gxotwe, Sipho Mqayisi and a Mrs Mdleleni. Gxotwe's mother, Agnes, said she was told her son had been detained because he once gave a lift to a woman called as a witness in Stofile's trial. Ciskei police have not confirmed the detentions. — *Elnews*

**No bail granted for Wayne Malgas**

BAIL was not considered for any of the 15 people who appeared in the Cape Town Magistrates Court last week after spending between 10 weeks and six months in detention. They appeared in connection with ANC activities. SOUTH last week incorrectly reported that one of the accused, Mr

Wayne Malgas, had been granted bail. Although the attorneys representing the 15 had applied for bail the state informed the court that an application had been made for an Attorney-General's certificate to deny bail. The court was therefore bound in terms of the Internal Security Act not to consider bail.

**Local body a 'peace risk'**

PORT ELIZABETH — The George Civic Association has said a "no" to a black local authority for Lawaakamp and Sandkraal townships. Representing township residents at the Demarcation Board, the George Civic Association (GCA) objected to the proposed installation of a black local authority saying it would place public peace at risk.

Two weeks ago the board gave notice of an inquiry into the establishment of local government for residents at Sandkraal. The GCA said no notice was published in a newspaper that circulates in the townships. They demanded that the GCA be retained as the townships' representative body. — *Pen*

**Journey**



Unita military on parade ... Women military personnel display Savimbi's arms

**A visit to the Savimbi stronghold**

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

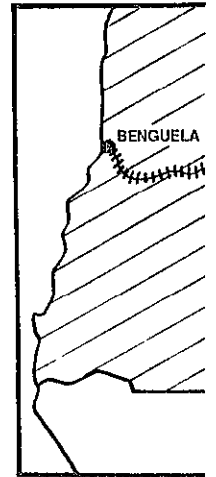
JAMBA, the headquarters of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, is not on any ordinary map. To get there you have to report to a strange outfit called Wonder Air next to the Wonderboom military base in Pretoria. Afrikaans-speaking staff carefully check journalists names on a long list and tell us to pay them R1 000. The receipt informs me that I have paid "Pasloads Flights (Edms) Bpk" and the ticket states I am flying Transair, "air charter operators since 1950". On the tarmac, a DC-3 that looks as if it has been hijacked from the set of the classic movie "Casablanca", is instant testimony to the age of Transair. In all, a very strange journey. But when you hear the seasoned correspondents talk about going to Jamba, it is as if these are scheduled trips to a bustling town.



Sylvia Vollenhoven

I suppose it's a problem journalists develop ... talking about the bizarre and the extraordinary with an easy familiarity. After five hours of drowsing along in the air and trying to empty a shiny metal rubbish bin filled with cold beer, in the back of the plane, we put down somewhere in the south-east of Angola. Unita rebels in stiff green uniforms greet us and we are taken to a large hut, specially built as a reception area. Colourful cold-drinks and little cakes are passed around to correspondents, impatient to get past the niceties. This is not quite Jamba, I discover soon. To reach the legendary headquarters of Savimbi we have another two hours of travelling, in a large open truck. Some journalists stand at the front railings on top of the truck, looking at the seemingly deserted bush as we bump along. Within a short while it is almost as if a jinx has settled on us. John, a correspondent for United Press International (UPI), is hit in the face by a thorn bush. Cuts on his forehead nose and cheeks bleed profusely. His handkerchief slowly turns red and we stop the truck. Medics travelling in the small convoy attend to John and we carry on. In a short while our driver loses sight of the other vehicles. There is no track and we seem to be going around the bush in circles

around and we have to descend in front of me the voice of journalist, Larry, says he can way up ahead. It is a truck about three k up on a rise. It cannot come embankment into the valley. In the darkness it feels as if I stop and rest ... giving up thin beam of light comes to me. The Unita man with the Now I can see Larry up ahead. From somewhere a very j



# to nowhere

## No end in sight to Angola's 12-year war



ns at his headquarters at Jamba

# hold

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says: "Will somebody help me, I am stuck in a swamp." It is John, the UPI man with the lacerated face. By the time Larry and the Unita man start to help him out, he is up to his thighs in mud.

Frightened, tired and shocked we stagger towards the headlights on the rise.

Larry says wearily "Now the worst that can happen is that he drives off without us."

With numb horror we hear the engines start up and see the lights backing away from us. The Unita man runs forward, waving his torch wildly and we make it onto truck number two.

Shortly before we get to the clearing in the bush that is Jamba, the truck lurches into a ditch. People and baggage go flying to one side. The UPI man falls against me and I go smashing into the side railings of the truck. My shoulder feels as if it has been wrenched from its socket.

A Unita medic gives me tablets in a plastic bag that says, "Hou beite herek van kinders".

By midnight, about 16 hours after leaving Cape Town, I arrive in Jamba and now I can START doing my story.

From MARK VERBAAN WINDHOEK — Twelve years ago South African troops came their closest ever to taking Luanda by force after over-running Lonto, Benguela and Namibia

But a withdrawal of American support and a threat of isolation resulted in SA troops pulling out at the end of January 1976

At the beginning of this month, South African forces attacked the town of Cuvelai, some 230km inside Angolan territory. Pretoria announced the deaths of 150 Swapo fighters following this raid, with a loss of 12 SADF men.

### Fapla

It is widely believed, however, that SADF forces came into direct contact with the Angolan army, Fapla, and that South Africa's losses could well be considerably higher

On November 10, Angola's official news agency, Angop, said 230 South African soldiers had died in Angola in recent months, while 16 aircraft had been shot down

The SADF admits to 35 deaths, 45 wounded, a missing pilot and three aircraft "out of action" since September 3.

Of the 35 dead, four were reportedly attached to the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF).

### SADF

Angolan president Jose Eduardo Dos Santos has said that there are 3 000 SADF troops inside Angola at the moment, with a further 35 000 stationed on the Namibia/Angolan border.

If these figures are accurate, then it is hardly likely the SA forces are massing for a pre-emptive strike on Swapo guerrillas inside Angola.

The annual wet season, during which fighters from the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) stage incursions into Namibia, is still two months away.

Plan cadres will, at this stage, still be far north of the border. If the SADF intends to "eliminate" Swapo insurgents, then they are going to have to advance virtually to Luanda to find them

It is more conceivable that South African troops are aiding Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in his struggle against Fapla forces in southern and south eastern Angola.

Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Gelden-



Jonas Savimbi

huys, said at the time that his forces were "compelled to take limited action against the Russians and the Cubans".

The Soviet Union and the Angolan Government have denied that Russian and Cuban troops participated in any frontline fighting.

Although Fapla's most intense offensive in the 12-year war has been crushed, there is still no solution in sight.

The MPLA Government will continue to be supplied with Soviet weaponry, while Unita retains its military strength from arms given by the United States and South Africa.

In an interview with Soviet journalists last week, Dos Santos indicated that he would be prepared to consider an internal settlement only when Unita stopped receiving support from South Africa and the Reagan administration.

One of Dos Santos' main concerns is that Savimbi would find an alternative source of supply should his current support be withdrawn.

Savimbi has said in the past that he would not consider the withdrawal

of the Cubans as a precondition for a settlement

A potential stumbling-block as far as this is concerned, is that his powerful backers in the Reagan administration do not share the same sentiments.

The United States has consistently linked the Cuban presence to both an Angolan and a Namibian settlement

With Reagan and Botha's common fear of the "communist onslaught", neither government will be prepared to assist in a peaceful solution until the Soviet and Cuban forces have left Angola.

### Rebels

The Cuban issue has held Namibian independence hostage for more than a decade, while Angola's economy is slowly being torn apart by civil war.

If Luanda were to be taken by South African troops, or Unita rebels, the armed struggle being waged by Swapo would almost certainly collapse

Not only would this be a political victory for South Africa, but it would be a financial coup as well. In 1984,

the sophisticated armaments supplied by the Soviet Union

Savimbi's Unita would have been defeated years ago had it not been for support from South Africa and the West

Political and military interference in the affairs of a sovereign state has caused the deaths of thousands of soldiers and civilians

### Savimbi

The Swapo Secretary for Defence, Mr Peter Mweshihange, said in Luanda at the weekend that South Africa was bringing more troops into Namibia because of the "escalating war situation in and around the country"

Mweshihange claimed "more than one thousand armed personnel carriers have been detected being transported from South Africa to reinforce the occupation army, after recent defeats inflicted on it by Swapo combatants inside Namibia and by the Angolan armed forces during South Africa's current invasion of Angola to rescue its Unita surrogates"

He added that Namibia was being infiltrated by a number of mercenaries from Nato states, who were being brought in through Walvis Bay

The Defence Secretary said that as long as South Africa continued to be "arrogant and intransigent" in finding a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem, Swapo was going to ensure that it pays heavily for its continued illegal occupation

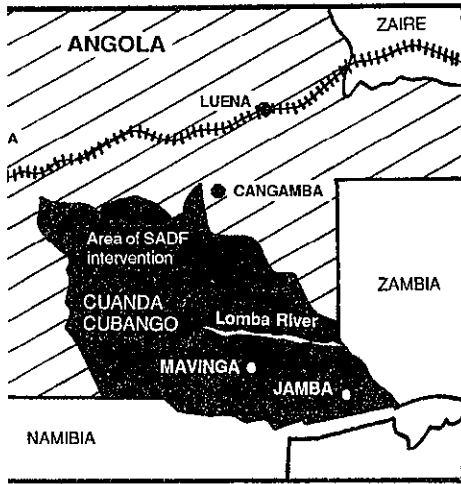
### Botha

State President PW Botha recently spent 26 hours in southern Angola where he "visited" his troops. According to an Angop dispatch received in Lisbon last week, Botha "made himself an outlaw" when he illegally crossed the Angolan border

The dispatch said Botha's presence in Angola proved once again that South Africa isn't and never was interested in a peaceful solution to conflict in the region

Observers are of the opinion that there can never be a military solution to Angola's problems, and that the only way out lies in a political solution

However, while the super powers and South Africa continue to act in their own interests, hundreds of Angolans, South Africans and Namibians will die — *Namibian News Agency*





# Teachers call for rights

By CHRIS GUTUZA

A DOCUMENT calling on teachers to unite for basic rights has been circulating in several Peninsula schools. Many high school teachers have viewed it as significant and positive, while others have taken a cautiously neutral stance, conceding, however, it was time teachers had rights as professionals.

"Inspectors and subject advisers give orders and teachers are expected to obey. Legally, a teacher cannot disobey an order from the Department or its officials. The basic right of the teacher to question the educational principles embodied in such an order is desired," the document reads.

The architects of the document are teachers of a Cape Flats school.

Teachers at the school said the report was drawn up after a Western Cape Teachers Union (Wectu) call when 73 teachers faced charges of misconduct.

The document should not be seen as a Wectu document, but as a teacher's document, they said. "Although the Department of Education and Culture which subsequently dropped the charges it gave rise to a new trend of thought among teachers which could eventually shake the foundations of the education system," a teacher said.

According to teachers, feelings in academic circles ran high at the time and a call for teachers to explore avenues to attain their basic rights was taken up.

The hastily drawn up document includes grievances against the educational system and offers a brief note on "People's Education". It also proposes an alternative approach to history as taught in South African schools.

Teachers have been meeting to discuss the document and to exchange ideas on its contents and dynamics.

The document poses possible solutions to the problems faced by teachers in the Department of Education and Culture which "controls every facet of schooling and forces teachers to conform".

The document slated the "authoritarian way in which education is controlled in this country".

Teachers were concerned by claims that some inspectors served on the government's Joint Management Committees (JMC's). They felt the collaboration between these inspectors and the police, who head the JMC's, could not serve the aims of education.

### Dehumanising

The secret evaluation of teachers was found to be "bureaucratic and unprofessional". The document rejected "the flagrant insult to our integrity and the total disregard for our professionalism as teachers".

"Inspectors and subject advisers are

supposed to guide and lead teachers to a greater understanding of teaching. In practice the compulsory seminars and orientation courses they hold for teachers generally degenerate to autocratic sessions where lists of do's and don'ts are handed to teachers."

Commenting on "People's Education," the document says "The present system of education prepares 'base en klase; nooi en kleinbaas, kaffer en meid, koelie en hotnot'. It is racist, sexist, teaching individualism, selfishness and competitiveness, is dehumanising, causes disunity and makes people think of themselves as inferior.

"Education for emancipation means getting away from inferior education and fighting for a high level of scientific, political and cultural education. Everybody, from factory level, the unemployed, poor and oppressed, students and teachers must

take part in planning the future education.

"Our future education should be non-racist, non-sexist, and teach the value of living collectively and selflessly as a community and educate people to function in a free and equal society and must be designed to meet the needs of a just, equal and free society rather than the needs of the present free market-oriented society," the document said.

In the report, teachers resolved to co-operate with inspectors and subject advisers in ways which would only allow for the performing of essential administrative functions, such as:

- Any aspect of inspection deemed essential by us for the academic progress of the pupil.
- Matters affecting the permanency of teachers' posts and the promotion of teachers, where specifically requested by the teachers concerned.

## Caught in web of apartheid education

THE Cape Teachers Professional Association said it could not condone actions of students which amounted to force against senior education officials like school inspectors.

"The CTPA believes that there must be methods other than force for resolving differences and conflict.

"It is, however, prudent to ask what are the possible underlying causes which give rise to such actions and attempt to address the matter at its root rather than indulging in re-education."

"We are all caught up in the terrible web of apartheid education — inspectors, principals, teachers and students alike. We are all victims. What is different is our response to the situation. Some comply while others resist.

"Four decades of apartheid has spawned a generation of highly-politicised students. This led them to perceive apartheid education as having been designed for domination as far as whites are concerned, and subservience or domestication for blacks.

### Gutter education

"It is apparent that the new generation sees the government control of education as authoritarian and anti-democratic. To them it is reminiscent of their entire life experience of apartheid in the townships, and they are feeling increasingly alienated from the formal schooling system.

"The disparate financing of education gives rise to notions of 'gutter education' which serves to convince students that education is being used to appoint them to an inferior position in South Africa.

"The curriculum portrays whites as the innocent and noble victim and blacks as barbarous, blood-thirsty villains.

"These factors give rise to a rejection of education as 'gutter education' in the mid-seventies which changed to an urge to fundamentally change education to meet their deepest



Franklin Sonn

needs. This, in turn, led to a desire for an educational system more reflective of their own position and their aspirations for the future.

"By about 1985 alternative education became known as 'People's Education for people's power'.

### Objectionable

"This is nothing new. It was indeed a similar movement which led the Afrikaner in the mid-nineteenth century to leave their farms and trek away from the colonialist English who wanted to shape their children through what they considered to be an objectionable education system. From the outset the state declared war against the Alternative Education Movement.

"Vusi Khanyile, the National Education Crisis Committee president, who genuinely attempted to step into the breach between the community and the authorities, was detained in December last year. He is still in detention.

"Every action by schools to protest against the state's insensitivity is severely crushed and schools are not allowed to deviate from the prescribed curricula. Inspectors of education are required to carry the instructions 'from above' and stop any attempt towards People's Education and to treat such efforts as subversion.

"It is interesting to note that the HSRC report on

education clearly and strongly urged the democratisation of education by giving a much greater say to parents and teachers in the entire educational process. The state responded with the opposite, namely a heavily bureaucratic educational system, a much harsher apartheid system of own and general affairs; a system which paved the way for party-political interference and demeaning nepotism and unchanged content of education.

### Resistance

"Against this background the resistance to apartheid education must be understood.

"It goes much deeper. The Minister is seen as the political party's man; the regional director is seen as the director of education's man and the inspector of education is seen as everybody's man on the spot. And he in turn attempts to turn the principal into his man and the principal must keep the teachers and pupils in line.

"In this kind of situation, it is important that someone should be his own man and often it is the principal who asserts himself as his own man and the inspector has the function of dealing with him.

"When everyone in this rigid line responds without resistance, there is 'peace'. When someone in the line resists, the tensions are inclined to spill over into conflict and this indeed is happening more and more.

"Students desire SRC's which will represent their views and manifest their participation in decision-making. Teachers have their organisations which also wish to be consulted and parents demand their democratic right to have a say in their children's education.

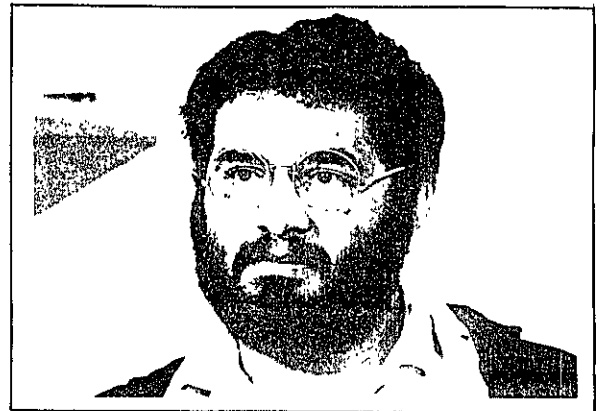
"Instead of the education authorities attempting to come to terms with the desire for democracy as indeed the De Lange Report also urged, it tends to repress and harass those schools, principals and teachers who take a stand.

"It is under these conditions that the position of the Inspector of Education becomes invidious. He is caught between his rigid line of authority which gives him clear-cut instructions of what he must do on the one hand. On the other hand he has some school principals who clearly tell him what they will not do and it is in this climate that suspicions of the inspector's co-operation with the police emerge, which is inclined to exacerbate a tense situation and put the inspector at real risk.

### Alienation

"It must be clear that all those involved in education — all those caught in the web of apartheid education and who are genuinely interested in extricating themselves from it — must seriously think of ways and means of responding to the genuine educational needs of people who are sick and tired of apartheid education. It is also high time that it is understood that education by way of repression cannot satisfy the fundamental aspirations of people and rather than creating a condition of well-being and peace, will serve to heighten tension, conflict and alienation.

"Clearly it will erode respect for those educational officials who fail to show clearly that they at least understand or at best identify with the struggle of their people for recognition of their integrity and right to the type of education that they desire."



Wectu president Yusuf Gabru

## Inspectors play 'sinister role'

THE question of control in schools was a key facet, according to the Western Cape Teachers Union.

"Wectu, as a progressive teachers union, has found itself in the frontline of this struggle," they said in a statement.

"On July 20, hundreds of teachers demonstrated in Wynberg against the charges of misconduct pursued against 73 teachers by the Department of Education and Culture. These charges related to the refusal by these teachers to administer the farcical November examinations in 1985.

"The charges were dropped, but some important aspects became clear. The role that inspectors were required to play in schools was noted.

### Collaboration

"This was demonstrated in the trial of Mr Philip Tobias, where inspectors were called upon to lead the 'evidence' against him. Further it became known that several inspectors and other Department officials serve on the Joint Management Committees, where blatant collaboration with the police takes place.

"The Department seems to be aware of the de-

tection of teachers, as in the case of Mr Eric Theys, long before anyone else. They were recently released from detention.

"A topical case at present is the demotion of Mr Peter Carelse, the principal of Glendale Secondary School in Mitchell's Plain. Why does the most recent inspection report on him differ from the one he received initially?

"Why is there a 'need' to keep confidential files on certain teachers? It is clear that inspectors here also play the watchdog role required of them by the State Political factors seem to outweigh educational factors.

### Autocratic

"After the Wynberg demonstration, the sinister role of inspectors and subject advisers was highlighted and several schools adopted resolutions declaring their refusal to co-operate with inspectors until the charges against the 73 teachers were dropped.

"These charges were dropped, and the aims of these resolutions were therefore achieved. In the ensuing debate it became apparent that a thorough investigation was necessary concerning the rights of teachers and of

the community in expressing the true needs and aims of education.

"Informal surveys were held at schools, and the results showed quite clearly that teachers in general were extremely dissatisfied with their working conditions and with the autocratic way in which control is maintained in the schools.

"When the Education Act is studied, it is noticed that there is absolutely no mention of the rights of teachers. Teachers apparently have duties only.

### Democracy

"Even the most oppressed component of society, the worker, has in many instances more rights than any teacher employed by the State.

"While Wectu has adopted no official policy on the inspector issue yet, a forum has been established within which inspectors and related issues, like teaching post appointments, general working conditions, the content of syllabuses and examinations will be thoroughly studied and discussed with a view to making recommendations to be taken to the union's membership as a whole before being implemented or not."



**BRIEFS**

**Beaufort West men jailed for murder, public violence**

GRAHAMSTOWN — Two Beaufort West residents were jailed for an effective 21 years and five years for murder and public violence. Sinandu Duma and a 17-year-old youth were part of a group of 31 residents charged with two counts of murder and one of public violence. Six others were convicted on charges ranging from public violence to culpable homicide. Five left the country before the trial started and a further three were discharged at the end of the state's case.

Another accused was sent for mental observation. The Judge President, Mr Justice Eksteen, this week acquitted 14 of the remaining 22 still on trial. He convicted Duma and the youth for the murder of Mr George Nelani and three-year-old Ntombentsha Nelani who died when their house was set alight in 1985.

The eight, all of whom pleaded not guilty, have applied for leave to appeal. — *Albany News Agency*

**CTPA in publication launch**

THE Cape Teachers' Professional Association is set to launch two alternative education publications at its Representative Council Meeting next week. The meeting, on December 3, will

also discuss the organisation's international programme and its position on the Freedom Charter.

All interested teachers and students are invited to attend.

**Africanist movement Ama-Afrika to be launched**

PORT ELIZABETH. — An Africanist movement, Ama-Afrika, will be launched on the Day of the Vow, the day thousands of Zulu warriors were slaughtered by Voortrekkers at Blood River.

Ama-Afrika leader the Rev Ebenezer Maqna said December 16 was significant because "white settlers will have to come face-to-face with the Africanists" fighting for a new South Africa.

Maqna, "an Africanist with a divine

mission", said he saw Ama-Afrika as playing a part in changing South Africa — leading to the creation of Azania.

In the past two weeks, seven people have died in Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township. Although past violence has been the result of Ama-Afrika-UDF rivalry, there are signs of a split in the Ama-Afrika movement. An official launch would either aggravate or unify opposing factions in the Africanist movement. — *Pen*

**Police swoop on vigilantes**

DURBAN — Police launched a big swoop on alleged vigilantes in the strife-torn south coast Kwamakhutha township this week.

One resident said she was relieved when she saw about 50 vigilantes at the local police station. Some of them had taken part in an attack on her home last week, she said.

Archie Gumede, UDF co-president, said: "This is the news we have long been waiting for. These attacks have been going on for a long time."

"We hope the investigations will lead to action which will bring prospects of peace to the troubled township." — *Concord News Agency*.

**Stofile's wife, five others, detained in Ciskei**

EAST LONDON. — Several people from the Rev Makhenkasi Arnold Stofile's Ciskei hometown of Alice, including his wife, are believed to have been detained.

The detentions follow speculation that Stofile's trial may be invalid because the Supreme Court interpreter had not been sworn in.

Stofile and his four co-accused were sentenced to lengthy jail terms for terrorism and the illegal possession of

arms. Those believed to be detained are Stofile's wife Nambitha, Fort Hare lecturer Shepard Mayatula, an employee at Lovedale Press, Thamsanqa Dick, Harry Gxotwe, Sipho Mqanyana and a Mrs Mdeleleni.

Gxotwe's mother, Agnes, said she was told her son had been detained because he once gave a lift to a woman called as a witness in Stofile's trial. Ciskei police have not confirmed the detentions — *Elnews*

**No bail granted for Wayne Malgas**

BAIL was not considered for any of the 15 people who appeared in the Cape Town Magistrates Court last week after spending between 10 weeks and six months in detention.

They appeared in connection with ANC activities.

SOUTH last week incorrectly reported that one of the accused, Mr

Wayne Malgas, had been granted bail. Although the attorneys representing the 15 had applied for bail the state informed the court that an application had been made for an Attorney-General's certificate to deny bail.

The court was therefore bound in terms of the Internal Security Act not to consider bail.

**Local body a 'peace risk'**

PORT ELIZABETH — The George Civic Association has said a big "no" to a black local authority for Lawaakamp and Sandkraal townships.

Representing township residents at the Demarcation Board, the George Civic Association (GCA) objected to the proposed installation of a black local authority saying it would place public peace at risk.

Two weeks ago the board gave notice of an inquiry into the establishment of local government for residents at Sandkraal.

The GCA said no notice was published in a newspaper that circulates in the townships.

They demanded that the GCA be retained as the townships' representative body — *Pen*

**Journey**



Unita military on parade ... Women military personnel display Savimbi's arm

**A visit to the Savimbi strong**

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

JAMBA, the headquarters of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, is not on any ordinary map.

To get there you have to report to a strange outfit called Wonder Air next to the Wonderboom military base in Pretoria. Afrikaans-speaking staff carefully check journalists names on a long list and tell us to pay them R1 000. The receipt informs me that I have paid "Pasloads Flights (Edms) Bpk" and the ticket states I am flying Transair, "air charter operators since 1950".

On the tarmac, a DC-3 that looks as if it has been hijacked from the set of the classic movie "Casablanca", is instant testimony to the age of Transair.

In all, a very strange journey. But when you hear the seasoned correspondent talk about going to Jamba, it is as if these are scheduled trips to a bustling town.

**Problem**

I suppose it's a problem journalists develop talking about the bizarre and the extraordinary with an easy familiarity. After five hours of droning along in the air and trying to empty a shiny metal rubbish bin filled with cold beer, in the back of the plane, we put down somewhere in the south-east of Angola. Unita rebels in stiff green uniforms greet us and we are taken to a large hut, specially built as a reception area.

Colorful cold-drinks and little cakes are passed around to correspondents, impatient to get past the niceties. This is not quite Jamba, I discover soon. To reach the legendary headquarters of Savimbi we have another two hours of travelling, in a large open truck. Some journalists stand at the front railings on top of the truck, looking at the seemingly deserted bush as we bump along. Within a short while it is almost as if a jinx has settled on us.

John, a correspondent for United Press International (UPI), is hit in the face by a thorn bush. Cuts on his forehead nose and cheeks bleed profusely. His handkerchief slowly turns red and we stop the truck.

Medics travelling in the small convoy attend to John and we carry on.

In a short while our driver loses sight of the other vehicles. There is no track and we seem to be going around the bush in circles.



Sylvia Vollenhoven

around and we have to do that we don't get caught in circle of fire.

We grab bags, any bags, the Stygian darkness, somebody has my tuckies to change out of the flim wearing. The sandals are so stumble through the bush.

I take off the sandals I pricked by thorns and cut b see

**Unita**

The night has become front of me the voice of journalist, Larry, says he c way up ahead.

It is a truck about three I up on a rise. It cannot come embankment into the valley. In the darkness it feels as I I stop and rest giving u thin beam of light comes me.

The Unita man with th Now I can see Larry up ah From somewhere a very

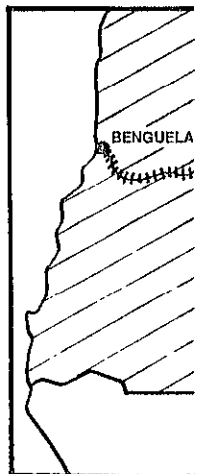
There are heavy vehicle tracks everywhere and no way of knowing if any of them belong to us. We get stuck in the sand and mud several times. Each time the driver breaks away, there are loud cheers from the darkness on the back of the truck.

But eventually the wheels refuse to move. They churn deeper and deeper into the sand.

The key makes a sickening click as the battery wears down. Impatient restarting produces a flat whirring noise that makes hearts sink even deeper than the wheels. Next to the driver is the only other Unita man. He goes off into the night with a torch. When the Unita man leaves to look for help, the driver lets the truck lights burn for a while. Slowly these die as well. The moonless night swallows us. The driver sets fire to patches of grass all around so that possible search parties can find us. The idea is fast sinking in that we are hopelessly lost in a war zone.

For a while things are okay and we talk casually in camp-fire style by the light of the burning grass. But this is the end of the dry season and the rainy season has not quite started yet in Southern Angola.

After a while the bush is ablaze all





Mr. Pik Botha  
CME Times 26/11/87

## Russian tactics 'astonish' Botha

### Political Staff

IN HIS reaction to the United Nations resolution last night, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, also revealed that he and President P W Botha were closer to the action in Angola than had been supposed.

He said it had been "astonishing" to see how the Russian advisers, who had desperately wanted a victory, had sent young black MPLA soldiers over the Lomba river in waves to be shot by Unita forces.

A conservative estimate of the MPLA losses was 4 000 dead and more than that number wounded.

He said that six brigades, each of between 1 100 and 1 600 men, had been wiped out by between 60% and 80%.

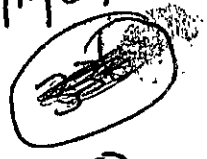
It was also estimated that more than R2 billion of the most sophisticated weaponry in Russia's armoury had been destroyed by Unita.

Rejecting the Security Council resolution, Mr Botha said: "We cannot allow people to prescribe to us about our security."



# UN orders SA out of Angola

D/D 26/11/87



(5)

**NEW YORK.** — The UN Security Council has unanimously demanded that South Africa unconditionally withdraw all its forces from Angola, where they have been involved in heavy fighting in recent weeks.

The resolution also condemned South Africa for its "continued and intensified acts of aggression" against Angola and requested the Secretary General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, to monitor the ordered pullout and report back by December 10.

The resolution did not mention a South African proposal during the council debate to withdraw its troops by December 9, if all foreign forces did the same.

The council demanded that South Africa "cease immediately its acts of aggression" against Angola, "unconditionally with-

draw all its forces occupying Angolan territory," and scrupulously respect that country's sovereignty, airspace, territorial integrity and independence.

A number of speakers in the debate, including Angola's deputy foreign minister, Mr Venancio de Moura, expressed indignation that the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, and several Cabinet colleagues, recently crossed into southern Angola to visit their troops.

Pretoria acknowledged last week that its forces were fighting on the side of rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), battling the Luanda government.

The resolution also contained a strong condemnation of South Africa for using SWA/Namibia as a springboard for acts of aggression and destabilisation against Angola.

Speaking after the vote, the US representative, Mr Vernon Walters,

said he had supported the resolution because his government objected to the crossing of borders by foreign forces.

But he had reservations about some of the language in the resolution, while noting the US did not recognise the Angolan Government.

The resolution also did not take into account "the fact that in Angola there is a civil war and a conflict involving foreign expeditionary forces in addition to those of South Africa," Mr Walters said.

"It is the position of the US that all foreign combat forces in the region must be withdrawn.

"This means not only the withdrawal from Namibia and Angola of South African forces, but also the withdrawal from Angola of Cuban and other foreign troops as well."

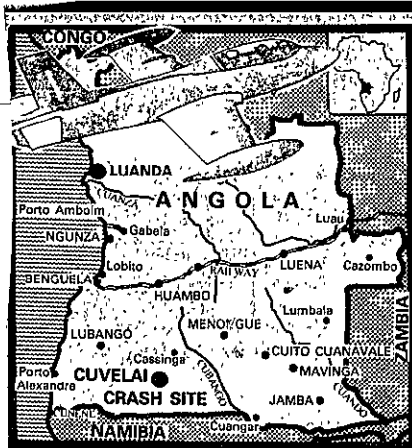
He said the US would continue to pursue negotiations with Angola aimed at achieving peace and security

Britain's deputy UN representative, Mr John Birch, speaking before the vote, said his government deplored and condemned South Africa's "indefensible conduct" and was deeply concerned at its consequences.

"A solution to Angola's problems — and those of the region as a whole — would be facilitated by the withdrawal of all foreign troops."

The Angolan UN representative, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, addressing the council after adoption of the resolution, said it was no coincidence that a number of speakers had "used the analogy of the fascist Hitler when referring to the illegal visit of the racist junta leaders to our sovereign territory."

"They came like thieves in the night, because that is what these racists are — they have stolen not only the birthright of their own people, but also that of the people of Namibia," he said. — Sapa-RNS



*Cape Times 26/11/87*

# Missing SA pilot's body found

By CHRIS STEYN

THE body of Captain Andre Stapa, the South African Air Force pilot whose Impala jet was shot down in Angola last week, has been recovered by Angolan troops in the south of Cunene province about 200km north of the Namibian border.

The Defence Force was yesterday still waiting to verify the alleged find, but according to the official Angolan news agency Angop, troops found the wreckage and the helmet with portions of the pilot's skull and the safety belt near the town of Cuvelai.

Angop, monitored in Lisbon, said the 30-year-old Capt Stapa's body was found still strapped to his seat close to the wreckage of the jet.

A spokesman for the SAAF yesterday said the search for the pilot and his plane would continue until there had been some official confirmation of the Angolan report.

If the Angolan report is correct it would seem to indicate that Capt Stapa did not have enough time to eject before the aircraft crashed.

Capt Stapa is one of more than 20 South African military casualties who have died fighting alongside UNITA

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From

## Missing pilot rebel guerillas against Angola's Marxist government in the past month.

*Cape Times 26/11/87*

An SADF spokesman told the Cape Times yesterday that they had "nothing to add to the statement made on November 17 that Captain Andre Anthony Stapa, 30, of the SAAF, was reported missing after his aircraft crashed during a night operation against Swapo terrorists north of Ovambo on Sunday November 15".

But an Angolan military spokesman, quoted by Angop, said the jet was downed by Angolan anti-aircraft fire on November 16 as it bombed "Angolan defensive positions".

Although the SADF declined yesterday to disclose the whereabouts of Captain Stapa's wife, Mrs CF Stapa, it is believed that she is staying with family somewhere in the Cape.

● Defence Headquarters announced last night that Rifleman Marius Johannes Mitton (20) died yesterday morning in 1 Military Hospital in Voortrekkerhoogte of wounds suffered in a skirmish on Wednesday November 11, 1987, in the Cuando-Cubango province of south-east Angola. He is survived by his mother, Mrs MH Mitton of 20 Oranje Street, Oberholzer, Carletonville.

# SA SCOTTS THE WORLD AMONG

26/11/87  
CAPT TINS

BY ORMANDE POLLOK  
Political Staff

**SOUTH AFRICA last night defiantly rejected a unanimous UN Security Council resolution demanding its unconditional withdrawal from Angola.**

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, made it clear that South Africa would get out of Angola for only two reasons — if all foreign forces were withdrawn from the country or if South Africa felt its own security interests were no longer directly threatened.

"But," he said, "we will decide, and not when it suits the United Nations or the Security Council."

The resolution also calls on the UN Secretary General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, to "monitor" South Africa's withdrawal and to report back to the council on December 14.

"As far as I am concerned his only job is to see the extent of Russian and Cuban involvement," said Mr Botha.

## Indignation

Sapa reports from New York that the resolution — sponsored by Argentina, Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Emirates and Zambia — did not mention a South African proposal during the council debate to withdraw its troops by December 9 if all foreign forces did the same. This was a reference to more than 30 000 Cuban soldiers, and a much smaller number of Soviet troops, assisting Luanda's Marxist government.

The council demanded that South Africa "cease immediately its acts of aggression" against Angola, "unconditionally" withdraw all its forces occupying Angolan territory and "scrupulously respect that country's sovereignty, airspace, territorial integrity and independence."

A number of speakers in the debate expressed strong indignation that President P W Botha and several of his cabinet colleagues crossed into southern Angola to visit their troops. Speaking after the vote, US representative Mr Vernon Walters said he had supported the resolution because his government shared strong objections to the crossing of international borders by foreign forces.

But the resolution did not take into account "the fact that in Angola today there is both a civil war and a conflict involving foreign expeditionary forces in addition to those of South Africa".

Mr Walters said Britain's deputy UN representative, Mr John Birch, speaking before the vote, said his government deplored and condemned South Africa's "undefensible conduct" and was deeply concerned at its consequences.

Mr Birch said Britain had already made its views clear to the South African authorities.

To page 2

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said from Pretoria last night that it was significant that not a single member of the Security Council — including Britain and France — had vetoed the motion.

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SA SCOTTS  
26/11/87

MBUS 26/11/87 (5/20)

## SADF won't withdraw from Angola, says Pik

PRETORIA. — Mr Pik Botha has blamed the aggression in Angola on the "MPLA regime" and said South African forces would not pull out — in accordance with a United Nations Security Council resolution — until all other foreign troops were withdrawn.

Mr Botha said the SADF would only withdraw when South Africa's security interests were no longer directly affected by the "present Russian-Cuban supported campaign".

The South African Government's rejection of the UN resolution was outlined in a statement by Foreign Minister Botha last night.

Mr Botha said it was "significant" that the majority of countries who took part in the UN debate did not attempt to reply to the argument that the civil war in Angola was the direct result of the MPLA's violation of the Alvor Agreement of January 15 1975.

### ELECTIONS

"Nothing that the Security Council can decide can change this fact.

"Up to the time of, and even during 1974/75 collapse and subsequent withdrawal of the Portuguese from Angola, one sees Unita as initially the only movement led, in action by a leadership that based itself inside Angola," said Mr Botha.

The signatories to the accord had pledged themselves to the principle of Angolan territorial integrity and elections to be contested by the three main parties in Angola at the time — the FNLA, MPLA and Unita — were set for November 11 1975, prior to independence.

At the time an agreement was reached between the Portuguese, the FNLA, whose leader was Dr Holden Roberto; the MPLA, under Dr Augustinho Neto; and Unita, led by Jonas Savimbi.

But, said Mr Botha: "With the ink barely dry on the agreement, clashes began between the FNLA and the MPLA which eventually led to Soviet and Cuban interference, resulting in the MPLA being put into power by the Soviet Union and Cuban forces."

It was the MPLA who broke the Alvor Agreement. The people of Angola had not yet had the opportunity to voluntarily choose a government, he said.

The government in Luanda was now maintained by more

than 40 000 Cuban troops, and a large number of Soviet and other Eastern Bloc advisors and experts.

The civil war which had continued for the past decade was therefore the direct result of the "unjust actions" of the MPLA, supported by Cuban, Russian and other communist forces, said Mr Botha.

South Africa was not a party to the war, but obviously had, as the most important regional power, a direct interest in the security of the region as a whole, and had to look to its own security.

South Africa's limited participation amounted to no more than five percent of these numerical strengths, and comprised mainly artillery protection for Unita forces that simply did not have the "lethal and sophisticated modern weaponry" such as had been supplied to the MPLA by the Soviet Union.

The MPLA government, the statement said, had attained power through force with the aid of the Soviets and also allowed ANC and Swapo "terrorists" to be trained in Angola to carry out violent deeds in South Africa and Namibia.

The South African Government rejected the UN decision, the statement said, and would decide itself when South African troops would be withdrawn from the "present battle field".

### SA SOLDIER

The statement said South Africa would welcome a visit by the UN Secretary-general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, to the affected part of Angola.

● A South African soldier who was wounded in fighting in southern Angola died in a Pretoria hospital yesterday, the SADF announced.

Rifleman Marius Johannes Mitton, 20, died at a military hospital "of wounds sustained in a skirmish on November 11 in the Cuando Cubango province of south-east Angola", an SADF spokesman said.

Rifleman Mitton is survived by his mother, Mrs MH Mitton of 20 Oranje Straat, Oberholtzer, Carltonville.

The death brought the number of reported fatalities this month to 26. — Sapa and the Argus Correspondent.

# 'Necklace' not the ANC's method, terrorism trial told

## Staff Reporter

THE "necklace" was not a method of execution endorsed by the African National Congress but a "people's initiative", Mr Mxolisi Edward Petane, 29, of KTC told the Supreme Court.

Mr Petane, a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, is on trial on three charges of terrorism and two of attempted murder.

One of the terrorism charges relates to a car bomb found outside the Dion Shopping Centre in Parow last year. Mr Petane told the court that the bomb did not have a primer and could not explode.

Asked yesterday whether the "necklace" was a method used by the ANC to deter collaboration with the State, Mr Petane said it was not.

"It's the people's initiative and not the policy of the ANC. In fact the president (Mr Oliver Tambo) has just endorsed this at the recent Harare conference," said Mr Petane.

## "Our people"

"Then how do you justify necklace murders?" asked State counsel Mr D Rothwell SC.

Mr Justice Conradie disallowed the question, saying this was a collateral issue.

Mr Petane told the court he had returned to South Africa after ANC military training in Angola and the Soviet Union.

"I returned to defend our people against the State's terror by attacking Casspirs, Hippos, collaborators and any other military targets," he said in cross-examination.

Mr Petane described himself as a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe who took orders like any soldier. He had no regrets about joining the ANC and felt "no remorse" about shooting at Constable Johann Kotze or detonating a handgrenade near four policemen.

Mr Rothwell: And if the Dion bomb had gone off, would you have had any remorse about that?

Mr Petane: Yes, sir.

Mr Rothwell: The ultimate aim of Umkhonto we Sizwe was to fight a war?

Mr Petane: Yes sir.

Mr Rothwell: And if you win the war what happens?

Mr Petane: We defend our victory.

Mr Rothwell: And the first thing you do is kick out the present Government?

Mr Petane: Correct sir.

Mr Rothwell: And what government will replace it?

Mr Petane: A democratic government.

Mr Rothwell: There are democracies and democracies. A socialist government?

Mr Petane: No sir. We have a programme for the takeover, the Freedom Charter, that does not promote socialism.

Mr Rothwell: You know the Freedom Charter then... it was part of your political indoctrination...?

Mr Petane: It was part of my political education, yes.

Mr Justice Conradie is sitting with assessors Mr L P Francis and Mr W R Vivier. Mr Rothwell is assisted by Mr M Stowe. Mr M Donen, instructed by R Vassen and Co, appears for Mr Petane.

We stay, declares defiant Pik

# SA rejects UN call to quit Angola

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24/11/75  
2

## MPLA to blame for war, says Pik

It was significant that the majority of countries which took part in the debate in the UN Security Council on South Africa's involvement in Angola did not attempt to reply to the argument that the current civil war was the direct result of the MPLA's violation of the Alvor Agreement of January 15 1975, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night.

"Nothing that the Security Council can decide can change this fact," Mr Botha said.

"Up to the time of, and even during, the 1974/75 collapse and subsequent withdrawal of the Portuguese from Angola, one sees Unita as initially the only movement with a leadership based inside Angola.

"The Portuguese included Unita in the Alvor Agreement which was hammered out and signed in the Portuguese Algarve over a period of five days ending on January 15 1975.

"It followed a trilateral accord signed earlier that month by Neto, Roberto and Savimbi, under pressure from the OAU.

"The signatories to that accord pledged themselves to the principle of Angolan territorial integrity, to work in co-operation and to join in peaceful reconstruction.

"The actual Alvor Agreement named the three major nationalist movements as the legitimate heirs to Angola and apportioned responsibilities in a coalition government, with a mandate to produce a provisional constitution and to hold elections prior to independence, set for November 11 1975.

"Provision was also made for a national army to be formed of 8 000 men from each movement, matched by 24 000 men from the Portuguese army.

"With the ink barely dry on the agreement, clashes began between the FNLA and the MPLA which eventually led to Soviet and Cuban interference in Angola, resulting in the MPLA being put into power by the Soviet Union and Cuban forces.

"Unita refused to accept this situation and ever since, a civil war has raged in Angola."

South Africa has flatly rejected a United Nations' demand to withdraw its troops unconditionally from southern Angola and says it will remain there as long as it feels its security is threatened.

The UN Security Council unanimously demanded yesterday that South Africa halt acts of aggression against Angola, unconditionally withdraw its forces and respect the country's territorial integrity and independence.

"The South African Government rejects this resolution. South Africa will not be prescribed to in this manner regarding its security," Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a television interview hours after the Security Council call.

South Africa says it has lost 12 men this month in fighting against Angolan government forces backed by Soviet advisers and an estimated 35 000 Cuban troops.

It is helping Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel movement, Unita, which is fighting a guerilla war against the Marxist Luanda government from its powerbase in south-eastern Angola.

Mr Botha said in a statement that South Africa could not sit back and allow Soviet and Cuban-supported forces to endanger its legitimate security interests.

South Africa would pull out of Angola when other foreign troops left or when its security was no longer threatened.

If Angolan government forces defeated Unita and occupied all of southern Angola, neighbouring Botswana and Zambia could be sucked into conflict "with untold consequences for southern Africa".

He said UN secretary-general Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar was welcome to visit the war zone and see the extent of Soviet and Cuban involvement.

For the first time, Mr Botha's statement gave some indication of the extent of South Africa's military role in Angola.

He said South Africa's force was less than five percent of the 25 000 men fielded by both Unita and the Angolan government.

He also said the South African role had been mainly limited to artillery support for Unita. Diplomats have said that South Africa's G-5 gun played a key role in driving back the MPLA offensive. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANGOLA

## Signs of peace

⑤ AM 27/11/87

The high cost of the recent battle between the South African-backed forces of Unita and the Soviet and Cuban supported Fapla troops of the MPLA could well lead to a diplomatic breakthrough. A stalemate has been reached in terms of military strategy, reckons Andre du Pisani of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

He says Unita has made no major inroads during the fierce battle. "The costs to all sides have escalated tremendously. For SA it has meant the loss of equipment, lives and political risk, whereas the Soviets have gone as far as they can technologically.

"The Soviets will run big risks if they upgrade the equipment they have been giving to the Angolans. They may lose it to Unita, and SA will be able to copy some of the sophisticated equipment, as Magnus Malan has just announced."

Du Pisani lambasts as tactless President P W Botha's recent visit to Angola. "It gives SA a credibility problem in the diplomatic process; already the country is not trusted as an honest broker."

The international reaction to the visit was further aggravated by SA's military presence in Namibia, says Du Pisani. "It would have been less damaging if he had flown directly to Angola. Our presence in Namibia is highly tenuous in terms of international law."



**Angola ... is the end in sight?**

Deon Fourie of Unisa's Strategic Studies department agrees that the visit was tactless in the international context. But he says Botha's visit should also be seen as an act of strength and a message to Angola, "a sign of enormous self confidence in the capabilities of his troops."

Fourie agrees that the Angolans would be wise not to attach too much importance to continuous future support from the Soviet Union. "There are many signs that the Sovi-

ets are tired of their involvement in Afghanistan. And although victory in Angola would mean a lot to party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, defeat would not go down well in the Politburo."

Fourie says the role of the Cubans has also changed during the last year. According to military sources, it is clear that the Cubans are in most cases only used to guarding connecting routes and coastal towns, says Fourie.

Du Pisani does not attach any importance to UN Ambassador Les Manley's offer involving a total foreign troop withdrawal from Angola by December 9. He says this is an old South African trick — one which they have used with success in their dealings over Namibia.

"What is important is that it is part of SA's bargaining position. As long as they keep sending up these signals, SA keeps the other countries engaged in the diplomatic and political process. It is then difficult for these countries — the US, the Soviets and the Angolans — to withdraw from negotiation."

It does look as if there is some movement on the diplomatic front. If Manley's offer will be taken seriously, then of course there should be no further impediments to some kind of a ceasefire — providing SA keeps to its side of the bargain. □

# 'Thank God I'm alive' <sup>CAPE TIMES</sup> <sup>27/11/87</sup> last letter

By CHRIS STEYN

A SOLDIER who was killed in Angola on Wednesday sent a letter to his parents in Oudtshoorn four weeks ago in which he wrote: "I can thank God that I am still alive."

Defence headquarters announced yesterday afternoon that Trooper Johann Raubenheimer Meyer, 20, died in action in the Cuando-Cubango province of south-east Angola.

The chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, expressed his sympathy with the next-of-kin, relatives and friends of Trooper Meyer and assured them of all possible support.

In an interview with the Cape Times yesterday evening the dead soldier's father, Mr J P Meyer, of Langenhoven Avenue, said: "The shock is too great for me."

A distraught Mr Meyer said the

family last saw their son eight months ago, but were expecting him home in 14 days' time.

"We've been preparing for his return. We would have given him a party," Mr Meyer said.

He also disclosed that the Meyer family had received a letter from their son about four weeks ago.

"He wrote to tell us that he was fighting in Angola, and said he could thank God that he was still alive," Mr Meyer said.

Trooper Meyer, who attended school in Oudtshoorn, was a keen rugby player and intended going to university next year. He was not married.

Observers said the death brought the total number of SADF casualties in Angola, since October 31, to 23.

This excludes SWA Territory Force casualties.



# Angola: what will SA do now?

Cape Times 28/11/87

THE West's turning its back on South Africa in the Security Council over Angola this week was hardly surprising, given the view of Pretoria's military invasion of that territory which prevails everywhere except in Pretoria itself.

As far as the world is concerned, South Africa has no business to be in Namibia, never mind Angola, and certainly has no business to be invading Angola from military bases in Namibia, which South Africa undertook to leave as long ago as 1978. It certainly has no business to get involved in the Angolan civil war.

This is the position, in terms of international law and international perceptions alike. Not even the Reagan and Thatcher governments were prepared to veto the Angolan resolution calling for the withdrawal of the invading South African forces.

So South Africa appears wholly isolated. Yet it is not quite as simple as that.

Pretoria is serenely untroubled, confident that the West will stand up and be counted on South Africa's side at the appropriate time.

Secure in this belief, the South African Government may or may not meet the December 10 deadline for withdrawal of the SADF from Angola, depending on its perception of the national interest.

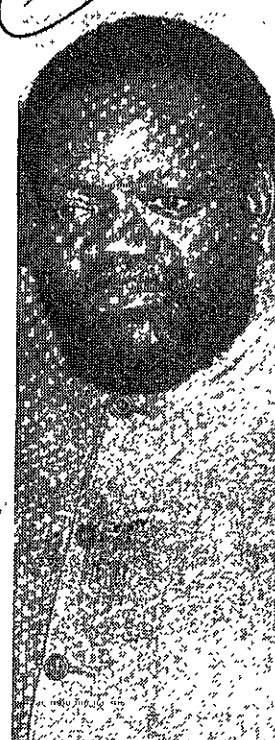
Pretoria is confident that a Security Council resolution demanding mandatory sanctions or military intervention would be vetoed by the West, with or without a



## Political Survey BY GERALD SHAW



GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN



DR JONAS SAVIMBI

blockade to enforce such sanctions.

Because of its links of trade and its vital interests in this country, it is felt, the West will feel obliged to shield South Africa.

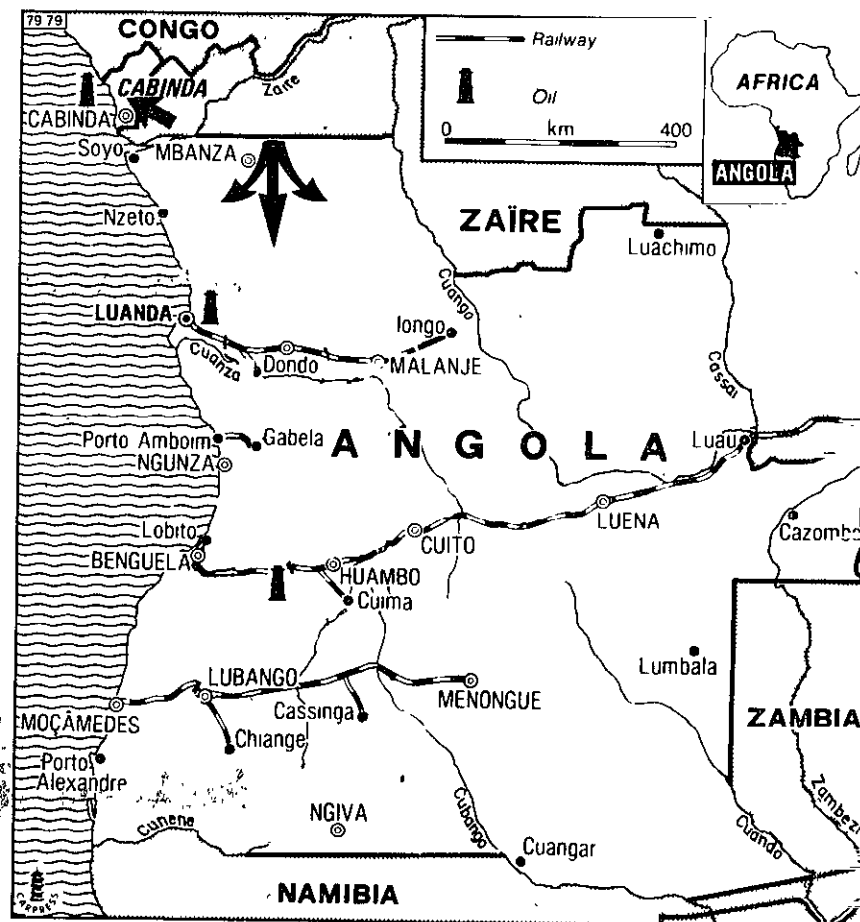
In this situation the West can exert little influence on South African decisions, it appears, because the sanctions threat is simply not credible. The

West's bluff has been called.

On December 14 the Security Council will go into session again to hear from the Secretary General whether South Africa has complied with the council's demand that it cease immediately its "acts of aggression" against Angola and unconditionally withdraw all its forces.

If Mr Perez de Cuellar reports in the negative there will be no doubt a clamour for mandatory sanctions.

The West, one imagines, will work for a compromise, undertaking as honest brokers to secure South African withdrawal from Angola if guarantees can be obtained that Swapo and the ANC will no longer enjoy the protection and support of the Angolan Government — and an assurance that Cuban troops



and Russian advisers will be withdrawn north of the Benguela line for a start and ultimately out of the country altogether.

The elements of a deal on these lines were already in place when the SADF launched itself into the Angolan civil war.

But what, ultimately, is South Africa's political objective? Is the SADF seeking to bring the MPLA and Unita to the negotiating table to secure a role for Unita in the government, at least in the south?

And what about the West? For some time Western diplomacy has sought with some success to draw both Mozambique and Angola closer to the Western bloc.

The SADF connection with Unita has cut across this aim, as it has spurred the MPLA to seek and to get massive military aid from the Soviet Union.

If anything, the South

African intervention in the Angolan civil war has had the effect of vastly boosting the limited Soviet involvement in the region. And General Malan's public appropriation of the credit for saving Unita from the "Russians and Cubans" has angered Dr Savimbi, making him look like a puppet of Pretoria and downgrading Unita's own significant military achievement in stemming the MPLA advance with the aid of sophisticated American anti-tank and ground-to-air weaponry.

This downgrading has reduced Dr Savimbi's bargaining clout and stature at a time when he is keen to do a deal with Luanda and is not insisting that the Cubans should depart before he is willing to talk. He has his own objectives in this whole exercise which do not necessarily coincide with Pretoria's.

What remains unclear is whether Pretoria has a clear idea of what it wants to do next.

Is Pretoria also in favour of the political settlement which seems to be eagerly desired by the other parties involved?

the Soviet

of the Security Council or on any other terms for that matter, whatever our international obligations may be.

So far military considerations have been decisive, with the SADF much happier to hang on to Namibia as a proving ground for new weapons and an ideal training ground for counter-insurgency, not to speak of its utility as a killing ground to keep hostilities far from South African soil.

In military terms, defence of Namibia requires control of southern Angola. Withdrawal from Angola, presumably, would imply willingness to settle in Namibia.

Now, it appears, the combined influence of Washington, London and Moscow will be brought to bear to secure South African co-operation in a wide-ranging regional settlement.

Whether the Botha government is disposed to co-operate remains to be seen.

There may well be differences of opinion between the militarists and the diplomatists in the Cabinet. In the past decade the military have invariably prevailed.

This time, however, there is a discernible stirring of South African

# MPLA holds war

SATURDAY STAR AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

Two South African mechanised forces are still inside Angola, says the latest edition of the authoritative *Jane's Defence Weekly*.

And in another development, Lisbon sources said Angola's ruling MPLA Central Committee had been meeting since Wednesday to analyse the implications of the failed offensive to capture the town of Mavinga.

According to *Jane's Defence Weekly*, one South African force is operating in Cunene province to disrupt Swapo's preparation for the annual rainy season infiltration into northern Namibia.

It continues to carry out air operations and will remain there until Swapo's efforts have been totally disrupted for the year, it said.

The other South African force deployed in Cuando Cubango province and is effectively covering the western front.

Beleil, covering Unita's main jobs to protect South African artillery operating in support of Unita.

It thrust into the preparation for a Fapla counter attack into a Fapla brigade and the supporting Cuban troops in the province and the north.

## Cannon guard

Reports earlier this month said South Africa had sent up 70 of its G6 cannons to the Lomba River battle and they were used with devastating effect against MPLA troops.

Analysts believe the MPLA Central Committee meeting is vital importance for the future of the war. They say Luanda government hardliners will be under pressure to explain their failure to deliver a promised successful military conclusion to the Unita problem.

But the Lisbon sources said this did not mean the Central Committee would necessarily decide to negotiate.

There is a militant mood in the ruling circles because of South Africa's intervention and the hardships inflicted on Unita, the said. In addition, Cuba has twice indicated it is ready to continue with support for the MPLA, despite the Lomba River defeat.

The Unita rebels have acknowledged that 2,000 of their regular troops were killed in the Lomba battle. This would mean Unita lost nearly 7 percent of its es-



ON THE BATTLEFRONT - South African troops somewhere in Angola during recent vicious fighting. The insert picture shows Unita soldiers at another location inspecting a knocked-out Soviet tank used by the the MPLA forces.

## Soldier to be buried in heroes' acre

SADF member Marus Mitton (29), who died from injuries sustained in Angola, will be given a semi-military funeral near Carletonville today.

The Department of Development Planning said in a news release in Pretoria that the service would be held in the Dutch Reformed Church, East Driefontein, at 11 am.

He would be buried in the heroes' acre at the Carletonville cemetery — Sapa.

## Top Unita man warns of 'big push'

BONN — Unita plans to launch an offensive against Angola's Marxist MPLA government next year, their military intelligence chief said in an interview published by *Die Welt* newspaper yesterday.

The West German daily quoted Brigadier Isidro Peregrino Uambu, known as "Chindondo", saying that after government offensives for the past three years, the South African-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) was preparing its own thrust.

"Yes, in 1988 we will start a big offensive," he added.

But at the moment Unita is preparing for the coming rainy

season.

"Then, our guerilla troops give us decided advantages over the Cuban, Soviet and Luanda soldiers," said Chindondo.

"Unita is stronger than ever," he added. "In 1985 we had problems with the offensive by the other side. In 1986 things went much better for us militarily, and in 1987, thanks to American help, we were very strong."

Chindondo said Unita forces comprised 28,000 regular troops and 37,000 guerillas. The regulars operated in battalions of 1,000 men, and the guerillas in units of 150 — or in special commandos of 40.

He said Unita controlled two-

thirds of the former Portuguese colony, while the other third had been the "field of operations for penetration specialists".

Asked about a possible Unita attack on the Gulf Oil Company's refinery at Cabinda, where United States technicians are working, he said this would be a highly political move.

"Don't forget the Americans are our friends. And in Cabinda, oil is being exploited not only by the US but also by French, Brazilians and others."

Of the forces fighting on the side of the Marxist government in Luanda, Chindondo said: "General Konstantin Chacknovich commands the 2,500 Soviet troops in

Angola, General von Status the 2,400 East Germans, General Gustavo Ramires the 47,000 Cubans, Colonel Lettao Fernando the 3,500 Portuguese (former colonials)."

He said Luanda government's forces numbered 84,000, with 2,500 serving in the navy and 1,500 in the air force. To this had to be added 7,000 men from the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) and 1,200 from the African National Congress (ANC) who were operating in Angola, as well as 2,500 North Koreans and 1,400 Katangan gendarmes from the former Belgian Congo.

Chindondo said the Soviet military leadership had split Angola into 10 regions and had built up a network of military training schools, logistic bases, airfields and naval bases — Sapa-Reuter.

**INFORMATION**

# MPLA holds talks on war failure



Angola during recent vicious fighting. The insert picture shows Unita soldiers at another location used by the MPLA forces.

## a man warns of 'big push'

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The other South African force is deployed in Cuando Cubango province and "is effectively covering Unita's western flank."

Besides covering Unita, its main job is to protect South African artillery operating in support of Unita.

"It thrust into the preparations for a Fapla counter-attack, hitting a Fapla brigade and the supporting Cuban troops in the process," said the magazine.

### Cannon guard

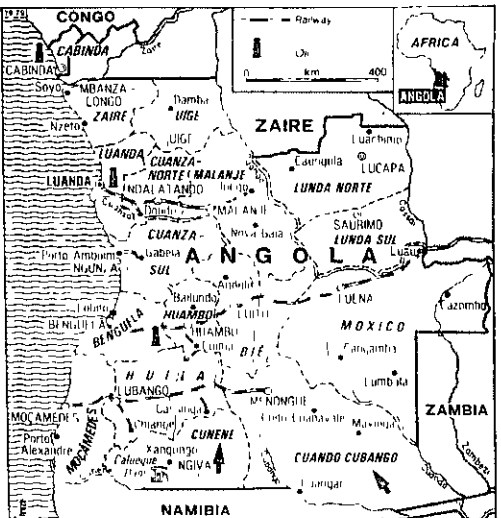
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But the Lisbon sources said this did not mean the Central Committee would necessarily decide to negotiate.

"There is a militant mood in the ruling circles because of South Africa's intervention and the hardliners can point to heavy casualties inflicted on Unita," they said. In addition, Cuba has twice indicated it is ready to continue with support for the MPLA, despite the Lomba River defeat.

The Unita rebels have acknowledged that 2 000 of their regular troops were killed in the Lomba battle. This would mean Unita lost nearly 7 percent of its esti-



ANGOLA one of the world's hot-spots. The arrows in the south show where South Africans are claimed to still be present.

## But SA 'still keeps its grip in Angola'

ated 80 000 troops.

Some reports say Unita suffered 6 000 wounded in the battle. This would mean that Unita's total casualties were nearly 27 percent of its forces.

But the losses inflicted by the joint Unita-South African forces on the government Fapla troops were also enormous.

More than 14 percent of the 25 000 troops Fapla committed to the battle died. If one adds the estimated 10 000 wounded, this would mean that Fapla lost an estimated 54 percent of the troops it committed to the battle.

In addition, *Jane's Defence Weekly* estimates Fapla lost a staggering R2 000 million worth of equipment in the offensive. It confirmed this would mean half the reported R4 000 million in equipment which the Soviet Union has sent to Angola in the past four years has been lost.

The MPLA Central Committee meeting is also expected to hear explanations for the bad logistics that hampered the offensive against Mavinga.

The Angolan government has already deployed additional Fapla troops to the Lomba River area,

including a brigade — the 66th — from the oil rich Cabinda enclave.

Fapla also suffered setbacks on the so-called Loueuse front in the central-eastern province of Moxico, where it had initially gained considerable successes after taking the small towns of Lutual, Cassamba and Luvuei.

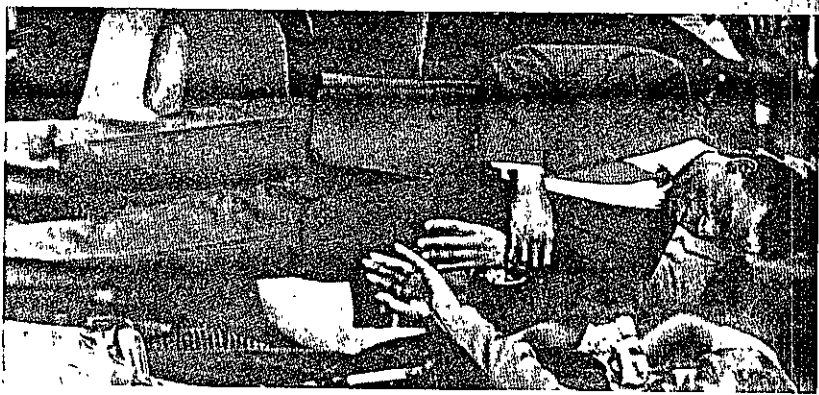
Unita has retaken the latter two and *Jane's Defence Weekly* says Fapla had been forced to demobilise the Cazombo area of troops because of the offensive in the south. As a result Unita had largely reoccupied the area — of strategic importance because it lies between Zaire and Zambia.

United States supplies of weapons to Unita have increased in the past few weeks.

Zambian Secretary of State for Defence Mr Axel Shapi said this week that transport planes flying from "a neighbouring country" were violating Zambian air space every evening on their way with supplies to Unita-controlled areas.

He did not name the country, but it is understood to be Zaire, where the US has established a base at Kamona.

# With all her wealth, Angola bleeds



**CP Correspondent**  
FROM the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, Southern Africa reeks like a book of human misery and suffering.

In the west of the sub-region Namibia, South Africa is involved in a 21-year-old bloody bush war with the South West African People's Organization for control of the territory. The economic and human cost of the past two decades has been astronomical.

Just north of Namibia, one of the most serious war situations in the history of Southern Africa has developed.

The civil war, mainly waged between Angola's MPLA government and the Unita rebels of Jose Swamin in Angola, has now taken on an international character with South African military forces for the first time coming into direct battle with Soviet and Cuban troops in south-eastern Angola.

On the east coast of the sub-continent, Mozambique's Frelimo government is engaged in a fierce war against the Mozambican National Resistance

which has for the past 10 years, ravaged and destroyed the country.

Millions of Mozambicans are fleeing starvation and hundreds of thousands of people have fled from their homes.

The landlocked countries of Southern Africa, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho have also been caught in the crossfire of the battles between South Africa and its liberation guerrilla movements — the ANC and PAC.

But it is the full-scale conventional war in Angola that has attracted attention from the international community over the past three months.

The war in Angola has now reached a stage where the parties involved are considering diplomatic solutions to the 12-year-old war.

On November 23, the Nigerian government said it was ready to mediate between the warring parties in Angola, provided all parties involved accept the Nigerian proposal.

Last week Unita also renewed its call on Kenya, Nigeria and other African

countries to bring about what is called "an African solution" to the war in Angola.

The large scale of the Angolan government drive against the forces of Unita, and South African military involvement over the past three months have sharply focused international attention on the on-going civil war in Angola.

What had been a general civil war in Angola in 1975 involving three parties — the MPLA, Unita and the Frelimo — soon escalated into an international conflict involving the United States, the Soviet Union, South Africa and Cuba.

When Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, requested South African assistance in his war against the Angolan government, President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola reacted by calling in the Soviet Union and Cuba.

The Reagan Administration's decision early in 1986 to give military assistance to Unita in the form of the Jetral Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and other weapons further heightened tension in the region.

Dos Santos responded by requesting more arms from Moscow.

Economically the 12-year-old Unita war has caused considerable destruction to Angola's primary industry. Potentially rich in oil, diamonds and coffee, Angola's war means that thousands of people lack food and clothes.

The political and military disruptions that have dogged the economy of Angola for more than a decade tend to obscure the fact that the country's potential is vast promise of what might have been.

Before independence in 1975 the country's potential had been enough to lure about 350 000 foreigners to the country.

Angola was one of the world's largest coffee and diamond producers, while oil production, especially in the rich Cabinda Province in northern Angola, looked set to ensure the country's economic growth.

A recent study of Angola's economy by the Economist Intelligence Unit concludes that until the war with the Unita rebels is settled, Angola has little

hope of reaping the benefits of its rich natural resources.

Modest economic recovery and development may be possible in some areas, such as oil, but with almost 40 percent of governmental spending going to the military, and the majority of the country's population due to the war, no real progress can be made.

The Angolan deputy Minister of External Relations, Venancio de Moura, earlier this month told the 18th African-American conference held in the United States that the Angolan government estimated that more than R24-billion had been lost by the country.

Unifac executive director James Grant, who visited Angola last year, issued a report in January this year which paints a sad picture of the impact the war has had on Angola.

According to the Unifac report, 600 000 rural people, roughly one-tenth of the entire rural population, had been uprooted by the war and were "totally dependent on government assistance for survival".

The rural economy has also been undermined by the disruption of transport services.

Vaccination programs had been stopped in many parts of Angola because of insecurity, so disease was "now taking a vicious toll on the vulnerable children under five", the Unifac report said.

Only 30 percent of Angolans have access to health services, according to Unifac. The mortality rate of children under five is put at 325 per 1 000, and the mortality rate for infants under the age of one

is now 200 per 1 000, "the highest in the world". Life expectancy is estimated at only 43 years.

Meanwhile, the war in Angola, has now reached explosive point.

With the Soviet Union and Cuba committed to Angola, and the United States and South Africa now engaged as military supporters of Unita, the threat of open confrontation between the super powers has grown.

In recent statements Soviet Union leader Gorbachev has made it clear that although the Soviet Union is not prepared or able to renounce its commitments to the MPLA government in Luanda, it has no wish to become embroiled in Southern Africa's widening conflicts.

Similarly, the United States has a strong interest in preventing intensifying conflict in the region.

The main obstacle in reaching a negotiated settlement seems to be the reluctance of South Africa to grant independence to Namibia.

South Africa's military involvement is closely linked to the situation in Namibia. Swapo activists in Angola and the possible

disagreement of the Angolan territory by the ANC as its base for military incursions into South Africa.

With regard to Namibia, independence, De Mours said: "The People's Republic of Angola, concerned of the complexity to resolve, the impasse created by South Africa and its allies regarding the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution 435, submitted a platform for global negotiations contained in a letter from the Angolan President, Dos Santos, to the United Nations Secretary General, dated November 17, 1984.

"My government, in the spirit of co-operation and openness, recently proposed solutions to the Namibian issue.

He added that the last talks in Luanda between Angola and the US Administration had demonstrated clearly the willingness of the Angolan government "to seek a solution to the problem".

In Southern Africa it is now up to the South Africans and the US governments to accept or reject the construction proposal of my government.

The main issues to be discussed at an international conference on the war in Angola should therefore include the following:

- The independence of Namibia within the framework of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435
- The ending of all South African and American military aid for Unita movement.
- The withdrawal of all foreign troops in Angola.
- A substantial reduction of the flow of arms to the sub-region.
- The

*Nobody beats our...*

# YELLOW RIBBON

**REGALS**

**K&C**

## No MNR deal — Red Cross

THE International Committee of the Red Cross has denied that it has any secret arrangement with the Mozambican National Resistance movement for the distribution of food in parts of Mozambique not under government control.

Georges Hismann, ICRC interim committee representative in Maputo, denied reports emanating from the United States that the red cross had started deliveries of food to MNR zones.



# WEATHER, ANYONE DIGGERS

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According to the Unicef report, 600 000 rural people, roughly one-tenth of the entire rural population, had been uprooted by the war and were "totally dependent on government assistance for survival".

The rural economy has also been undermined by the disruption of transport services.

Vaccination programs had been stopped in many parts of Angola because of insecurity, so disease was "now taking a hideous and rising toll on the vulnerable children under five", the Unicef report said.

Only 30 percent of Angolans have access to health services, according to Unicef. The mortality rate of children under five is put at 325 per 1 000, and the mortality rate for infants under the age of one



Leader of the rebel Angolan movement Unita, Jonas Savimbi.

year is now 200 per 1 000, "the highest in the world". Life expectancy is estimated at only 43 years.

Meanwhile, the war in Angola has now reached explosive point.

With the Soviet Union and Cuba committed to Angola, and the United States and South Africa now engaged as military supporters of Unita, the threat of open confrontation between the super powers has grown.

In recent statements, Soviet Union leader Gorbachev has made it clear that although the Soviet Union is not prepared or able to renege its commitments to the MPLA government in Luanda, it has no wish to become embroiled in Southern Africa's widening conflicts.

Similarly, the United States has a strong interest in preventing intensifying conflict in the region.

The main obstacle in reaching a negotiated settlement seems to be the reluctance of South Africa to grant independence to Namibia.

South Africa's military involvement is closely linked to the situation in Namibia. Swapo activities in Angola and the possible

usage of the Angolan territory by the ANC as its base for military incursions into South Africa.

With regard to Namibian independence, De Moura said: "The People's Republic of Angola, conscious of the complexity to resolve the impasse created by South Africa and its allies regarding the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution 435, submitted a platform for global negotiations contained in a letter from the Angolan President, Dos Santos, to the United Nations Secretary General, dated November 17, 1984.

"My government, in the spirit of co-operation and openness, recently proposed solutions to the Namibian issue."

He added that the last talks in Luanda between Angola and the US Administration had demonstrated clearly the willingness of the Angolan government "to seek a solution to the problems in Southern Africa. It is now up to the South African and the US governments to accept or to reject the constructive proposal of my government".

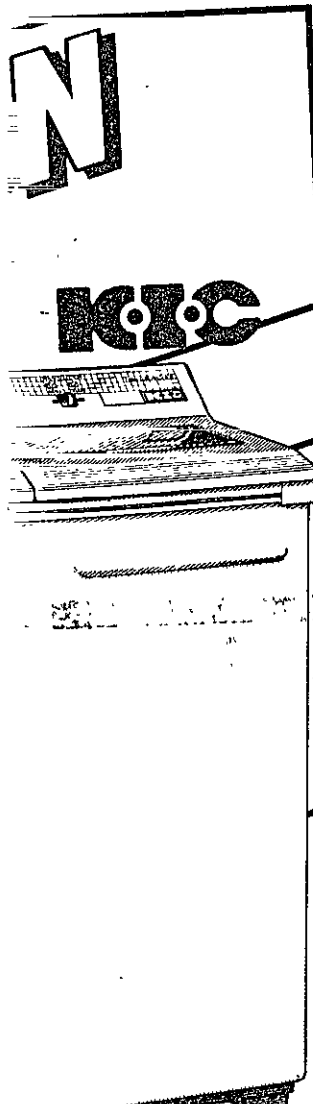
The main issues to be discussed at an international conference on the war in Angola should therefore include the following:

- The independence of Namibia within the framework of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.
- The ending of all South African and American military aid for the Unita movement.
- The withdrawal of all foreign troops in Angola.
- A substantial reduction of the flow of arms to the sub-region.
- The dismantling of apartheid in South Africa.

So far, all attempts at negotiations that have been made - through the five Western powers Contact Group, the Commonwealth, and the United States - Angola Indaba - have ended in a deadlock.

The need is for an entirely fresh initiative which can best be promoted through an international conference involving the United Nations, America, the Soviet Union, Angola, Cuba, South Africa, and Unita.

It will also be important for the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity and chairman of the frontline states, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, to be present at such an international conference.



Hot tray with custom Hot Spot

## No MNR deal - Red Cross

THE International Committee of the Red Cross has denied that it has any secret arrangement with the Mozambican National Resistance movement for the distribution of food in parts of Mozambique not under government control.

Georges Heumann, ICRC interim committee representative in Maputo, denied reports emanating from the United States that the red cross had started deliveries of food to MNR zones.

"It's false," he told official Mozambique news agency, Alm.

"At the moment the ICRC is working only in zones controlled by the government of Mozambique."

He said the committee, "in terms of its mandate, is supposed to give protection and assistance to all victims of conflict, no matter whose control they are living under".

He said the ICRC would like to work in MNR areas, but was not prepared to do so without government authorisation.

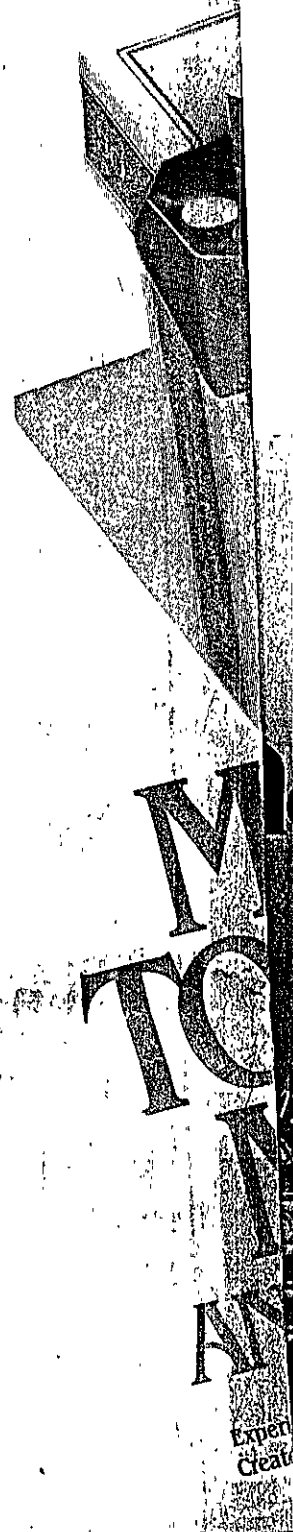
"Right now we have to work legally," said Heumann. "We don't work under the table. If the Mozambican authorities prevent us from going to areas they don't control, then we don't go."

He said that the committee was in "constant dialogue with the Mozambican authorities on the matter".

Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi has also firmly ruled out any "secret agreement for the distribution of food by donor agencies in parts of our territory allegedly controlled by bandit gangs".

He described insinuations that Mozambique has made such a secret agreement as "a campaign of lies".

"The Mozambican government does not make secret agreements that put our sovereignty at risk," he said.



INSIDE

# SAVIMBIA

**UNITA** controls *As Terras Livres de Angola*, the Free Lands of Angola — the south-eastern third of the country.

The administrative capital, Jamba, is reached by a semi-clandestine flight from a point of departure in black Africa whose identity one is asked to conceal.

Even impeccably liberal visitors are not too disturbed to learn that the pilots are South African, and the atmosphere in the blacked-out aircraft is lightened considerably when they demonstrate the use of the refrigerated drawer with cold beer (South African also).

Jamba is in an arid and otherwise uninhabited corner of the country, known to the Portuguese as the End of the World, to which officials were sent as punishment.

I was surprised, I confess, to see such well-turned-out soldiers, and even military policemen in white gloves and helmets with red bands performing point duty on dusty tracks, directing the almost non-existent traffic.

There is no money in *As Terras Livres*: soldiers receive rations, while peasants in agricultural areas barter their surpluses in government-run stores.

**T**he goods come from South Africa, where they are paid for in ivory, timber and diamonds (when Unita controls the mines).

Our tour was well organised, to say the least.

Yet the word *Free* in the Free Lands of Angola is used in its idiosyncratic African sense, which bears no resemblance whatsoever to the meaning of the word as understood in Europe or America. (This, of course, is at the heart of the confidence trick of African nationalism, if not of all nationalism).

There is an inescapable personality cult in the Free Lands, for which *Savimbia* might perhaps be a more appropriate name. Savimbi's face, his words, are everywhere. Children learn to recite his speeches and poetry: not very good poetry, by all accounts, but the only poetry there is in



In a part of Africa the Portuguese know as End of the World, the Master Thought of the Oldest One points the people to a new beginning

EDWARD THEBERTON, a British doctor with extensive experience in Africa, visits the area of Angola controlled by Unita and meets its ruler

that it is therefore essential to ensure a reliable supply of the humble consumer goods that African peasants need.

All this may sound trite, but it has escaped the notice of the majority of Saviours, Teachers, Marshals, Emperors and Presidents-for-Eternity who have arisen in Africa since independence.

his aim had been to bring the MPLA to the realisation that they could never win the war either.

Once they realised that, they might be willing to negotiate. Indeed, there was said already to exist a faction within the MPLA in favour of such negotiations.

There are difficulties with this strategy, and one

fears it is either military victory or nothing. The MPLA government is not a free agent. It is likely the Cubans now cannot afford for there to be no war in Angola.

Thus, it is likely that if the MPLA government began seriously to negotiate there would be an Afghanistan-style coup. So long as the Cabinda enclave is under MPLA control, the war will continue in its present form.

Savimbi is frank and unapologetic about the South African aid he receives. Someone who is drowning does not examine too closely the motives of the man who throws him the lifebelt (an argument the MPLA could use, of course).

South Africa supplies Unita with free fuel and sells it most of its supplies. West Germany is its largest financial backer and Morocco trains its troops.

But if he didn't take supplies from South Africa, Savimbi asked, from where would he take them? Zambia, or Zaire perhaps? But everything obtainable there comes from South Africa anyway.

And South Africa, despite the inflated rhetoric, poses much less of a threat to the rest of Africa than the Soviet bloc because — powerful as it is, with half of all Africa's industrial output — it cannot begin to

match the resources of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

Furthermore, apartheid is not an aggressively expansionist doctrine capable of attracting African élites: communism is.

Unfortunately, once you understand from personal experience that communism does not work, to say the least, it is already too late.

Savimbi is rather less frank about the personality cult surrounding him. He said to us it was not his idea, and one heard tell several times that he did not care for it at all (as Stalin did not care for his cult).

**H**e talked of the new multi-party Angola that would arise in the wake of peace, where a man could be Unita or MPLA according to taste, or even apolitical if he so chose. Frankly I didn't believe a word of it. Compulsory recitation of one man's thoughts from the age of six are not good training for future citizens of a pluralist democracy.

Savimbi pleaded the exigencies of war: Can I tell the people to speak of any thing like that, he asked but not of me?

And did Churchill and de Gaulle, during the war, not symbolise the resistance of the British and French peoples? I thought the patent inexactitude of the analogy amounted to mendacity.

Perhaps it is true that the circumstances demand a personality cult, that without it the movement would never have grown and would have fallen apart.

But the imposition of the most drastic intellectual uniformity is not a service to freedom and cannot truthfully be presented as such.

Moreover, history is exactly replete with examples of dictators who have been granted liberty by their subjects.

● Extract from the *Spectator Magazine* London.

#### FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

##### CASE STUDY NO. 5 : ORKNEY BISCUIT COMPANY, LTD.

Percy Jones, managing director of Orkney Biscuit Company, Ltd., was trying to decide whether to expand the company by adding a new product line. The proposal seemed likely to be profitable and adequate funds to finance it could be obtained from outside investors.

Orkney Biscuit has long been regarded as a well known company. It had succeeded in keeping its present lines up to date and had maintained a small but prominent position in a highly competitive industry.

The accounting value of total assets presently employed by the company was approximately R4 000 000, and was to remain at this level if the proposal for the new product line was rejected. Net income after tax from operations amounted to about R400 000 a year, and the best forecast was that this would continue to be the case from present operations.

Introduction of the new product line would require an immediate investment of R400 000 in equipment and working capital. A further R100 000 would be required in additional working capital. A further R100 000 would be required a year later.

Sales of the new product line would be relatively low in the first year, but would increase steadily until the second year. After that, changing tastes and increased competition would probably begin to reduce annual sales. After two years, the product line would probably be withdrawn from the market. At that time, the company would sell the equipment for its scrap value and liquidate the working capital. The cash value of the equipment and working capital at the end of the fourth year would be about R350 000.

The low initial sales volume, combined with promotional outlays, would lead to heavy losses in the first two years, and no net income would be reported until the fourth year. The profit forecasts for the new product line are summarized in Exhibit 1.

Jones was concerned about the effect this project would have on Orkney's overall reported return on investment over the next three years. In response to this concern, the accountant provided him with the following information (in thousands):

Savimbi comes from the village, while the leadership of the MPLA comes, for the most part, from the city, where only a tenth of the population lives.

As for foreign investment, Savimbi acknowledges that his country's great natural resources cannot be developed without it, and he says he harbours no feelings of revenge against Gulf Oil, whose operations in the Cabinda enclave provide the MPLA government with millions of dollars with which Cubans to sustain it in power.

Politics is politics, but business is business. Investment from anywhere will be welcome in the new Angola.

We met Savimbi on his birthday — the national holiday, surprisingly enough — in a small encampment in the bush.

He is a man who has suffered personally to keep his movement alive when all seemed lost, who knows what it is to lose loved ones and to flee for his life in forest and swamp, and who has created something considerable from nothing.

He is therefore worthy of respect: but not such respect that one ceases to appreciate by the usual criteria what he so forcefully says.

He outlined his strategy, flanked by generals who remained silent.

It has never been, he said, his idea to win the war militarily, for he recognised that he could never do that,

Total Investment Start of Year	Net Income after Tax	Reported Return on Investment
R4 000	R160	4.0%
4 600	310	6.7
4 650	370	8.0
4 600	490	10.7
4 550	670	14.7
4 500	970	21.6
4 450	910	20.4
4 400	760	17.3

hand, "eyeballing" the figures in Exhibit 1 led to guess that if the proposal were analysed using cash flows discounted at 10 percent, it might well give a positive net present value, and hence would be a investment opportunity.

the wear and tear allowance is equal to the charge.

the net present value of the proposal, discounting cash flows at 10 percent.

extent, if any, would the low anticipated rate of return on investment in the first three years be affected by the decision to launch the new product line?

the Orkney Biscuit Company were a private company, owned entirely by Mr. Jones? the Orkney Biscuit Company were a publicly owned company, with shares owned by a large number of all investors, and Mr. Jones purely a salaried administrator?

the Orkney Biscuit Company were a wholly owned subsidiary of a much larger company and Mr. Jones expected to be a candidate to succeed one of the present company's top executives who will retire from the company about two years from now?

you think that your analysis of these figures indicates that accountants should consider making adjustments in their approach to income measurement?

# Angola will be on agenda at Gorbachev talks — Reagan

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Regional conflicts involving Soviet intervention, including Angola, would be "at the top of my agenda", President Ronald Reagan said of his summit meeting next week with Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Military intervention by the Soviet Union was a major impediment to improved relations, he said at the weekend in his weekly radio address.

"Wherever in the world the Soviets or their clients are seeking to advance their interests by force — in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Angola, in Cambodia or elsewhere — they must stop and let the people of these countries choose their own destinies," Mr Reagan said.

The Reagan administration's concerns about Soviet military activity in Angola, often one of the troublespots under discussion between American and Soviet officials, would have been heightened by increased Soviet and Cuban involvement in the present offensive with Angolan government

forces against the Unita rebels.

The Reagan Administration has also made much of huge amounts of military hardware, reckoned to be worth R4 billion, poured into Angola by the Soviets in the past two years.

The signing of an agreement to scrap shorter and medium-range nuclear-tipped missiles is set to be the showpiece of the Reagan-Gorbachev meetings in the US capital next week.



negat 3/11/87

## Angola: Pík wants urgent UN action

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
NEW YORK. — Although South Africa has always rejected United Nations interference in its internal situation, Mr Pík Botha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, believes that the Security Council should "urgently concern itself with the domestic crisis in Angola".

In a letter to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Mr Botha says Angola has become "the playground of the superpowers".

The consequences have been tragic for the Angolan people, he says.

### CEASEFIRE

Mr Botha was responding to the latest Security Council action on SWA/Namibia.

Last Friday, the council adopted a resolution that asked the Secretary-General to try to arrange a ceasefire in SWA/Namibia, where South African troops are battling Angola-based terrorists.

"The South African Government has a duty to protect the inhabitants of SWA/Namibia against terrorist incursions and accordingly acts in a protective capacity in the territory," Mr Botha wrote.

PRETORIA — The conflict between SA troops and Russian- and Cuban-led Angolan forces has now entered a second stage, with the Angolans retreating in a more or less orderly fashion while the SADF maintains positions near the battle zones in south-east Angola.

Military sources indicated yesterday that a number of Fapla brigades, which suffered heavy losses in men, weaponry and logistics support machinery, had retreated about 100km from the Mavinga area to near Cuito Cuanavale.

The sources emphasised "it is Unita's fight, and they are the ones who are chasing the Angolan Fapla forces".

SA forces were about 250km into Angola, the sources said — referring specifically to the battles with Fapla Russian- and Cuban-led forces on the "eastern front", and not to a recent second, separate but concurrent, "pre-emptive" attack on a Swapo headquarters in the Cuvelai area north of the central Namibia border "Cutline".

Giving a chronological breakdown, the

Friday 17/11/87 (5)

# Unita 'chasing Angolan forces'

sources said that from July 13 to November 3, when the fighting was "almost entirely, with the exception of medical support", between Unita and Fapla, 3 037 Fapla troops, and six Soviets or Cubans had been killed and the tally of wounded could be reliably estimated at three for every one killed.

From November 4 to November 13, when SA forces are understood to have instituted their "limited" support for Unita, 590 Fapla cadres were killed.

Losses of tanks and armoured vehicles numbered well over a hundred, with the majority of losses in the first period.

Along the same pattern, nearly 300 "logistics" items, being mainly vehicles, six aircraft, seven helicopters, and dozens of missiles were lost, and three radar installations were "taken out". — Sapa.

Call Times 31/10/87 (5)

# Cubans won't pull troops from Angola

NEW YORK. — Cuba has refused to withdraw its 25 000 to 40 000 troops from Angola, while South Africa reiterated its refusal to grant Namibian independence till Cuban soldiers leave Angola.

The statements in the Namibian standoff continued in a debate on Thursday before the Security Council. A majority of speakers lined up against South Africa and demanded implementation of a 1978 council resolution demanding Pretoria end its "illegal" occupation of Namibia and grant full independence.

Virtually all speakers rejected linkage between independence for Namibia and withdrawal of Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola.

South Africa estimates that 40 000 Cuban troops, with Soviet advice and weapons, are propping up the Marxist Angolan government and launching terrorist raids against Namibia. Other

estimates place the troop strength at 25 000 to 35 000.

South Africa demands linkage and is supported by the United States. The United States has vetoed Security Council resolutions calling for Namibian independence and seeking mandatory comprehensive sanctions against the white-majority South African government.

"The sole obstacle to Namibian independence is the intransigence of the racists in Pretoria, which wages an open war against the People's Republic of Angola . . . in flagrant violation of the UN Charter," said Cuban Ambassador Mr Oscar Oramas-Oliva.

He told the council that South Africa had been destabilizing the Southern African region long before 1975, when "internationalist Cuban troops came to the aid of Angola".

He said the only option now is to impose comprehensive and binding sanctions against South Africa.

# Two SA soldiers killed in Angola

PRETORIA — Two more South African soldiers have died in action in south-east Angola, Defence Headquarters announced here last night.

They were Corporal Jacob Carel van Heerden, 20, of 14 Tulbach Avenue, Extension 4, Bethal, and Lance-Corporal Johannes Jacobus Redelinghuys, 20, of 451 West Avenue, Ferndale, Randburg.

Both soldiers were fatally wounded in the same action in Angola's Cuando Cubango province, Defence Headquarters said in statement.

Cpl van Heerden leaves his parents, Mr and Mrs C H van Heerden, and Cpl Redelinghuys leaves his parents Mr and Mrs J J Redelinghuys.

Twenty-four South African soldiers wounded in battles in southern Angola are still being treated in One Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte in Pretoria.

Five of them are in a serious condition, but 18 of the 42 soldiers admitted to the hospital have already been discharged.

If Captain Andre Stapa, pilot of the SA Air Force fighter jet which crashed in Southern Angola during a Sunday night operation against Swapo forces, survived, he has either been taken captive or is walking south for home, possibly a journey of hundreds of kilometres, through the dense bush.

Defence Force headquarters in Pretoria, which announced the loss of the Impala jet yesterday, said there was still no news of the 30-year-old pilot.

SADF patrols were, however, continuing their search.

The SADF's statement yesterday was worded in such a way that it did not

indicate whether the jet fighter was shot down by enemy fire or crashed after the operation against Swapo.

Meanwhile an SA Air Force Mirage fighter damaged by ground fire and widely claimed as a "kill" by the Angolan armed forces is already being repaired after landing at its base.

The pilot, whose name has not been released, is in a serious condition in 1 Military Hospital

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⑤

# Unita watched on status of captured pilots

By HOWARD BARRELL,  
Harare

THE treatment and status given two Cuban pilots captured by Unita last month will have a crucial bearing on the prospects for either peace or a dramatic intensification of the war in Angola, according to diplomatic sources in Harare.

Cuba regards the treatment of the pilots, whose Mig 21 was shot down while on a reconnaissance mission over Angola on October 28, as a test of United States and South African sincerity on wanting a peaceful and negotiated settlement in war-torn Angola, the sources added.

Cuba regards both countries as the major backers of Unita, and considers they are in a position to ensure Unita compliance with Geneva Conventions.

Cuba is understood to expect from the US and South Africa the same

flexibility as was evident in the case of Captain Wynand Du Toit, the Recce commando captured by Fapla government troops while on a mission in the Cabinda enclave to destroy Angolan oil installations.

Du Toit was treated as a prisoner of war, his wounds were treated, and he was released in a prisoner exchange in Maputo earlier this year.

"The Cubans seem to be implying basically that, if the two pilots are not treated as prisoners of war under the relevant Geneva Conventions and if the pilots are not candidates for a prisoner exchange, then the US and South Africa should not be surprised to see a substantial escalation in the

war in Angola.

"That appears to mean an increase in Cuban involvement itself," one diplomatic source in Harare said this week. "The Cubans do not appear to be joking."

"Their posture comes at a time of considerable South African involvement in southern Angola."

The pilots, Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Rojas Garcia and Captain Ramon-Quezada Aguilar, were produced at a press conference in the Unita "capital" of Jamba following their capture after they parachuted from their aircraft when it was shot down.

The two men said they had been on a reconnaissance mission. Garcia said he and other Cuban forces were in Angola to "prevent South African aggression against this country (Angola)".

capt - trip 3/12/87 (5)

# Unita frees two Swedes

PRETORIA. — Swedish truck driver Mr Gunnar Sjöberg received good news upon his release from almost three months' captivity at Unita's Jamba headquarters yesterday — his government has granted permission for his Angolan wife and their two children to join him in Sweden as soon as possible.

Mr Sjöberg, 30, and a colleague, Mr Kent Andersson, 28, were captured on September 7 when Unita insurgents ambushed their convoy near Luanda.

A third Swede, Mr G Larsson, died two days later from a bullet wound.

The men — escorted by Swedish envoys — were flown from Jamba to Pretoria yesterday and plan to return to Sweden as soon as possible.

Swedish Ambassador Annie Sundbom confirmed that her government had granted permission for Mr Sjöberg's Angolan wife, Isabelle, daughter Eleanor, two and a half years, and son Charlie, four months, to join him in Sweden.

Mr Sjöberg was due to complete a three-year truck-driving contract in Angola this year. — Sapa



**FREE** ... Released Swedes Mr Kent Andersson (second from left) and Mr Gunnar Sjöberg (right).

Cape Times 3/12/87 (5)

## AIM says P W Botha visited Angola 4 times

MAPUTO — President P W Botha has been inside Angola four times in the past six years, apparently without that government's permission or knowledge, AIM news agency reported yesterday.

A man identified as Captain Sebastiao de Almeida, a 32-year-old Unita officer, was presented to reporters in Luanda yesterday, the report said.

The captain said Mr Botha had visited Unita's main base in the south-eastern town of Jamba in 1981, 1982 and 1983.

Last month, General Malan announced that he, Mr P W Botha, Mr Pik Botha and two other cabinet ministers had been to south-eastern Angola in October and that the president had addressed South African troops on the eve of a battle against Soviet and Cuban-supported Angolan government troops.

(S)  
EVENING POST, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1987

# NO COMMENT ON P.W. VISITS TO ANGOLA

PRETORIA — Claims from Luanda yesterday that South African State President Mr P W Botha has been inside Angola four times in the past six years were responded to with a brief "No comment" by the State President's office today.

"We have nothing to add to the statement last month by the Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan," spokesman Mr Jack Viviers said from Cape Town.

Gen Malan revealed at the Transvaal National Party Congress in Pretoria on November 14 that Mr Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, and the Transvaal NP leader and Minister of National Edu-

cation, Mr F W de Klerk, had "recently" visited South African troops fighting in southern Angola.

Mozambique's official news agency, AIM, reported yesterday from Luanda that a captured Unita rebel officer pre-

sent to reporters said the State President had visited Unita's main base of Jamba, in south-eastern Angola in 1981, 1982, and 1983.

The captive said Mr P W Botha was accompanied on his visits by Gen Malan and Mr Pik Botha.

The Mozambique news agency also quoted an Angolan army officer, as saying four South African warplanes bombed an army column in Angola on Monday, inflicting an unspecified number of casualties and damaging equipment.

The captured Unita officer, identified only as Maj Jota, was quoted as saying South African troops had been in Angola for two months and were being reinforced.

South Africa announced last month that its forces had intervened in the Angolan civil war on behalf of the rebel movement Unita which has been fighting the Marxist government for 12 years.

AIM reported yesterday that a Unita officer identified as Capt Sebastiao de Almeida was presented to reporters in Luanda.

He said Mr P W Botha visited the Unita's headquarters at Jamba in 1981, 1982 and 1983, AIM reported.



ARGUS 3/12/87

5

## SA troops, planes hit Angolans — claim

MAPUTO. — South African troops and planes have been in action against Angolan units in the past few days, says an Angolan army spokesman.

In a report from Luanda released here the Mozambique News Agency (Aim) quoted a Major Jota of "the Fapla political leadership" as saying that South African troops with armoured vehicles last Friday attacked the Mongua-Ngiva road in the Bulanganga area.

Bulanganga is in Cunene province, about 60km north of the Namibian border. There have been previous Angolan reports of South African military action in the area.

Major Jota said that since Friday South Africa had used long-range artillery in Namibia to shell Angolan positions in Xicucu and Ngiva.

Ngiva, capital of Cunene, is 30km north of the border.

He said that on Saturday South African planes bombed a Fapla position east of the strategic town of Cuito-Cuanavale, in Cuando Cubango province.

### BOMBED COLUMN

It was from Cuito-Cuanavale that the Angolans launched a major offensive against Mavinga that was repulsed by Unita rebels with South African help.

Major Jota said two South African Impalas and two Mirages on Monday bombed a Fapla column on the road between Cuito-Cuanavale and Menongue.

There had been casualties and equipment had been lost.

On Tuesday South African aircraft had flown over a Fapla column on the same road.

He claimed that an Imapla aircraft had been hit.

A Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria today that he had "nothing to add to statements already made on this subject".

● The State President's office in Pretoria would not comment on claims from Luanda yesterday that President Botha had been inside Angola four times in six years. — Argus Africa News Service and Sapa.

CSM 3/12/87

## President to make tough stand on world regional conflicts

**By Neil Lurssen  
The Star Bureau**  
WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan will tell Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev at next week's summit here that it is time for the Soviets to quit Angola and other world trouble spots.

In a series of speeches aimed at drumming up support in advance of the superpower summit, the President has made it clear that he will make a tough stand on world regional conflicts where East-West rivalry overshadows local civil wars.

### WITHDRAWAL

In a speech to students yesterday, he said he would tell Mr Gorbachev to set a date for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and that the time had come for them to leave Angola and countries like Ethiopia, Nicaragua and Cambodia.

And talking about the most recent fighting in Southern Angola, President Reagan told a conservative-gathering in Washington: "The heroes of the Lomba River did it again, pushing back the massive Soviet as-

# Reagan: Soviets must quit Angola

The conservatives fear the agreements will leave the US at a disadvantage in the worldwide superpower confrontation. They are especially concerned about 2-1 Soviet superiority in conventional forces in Europe and the threat this poses for Nato.

In calling for Soviet departure from Angola, President Reagan is going further than his own State Department diplomats and the demands of the conservatives themselves.

The State Department has put forward a plan under which the US and the Soviet Union would both play a role in ending the civil war and in weaning a non-aligned and reconciled Angola back into the world economy.

### ARMS REDUCTION

The conservatives are demanding a reduction in Soviet arms supplies to the Luanda re-

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### ARMS REDUCTION

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He said he would tell Mr Gorbachev that there could never be true "glasnost" (openness) between the US and the Soviet Union until the Soviets put an end to destructive and wasteful conflicts around the world.

In addition to regional conflicts and arms control, President Reagan will raise the questions of human rights in the Soviet Union and the possibility of expanded exchanges between the two countries.

Meanwhile, the Soviets have again denied strongly that their forces were engaged in the Angolan fighting.

### MILITARY EXPERTS

A USSR Ministry of Defence statement issued through Tass, the Moscow news agency, said Soviet "military experts" were training Angolan troops in handling military equipment but that involvement in the fighting was "ruled out".

Western reports that Soviet servicemen had died were absurd, the statement said.

The statement accused Western reporters of playing into Pretoria's hands. It also accused the SADF of using chemical weapons and napalm.

gime, a goal seen by analysts here as much more realistic than the President's position that they should get out.

Mr Reagan has promised repeatedly that he will not abandon the Unita movement and the tone of his speech to the Heritage Foundation indicates that he was pleased with the results of the recent battles, an attitude that officials have been careful to avoid expressing.

"The Jonas Savimbi freedom fighters inflicted another crushing defeat on the Soviet-backed MPLA forces," he said. "This (autumn's) Communist offensive, the biggest ever in Angola, ended in a rout for the Soviets and MPLA."

The Soviets, President Reagan said, were truly beginning to feel the sting of free people fighting back.

# The never-ending war

Three years bring many changes even to a timeless area such as the northern border of Namibia.

The most obvious, of course, is the change in the military struggle there. Today, most importantly, the forces of Swapo have ceased to exist as a serious military threat to control of the Namibian region. What is being waged these days is what might best be described as a simulation of a guerrilla war, not a struggle for real power or real control.

Once the contest for physical control raged across the entire border region from the Skeleton Coast to the eastern edge of the Caprivi Strip. Regular troopers from SA lived in fear that their forward bases would be overrun by the greater numbers of guerrilla bands which had the choice of head-on confrontation, or of slipping around behind to raid isolated farms and to blow up key electric power and water supply installations. Swapo recruiting officers and political agitators moved freely among the Herero tribesmen as they did among the Ovambo families where the movement's base still lies. Mao Tse Tung's dictum about "swimming in the sea of the people" was never more scrupulously observed than on the border with Angola.

But that was then, this is now.

It has been more than 21 years since the first recorded terrorist raid by the Peoples' Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), the armed wing of Swapo, and last month the combined forces of SA and the South West Africa Territory Forces (SWATF) marked the occasion in a fire-fight during which the 10 000th Plan soldier was killed.

Such forays into Angola have recently been thought impossible by the outside press, since it was assumed that so long a journey would have to be accomplished by helicopter. Since Cuban-manned radar and Soviet-supplied Sam missile bases have moved much further south into Angola's Fifth Military Region, helicopters appeared to have been banned from the operational zone as a tactical weapon.

But the development of the Casspir troop carrier — with its high-speed ability (up to 60 km/h through the bush) to carry a combat team of 10 men through mine-infested territory — have given SWATF and the SADF a new mobility and a renewed ability to carry the fight to the enemy.

So the good news — of a sort — is that Swapo has been largely knocked out of the struggle for physical control of Namibia. Its guerrilla teams of saboteurs and rocket-gre-

**In November 1984, the FM's Washington correspondent, James Srodes, toured the border operational area from the western edge of the Ovambo region to eastern Caprivi, including a brief foray into Angola. A fortnight ago, he repeated the same journey, a more extended trip from Opuwa in Kaokoland to the Omega base in Caprivi, again flying into Angola to a Unita base near the Kovango River.**

nade launchers have ceased operations altogether to the west in Kaokoland just as they have not been sighted to the west in the Kovango-Caprivi area in years.

And such incursions as there are in the Ovamboland region of the military area known as Sector 10 are increasingly confined



**Unita soldier with  
Fapla arms**

to the "stand-off" barrage incident where a few guerrillas lob some mortar or grenade rounds into a SWATF or SADF base perimeter and then run for it.

South African military intelligence reports that the average age of these fighters has dropped into the early teens, with most of the insurgents being the unhappy products of the "breeding camps" that Swapo keeps for the kidnapped girls of Ovambo families; the

active kidnapping or recruiting of combat-fit boys from the border region has become increasingly isolated as disenchantment with the life of a rebel has filtered back among once sympathetic tribal groups back home.

What happens now, military authorities say, is that three or so of the young "breeding camp" guerrillas will be led south to the target area by an older veteran who often as not will disappear to his family and often defect after setting the attack in motion. Abandoned, the attack team usually tries to run for the Angolan border and safety, but is invariably tracked down and killed. A lucky few get to surrender.

As a result, where once Swapo's Plan arm constituted a 16 000 force of well-trained guerrillas, the organisation is now estimated to be no more than 8 500 strong. Intelligence estimates say no more than 645 new recruits have joined the ranks this year against the 729 confirmed kills by SWATF and SADF forces.

Swapo, as it now stands, is an increasing burden and danger to its hosts, the Angolan government, and to its masters, the Soviet Union. Fully one-third of the Plan troops under arms today are paying for Swapo's shelter by being seconded to Angola's Fapla troop concentrations massed against the Unita forces of Jonas Savimbi in eastern and south-eastern Angola.

Nearly another 30% are protecting the various Swapo bases and headquarter installations, while other groups are in training or working on the considerable logistics of supply and movement over a spread-out command structure. What this leaves is scarcely 1 200 Swapo guerrillas who can be sent south to challenge South African control of the region. The day when teams of nearly 100 or so would attack a forward base are over.

Not surprisingly, one of the bits of bad news is that the Fapla forces and their Cuban adjuncts have moved into the vacuum created by Swapo's decline in southern Angola. Cuban radar and the threat of Sam missiles now force SADF and SWATF aircraft flying east out of the Ondongwa air base to skim the treetops at less than 100 m.

More ominously, senior South African officials now fully expect Fapla — with their Cuban support forces — to attempt to establish a firm and controllable border area as close as possible to that of the traditional political border with Namibia.

Indeed, a case can be made that a race is on between Pretoria and Luanda to see who

ates with silicon chips instead of tubes, costs several hundred thousand rand. It is different from the other cameras used in that it is highly sensitive to light, and is smaller and weighs less.

The source says Botha has complained on several occasions to the SABC about the heat of the TV lights. He also feels that the strong lights cut him off from his audience. So from now on, providing the SABC finds

a cameraman willing to take up the challenge, South African viewers may see a new (and cooler) Botha, more in touch with his people. The cameraman, may, however, feel the heat.

## FEATURE

is going to control what has heretofore been a no man's land inside Angola, a free-fire zone where Swapo teams were in peril even before they stepped into Namibia from roaming teams of South African and, increasingly, SWATF and SWA police counter-insurgency teams.

This helps to explain the raid on the Swapo headquarters four Sundays ago. It also explains SA's open support of the Unita forces with long-range artillery and air cover during Savimbi's convincing victory over Fapla in and around Cuando-Dubango province.

By striking Swapo before it has mustered its strength for the traditional rainy season of incursions south in January, by striking Fapla and establishing Savimbi's effective control as far west across the southern border as possible, Pretoria will win another year of peace in Namibia and a possible negotiated settlement that could lead to some kind of secure disengagement.

In any event, it was a risk that apparently had to be taken even though it was not without its pain. The Swapo raid officially resulted in 12 SADF soldiers being killed. But I learned at the Ondangwa base that more than 70 other troopers were airlifted there with serious wounds in addition to those treated on the ground. There has also been a steady stream of casualties coming out of the combined operations with Savimbi.

Not that these casualties are excessive by military operation standards, but it does indicate that the days of the risk-free runs into Angola are gone for ever. There is also the increasing risk of direct and regular confrontation with well-armed, well-trained Fapla-Cuban contingents for that crucial territory along the border in the year or two to come.

And for what? It always comes back to that.

The northern border region of Namibia is as much at peace as it has been in 25 years; that is obvious. And prosperity of a sort has brought much improvement in the lives of all

the tribes that range across that arid and beautiful land. Gone is the rubble and wreckage that lined the highways between Oshakati and Ondangwa. The abandoned Volkswagen buses are gone; cook shops and small stores proliferate as the Ovambo act out their heritage as the most acquisitive and mercantile of the tribes in the region.

Schools and hospitals have begun to make an improvement in life.

and minds" projects — schools, hospitals, trade training and the venter of a self-governing civil service to deal with the people's needs.

Today that cost, by even the most unofficial estimates, has swollen to R1,5 billion a month with perhaps an even greater amount now going into the "infrastructure" projects that the Namibian civil servants now claim they need to win the aforementioned hearts

and minds of tribal chieftains who are only dimly aware of the struggle being waged on their behalf.

Examples of the futility of the struggle crowd even the newest observer. In Opowa in Kaokaland, the new multi-million rand abattoir and meat packing plant stands idle a year after its formal opening — not a single cow has wandered up its ramp for processing to begin an industry that was to bring prosperity to the Herero tribesmen and their grazing herds.

Someone forgot to ask the Herero, who view their cattle as an important demonstration of individual

wealth and personal status.

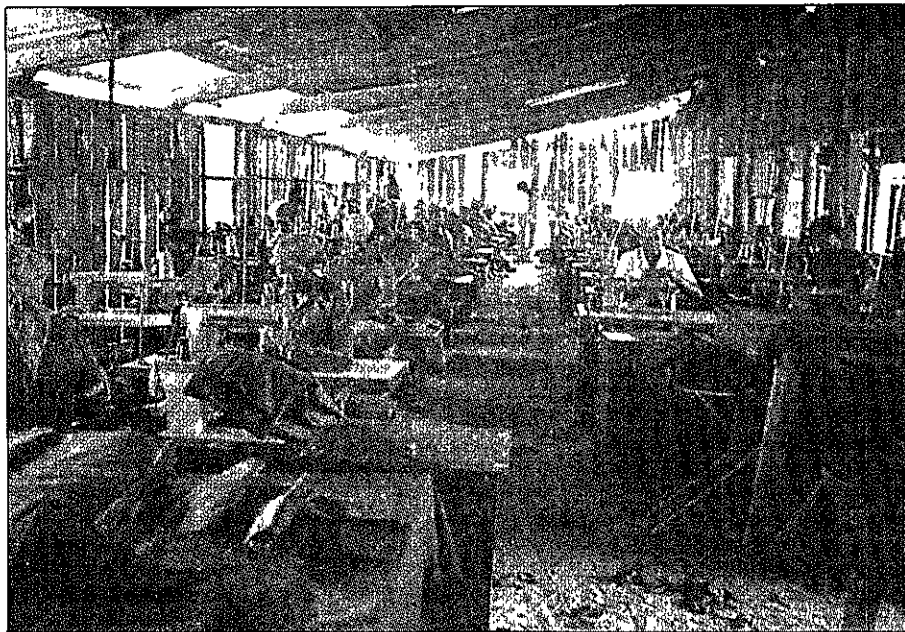
Why would a serious man of affairs want to kill the very symbol of his prosperity — especially since a cow continues to grow and bear calves, whereas money merely moulders in a wallet? The meat packing plant is an object of much discussion and amusement among the daily discussion sessions held by the tribal leaders as they sit beneath the great tree nearby.

And as for money, if it is needed to buy something from the stores, the leader of the white soldiers will provide it somehow.

To the east, where Swapo does occasionally lob a rocket over the fence in the early evening hours of the rainy season, the SADF and SWATF troopers sit and wait.

Many of the large tent encampments have been replaced by the kind of low-frame buildings soldiers build all over the world. Paths are lined with white-washed rock; swimming pools are fashioned out of surplus materials for relief against the heat.

What was once an adventure has taken on the dull routine of never-ending duty.



Sewing Unita uniforms . . .

If the early rains of November follow through and end the long-running drought in the region, the crops and herds of cattle and goats will flourish once more.

Swapo's message has been rejected; even the women who run the cook shops now freely turn in strangers to the military in hopes of the bounty paid for Swapo terrorists.

At what cost?

Each month the supply centre at Ondangwa moves 35 000 kg of domestic supplies through its warehouses — everything from green beans to toilet paper.

In one week, the SADF and SWATF forces consume 20 t trucks of ammunition worth R16m-R18m. Nine 90 000l fuel trucks provide delivery each week of the diesel, ordinary and aviation petrol that keeps the troops on the move.

Three years ago that meant the South African economy was subsidising a political-economic entity called Namibia to the tune of R1 billion a month for military expenditures and an almost equal amount on "hearts

# Troops quitting Angola

Weekend Argus Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — South Africa has begun to withdraw its troops from southern Angola, according to Defence Force headquarters in Pretoria.

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said the process of withdrawing South African troops and the SWA Territory Force followed the successful comple-

tion of "certain tasks".

The withdrawal was being carried out under "operational circumstances", which meant that the continuing conflict situation in the area had to be taken into account.

"Care is being taken to ensure that the safety of our soldiers is not unnecessarily jeopardised during the withdrawal. For this reason no specific details can be provided," General Gedénhuys added.

Office

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# Cubans 'moving to attack SA troops'

MAPUTO. — A Cuban combat brigade is pushing into southern Angola to drive out four South African battalions propping up Unita rebels, Cuban military officials said yesterday.

A Cuban military source in Luanda said the 50th Brigade of Cuba's army was striking south to confront up to four South African infantry and armoured battalions battling Angolan forces.

Earlier, Angola said it would use Cuban forces to counter-attack next week if Pretoria's forces refused to withdraw by Thursday.

South African forces, moving behind long-range artillery bombardments, were closing on the strategic Angolan garrison town of Cuito Cuanavale, Lieutenant-General Antonio dos Santos Franca, the Angolan military chief of staff, said yesterday.

A SADF spokesman told the Cape Times last night he had nothing to add to official statements already made.

The spokesman said that furthermore Unita's successes against the Angolan army were well-known and

not disputed anywhere except in Angola.

US and Soviet officials have put the Angolan conflict on the agenda for the superpower summit beginning on Monday in Washington.

"We are going to request the necessary assistance to expel the South Africans from Angola," General Franca told a correspondent for Mozambique's Aim news agency in Luanda.

"We cannot exclude the possibility of combat between Cuban troops and the South African invaders," he said.

Capturing Cuito Cuanavale will give South African forces a forward airfield and a propaganda boost, Gen Franca said, claiming his forces had shot down up to 40 South African aircraft.

"They have to justify to their own public opinion the losses they have suffered. They have to launch some spectacular action that will justify casualties," he said.

Gen Franca said Angola's rulers "don't see any other solution" than to launch a Cuban-backed counter-attack if the South Africans failed to withdraw by December 10. — UPI

## 'SADF must withdraw from Angola'

LISBON. — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said yesterday South African troops must leave his country if Washington wants "progress" in negotiations for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported.

The agency quoted Mr Dos Santos as saying from Luanda that it was not

logical for Washington to demand the exit of some 35 000 Cuban troops "when the South African army is occupying parts of our territory and seeks to enlarge the occupied areas".

Pretoria confirmed on Thursday that SA forces were continuing operations in Angola against government troops backed by Cuban units and Soviet advisers. — UPI

# Angola: Now the big pull-out

By MARLENE BURGER

THE South African troops involved in the fierce fighting against Cuban-Angolan forces in the south of the country this weekend began a general withdrawal to the SWA/Namibian border.

The Chief of the SA Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, announced the pull-out of the battle-hardened troops yesterday but declined to give further details.

Indications are, however, that the withdrawal of the troops reflects South African confidence that the recent heavy Cuban-FAPLA attack against Unita-held territory in the south-east has been decisively smashed.

Last month, when confirming the South African troop presence in limited actions against Luanda's forces, Gen Geldenhuys pledged they would be withdrawn when all objectives had been secured.

"The ongoing conflict in the area has to be taken into account by the forces who are withdrawing and operational conditions are being observed," he said in a statement yesterday.

"Every care is being taken to ensure that the safety of our soldiers is not jeopardised during the withdrawal."

## Pledge

The troops now retiring from positions believed to be as deep as 300km into Angola have, it is reported, been giving support to Unita forces facing heavy enemy armour, artillery and air attack around the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale in south-central Angola.

South Africa recently told the United Nations Security Council that it was willing to withdraw its forces from south-east Angola once its interests had been secured, or when all foreign forces were withdrawn from the area.

General Geldenhuys also yesterday warned that Swapo terrorists would not be allowed to infiltrate the Caprivi and Kavango again.

"It is well known that Swapo terrorists use the rainy season each year to infiltrate SWA/Namibia from Angola and to carry out attacks on the population."

"It is South Africa's declared policy to strive for stability, peace and development in the sub-continent, but we reserve the right to act against terrorists," he said.

The troop withdrawal brings to an end one of bloodiest engagements of South African forces in Angola.

Twenty-seven South African soldiers have lost their lives in the fighting against Angolan and Swapo forces in southern Angola in the last three months.

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# Fresh Cuban troops arrive

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — As the South African Defence Force announced it was withdrawing from southern Angola, fresh Cuban troops were reported to have arrived in the country at the weekend to strengthen Angola's hard-hit MPLA forces.

The arrival of the unspecified number of extra Cuban troops, and the movement of the Cuban 50th Division south towards earlier scenes of battle between MPLA troops and combined Unita and South African forces, was reported by the official Mozambican news agency, Aim, at the weekend.

The Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, has announced that the withdrawal of SADF and SWA Territory Force troops from Angola had begun after the successful completion of certain tasks in the interests of South Africa and Namibia.

In Lisbon yesterday, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported that Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, would meet Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Jose Van-Dunen and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda on December 16 and 17 for a new round of talks with the Angolan government on Namibian indepen-

To page 2

From page 1

dence and the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops.

Lusa said diplomatic sources in Washington believe Dr Crocker's visit to Luanda means new proposals are to be discussed in an effort to reach an agreement on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola and the independence of South African-ruled Namibia.

In reporting the arrival of the Cuban troops, Aim said the new Cuban troop commander in Angola was General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, who had led his country's forces there in 1975, when they had blocked a South African invasion close to the capital.

An SADF spokesman said yesterday he had nothing to add to recent press statements and the official statement made to the UN Security Council two weeks ago, which said South Africa was prepared to withdraw from Angola.

The weekend announcement of the start of the South African withdrawal of its troops comes after the recent UN decision that South African troops had to withdraw from southern Angola before December 10.



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# SADF 'pull out'

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SOUTH Africa's forces are withdrawing from Angola and assurances have been given by the Chief of the Defence Force General Jannie

Geldenhuis that National Servicemen who have been fighting in the country — and who are due to finish their service in December — will be

home for Christmas. In a statement released from Defence Headquarters in Pretoria yesterday, General Geldenhuis said: "The process of withdrawing members of the Defence Force and the South West Africa Territory Force from Angola has begun."

# SA sure Swapo won't infiltrate

CARE Tails 7/12/87

## Defence Correspondent

THE South African withdrawal from Angola indicates Pretoria is satisfied there is little short-term chance that Angolan forces will attack the Unita rebels or that Swapo insurgents can regroup for a rain season infiltration into Namibia.

However, it is likely that certain specialist South African-Namibian elements will remain behind to make sure all the loose ends remain tied up, particularly in the area north of Ovamboland, Swapo's only remaining infiltration conduit over the border.

In an announcement from Pretoria at the weekend the Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jan Geldenhuys, said the process of withdrawing members of the SADF and SWA Territory Force from Angola had begun,

following "the successful completion of certain tasks in the interests of South Africa and South West Africa/Namibia".

No specific details about the withdrawal could be provided because the withdrawal was being carried out under operational circumstances.

## UN debate

This meant the withdrawing forces continually had to take into account the on-going conflict situation in the area, "and care is being taken to ensure that the safety of our soldiers is not unnecessarily jeopardized during the withdrawal".

He pointed out that during the recent United Nations Security Council debate South Africa had

stated its willingness to withdraw its forces, which were operating on a limited scale in south-east Angola, if its interests had been secured or if all foreign forces were also withdrawn from the area.

As far as security force actions against Swapo are concerned, he referred to previous SADF statements that South Africa would not allow Swapo insurgents to activate the Caprivi and the Kavango areas once more.

He also said it was well-known that every year Swapo used the rainy season to infiltrate Namibia from Angola to carry out attacks on the population.

General Geldenhuys reiterated an assurance from the Chief of the Army that those national servicemen currently taking part in operations and who were due for discharge in December would "definitely" be home before Christmas.

THE Angolan and Cuban governments remained silent yesterday over South Africa's announcement that it was withdrawing from Angola.

The announcement caught the Angolan government and its Cuban allies by surprise as statements made last Friday indicated they were preparing for further fighting in the south.



# 'SURPRISE' MOVE

Mr Carlos Cardoso, editor of the Mozambique news agency, AIMA, who is presently visiting Angola, said that General Geldenhuis' statement that South Africa was withdrawing from Angola was regarded as being in sharp contrast to the initial South African reaction to a United Nations

resolution calling on South Africa to withdraw before December 10. "Then the South Africans said they would only withdraw if Cuban forces also withdrew," he recalled. Senior Angolan army officers have earlier told Mr Cardoso that South Africa was making efforts to capture

the important town of Cuito Cuanavale from where Angolan troops recently launched a failed offensive against the Unita controlled areas in southeastern Angola.

Mr Cardoso quoted unnamed observers in Luanda as saying that the SADF "could indeed take Cuito

Cuanavale" although at such a high cost that this would be dangerous for the South African military leadership. He indicated that the Angolan troops defending Cuito Cuanavale might have been facing serious problems. Eapla's forces in the south had been "severely battered by the SADF since September" and "it may have been the heavy SADF pressure on Cuito Cuanavale that accounts for the advance of the Cuban 50th Brigade southwards," he said.

# Nujoma admits <sup>CAPTAIN</sup> setback <sup>8/2/87</sup> in Angola

LUSAKA — The president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, said yesterday that South Africa's military operations in Angola last month had been a military setback for his movement.

"The invasion was a setback for the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan)," he said. Plan is the armed wing of Swapo.

Mr Nujoma said the South African intervention had been prompted by Plan successes.

Mr Nujoma predicted that South Africa would have to withdraw from Namibia next year because of the cost in human and economic terms of ruling the territory.

"My optimism about the South African withdrawal is based on the conditions inside Namibia which are increasingly making it unbearable for South Africa to bear the cost of occupation," he said.

Stepped-up military pressure by his group, said Mr Nujoma, coupled with industrial action, had turned the liberation struggle into a popular resistance against South African rule. — Sapa-Reuter

## Hopes for regional settlement

# US calls for full Angolan withdrawal

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The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States said yesterday it hoped South Africa's troop withdrawal from Angola could be followed by a withdrawal of all foreign forces from the embattled country.

This might enable a regional peace settlement on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia to become reality.

A State Department spokesman noted that the US had recently joined the world community in supporting a UN resolution calling on South Africa to withdraw its forces from Angola, and therefore welcomed South Africa's intention to do so.

US policy was to secure the departure of all foreign forces from the region — South African troops from Namibia and Angola and Cuban troops from Angola.

It is expected here that the situation in Angola and the prospect that it could turn into a dangerous confrontation between the superpowers will be on the Reagan-Gorbachev summit agenda this week.

## Reconciliation

The Americans hope to press the Soviets into support of an Angolan peace initiative that will see a departure of all foreign forces, international guarantees for Angola's return to the world economy, and international encouragement for reconciliation between the ruling MPLA and the Unita rebel movement.

Angola is scheduled to come up during a discussion of world trouble spots, but officials here say it is likely that this section of the summit will be dominated by the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf war between Iran and Iraq.

Rising tensions in the Far East will also be highlighted, especially on the Korean Peninsula where there are concerns about the threat to next year's Olympic Games.

From Lisbon it is reported that Swapo said yesterday it saw no sign of a South African troop withdrawal.

"We have detected no troop movements in the area," Mr Hideo Hamutenya of Swapo told the Portuguese news agency Lusa in Luanda.

"The South Africans have made similar statements in the past that turned out to be lies. Let's wait and see what is the truth," said Mr Hamutenya.

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# US hopes Cubans will follow SA withdrawal

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
WASHINGTON. — The United States welcomes South Africa's troop withdrawal from Angola and hopes it will be followed by a withdrawal of all foreign forces.

This might bring a regional peace settlement on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia, a State Department spokesman said.

He noted that the US had recently joined the world community in supporting a UN resolution calling on South Africa to withdraw.

It is expected here that Angola will be on the Reagan-Gorbachev summit agenda this week.

The Americans hope to persuade the Soviets to support an Angolan peace initiative that will see a departure of foreign forces, international guarantees for Angola's return to the world economy and international encouragement for reconciliation between the ruling MPLA and the Unita rebels.

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Rising tensions in the Far East will also be highlighted, especially on the Korean Peninsula where there are concerns about the threat to next year's Olympic Games.

● Sapa-Reuter reports from Lusaka that Mr Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's

Organisation, said South Africa's military operations in southern Angola have been a setback.

He said yesterday: "The invasion was a setback for the People's Liberation Army of Namibia." Plan is the armed wing of Swapo.

He added: "The invasion of Angola by South Africa is a result of Plan successes in northern Namibia, where it captured 30 armoured cars on October 31."

Mr Nujoma predicted that South Africa would be compelled to withdraw from Namibia next year because of the cost in human and economic terms of ruling the territory.

Mr Nujoma said military operations would be stepped up at the start of the rainy season.

The Swapo leader was in the Zambian capital for consultations with President Kenneth Kaunda.

## UK documentary on Angola tonight

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
LONDON. — British television viewers are to be taken on a harrowing tour tonight of war-torn Angola in a special Channel Four documentary, *Angola: South Africa's Dirty War*.

South Africa is cast as the aggressor in the company of the Reagan Administration and Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement and is blamed for waging a war that has left many dead, the economy of the country in ruins, and the future in doubt.

Angolan Commander Luis

Faciara of the 5th battalion says: "We know that when we fight Unita, we are actually fighting South Africa. South Africa is determined to destabilise Angola and to prevent our government from running the country as it wants to."

Angolans interviewed in the film claim South Africans "regularly massacre our people". There are scenes of mass graves and mutilated victims of attacks.

Angola's economic problems are highlighted in the film. Not least of the problems is that the bulk of the

country's most highly trained people are having to be channelled into the armed forces to fly aircraft and to man modern equipment.

A senior Luanda official says: "We have been at war for 26 years ... first against the Portuguese and now against South Africa and we yearn for peace."

"We know that when apartheid ends, this war will end. If apartheid ended tomorrow, Angola would be at peace tomorrow. The independence of Namibia is the key to peace in the region."



General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, at the Castle today with Brigadier A K de Jager, right, Officer Commanding Western Province Command. With them is Commandant Paul Grobbelaar, Captain of the Castle Guard, left, and other officers.

## Cubans in Luanda report 'unlikely'

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### Political Staff

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan has rejected as "propaganda" reports that the Cuban Fifth Division has moved into Luanda.

He said today that the story had been put out by the Mozambique news agency, Aim, whose "credibility was extremely low".

The object was probably to bolster the image of the Cuban and Angolan forces after their recent defeat.

"If I had suffered such a devastating defeat I would want to put out a story like this to try to restore my image as a strongman," General Malan said at an informal Press briefing at the Castle.

The report of the arrival of fresh Cuban troops was widely used on TV and in newspapers and caused some concern because it coincided with an announcement by the chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, that South African troops were pulling out of Angola.

General Malan warned South African media to treat Aim reports with circumspection.

He said a "shocker" such as



Brigadier de Jager shows General Malan construction plans while Commandant Grobbelaar looks on.

the story about the arrival of the Fifth Division could create anxiety among the public as the Cubans were not "real fighters".

For Aim to report on what was happening in Luanda was "like going to Moscow to find out what was happening in Los Angeles", General Malan said.

He said the report had not been confirmed one way or another. He had not ordered the army to check it but this would be done as a routine matter.

But he said to move an army division was "not child's play".

"They couldn't do it within six months. The possibilities are extremely limited."

Even if it were true, there was no great cause for concern

as the Cubans were not "real fighters".

They preferred to stay in the towns "to drink wine and flirt with the women".

Asked why SADF spokesmen had refused to comment on the report, he said this was because it was a political matter.

"I'm giving you the political comment."

General Malan was visiting the Castle to inspect restoration work.

He has a special interest in the Castle as he was based there while serving as Officer Commanding Western Province Command.

● More Cubans arrive — p 6.

# US hopes all foreign troops will quit Angola

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States said on Monday it hoped South Africa's troop withdrawal from Angola could be followed by a withdrawal of all foreign forces from the embattled country.

This might enable a regional peace settlement on the basis of Security Council Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia to become a reality.

A State Department spokesman

## We have no officers in Angola — USSR

The Star's Foreign News Service

MUNICH — The Soviet foreign ministry has denied at a news conference in Moscow that Soviet officers are commanding Angolan troops.

A Foreign Ministry official, Mr Vladilen Vasev, director of the Ministry's department responsible for southern and eastern Africa, said reports of Soviet officers in command positions in Angola were "groundless".

Mr Vasev said Soviet troops were in Angola to provide military aid and perform "advisory functions" at the request of the Angolan government.

A report of Mr Vasev's press conference appeared in Soviet newspa-

pers yesterday. noted that the US had recently joined the world community in supporting a United Nations resolution calling on South Africa to withdraw its forces from Angola, and therefore welcomed South Africa's intention to do so.

US policy was to secure the departure of all foreign forces from the region — South African troops from Namibia and Angola, and Cuban troops from Angola.

It is expected that the situation in Angola, and the prospect that it could turn into a dangerous confrontation between the superpowers, will be on the Reagan-Gorbachev summit agenda this week.

The Americans hope to press the Soviets into support of an Angolan peace initiative that will see a departure of all foreign forces, international guarantees for Angola's return to the world economy, and international encouragement for reconciliation between the ruling MPLA and Unita.

Angola is scheduled to come up during a discussion of world trouble spots, but officials in Washington say it is likely that this section of the summit will be dominated by the Persian Gulf war and Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

Rising tensions in the Far East, especially on the Korean Peninsula, will also be highlighted.

pers yesterday.

Meanwhile the SABC's Africa Desk has quoted an Angolan spokesman as denying reports that more Cuban troops are being deployed in the country.

According to Sapa, the SABC report quoted an Angolan military spokesman denying that a fresh Cuban division had arrived to help fight against Unita rebels.

The spokesman said Cuban troops might be asked to help expel South African forces if they failed to withdraw from Angolan territory by the UN Security Council's Thursday deadline.

Angola has said it would launch a new offensive if South Africa did not withdraw.



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Argus 9/12/87

## More Cubans arrive as all leave cancelled

Argus Africa News Service

MAPUTO. — All leave for Cuban soldiers in Angola has been cancelled.

In a report from Luanda the Mozambique news agency AIM said the cancellation also involved Cubans in auxiliary positions.

Cuban sources were quoted as saying that South African forces were still close to the town of Cuito Cuanavale.

On Saturday South Africa announced that it was withdrawing its troops from Angola.

At the weekend AIM said that Cuban reinforcements had arrived in Luanda and that one brigade was on its way to the south to help MPLA Government troops in their fight against South Africa and the Unita rebel group.

Yesterday the government-controlled news agency said that if Cuban troops were used against South Africa in southern Angola the government would be "exercising a right enshrined in the United Nations charter".

## SA forces 'deeper in Angola'

LISBON — SA troops have moved deeper into Angola despite Pretoria's announcement of a withdrawal, says the Angolan news agency, Angop.

It said the South Africans had been spotted on Monday moving north about 80km from the Namibian border.

An SADF spokesman said there

was nothing to add to the weekend announcement about the withdrawal.

The SADF said yesterday the first batch of about 100 returning soldiers had arrived in Pretoria. All those who took part in the operation had received Pro Patria medals. Sapa-  
Reuter. b/day 10/12/87

# Captive alleges SWATF crimes

Cape Times 10/12/87 (5)

LUANDA. — A Namibian soldier taken prisoner in Angola has said that the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) has specialized units that impersonate Swapo and commit crimes against the civilian population in northern Namibia, reports the Mozambican news agency, Aim.

But a spokesman for the SWATF last night denied the allegations, which he dismissed as "exactly what one would expect from a captive who has to please his captors".

Simeon Kandiwapa Petrus (22) was soldier no 86810173 in 101 Battalion of the SWATF until his capture by the Angolan armed forces (FAPLA) in September, in southern Angola.

Petrus said members of 101 Battalion had travelled north from the Namibian border and had met up with Unita units.

They had exchanged their standard rifles for Soviet-made AK-47s.

● As South African troops who had fought in Angola flew into Pretoria yesterday, the Angolan news agency, Angop, claimed South African forces were actually moving deeper into the country.

A military spokesman said later the SADF had "nothing to add" to earlier statements that a withdrawal from Angola had begun.

● In Cape Town yesterday, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, denied any link between the South African withdrawal and the summit meeting between American President Ronald Reagan and Russia's Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.

ATLANTIC OCEAN SERVICE

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Analysts here say this may be a guarded recognition by the Soviets that Unita is unlikely to be defeated by the communist forces and that a government of reconciliation is the only long-term answer.

In the communique President Reagan and Mr Gorbachev acknowledged that there were serious differences over Angola and other world trouble spots, but they also said it was important to find ways of settling the conflicts.

In Washington yesterday Mr Michael Armacost, the US Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, said the test for progress in Angola would be disclosed in coming discussions on a formula for Cuban and South African troop withdrawals.

It is not clear when these discussions will take place. There is speculation here that the Reagan Administration's Africa chief, Dr Chester Crocker, will fly to Luanda next week for resumed talks with the MPLA government.

At this week's summit, the Angolan conflict was overshadowed by nuclear arms control, the controversial US Star Wars space shield against intercontinental missiles, the Afghanistan war and tensions in the Persian Gulf.

In the euphoria over the medium-range missile treaty signed with the Soviets and with the smiling Mr Gorbachev the object of fascinated attention all week, the Angola conflict was all but ignored by the world media.

US officials have expressed hope that the MPLA's military setbacks in the past two months will encourage Luanda to return to the negotiating table with reasonable proposals for a Cuban troop withdrawal.

But much will depend on South Africa's attitude and how the Angolans perceive it, the Americans say.

by NEIL LURSEN  
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — Top United States officials are trying to knock down assertions that the Reagan-Gorbachev summit

failed to advance the peace process in Angola. Their message this weekend is one of "wait and see".

The Americans say that success or failure should not be

seen in the language of the joint communique issued at the end of the summit, but rather in the actions that emerge in coming weeks and months.

And they note that while

nothing really new came up in the summit talks about Angola on Thursday, the Soviets did say there were "possibilities that might permit some movement toward a political resolution".

# Summit wait and see over Angola

W/E AMRS 5 12/12/89

BOY soldiers — born at about the same time as Angola's civil war began a dozen years ago — are being forced into battle against Unita by the Government's Fapla army.

This is not propaganda, I saw them. Captured in battle, these children of war face an uncertain future. Put on public display by Unita their faces show, remarkably, both the innocence of their years and the battle horrors they have just endured. They were equipped with rifles in Angolan wars, and were in the line in the Angolan final count. It was the better discipline and commitment of the Unita forces that triumphed.

These children — among a thousand other images of war — made the greatest impression on me during my gruelling four-week stay with Unita combat forces in south-eastern Angola.

**INFANTRYMAN**

Like all wars, this conflict is about guns and territory and people of vastly different political persuasions and loyalties. But it is also a war about people, ordinary people. Some, like these 12-year-old boys, have been forced to take up arms against their fellow countrymen. Year after year the Unita soldiers have faced down the Angolan and Cuban forces who have swept in from the south and the east in their efforts to wipe out the trouble-making Unita. Unita's army, impressively by South African forces but it is always difficult

# The KIDS of WAAR

ately the Unita infantryman who has had to take the brunt of the bitter fighting. At Benguela, Unita's rehabilitation centre for the war wounded, I also saw:

• Innocent children maimed by hand mines planted by Fapla soldiers and Cubans in roads leading to agricultural areas.

• Women and children paralysed from poisoned water and food left behind by fleeing enemy soldiers.

• A civilian man who had been wrapped in plastic and set alight by Swapo soldiers. There is a whole community of more than 3,000 handicapped and maimed victims at Benguela being educated and trained. Many have a poor outlook on life.

There's a factory where former soldiers, who have lost legs, arms, hands, fingers, and other limbs for their fellow handicapped comrades, are being trained to make artificial limbs for their fellow handicapped comrades. Trained therapists help these people to use

their new limbs.

This area is called the FreeLand of Angola. Here Unita rules, although there is always the threat of attack.

Unita has established seven high schools with 251 000 pupils and 53 teachers. There are also 251 primary schools spread over other parts of southern Angola where 222 820 children are being educated.

One educationist is the future of this war-ravaged land: soldiers are the present. So Unita also has projects to increase educational standards of its army.

Secretary for Education Dr George Valente explained:

"With technology in the field of warfare advancing so rapidly, our soldiers should be able to keep up."

His teacher, he told me in Jamba, are working under extremely dangerous conditions in certain areas — seven of them were killed recently when Cubans bombed a civilian village.

At a Unita hospital I met Sister Maria, a 17-year-old German missionary who was initially captured by Unita troops three years ago while she was on her way from Luanda to a mission in Benguela. Now she is part of the Unita family. She told me Unita had treated her very well, including allowing her to visit her family in West Germany back to Unita to care for her mother. Sister Maria said she was with her work among the people. Two other "captives", Sweden Kent L. Anderson and Gumar Sloeber, told me just before their release two weeks ago how impressed they were by the well-disciplined Unita soldiers.

**DEBRIS**

"They were caught by Unita on the outskirts of the Angolan town of Luanda in September, then marched about 1,200 km through the bush before finally travelling five days and nights on a truck to Jamba.

"We never thought attacks by Unita so near the capital would be possible," they said.

While with the Unita forces, I travelled to Cassimba in the north-east of Angola near the Zambian border — where big battles had taken place a month previously.

It took five days, travelling by truck at an average speed of 30 km/h, through the bush to get to Cassimba. The Unita forces arrived — the debris of battle all that remained.



De Wet Potgieter and Unita soldier relax next to a captured Russian tank... battle's over — till next time

# Soviet troops, aircraft leave Angola <sup>19/12/87</sup> (S) (1/2/87)

LONDON — An unprecedented number of Soviet transport aircraft have left Angola during the past two weeks, carrying "large numbers" of Soviet military personnel and light equipment, according to the London Observer newspaper.

This has led to speculation that the move could indicate an attempt by Moscow to disengage from wholesale financial and military support in the region.

Quoting unnamed Western intelligence sources, the newspaper also said Soviet General Konstantin Shagnovitch

— believed to have been the mastermind behind the recent ill-fated Angolan government offensive against Unita strongholds around Mavinga — has been recalled to Moscow.

A Russian withdrawal was likely to be matched by the withdrawal of Cuban troops, it said.

There are about 35 000 Cuban military and civilian personnel and an undisclosed number of Soviet "military advisers" operating in Angola.

"It is believed the overt limited Soviet

military withdrawal from Angola marks a crucial shift in the Kremlin's policy away from attempts to win a decisive military victory and towards a negotiated end to the 12-year civil war."

However, the report added, while a Soviet reassessment of its commitment to Angola would be "warmly received in Pretoria" and help justify the death of 35 SADF soldiers and the wounding of 250 others, a Cuban withdrawal would present problems in justifying SA's continued presence in Namibia.

# Russians Quitting

# Angola — claim

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37  
CANC 70712 14/12/87

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — A huge number of Soviet transport aircraft have left Angola during the past two weeks, carrying "large numbers" of Soviet military personnel and light equipment, according to Western intelligence sources.

The move follows the crushing defeat of government troops during their big dry-season offensive against Unita strongholds around the key southern town of Mavinga in the past three months.

A report in the influential Observer newspaper said the latest development had led to speculation that the move could indicate an attempt by Moscow to disengage from wholesale financial and military support in the region.

Quoting unnamed intelligence sources, the newspaper also stated that Soviet General Konstantin Shagnovitch — believed to have been the mastermind behind the recent ill-fated offensive — had been recalled to Moscow.

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"It is believed the overt limited Soviet military withdrawal from Angola marks a crucial shift in the Kremlin's policy away from attempts to win a decisive military victory and towards a negotiated end to the 12-year civil war," the report said.

However, while a Soviet re-assessment of its commitment in Angola would be "warmly received in Pretoria" and help justify the death of 35 SADF soldiers and the wounding of 250 others, a Cuban withdrawal would present problems in justifying South Africa's continued presence in Namibia.

● Angola is prepared to move Cuban forces south of the Mocamedes railway line, the Mozambican news agency, AIM, has reported.

The service quoted a high-ranking officer in the Angolan armed forces (Fapla) as saying Fapla was transferring more Angolan and Cuban forces southwards and was prepared to bring the Cuban forces back south of the Mocamedes railway.

Last week the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, denied reports that the Cuban Fifth Division had been moved into Luanda.

# Soviets may be starting to leave Angola

(5) DD  
14/2/87

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

**LONDON — Evidence has emerged that the Soviet Union may be trying to disengage from wholesale financial and military support for the civil war being waged by the battered Marxist regime in Angola against the Unita movement.**

The move follows the crushing defeat of government troops during their big dry season offensive against Unita strongholds around the key southern town of Mavinga in the past three months.

Western intelligence sources report that an unprecedented number of Soviet transport aircraft have flown out of Angolan airfields during the past two weeks carrying large numbers of Soviet military personnel and light equipment.

The sources also report that Soviet General Konstantin Shagnovitch, believed to have masterminded the recent ill-fated Angolan government offensive, has been recalled to Moscow.

It is believed that the overt limited Soviet military withdrawal from Angola marks a crucial shift in the Kremlin's policy away from attempts to win a decisive military victory over Unita and towards a negotiated end to the 12-year civil war.

The Soviet military

build-up in Angola in the past 18 months, believed to have cost more than R1 billion, was designed to enable the Luanda government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to overrun Unita's southern strongholds at Mavinga and Jamba.

Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement, with strong air and artillery support from South Africa, destroyed one of three Angolan brigades which launched an attack against Mavinga and drove the other brigades back to the outskirts of the town of Cuito Cuanavale. Unita claims to have killed more than 2 000 MPLA troops, destroyed over 70 Soviet-built tanks and shot down seven Angolan MiG fighters and seven attack helicopters.

A Russian withdrawal is likely to be matched by the removal of Cuban troops.

Cuba has some 35 000 troops and civilians in Angola, while Moscow has an undisclosed number of military advisors on the warfronts.



# Cubans quitting Angola, says (S) <sup>14/12/82</sup> UK Press report

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Soviet troops have been withdrawing from Angola for two weeks, according to a British newspaper report.

And the withdrawal was likely to be matched by the withdrawal of Cuban troops, the report claimed.

However, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said today the Government had no knowledge of a withdrawal.

"We have no official information at present," he said.

The London Observer reported that an "unprecedented number" of Soviet transport aircraft had left Angola in the past two weeks, carrying "large numbers" of Soviet military personnel and light equipment.

The London Observer quoted Western intelligence sources as saying that Soviet General Konstantin Shagnovitch, who co-ordinated the Angolan government offensive against Unita rebel bases around Mayinga, had been recalled to Moscow.

## CIVIL WAR

"It is believed the overt limited Soviet military withdrawal from Angola marks a crucial shift in the Kremlin's policy away from attempts to win a decisive military victory and towards a negotiated end to the 12-year civil war," the Observer said.

Luanda and United States officials have held secret talks this year in an effort to negotiate a withdrawal of the estimated 37 000 Cuban troops in Angola. The withdrawal is one of several steps linked to the independence of Namibia.

Earlier this year Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos and his Cuban counterpart, President Fidel Castro, issued a joint communiqué pledging greater flexibility on the Cuban troops issue.

This was followed by fresh proposals from Angola, which proposed a limited Cuban withdrawal.

However, a report from the Mozambique news agency Aim at the weekend quoted a top Fapla officer as saying Angola was prepared to move Cuban forces south of the Mocamedes railway to show its determination to "control all its national territory."

*Chc. 7/25/87*  
**UN check on  
SA withdrawal**

LISBON — A UN mission visited southern Angola yesterday to check if South Africa had withdrawn its troops from the area, the Angolan news agency Angop reported from Luanda. Angop said UN officials flew to the province of Cuando Cubango, scene of recent heavy fighting between Angolan troops and UNITA rebels backed by South African forces. — Sapa-Reuter

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

MSAS 17/12/87

# Angola alert: Cubans on patrol in south — report

From NEIL LURSSSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — The United States Government said it was not surprised by reports from Luanda that Cuban troops had started to patrol Southern Angola with orders to engage South African troops in combat.

The reports come at a time when the United Nations has sent observers to Angola and when the Soviets have stepped up their anti-South African rhetoric.

Speaking in Moscow, Mr Viallen Vasev, the Soviet Union's top spokesman on Southern Africa, said that the Soviets insisted on the immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

"Any subterfuges and reservations and any manoeuvring on the part of South Africa are inadmissible," Mr Vasev warned.

In Washington a US spokesman said reports of more aggressive Cuban military activity in southern Angola were no surprise since the justification for the Cuban presence had always been to counter South African incursions on Angolan soil.

"The remaining obstacle to a regional peace settlement is the presence of the Cuban expeditionary force in southern Angola," the spokesman said.

"The issue for the Angolan government is whether it is prepared to offer a schedule for Cuban withdrawal sufficient to trigger a South African withdrawal from Namibia and the independence of that country under UN Security Council Resolution 435."

According to a report in yesterday's New York Times, Angola decided on the new policy of Cuban combat patrols after South Africa failed to meet a UN deadline to withdraw all its troops by December 10.

"There will not be an increase in Cuban troops, but we are warning that there is a possibility of Cubans fighting South Africans," the newspaper quoted Angola's highest rank-

The New York Times reported yesterday that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Cuban President Fidel Castro met in Moscow last month and decided to strengthen the Cuban military presence in Angola.

Last week dozens of new Soviet-made tanks and armoured personnel carriers were unloaded at Luanda while air space over Lobito, a major port in southern Angola, was closed for six days starting last Thursday.

But it seems unlikely that the communist forces are about to start a major push against South African and Un-ita forces as the rainy season has started, making large-scale military activity difficult.

● An SADF spokesman said Cuban forces had been in Angola for more than a decade.

"There is nothing new in this statement and the SADF has no further comment," he said.

The New York Times reported yesterday that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Cuban President Fidel Castro met in Moscow last month and decided to strengthen the Cuban military presence in Angola.

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"There is nothing new in this statement and the SADF has no further comment," he said.

OW. Times 22/12/87

## More Cuban-SA clashes — claim

JOHANNESBURG. — Cuban and South African troops have clashed recently in southern Angola, the Mozambican news agency Aim reported.

In a report from Luanda, Aim quoted an unidentified Cuban source as saying the clashes were not on a large scale. The report said that Cubans were on reconnaissance missions in the Cunene Province, preparing for a possible offensive against South African forces.

South Africa announced on Novem-

ber 11 that its forces had intervened in Angola to help Unita, and has since said that it has started withdrawing troops, indicating that the pull-out would be completed before Christmas.

South African Defence headquarters in Pretoria said the report was part of a "disinformation campaign".

● The Secretary General of the UN, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, yesterday called for South Africa to speed up its withdrawal from southern Angola. — Sapa-AP

⑤ sm 23/12/89

## New demand for withdrawal of SA troops

# Security Council to meet on Angola

NEW YORK — The United Nations Security Council will issue a new call today for the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola, council president Mr Alexander Belonogov of the Soviet Union said yesterday.

Secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, in a report on Monday, said Angola had told him South African forces were still engaged in active hostilities inside its territory.

Winding up a council debate on the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories, Mr Belonogov announced that an urgent meeting had been requested by the council's three African members, Congo, Ghana and Zambia.

They referred to implementation of a resolution adopted on November 25 demanding the unconditional pull-out of South African troops recently involved in heavy fighting in Angola.

"I understand that the official meeting of the security council will be a short one and that the council, without discussion, will adopt the relevant draft resolution," Mr Belonogov said.

No draft has yet been circulated.

The secretary-general, in his written report, issued a new call for South Africa to speed the withdrawal of its troops.

Pretoria backs Unita whose guerillas are battling Luanda's Marxist government, supported in turn by more than 30 000 Cuban troops and a number of Soviet advisers.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said that despite a statement on December 5 by the Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, that South African troops were being withdrawn, Angola said they were still present in the country and engaged in active hostilities.

"Thus far, South Africa has not provided me with information on the timetable for the withdrawal of all South African troops currently deployed in Angola, or with the other details which are relevant to the monitoring functions entrusted to me by the resolution," the secretary-general said.

"It has stated that since its troops were being withdrawn under operational conditions, no specific details could be provided." — Sapa-Reuter.

# Pik rejects UN claims on Angola

DD  
25/12/87

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday the South African Government had stated clearly that it believed all foreign forces should withdraw from Angola.

Commenting on a Security Council resolution condemning South Africa's occupation of Angolan territory, he said the continued fighting was not in the interests of Angola or southern Africa.

The presence of Cuban troops and Soviet advisers and weaponry threatened the region's security.

He said South Africa rejected the Security Council's interpretation of developments in Angola since it was based on a misrepresentation of the facts by the MPLA government in Luanda.

It was time the council ascertained the facts so that a balanced view of the situation could be conveyed to the world.

Referring to South Africa's withdrawal from Angola, Mr Botha said that this process was being undertaken under operational circumstances and that in the interests of security he could not give details.

In its resolution, the Security Council condemned South Africa for its occupation of Angolan territory and for delaying the withdrawal of its troops, demanded by the council a month ago.

The resolution, adopted unanimously, also asked the UN secretary general, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, to obtain from South Africa a timetable for withdraw-

val and confirmation of its completion. He was asked to report back "at the earliest date."

On November 25 the council strongly condemned Pretoria for "continued and intensified acts of aggression" against Angola.

In a report earlier this week Dr Perez de Cuellar said Pretoria had stated its troops were being withdrawn while Angola had said they were still engaged in hostilities.

He quoted the Angolan Defence Ministry as saying at least 7 000 South African troops were operating in southern Angola.

He said Pretoria had not given him information about a withdrawal timetable or other required details.

Dr Perez de Cuellar said South Africa had told him that since its troops were being withdrawn under operational conditions it could not provide specific details.

The only speaker at the brief council meeting was the Angolan UN representative, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, who said that when South Africa announced it was withdrawing its troops, it was in fact reinforcing its positions.

When the South African army commander said troops whose tour of duty ended in December would be home for Christmas, he neglected to add that this applied to a fairly small number who would be replaced, he said.

● Unita rebels claimed yesterday to have killed 58 Angolan soldiers in attacks this week.

# Unita 'captures town'

Cape Times, Monday, December 28, 1987 9

**JOHANNESBURG.**— Unita rebels in Angola have captured a strategic town in the country's centre and appear to be pursuing retreating government forces, according to a television crew invited to witness the offensive.

Camermen working for Western television networks said on Saturday that they saw forces of rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi capture the town of Munnhango on the Benguela railway last Tuesday.

The railway, from the Zaire border to the Atlantic, was closed by Unita sabotage, but the government in Luanda has been hoping to reopen it with foreign financial aid.

The camera crew said about 900 of Dr Savimbi's soldiers, using four captured Soviet-made T-54 tanks, overran the town, killing 20 government soldiers and sending the rest of the garrison fleeing north.

The newsmen said they saw an Mi-24 helicopter gunship burning and four tanks captured by the Unita officers said Munnhango, where Dr Savimbi once lived before Angola's independence from Por-

## 'Key victory' for the rebels

tugal, in 1975, gave their forces a strategic springboard for launching attacks further north.

It secured a supply line from Unita's bush headquarters at Jamba, some 900km to the south, a town of thatched huts close to Angola's border with Namibia.

The television crew, who spent 11 days in the bush at Unita's invitation, said morale among Dr Savimbi's forces, which have thwarted repeated government offensives in 12 years of civil war, was high after the latest battle, in which they claimed to have lost only two men.

They said the Unita fighters appeared well trained in the use of captured Soviet tanks as well as other support weapons. When storming Munnhango, they followed conventional army tactics — a

softening mortar shelling followed by tank and infantry assaults.

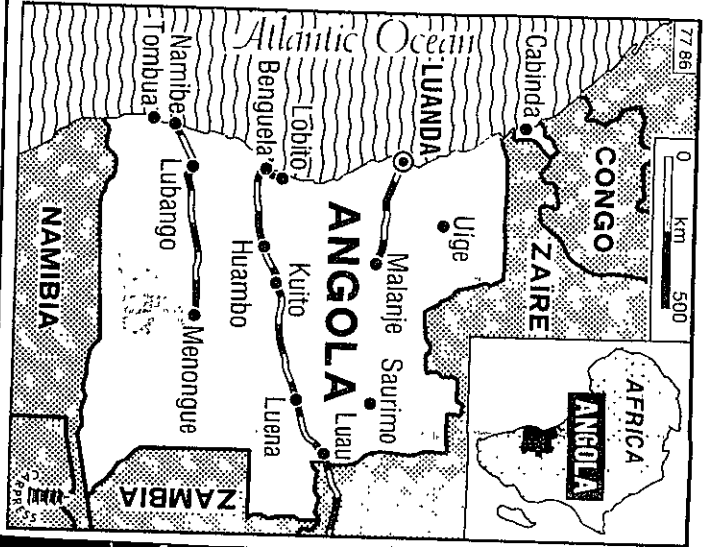
Unita's deep penetration capability in the northern half of Angola appears to have been boosted by American supplies of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, which Dr Savimbi said helped him ward off attack by Luanda's air force.

Meanwhile, South Africa has accused the United Nations Security Council of taking a biased view of events in Angola but did not respond directly to charges that its forces were still occupying parts of the country.

The Security Council condemned South Africa last Wednesday for its continued occupation of Angolan territory and for delaying the withdrawal of its troops, demanded by the council last month.

South Africa said on December 5 that it was pulling its forces out of southern Angola, but Angola says 7 000 troops are still inside the country.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Plk Botha, said South Africa "rejects the Council's interpretation of developments in Angola as it is based on a misrepresentation by the (Angolan) government..." — Sapa-Reuters



CAPE TOWN 30/12/87

# SA bombings kill 15 civilians, says Angola

LISBON. — South African planes have bombed army positions and towns in southern Angola, killing 15 civilians, despite Pretoria's claim it was withdrawing its forces, the Angolan official news agency, Angop, said yesterday.

A military spokesman in Pretoria yesterday scoffed at this and other allegations in the Angop statement.

Citing military sources, Angop said South African forces violated Angolan air space 10 times and bombed villages at least 12 times from December 20 to December 27.

"On the 23rd, the South African Air Force bombed Baixo-Longa south-west of Cuito Cuanavale, causing the deaths of 15 civilians and wounding five others," said the report, monitored in Lisbon.

"The Angolan armed forces shot down a South African plane and hit another fighter-type aircraft on December 26 when the planes were bombing villages and Angolan army positions in the Cuito Cuanavale area," Angop added.

Angop also said South African troops had attacked a supply convoy destined for civilians.

The strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale, in the southern Cuando Cubango province, has been the scene in recent months of fierce fighting between Angolan troops and Unita.

The SADF spokesman said yesterday the SADF "categorically denied" that an SAAF aircraft had been shot down on December 26.

He added: "The South African position, as far as Angola was concerned, was stated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs just last week. The SADF has nothing to add to that statement, or the statement made by the Chief of the SADF that the process of withdrawing from Angola had begun." — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent



City Times 30/12/87 (5)

# Unita shatters dream of Benguela line

By WILLEM STEENKAMP  
Defence Correspondent

THE CAPTURE of the town of Munhango, formerly Silva Porto, by Unita insurgents last week is a serious blow to one of the Angolan government's most cherished dreams: the re-opening of the financially strategic Benguela railway line.

To the Luanda government — in serious financial straits due to economic mismanagement, a seemingly endless civil war, the flight of its managerial class since 1976 and the worldwide drop in oil prices — the re-activation of the Benguela line would mean a vital new source of foreign currency earnings.

The capture of Munhango indicates that the Angolan government has lost most or all of the control it had laboriously established over the eastern half of the railway line in the past two years, and that it will not be able to re-

establish its sway for the foreseeable future.

Before the Benguela civil war started in 1975 the Benguela line, which runs to the Zairean and Zambian copperfields just north of the so-called "Cazombo Salient" jutting out of the eastern Angolan border, was an important source of foreign revenue earnings for Angola.

However, as a result of Unita activities it has not been operational along its full length in 12 years, although reopening of the copperfields freight service is high on the Angolan government's list of priorities.

In the past two years the Angolans managed to regain control of the Cazombo Salient and the area around the eastern part of the line. Thanks to a wholesale withdrawal of counter-insurgency troops for the recent abortive advance on Mavinga, however, Unita activities have intensified nationwide.

By late November it was reliably

reported that Unita had regained control of the Cazombo Salient, leaving only Cazombo town itself under Angolan control; the town's present status is unknown.

It is thought the insurgents have long since isolated the important railway town of Luena (formerly Luso), near the Cazombo Salient and only 150 km east of Munhango.

Luena was the jumping-off place for one of the two large armoured columns which set off for Unita-held Mavinga in mid-August. Apparently near the town of Gago Coutinho, however, the Luena column was halted and decisively defeated by Unita forces operating without South African help.

If Luena has been isolated, the capture of Munhango means Fapla will have to start from scratch the long, slow process of securing the eastern part of the railway line.

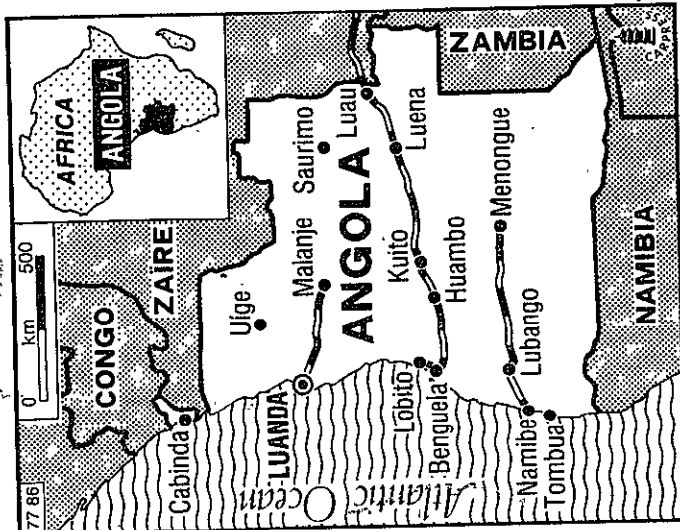
In military terms this would mean that the northern flank of the Cuabango province — Unita leader Jo-

nas Savimbi's stronghold — is secure against attack for the foreseeable future.

It would also mean Dr Savimbi's forces could operate more easily in the north, particularly the north-east, where another vitally important currency-earner for the Luanda government, the extensive diamond-fields, are located.

From Luanda's point of view the attack also represents an ominous escalation in Unita's mode of fighting. According to eyewitness accounts the insurgents mounted a "conventional" assault, with a pre-bombardment followed by a tank and infantry attack.

This might indicate Unita is reaching for the next stage of classical escalation, from hit-and-run guerrilla tactics to semi-conventional warfare, possibly because its highly effective Stinger air-defence missiles provide it with some measure of defence against Luanda's fighter aircraft.



as saying.

# SA bombing kills 15, claims Angola report

SM (5) 30/12/87

South African planes had bombed army positions and towns in southern Angola, killing 15 civilians, despite Pretoria's claim it was withdrawing its forces, the Angolan news agency, Angop, reported yesterday.

Citing military sources, the agency said South African forces violated Angolan air space 10 times and bombed villages at least 12 times

from December 20 to 27. Angop reported that on December 23 the SAAF bombed Baixo-Longa, south-west of Cuito Cuanavale, causing the deaths of 15 civilians and wounding five others.

## 'PLANE SHOT DOWN'

"The Angolan armed forces shot down a South African plane and hit another fighter-type aircraft on December 26

when the planes were bombing villages and Angolan army positions in the Cuito Cuanavale area," Angop said.

An SA Defence Force spokesman categorically denied last night that a South African aircraft had been shot down on December 26 and said the South African position as far as Angola was concerned was stated by Foreign Minister Pik Botha only last week.

The Defence Force had nothing to add to that statement nor to the statement made by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, that the process of withdrawing from Angola had begun, the spokesman said. — Sapa-Reuter.