

ANGOLA - GENERAL  
1988

JUNE

# SA losses <sup>Star 11/6/88</sup> led to talks <sup>(S)</sup> — Castro

HAVANA — South Africa agreed to recent regional peace talks only because it had suffered military setbacks in southern Angola, Cuba's President Fidel Castro said on Monday.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said South Africa had always been willing to talk and a change of attitude had come from "them, not us".

"If military setbacks are the reason why we are talking, it doesn't explain why they are willing to go into negotiations," he said.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said the issue was a matter for Foreign Affairs.

President Castro gave a detailed briefing on Angola to 33 Foreign Ministers and other top-level diplomats from 80 non-aligned nations concluding a Ministerial meeting on disarmament in Havana.

"He gave us the background, in great detail, even using a map, of the joint Angolan-Cuban military action in Cuito Cuanavale, southern Angola," an Asian delegate said.

## 'Victorious tactics'

President Castro emphasised that these "victorious tactics led South Africa to come to the negotiating table" — a reference to talks Pretoria held last month in London and Brazzaville with Angola, Cuba and the United States.

On Monday, the SABC called the deployment of Cuban troops close to the border with Namibia a provocation that could be designed to sabotage the peace talks. Cuban government officials have said in private that the troops' presence there was not the real issue but rather the alleged South African aggression against Marxist-ruled Angola.

Pretoria has said it will quit Namibia if Cuba withdraws its estimated 40 000 troops from Angola.

Angola radio quoted a brief government statement as saying that the next meeting of the four nations would follow on from talks held in London in May.

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Ready to work with US on Angola

# Gorbachev hints at 'peace plan'

Star 1/6/88

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By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

Washington

Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has given a strong hint that he is ready to join the United States in working towards a political settlement of the Angolan conflict — a settlement that would seemingly include the Unita rebel movement.

It came last night during an official dinner at the US embassy in Moscow where the General Secretary proposed a toast to mutual US-USSR co-operation and referred to regional conflicts as the cause of turmoil ... "in the entire world situation".

Mr Gorbachev spoke of the need for Third World problems to be resolved without confrontations between the superpowers and with recognition that the people of the regions had the freedom to make their own choices.

## Economic restructuring

It would require a radical restructuring of the world economic system, he said.

While he did not mention Angola or any other conflict area by name, Mr Gorbachev was speaking in the context of a summit where both sides have expressed the hope that accord can be reached on the Angolan issue and the related problem of Namibian independence.

Both leaders were sent messages by Zambian President Kenneth Kuanda, currently chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, who noted that the whole of Africa would gain if they could achieve peace at this week's summit.

In an editorial that reflects American expectations, the *New York Times* said: "Mr Gorbachev has declared a new interest in international co-operation for peace. Southern Africa is the perfect place to test it."

Mr Gorbachev's message that the people of Third World countries have the right to make their own choices may have been a barb at Reagan administration policies that aim to thwart communist regimes and support rebel movements.

But it also appears to commit the Kremlin to a course of staying aloof from domestic differences in those countries — a marked change from more aggressive Soviet foreign policies of the past.

With such an approach, Mr Gorbachev said, differences between the US and the Soviet Union over the future of Third World countries would not take on confrontational forms.

Analysts here believe that if Mr Gorbachev is serious about promoting a political settlement of Third World conflicts, he will run into problems in the case of Angola where the Marxist regime has made it clear that it will not come to terms with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Informed analysts say that the Angolan government appears unwilling to extend anything beyond amnesty to rank-and-file Unita members. Declarations by Mr Reagan and Mr Gorbachev about peace will ease tensions between Washington and Moscow, but peace will come to Angola only if Angola, Cuba and South Africa go along with it.

CMF. Trip 11/6/88 (5)

# Angola wants talks in Europe

LISBON. — Angola favours a European venue for the next round of talks aimed at ending the country's 13-year civil war and giving independence to Namibia, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

A statement, reported by the official news agency Angop, said Angola was studying proposals of possible dates for holding a further round of peace talks shortly in a European country.

The ministry denied what it said were international press reports alleging Angola was seeking a friendly African country to host further negotiations, the report said.

Representatives from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States met for the first time on May 3-4 in London to discuss a Southern African peace accord based on a withdrawal of

foreign troops from Angola and independence for Namibia.

South African and Angolan negotiators met again May 13 in Brazzaville in the Congo for what Angola called exploratory talks.

Angola says it will only agree to US and South African demands to send home more than 40 000 Cuban troops when South Africa withdraws its forces from Angola, a United Nations plan for Namibian independence is implemented and both countries halt aid for Unita.

## Military setbacks

Meanwhile Cuban President Fidel Castro said on Monday that South Africa had agreed to recent regional peace talks only because it had suffered military setbacks in southern Angola.

Dr Castro gave a two-hour detailed briefing on Angola to 33

foreign ministers and other top-level diplomats of some 80 non-aligned nations at the conclusion of a ministerial meeting on disarmament.

"He gave us the background, in great detail, even using a map, of the joint Angolan-Cuban military action in Cuito Cuanavale," an Asian delegate said.

He said that Dr Castro emphasized that these "victorious tactics led South Africa to come to the negotiating table", a reference to the talks in London and Brazzaville.

After the closed-door meeting, Dr Castro declined to say anything other than that the meeting was about Africa.

A Latin American diplomat, present at the briefing, said the Cuban leader showed guarded optimism about the future of the peace talks. — Sapa-AP-Reuter

MOSCOW. — New Angolan peace talks involving South Africa, Cuba and Angola and chaired by the United States are on the cards following the Soviet-US summit here.

However, South Africa and Angola disagree over a venue. After apparently agreeing to an African venue at the last round of talks in Brazzaville in May, Angola has now proposed Paris instead, South African diplomatic sources said.

South Africa has rejected this and is holding Angola to its original agreement. Diplomatic sources said it seemed that Angola was not happy with an African venue because South Africa gained so much advantage from the Brazzaville talks.

But Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has put a price on his co-operation in finding a solution in Angola — a satisfactory end to the bloody war in Afghanistan. The superpowers have set a target date of September 29 for settling the Angolan conflict.

Meanwhile, South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, is a key figure in Angolan/Namibian talks, to make a surprise two-day visit to the Cape Verde Islands this week, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reports.

### "Positive outcome"

Mr Gorbachev made it clear yesterday at the end of the summit that in return for his co-operation there must be a satisfactory conclusion to the war in Afghanistan where, for nine years, Soviet forces have fought against US-armed Afghan rebels. The Soviets insist on a conclusion that will not harm their interests.

Protesting that Soviet troops were being attacked and killed even as they withdrew from Afghanistan in terms of the recent US-Soviet agreement, Mr Gorbachev noted pointedly that failure to achieve "a positive outcome" in Afghanistan would affect the Soviet approach to seeking solutions to other regional conflicts.

● The South African Government was in the dark today about the target date of September 29 set by the Soviet Union and the US to settle the issues of Angola and Namibia. A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said: "Obviously, our agreement to this will be necessary."

"We cannot give in-depth comment until we have received the full text of the agreement between Russia and America."

September 29 is the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for the independence of Namibia. The date was set in talks between the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamashin during the summit.

3 of Tonight

### The weather Cloudy and cold

(Details — page 2)

South Africa's position remains that Resolution 435 cannot be implemented until the 40 000 Cuban troops in Angola have been withdrawn. It is understood that Dr Crocker will give South African officials a detailed briefing on his exchanges with the Soviet government.

● Unita rebels claimed yesterday that their forces seized control of three towns in northern and western Angola, killing 43 government troops. Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda said South Africa had been forced to the negotiating table by military defeat in Angola and pressure from the superpowers. — The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuter.

### Cubans

The South African Ambassador in Washington, Dr Piet Koorhof, flew home last night for consultations with the Government.

# New push for Angolan peace

MSUS  
2/16/88  
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# WORLD NEWS

Inside

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A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION



**HISTORIC PACT . . .** President Ronald Reagan and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev shake hands after signing the INF treaty. REPORT, page 3  
Picture: REUTERS

## Angola's D-day

GM Trans 2/6/88

**MOSCOW.** — The United States and the Soviet Union favour a target date of September 29 this year for settling the problem of Angola and Namibia, a senior US official said yesterday.

This had emerged from talks between the US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, and the deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, during the Moscow superpower summit, he said.

The date is the 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 435, which calls for independence for Namibia.

There were, however, "important remaining differences" — particularly a timetable for Cuban troop withdrawals — but in agreeing to a September target date "you can conclude that there is a shared US-Soviet belief that the problem should be 'solved now', the official said.

Our Washington correspondent reports that the Reagan administration may consider new economic pressure on SA if Pretoria is seen to be stalling on an Angola settlement, according to Commonwealth eminent person General Olusegun Obasanjo. — Own Correspondent

# US aid for new Unita <sup>5</sup> base <sup>CHT</sup> <sup>Times 2/6/89</sup>

LONDON. — Diplomatic sources here have confirmed that the US, in a bid to wean Unita away from South Africa, is supporting the setting up of a second base camp for the rebel movement in the north of Angola.

This follows Angolan claims that the US is using six bases in Zaire to train Unita members.

The claims were reported in the New York Times last week, which quoted the Angolan chief of staff, Lieutenant-General Antonio dos Santos Franca, as saying the US wanted to take away from Unita "their negative image as puppets of apartheid".

In its latest issue, the journal Africa Confidential (AC) reported: "The United States is making its play to wean the Unita rebels away from their South African-supplied bases in the south to a new US and Zairean-backed headquarters in the north. Unita is running down its old southern base at Jamba and aiming to build a new one at Quimbele near the Zairean border."

Commenting on the recent Angolan and Cuban advance into the south of the country, diplomatic sources in London said the offensive was seen as an astute diversionary move.

MOSCOW — The US and the Soviet Union favoured a target date of September 29 this year for settling the Angola-Namibia problem, a senior US official said yesterday.

The official said that had emerged from lengthy talks between US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin during the superpower summit.

He said: "The two sides were able to indicate their support for establishing September 29, 1988, as a target for resolving outstanding differences."

Soviet leader Mikhael Gorbachev said

## US and Soviets to set Angola date?

earlier the Soviet Union was willing to play a larger role in attempts to resolve the conflict in southern Africa, if asked to do so by the parties. He said he and President Ronald Reagan had agreed that recent talks on the pullout of Cuban and SA troops from Angola, as well as independence for Namibia, led them to

EB/duw

● To Page 2 → 2/6/88

## US, Soviets about to set Angola date?

believe "that process could come to a positive outcome".

The proposed date is the 10th anniversary of UN Security Council resolution 435, which called for independence for Namibia.

The official said: "There are important remaining differences, but in agreeing to a September target date you can conclude there is a shared US-Soviet belief that the problem should be solved now."

The official said the superpowers were agreed that there should be an early follow-up meeting. Other US officials said the four parties which were at the London talks (Angola, Cuba, SA and the US) were expected to meet again in the first half of June.

Some officials also said privately a question mark hung over SA's willing-

← ● From Page 1

ness to concede full independence to Namibia and that the US was limited in the degree to which it could influence SA's behaviour.

But Commonwealth Eminent Person Olusegun Obasanjo said in Washington that the Reagan administration was prepared to consider new economic pressure on SA if it concluded Pretoria was stalling on an Angola settlement.

Obasanjo, who said he was acting as a "facilitator" in the negotiations, was also convinced that unless a deal was struck by July "then we will have to forget it for now and look to the next administration". He did not explain the deadline.

Comment Page 6



September deadline 'unrealistic'

# Superpowers'

# Angola accord

# Rate stuns SA

Stets 2/16/88

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The United States and the Soviet Union have agreed at the Moscow summit to attempt to settle the problem of Angola and Namibia by September 29 this year — the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435.

But Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has put a price on his agreement to work with the United States — a satisfactory conclusion to the bloody war in Afghanistan.

### Staff Reporters

While the superpowers move towards a new settlement initiative, South Africa appears to be stalling on further regional talks.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said: "Obviously, our agreement to this will be necessary. We have received no official communication so we cannot judge in what context the date was fixed."

"We cannot give in-depth comment until we have received the full text of the agreement between Russia and America."

South African sources today said the setting of a September date for the resolution of issues in Angola and Namibia was completely unrealistic.

South Africa's position remained that Resolution 435 could not be implemented until the 40,000 plus Cuban troops in Angola had been withdrawn from the region.

### Obstacles

Furthermore, last-minute snags have cropped up ahead of the next round of talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US.

Angola is keen that the talks should be held in Paris, and not in Brazzaville, as was originally agreed.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs said last night it had been agreed that further talks should be in Africa, and South Africa saw no reason why this agreement should be changed.

Sources said that unless the venue for the talks was in Africa, the next round could be in jeopardy.

Meanwhile, the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, is to make a snap visit to Cape Verde later this week, according to the Portuguese news agency Lusa.

There was no confirmation of this from the Department of Foreign Affairs early today.

Some US officials have said privately a question mark hangs over South Africa's willingness to concede full independence to Namibia.

Cuban troops, supporting the Angolan government against UNITA, are withdrawn from Angola. Pretoria has said it would be prepared to grant independence to Namibia provided 40,000 Cuban troops, supporting the Angolan government against UNITA, are withdrawn from Angola. Some US officials have said privately a question mark hangs over South Africa's willingness to concede full independence to Namibia.

See Pages 2 and 9.

*Capit 7/10/88*

## Visit for SADF man *2/10/88*

JOHANNESBURG. — A high-ranking Cuban government journalist says a member of the SADF undergoing medical treatment in a hospital in Havana is to be visited by a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Sergeant Johan Papenfus, who received serious thigh and leg wounds in southern Angola, was flown to Cuba after being captured by Cuban troops.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI.

# SA keeps close watch on Cubans

ARCUS  
3/6/88  
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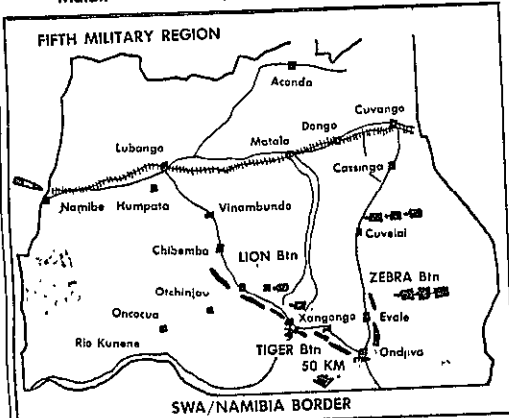


General Malan

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent  
SOUTH Africa is closely watching the military situation in south-western Angola, especially Cuban troop movements, but suggestions that the country has aggressive intentions are being played down.

This follows a warning from the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, yesterday that Cuban leader Fidel Castro's "aggressive bravado" could have South Africa reconsider its Angolan peace effort.

According to the latest information, the Cubans have been building up a crescent-shaped defence line from south-western Angola to the north-west. Dr Castro has spoken of the construction of an air strip in the area and military sources believe there have been indications of such construction at Cahama, 90km north-west of Xangongo.



It is estimated that Cuban troops are 60km from the Namibian border.

General Malan said today South Africa was not adopting an aggressive or provocative posture. South Africa was carefully monitoring the Cuban military build-up and would not be caught off guard.

He stressed that South Africa would not hamper efforts for a peace settlement. Cuban action could, however, damage peace prospects and unless the Cubans changed their stance South Africa would have to reconsider its good intentions.

### Key player

The build-up of forces had raised the temperature in the region and it would need only a spark to start trouble.

Russia was a key player on the scene, he said, and should it decide that the Cubans must go, real peace could be achieved.

The ball was squarely in the other side of the court to decide if the talks went on.

General Malan accused Dr Castro of "image-building" in Africa and said he was trying to give an umbrella to Swapo.

The Minister said Cuban moves were also a face-saving operation following the "bloody nose" they received in south-eastern Angola recently.

Cuba was going against the mandate it received from the MPLA government by trying to help Swapo in this way.

The Cuban leader was a "Marxist opportunist" while the Russian leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, was, compared to him, a creative thinker.

Military spokesmen today stressed that South Africa was not unprepared for the situation, although some developments in south-west Angola had been unexpected.

South Africa was not putting up aggressive defence lines because it did not want war.

Although the Cuban moves could harm the peace efforts, they were not expected to destroy them.

(Turn to page 3, col 2)

## Cuban moves

(Continued from page 1)

General Malan today also expressed agreement with Mr Pik Botha's viewpoint that the next round of talks on Angola must again be held in Africa.

### FORCED

Speaking last night, General Malan said South Africa was not prepared to be blackmailed or to stake its future at the negotiating table.

He was reacting to statements attributed to Dr Castro, who said South Africa had been forced into negotiating over an Angola/Namibian settlement because of losses at the hands of Cuban forces.

General Malan said South Africa would have to reconsider its peace initiative. Russia and the Angolan government should take note of Dr Castro's bravado, which clearly showed he was dismissing the current peace moves.

"The provocative intransigence he displays can be the major stumbling block in the way of the peace initiative.

### STRANGE

"It clashes directly with the apparent pragmatic attitude of the MPLA and the Russians and is a refusal to accept the facts of Angola."

General Malan said he found it strange that Dr Castro now appeared to speak on behalf of the MPLA.

"He already exceeds his mandate by taking Swapo, under his wing. It looks as if he is totally ignoring the MPLA."

"Withdrawing his 45,000 troops from Angola does not suit him. Cuba's economy cannot carry the burden of this no-madric force. At the same time there is concern over a possible disease they are carrying about with them."



Pictures: DANA is ROUX, The Argus  
water in a dam at Matiland cemetery search for more bodies.

## Camps Bay theatre plans get green light

By GARTH VERDAL  
Tonight Reporter

PIETER Toerien's plans to redevelop the Phoenix Theatre in Camps Bay have been approved.

"We start work today," said Mr Toerien.

The R2-million project will give Cape Town its fourth theatre. The others are the Nico Malan, the Baxter and UCT's Little Theatre.

The new theatre, which Mr Toerien intends to rename, will seat 280 people and have a bar.

"I may ask for suggestions from the public about a new name, as I did with the Leonard Rayne in Johannesburg," said Mr Toerien.

### BY CHRISTMAS?

The big question was whether he would be able to open the theatre "this side of Christmas to catch the summer season and get things off to a good start."

The builders had told him this depended on a "good winter."

Nine months of bureaucratic



### First choice for racegoers

For selections, perms and fields for the race meetings at Kenilworth (The WP Futurity Stakes), Turffontein and Greyville (The Daily News 2000), see page 16.

Francis Wolfardt's column and fields for four centres, including Port Elizabeth, in the Racegoer will be in the first edition of Weekend Argus tomorrow morning.

### Gold \$463,45

GOLD traded at \$463,45 an ounce in Hong Kong today after a jump in silver prices triggered a \$9,40 rise in United States bullion markets to \$467 last night.

### EMERGENCY UPDATE

#### Two stabbed, shot to death

PRETORIA. — Two men died after being shot and stabbed by a group of people at Hammarsdale in Natal, police said in their daily unrest report.

The crowd stabbed the men — aged 26 and 56 years — and fired shots at them.

A youth was arrested after the killings, police said.

Petrol bombs were hurled by a crowd at three vehicles near a high school in Emdeni, Soweto.

The group also slashed the tyres and smashed some of the windows.

Police said four youths were arrested after the incident in Sapa.

### Press curbs

In terms of the state of emergency regulations, news, pictures and comment are restricted.

# War of words over Angola

Star 3/6/88

Political Correspondent

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CAPE TOWN — Tensions in southern Angola are escalating dangerously as South Africa and Cuba square up on a broad military front.

President Castro of Cuba and South African Defence Minister General Magnus Malan have made angry verbal exchanges in the past 24 hours.

In the process, further regional peace talks may be scuttled.

President Castro last night issued his most threatening statement regarding the Cuban military build-up in southern Angola — and he announced that his forces were building an airfield just north of the Namibian border to extend Cuba's air power in the region.

General Malan said through his spokesman today that President Castro was a Marxist opportunist and a "wild horse" busy with a face-saving exercise.

South Africa was not the aggressor in the region, he said, but nonetheless the necessary precautions were being taken in the face of the Cuban menace.

In a situation like this, where its interests were at stake, South Africa was always prepared, he said.

At the same time, General Malan said, South Africa had no intention of hampering any efforts to create peace.

This had been proved by the country's willingness to travel and take part in talks.

ANGOLA (S) KM

## Playing war games

Cuba's latest offensive in Angola is apparently aimed at bearding the lion in his den — it amounts to brinkmanship. But it could provoke unexpected consequences, according to military observers in Lisbon.

Latest reports from Angola's hotspot, the "fifth military region", suggest combined Cuban and Angolan forces comprising 35 000 men — with air cover, anti-aircraft defences, armoured vehicles and artillery — are advancing towards the South African positions along a line stretching from the port of Namibe eastwards through Lubango and Matala.

The forces are reported to have built G5 shellproof bunkers south of Cahama and Cuvelai; to be preparing new offensives around the besieged town of Cuito Cuana-vale; and to be moving towards the South Africans in a wide semicircle. The operation is officially known as the "Southern Advance", its destination said to be the Namibian border and its objective to push back

SA's 5 000-strong force inside Angola.

Government columns are also likely to advance towards Mavinga in preparation for a further attempt at routing Jonas Savimbi and Unita from Jamba.

Diplomats reporting from Luanda say SA has reinstated reconnaissance flights over the area to the levels they stood at before the Lusaka accords. They also say that South African forces are better prepared.

The weekly newspaper *Expresso* said the total number of Cubans now in Angola stands at 46 000, following their recent reinforcement through Namibe and other western ports. Analysts in Lisbon claim the Cuban buildup could just be part of an effort to negotiate from a position of strength or may be a deliberate effort by hardline anti-*perestroikaniks* in Havana to undermine Moscow's efforts to get a negotiated peace in the territory.

There are repeated reports that Cuban leader Fidel Castro is increasingly concerned about what to do with his expeditionary forces should they come home. An Italian magazine report last week (given much prominence in the Portuguese press) said Castro had signed a deal with Uganda's Yoweri Museveni allowing for the transfer of 2 000 Cubans from Angola to reinforce the Ugandan army. Cuba and Libya are emerging as Uganda's chief allies in its battle against insurgents. ■

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Angola (5)

deadline

Sowetan 3/6/88

MOSCOW — The United States and the Soviet Union favour a target date of September 29, this year, for settling the problem of Angola and Namibia, a senior US official said.

The official said this emerged from lengthy talks between US Assistant Secretary of State, Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Anatoly Adamishin, during the Moscow superpower summit.

# What price Marxist ideology in the long-suffering Angola?

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This year has been dubbed Year One of Economic and Financial Recovery in Marxist-Leninist Angola — but people still barter on the black market with bottles of beer. Victor Mallet reports on the gap between policy and practice as an International Monetary Fund application approaches.

LUANDA — Antonio Ferreira Neto, the Angolan health minister, was studiously ignoring demands for facts about the cholera epidemic raging in the capital Luanda. Instead, he spoke at great length to the journalists gathered in his office about government efforts to train the people in the art of hygiene.

A Brazilian reporter, newly returned from a toilet in the building, was outraged. Why, she asked, were the health ministry toilets filthy? Why was there no toilet paper or running water? Why, she could have asked, were there heaps of uncollected garbage rotting in the street outside?

Unnerved, the health minister did something many of his foreign counterparts might hesitate to do in front of the media. He lit a cigarette. The chasm between Angolan hygiene policy and practice was painfully obvious.

It is a lesson to be applied elsewhere where Angola's much-vaunted economic reform programme appears to be suffering from a discrepancy between words and deeds which is equally damaging. At best it could be said that the pace of reform has unexpectedly slackened.

This year, as the slogans never fail to remind you, is Year One of Economic and Financial Recovery. Battered by civil war, low prices for its oil exports and the bunching of foreign debt repayments over the next few years, Marxist-Leninist Angola has applied to join the International Monetary Fund. It is the last African country to do so.

To back up its IMF application — which is opposed for political and economic reasons by the US — Angola has

launched a recovery plan along classical African lines.

Private enterprise and foreign investment are to be encouraged at the expense of inefficient state corporations, fiscal and monetary discipline will be imposed and the currency is to be devalued. Perestroika in eastern Europe is a favourite topic of discussion among Angolan intellectuals.

The problem, according to the government's Western donors, is that there is more talk than action. There are exhortations to the people to work harder and produce more, says one Western diplomat based in Luanda, but nothing really concrete has been said that they can act on.

Daily life in the filthy streets of the capital is much as it was two years ago. With the currency worth about 70 times less than its official value, most people barter for their purchases on the black market with bottles of beer as a means of exchange. Party members and government workers have access to special shops.

The road to the current programme known as SEF — Saneamento Economico e Financeiro — was prepared by the ruling party's reformist second congress in 1985. Some of the more hardline leftist members of the government were pushed into the background at the time.

Today, however, Angola — like Zambia before it — seems to be putting the brakes on its reform drive long before any significant goals have been achieved.

Two leading reformists were sacked from the SEF secretariat in March,



Billboards exhort the people to greater efforts on empty stomachs

apparently for being too outspoken, and have since returned to their old jobs in the finance ministry and the central bank. They are Dr Jose Cerqueira, a French-trained economist once described as an Angolan yuppie, and Mr Mario Nelson. Nor have all the draft laws associated with the recovery programme been approved on schedule by the government for rubber-stamping in the People's Assembly.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, although himself an enthusiastic proponent of reform, is constrained by the reluctance of the party faithful to sacrifice privilege and ideology for the sake of economic progress. It's too early to speak about the results of the programme, he says. The results of SEF will be gradually achieved as concrete measures are carried out.

There is one region of Angola much farther down the path of reform than

the others. It is the so-called Fifth Region, comprising the southern provinces of Huila, Namibe and Cunene and run by the reform-minded ex-prime minister Mr Lopo do Nascimento.

Although gravely affected by the war, this region has become a sort of Angolan economic laboratory striving to break away from the centralised stranglehold of the capital. Already, the area's agricultural, industrial and fishing potential has attracted about \$150 million of promises in foreign aid, much of it from the European Community.

In the last few weeks, a private snack bar has opened in the town of Lubango, an almost unheard-of event in Angola. With the help of private traders, commercial purchases of maize in Huila province rose sixfold last year to 30 000 tons, according to the local government.

Marketeers — theoretically they are black marketeers — ply their trade in the open as if they were in any other African country. The local currency, the kwanza, has much higher buying power in Lubango because more goods are available.

Mr Amarat Batista, a deputy of Mr do Nascimento and a friend of Dr Cerqueira, is remarkably frank about the mistakes of the past 13 years and about the advantages his region enjoys, including a higher proportion of Portuguese businessmen and farmers who stayed behind after independence. Transport, he says, must be privatised, but strategic industries such as beer will remain in government hands.

The objective is to integrate the black market, he says. For the moment, people have to survive. If they have no shoes, it's better that they get shoes on the black market than not at all.

Angola has started late on the road to economic reform and it probably has further to go than any other African country. A snack bar and a thriving market make a small beginning. — Financial Times

# Cuban air

*CMR Tamps 3/6/88*

# Threat to

*(5)*

# base

# IKS

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**IN AN angry statement Defence Minister General Magnus Malan threatened last night to reconsider the Angolan-Namibian peace initiative as a result of the "aggressive bravado" of Cuba's President Fidel Castro.**



President Castro

General Malan

General Malan responded to President Castro's disclosure that a new air base was being constructed near the Angola-Namibia border to bring Cuban fighter jets close to the frontline.

In a challenging speech President Castro said Cuba now had the means to confront any South African adventure in Angola. "If they want to fight, the enemy can suffer a serious defeat," he told delegates of non-aligned countries in Havana yesterday.

Giving an unusually detailed account of Cuban clashes with the SADF, he said the latest military encounters in southern Angola had totally changed the balance of forces in the region and South Africa now wanted to negotiate because of losses it had suffered in Angola at the hands of a Cuban force it had never previously faced.

Cuba decided to move its troops, tanks and air cover further south late last year because of the offensive around Cuito Canavale, the president said.

The reinforcements included the dispatch of the best Cuban pilots for MiG-23 fighter aircraft until aerial superiority over the South Africans was reached. This was in addition to already existing superior anti-aircraft defence.

"Then" according to President Castro, "South Africa showed fear and began to refuse to fight."

On November 23 the first Cuban reinforcement units left for Angola by ship and plane. They arrived in Cuito Canavale on December 5.

"On January 13 South Africa launched an offensive against Cuito Canavale and on February 14 they attacked again with 150 armoured vehicles."

This attack was stopped by a small number of Cuban tanks, he claimed.

On February 25, March 1 and March 23, South African attacks were repelled, causing the enemy a "high number of losses."

Thousands of mines that had been planted destroyed several South African tanks. After six months of fighting the South Africans had not been able to capture Cuito Canavale.

"They are wondering if we are going to advance, if we are going to take the dam nearby. On

To page 3

*CMR Tamps 3/6/88*  
From page 1  
the Angolan border. No quarantees can be given and they must form part of a negotiated solution."

Responding to South African warnings that a recent Cuban advance in southern Angola could jeopardize the peace talks, the Angolan ambassador to Lusaka, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, told Reuters yesterday that Cubans and Angolan soldiers had never crossed into Namibia since Angolan independence from Portugal in 1975.

"Angola is a sovereign state and has the right to control its own frontiers," he said.

Reacting to President Castro's statements last night, General Malan said Russia and the Angolan government should take note of Dr

Castro's "bravado" which clearly showed he was dismissing the current peace moves.

"Withdrawing his 45 000 troops from Angola does not suit him. Cuba's economy cannot carry the burden of this nomadic force. At the same time there is concern over a possible disease they are carrying about with them."

President Castro was trying to create an impression because he had failed to show any successes in Angola where his mercenaries gave a pathetic performance in South Eastern Angola.

South Africa had achieved its goals in the territory in support of Unita, suffering 31 000 losses against the 10 000 of the enemy.



# Angola peace talks now 'set for Paris'

Star 4/6/88 (5)

**BRAZZAVILLE** — A senior Angolan government official has said the next round of peace talks on Angola and Namibia will take place shortly in Europe, possibly Paris.

Speaking to reporters after meeting Congolese President Denis Sassou Nguesso, deputy Defence Minister Ernesto Franca Ndalú declined to name the venue or to give a date for the talks.

Angola, South Africa, Cuba and the United States held talks in London on May 3 and 4 and issued a joint statement saying the follow-up meeting should take place at an African venue.

Separate bilateral talks between South African and Angolan officials were held in Brazzaville on May 18.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said

later the next round of full talks would also take place in the Congolese capital.

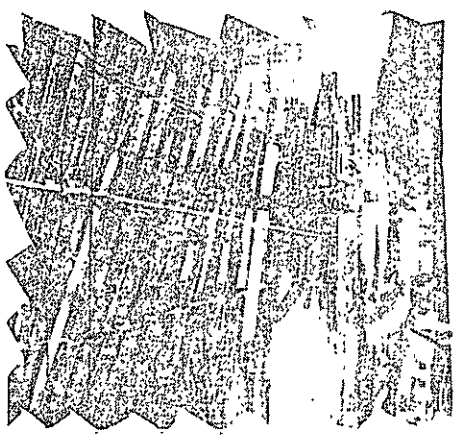
But the Angolans favour a European venue and Angola's ambassador to Zambia, Mr Luis Neto Kambiata, on Thursday accused Pretoria of complicating the peace process by insisting on an African country.

## Presidential message

Diplomatic sources in Ivory Coast said a South African delegation visited Abidjan recently to assess that city, or the inland capital of Yamoussoukro, as possible venues.

Mr Franca Ndalú told reporters he had delivered a message from President Eduardo dos Santos to President Nguesso dealing with the issue.

Diplomatic sources in Lusaka said the Angolan government favoured Paris as the venue for the next round of talks. — Sapa-Reuter.



BRIDGE to Cuito Canavale.

# CUITO CANAVALE: South Africa's Dien Bien Phu?

by DAVID WILLERS, London director of the South Africa Foundation

**N**OW that the superpowers at the Moscow summit have set a target date of September 29 this year for bringing Namibia to independence and ending the war in Angola, all eyes are on President Botha. Will he lay to rest the doubts still remaining over Pretoria's ultimate willingness to grant independence to Namibia?

Or to put it another way, since the parallel is bound to be drawn sooner or later will Cuito Canavale turn out to have been South Africa's Dien Bien Phu?

At Dien Bien Phu, it will be recalled, was a small fortress in French Indochina where the creme of the French army suffered a humiliating defeat in 1954 at the hands of the Vietnamese. As a direct consequence the French eventually left Vietnam altogether. But the hurt was there. The army never forgot the grievous blow to its pride and resolved to prove that it was still a force to be reckoned with.

Five years later the proving ground was Algeria where, still smarting from the memory of Dien Bien Phu, the generals successfully frustrated all attempts by successive French governments to give Algeria independence.

Wounded military pride and the necessity to recover from eventually led to a major confrontation between rede army elements and General de Gaulle which brought France to the verge of civil war.

CUITO Canavale, or simply, Cuito as it is known for short, may well be in another theatre but the psychology looks the same, and although it is said the SADF was unable to capture the Angolan hamlet because the canavales would have been difficult to transport at home, the fact is that the SADF was defeated. The fact is that the SADF was defeated.

"A Boer with an olive branch is as credible these days as a vegetarian crocodile," the Guardian warns gloomily.

FOR Dien Bien Phu then, read Cuito Canavale. For Algeria read Namibia. If the feeling grows that Cuito was indeed a famous defeat for the South African army in the region, it could well lead to a sentiment that to abandon Namibia as well as Angola would be unthinkable.

Namibia, like Algeria, may have to become the proving ground where the SADF regroups in order to win back its spurs.

Besides, some will contend, the effect on South Africa's black population of a perceived withdrawal under these circumstances would be too uncertain to risk.

Overseas observers are no longer pulling any punches about the seriousness of the dispute between the SADF and Foreign Affairs over Namibian/Angolan policy.

Colin Legum, editor of the reputable and highly informed *Third World Report* says bluntly that P.W. Botha will have to choose between his hawks and his doves when the crunch comes, as it has indeed come this week with an agreed Russian/American deadline.

The latest issue of *Africa Confidential* claims the South African public has no idea what is happening in Angola.

General Malan could arguably be criticised for allowing this state of affairs to happen. However, to be perfectly fair to him it is probably not his fault that there was an apparent failure of nerve when the government learnt that the probable cost to occupy Cuito would be 300-odd South African lives, although strategists will no doubt argue that Malan should have made it clear to President Botha what the price would be before committing the

Under these circumstances the right wing led by Dr Andries Treurnicht (the "Hindenburg" of South Africa with Eugene TerreBlanche and the AWB — whose equivalent in Algeria was the OAS — not far behind) could gain enormous electoral advantage.

The South African army, like its French counterpart in Algeria in 1961, once so reformist and shunning all contact with the right wing "petit Noir" settlers, would, perforce, find dubious common cause with the Conservative Party.

There would, thereafter, be very little likelihood of independence for Namibia being negotiated through diplomatic channels and instead every likelihood of collective UN Security Council sanctions.

Much current conventional wisdom in Pretoria has it that the only reason the SADF has waged such a highly effective counter-insurgency war in Namibia is because the war was in fact carried lock, stock and barrel into the neighbouring country supporting Swapo.

By the same logic if South Africa were to withdraw from Namibia the war might one day have to be carried into Namibia if one was to prevent insurgency into South Africa itself.

As Lieutenant-General Denis Durr, former Chief of the South African Air Force, has observed, don't get too optimistic over the Angolan talks. What he appears to be signalling is that regardless of the diplomatic small print the South African army has little intention of abandoning Namibia lightly.

AND so we come again to the analogy with Dien Bien Phu. Although SADF tactical specialists will have it that Cuito was never a decisive objective there can be little doubt that the

any involvement of Unita in an international settlement. "They consider this an internal affair," he said.

"Inside Angola, they will have to deal with Unita — they have found ways in the past of dealing with the FNLA — I would say they will solve their problems with Unita."

There can be no doubt that post-Cuito and with South Africa effectively out of Angola, Unita will find it much more difficult to insist on a fair deal with Luanda.

On the contrary, Savimbi's men are likely to be reduced to shadowy equivalents of the Mozambique resistance movement, intermittently supplied with weapons from Zaïre from a dwindling US stockpile, and resorting to ever more cruel methods to cow the local populations.

VASSIF made another point which will have a definite bearing on South African perceptions of Angolan intentions.

He said the time scale of the South African withdrawal from Namibia could not be synchronised with that of the Cuban forces from Angola as the South Africans wanted "Linkage pure and simple is not acceptable to the Angolans," he said, adding that whereas the UN plan for Namibia foresaw a South African withdrawal from Namibia — and thereby out of range of Angola — in seven to 12 months, Luanda sees the need for Cuban troops staying on for 48 months for its own security.

There is no knowing how much truth there is to the story doing the rounds that 10-15 000 Cubans are in the process of acquiring Angolan citizenship but this could be an additional complicating factor.

In any event, and given the lengthy time scale anticipated for a withdrawal from Angola

b/c MKS  
4/6/88

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Cuito Cuanavale, or simply Cuito as it is known for short, may well be in another theatre, but the psychology looks the same; and although it is said the SADF was unable to capture the Angolan hamlet because the casualties would have been politically unacceptable at home, the reverse perception is true abroad.

The media is casting Cuito as a major military reverse which forced Pretoria to the negotiating table with Luanda.

Among the British quality newspapers, the Guardian explains that the South Africans visited London and later Brazzaville to talk directly with Luanda because Fapla (the MPLA in arms) is the first force to rebut the South Africans since Rommel's Afrika Korps.

Pretoria's army has been shown to be stoppable and for this reason Angola should resist all blandishments unless South Africa offers other reparations, withdraws its troops and gives immediate independence to Namibia.

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President Botha's curiously uncharacteristic hesitation has highlighted the contradictions in his regional policy.

If the hawks win the day, and dig in their heels over the direct linkage between resolution 435 and the Angolan peace plan cobbled together over Pretoria's head by Reagan and Gorbachev, and thereby frustrate the diplomatic wheezes President Botha has caused to be set in motion, it would make him seem another Chamberlain — another "appeaser" — to the voters.

and it was never the aim of the South African and UNITA forces to capture it.

"This was made clear in briefings to military correspondents as early as the end of April and was highlighted again by the Minister of Defence during his budget debate in Parliament.

"As recently as June 2 the Minister of

Under these circumstances the right wing led by Dr Andries Treurnicht (the "Hindenburg" of South Africa with Eugene Terre Blanche and the AWP — whose equivalent in Algeria was the OAS — not far behind) could gain enormous electoral advantage.

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AND so we come again to the analogy with Dien Bien Phu.

Although SADF tactical specialists will have it that Cuito was never a decisive objective there can be little doubt that capturing this strategic town would have been a significant gain.

Indeed, it would have changed the face of the Angolan war allowing the consolidation of UNITA advances and giving Savimbi the option of declaring a "UDI" for the southern portion of the country.

Now that option is no more.

One of the most interesting statements on the whole Angolan episode was made last week by Mr Vladimir Vassif, head of the Southern Africa Department in the Soviet Foreign Ministry who said the Angolan government would not accept

any involvement of UNITA in an international settlement. "They consider this an internal affair," he said.

"Inside Angola, they will have to deal with UNITA — they have found ways in the past of dealing with the FVLA — I would say they will solve their problems with UNITA."

There can be no doubt that post-Cuito and with South Africa effectively out of Angola, UNITA will find it much more difficult to insist on a fair deal with Luanda.

On the contrary, Savimbi's men are likely to be reduced to shadowy equivalents of the Mozambique resistance movement, intermittently supplied with weapons from Zaire (a dwindling US stockpile, and resorting to ever more cruel methods to cow the local populations).

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There is no knowing how much truth there is to the story doing the rounds that 10-15 000 Cubans are in the process of acquiring Angolan citizenship, but this could be an additional compelling factor.

In any event, and given the lengthy time-scale anticipated for a withdrawal from Angola of the Bulk of Castro's forces, one can readily see that the MPLA would not wish its Cuban palace guard to cease to perform its useful role until UNITA had been decapitated and Savimbi's head consigned to an obscure governmentship in one of the northern districts far removed from his traditional tribal base.

It is the question of who guards the guards that will exercise the South African army who will correctly recognise that the foregoing development, if it occurs, would be exploited by Swapo to the hilt. Thus we come again to the role of international propaganda and its effect on the South African generals.

"In Parliament both the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Foreign Affairs agreed on all points concerning SWA/Namibia and the Angolan policy.

"This entire story is a typical example of how a commentator can become an unwitting tool in the Marxists' disinformation campaign."

# Cuito Cuanavale not a strategic spot - SADF

A SPOKESMAN for the South African Defence Force in Pretoria commented: "South Africa's viewpoint on what has happened in south-east Angola and South Africa's aims during the operation have been repeatedly explained by, among others, the Ministers of Defence and Foreign Affairs.

"Quito Cuanavale is not a strategic spot

Defence again highlighted the extraordinary victories of the combined South African forces — which never numbered more than 3 000 troops — and the UNITA forces, in which the Fapla Cuban losses totalled between 7 000 and 10 000 casualties.

"Thirty-one South Africa troops were killed in these actions.

WHEN CASTRO WILL TAKE HIS BOYS OUT OF ANGOLA

THE CUBAN BOOFEY

w/c Argus 4/10/88 (5)

FIDEL Castro will take his boys home from Angola if and when he feels the time is right — and not simply because the Soviets want him to do so.

This is the view of Western analysts who have been monitoring Cuba's role in Africa for years, and who came to the conclusion long ago that it is wrong to see a master-puppet relationship between Moscow and Havana.

There is evidence, provided by a top-ranking Soviet diplomat who defected to the US, that the idea of launching a large-scale military operation in Angola came from Havana in the first place.

Home

The Cubans are not simply mercenaries sent in to do the Soviet Union's dirty work, say the analysts. They had their own reasons for wanting to be in Angola in 1976 — reasons mostly tied to a desire for international prestige and Third World leadership.

Now, 13 years after crossing the Atlantic and after

more or less achieving their aims at the cost of many dead and seriously jeopardising whatever hopes they had of improving relations with the US, there are signs that the Cubans may be ready at last to take their troops home.

One reason is that the US may have a liberal Democrat as President next year. This affords President Castro an opportunity to do what his strained economy needs desperately — renew trading ties with the US and get his hands on some Yankee dollars.

But not even a liberal Democrat like Mr Michael Dukakis will make a deal with Castro, not even with the Rev Jesse Jackson at his shoulder, unless there are some dramatic changes of behaviour in Havana, and an end to Cuban foreign adven-

turism could be one of those changes.

There are other incentives. The Angola adventure has lasted far longer than the Cubans calculated — long enough to be embarrassing to African leaders.

There is pressure on the Cubans and their MPLA clients in Luanda to get on with negotiations with South Africa and the US so that foreign troops can finally leave African territory.

Humiliated

Military service in Angola is not popular among the Cubans, even though they have been remarkably durable under difficult conditions. In addition to the danger and discomfort for the troops, there are fears at home that their young men are being exposed



NEIL LURSEN of the Weekend Argus Washington Bureau assesses the Cuban-Angolan connection...

SEE PAGE 16



Fidel Castro

to Aids and other diseases that they will bring back to Cuba.

But Castro cannot afford to cut and run. He was humiliated when the Americans threw his forces off the Caribbean island of Grenada in 1983. He does not want to be humiliated again in Angola where he has shown himself ready and

able to stand up to the wicked South African gringos.

Thus he needs to be able to leave Angola with a sense of mission accomplished and not in defeat.

This need provides South African negotiators with an additional test of their skill if they are genuine about seek-

ing a peaceful end to the complex Angola-Namibia dilemma. A way must be found for all the parties to disengage with honour.

The Marxist MPLA regime is not making it easy. By refusing to come to terms with UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, and by adhering to

their pattern of displaying increased bombast in the wake of even modest military gains, they are making it difficult for their Cuban comrades to negotiate themselves out of the African morass.

MOSCOW

At this week's summit in Moscow, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev signalled his readiness to support a peace initiative for Angola. Apart from setting an arbitrary date for a settlement, it was a non-specific commitment — but it did send a message to both Havana and Luanda that the Soviets want the unwinnable war in Angola to end.

It is possible that the Cubans may respond by withdrawing their troops at a rate that is acceptable to South Africa but declare their ongoing solidarity with Africa by dispatching doctors, nurses, teachers and other social service workers. That would be an invasion that nobody could find objectionable.

# Cuban troops move on Ruacana

THE build-up of military forces in south Angola has taken another sinister turn with weekend reports that Soviet and East German specialist troops have appeared near the SWA-Namibian border.

An SADF spokesman yesterday claimed Cuban and Angolan forces had moved to the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme close to the border and could threaten water and power supplies to Namibia.

Intelligence sources said Russian Speznatz soldiers or East German Special Forces were deployed at Umfilo, about 40km from the Namibian border — reportedly for "special tasks".

It was also claimed that more Cuban reinforcements had arrived at the Angolan port of Namibe, possibly from Nicaragua. Various Soviet and Cuban ships were in Namibe last month off-loading armaments.

Latest indications are that several south Angolan towns have been re-occupied by Cuban and Angolan forces and that tanks (including the T62), armoured personnel carriers

By DE WET POTGIETER and LESTER VENTER

and artillery have been spotted moving south.

The reports have increased speculation in South African and US quarters that Cuba's President Fidel Castro may be the "wild card" in the tense search for a peace formula in the region.

Diplomats are anxiously waiting to see how much muscle Mikhail Gorbachev can bring to bear on the head of the Russian client state.

In Moscow this week, Mr

Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan endorsed a September 29 target to get a settlement under way — but in Havana, Mr Castro virtually dared South Africa to renewed battle.

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan warned again this week that the situation in the Cunene province was so dangerous that "a spark could set off a fire".

● South Africa has suggested Luanda, Cape Town or Pretoria as the venue for the next round of talks on an Angolan settlement.

## The...shix o'clock

By MANDY JEAN WOODS

THE news at six was full of tricks last night.

Startled listeners to the SABC English radio service heard newsreader Tim Conroy sherr... sherr... searching for his words a number of times as he stumbled through the bulletin.

The SABC confirmed there was "a problem". Media spokesman Dirk Labuschagne

said the SABC the necessary

A listener said and sounded like a problem.

"There were sentences. He words and apologies takes." Last night reached for con

**0 can be won! See Page 3 and**

# Superpowers make date for Namibia peace



5/6/88 AP/rev

THE United States and the Soviet Union favour a target date of September 29 for settling the problems of Angola and Namibia, a senior US official said this week.

The official said this emerged from lengthy talks between US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin during the Moscow superpower summit.

"The two sides here were able to indicate their support for establishing September 29, 1988... a target for resolving outstanding differences", said

## Question hangs over Cuban, SA co-operation

the official, who briefed reporters on condition he was not named.

The date is the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 which called for independence for Namibia. South Africa has continued to rule the territory in defiance of the resolution.

Pretoria has said it would grant independence to Namibia provided

40 000 Cuban troops supporting the Angolan government against SA-backed rebels are withdrawn from Angola.

"We agreed that it would be useful to register the agreement on the target date, which is what I'm doing at the moment," the official said.

The official said there had been significant new momentum in tackling the Angola-Namibia problem

in recent months.

Last month, Crocker chaired a meeting in London of Angolan, SA, Cuban and US officials, the first time the four parties had sat down together since civil war broke out.

The meeting was followed by Angolan-SA talks in Brazzaville later in the month.

The projected deal would also involve the withdrawal of SA troops fighting alongside the rebel Unita movement.

The US official said: "There are important remaining differences... but you can conclude there is a shared US-Soviet belief that the problem should be solved."

The official said the superpowers agreed that there should be an early follow-up meeting. Other US officials said the four parties who were at the London talks were expected to meet again.

Although the Soviet Union did not take part in the talks, it supplies weapons used by the Angolans and Cubans. Crocker has met Adamishin several times in recent months to discuss the Southern Africa situation.

Officials say the main outstanding problem is a timetable for the Cuban withdrawal.

Some US officials have also said privately that there was a question mark hanging over South Africa's willingness to concede full independence to Namibia.



# Soviets 'will tell Cubans: Quit Angola'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Soviet Union has agreed to tell Cuba to withdraw its troops from Angola, according to British and US diplomats.

The diplomats said President Reagan and Mrs Thatcher are convinced after last week's summit that by agreeing to a target date of September 29 for an Angolan peace deal, the Soviet Union is committed to pressurizing its allies to accept necessary compromises.

However, even if a satisfactory arrangement for Cuban troop withdrawal is achieved, officials remain unconvinced that South Africa will implement UN resolution 435, which calls for free elections in Namibia.

"The South Africans are the regional power and the Americans, perhaps more so than the Soviets, have learned already that they (SA) cannot be pushed into doing something they don't want to," a diplomat said.

Political analysts said that if the Soviets did exert pressure and South Africa still dragged its heels South Africa would come under unprecedented diplomatic pressure from both superpowers.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, when asked if South Africa would be prepared to go into Angola to protect the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme near the Namibian border, said South Africa did not want war and was not taking a provocative or aggressive posture.

The SADF announced at the weekend that Cuban and Angolan forces had moved to the scheme and had occupied several towns in southern Angola.

Sapa reported at the weekend that South Africa has proposed that the next round of talks on the Angola and Namibia be held in either Luanda, Cape Town or Pretoria.

● US 'helps Unita move to Zaire' — Page 3



By Mervyn Frost,  
Professor of Political Science,  
University of Natal, Durban

# Reasons why SA shifted its stance on

Angola

6/6/88 (5)

The turn-around in South African policy in Angola has been remarkably sudden.

As recently as November 16 last year, Defence Minister Magnus Malan was reported as saying that in the face of Soviet aggression there were only two options — "fight the USSR or capitulate".

This was the language of white South Africans under duress. It was the language of the total strategy to counter the total onslaught. The Russians were coming in behind the Angolan/Cuban front and South Africa was engaged in forward defence.

Now, a mere eight months later there is a super-power accord to achieve Russian, Cuban and South African withdrawal from the region. There is even mention of September as a target date for the completion of the project. How is the volte face to be explained?

First, there was a major shift in the balance of military power. No longer did South Africa and the Unita forces it supported have easy dominance in

the territory. At the end of last year, a major offensive was launched by the SA/Unita alliance and there were reports of the Soviet/Cuban/Angolan front having been given a bloody nose. But the progress and victory which the readers of South African newspapers were expecting did not materialise.

Instead, what started emerging in snippets of news was that the battles were not going so well. White South African soldiers were being killed in increasing numbers (at least 38). An implication of this was that the losses among black soldiers used by the SADF must have been significantly higher. No mention was ever made of the wounded who must have been many.

Other factors also became apparent. South Africa no longer had control of the air. Planes were being lost. Foreign media mentioned the loss of three jets, two of which were supposedly downed in dogfights. Early this year we were repeatedly told of a

Unita/South Africa victory in Cuito Cuanavale. It soon became apparent that this victory was not a reality. Indeed, South African forces were subjected to heavy bombardment (and according to Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, sending him the bill), but it was not winning the battle. There was a stalemate.

## POLICY CHANGE BY SOVIETS

The second major development which helps explain the turn of events in Angola was the policy change in the Soviet Union.

In the face of dire internal economic pressures, First Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev decided to cut back on defence expenditure and channel saved resources to internal uses. To this end he sought to limit

political friction and arms racing with the US, he extricated the Soviet Union from Afghanistan and he sought to limit Soviet defence commitments elsewhere in the world — in Angola and Mozambique for example.

A third development concerns the US which has been aiding Unita for the past few years with military hardware and financial assistance. The close links between Unita and South Africa are making it increasingly difficult for President Reagan to get such aid Bills through a hostile Democratic Congress. Congress would not tolerate US involvement in an escalating regional conflict in Africa, especially on the side of a South African surrogate. The US has a motive to withdraw from the region with honour if it can.

There are some pressing questions which all those who are watching this drama should be asking:

- First, what has happened to Unita? On April 1 Mr Savimbi was reported to have set up a govern-

The Star Monday June 6 1988

ment of an independent country in south-eastern Angola. He even appointed a Cabinet. What is that "country" doing now? What role will it play in the negotiations?

● Second, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, have stated that the current negotiations about the future of Angola are linked to the implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia. Yet the United Nations has been singularly quiet about this whole negotiating process. At what point will the UN become involved again?

● Third, what has happened to Swapo? Is it to be involved in the future dealings between Angola and South Africa. Will a deal be struck in which Angola ceases to support Swapo in return for South Africa's ceasing to support Unita?

What is encouraging in all this is that the prospect of a conventional war between South Africa (backed by no state) and Angola (backed by a super-power) has receded and an era of politics (defended as bargaining) has dawned. Good sense, it is to be hoped, has triumphed over bravado.

# Soviet pressure for Cuban withdrawal

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Blday 6/6/88

MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON — THE Soviet Union has agreed to tell Cuba to withdraw its 40 000 troops from Angola, British and US diplomats here say.

Both US President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, they say, are convinced after last week's summit that by agreeing to a target date of September 29 for an Angolan peace deal, the Soviet Union is committed to pressuring its allies to accept necessary compromises.

These include shortening the time frame for Cuban withdrawals — a major stumbling block in peace talks so far.

A report from Washington last month said Cuba had expanded its troop commitment to Angola by up to 10 000 over the past five months.

The sources add that while the Soviet Union is not prepared to say so in public yet, it is also prepared to push the Angolan government into a deal with Unita.

DIANNA GAMES reports a spokesman for SA Defence Minister Magnus Malan, asked if SA would be prepared to go into Angola to protect the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme near the Namibian border, said SA did not want war and was not taking a provocative or aggressive posture.

The SADF first went into Angola in 1975 to protect the Ruacana scheme from the Cubans. The SADF announced

over the weekend that Cuban and Angolan forces had moved to the scheme and had occupied several towns in southern Angola.

Cuban forces were reported to be 40km from the border. The spokesman, D Herbst, said it was impossible to say whether the Cubans would cross the border into Namibia but SA was watching the situation closely and was "always prepared for any developments".

Although the UK government has never formally accepted linkage between Cuban withdrawals and Namibian independence, spokesmen say Soviet pressure to secure Cuban troop withdrawals should ease the way for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibia.

However, even if a satisfactory arrangement for Cuban withdrawal is achieved, officials remain unconvinced SA will implement Resolution 435.

They suspect the military will find withdrawal from Namibia unacceptable. Foreign Minister Pik Botha's initial reaction to the setting of the September 29 target date has not eased these suspicions.

Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria

● To Page 2

## Soviet pressure on Cuba to withdraw

University's Institute for Strategic Studies said the show of strength by the Cubans in southern Angola would enhance the Soviet Union's bargaining power in the Angola talks.

It could also be seen as Cuban leader Fidel Castro's "last ditch attempt to defend his image in the eyes of African states", he said.

Hough said despite SADF reports that the Cubans were only about 40km from the Namibian border, "I don't see any chance of a Cuban offensive over the border, it would be total war if they do".

Political analysts in London point out that if the Soviets did exert pressure and

SA still dragged its heels on Resolution 435, Pretoria would come under unprecedented diplomatic pressure. For the first time in regard to Angola, it would be ranged against both superpowers.

Soviet Union deputy foreign minister Anatoly Adamishin said at the weekend if there was no settlement in Namibia he doubted if any settlement in the region could be reached.

An SADF spokesman, asked to comment on Hough's assessment, said he had nothing further to add to previous statements.

● From Page 1

# Angolan/Namibian talks 'in jeopardy'

REGIONAL talks on Angola and Namibia could be in jeopardy if President P W Botha fails to address the crisis between himself and Namibia's interim Cabinet, Namibian Minister Fanuel Kozonguizi has told Business Day.

Kozonguizi said this was because there were grave fears in the Cabinet that the sweeping new powers Botha recently granted to the territory's Administrator-General Louis Pienaar would lead to the effective banning of Swapo.

"It will be political suicide for all concerned if they ban Swapo and Swapo media in the present climate," Kozonguizi said.

The proposed regional talks — which follow recent discussions on the region in London, Brazzaville

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

and at the Moscow summit — revolve around a settlement in Angola and are linked to the implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia, he said. There could be no implementation of 435 without Swapo's involvement. If the organisation was banned, settlement talks would be futile.

## Swapo 'no problem'

After the April meeting between Botha and the Cabinet in Windhoek, Botha instructed the Cabinet to "act effectively against any organisations which use violence to promote their political aims". Kozonguizi said Botha had given the Cabinet until this Friday to inform him what action it intended taking.

"Quite frankly Swapo is no problem to us," Kozonguizi said. It operated freely in the south. In the north it operated under a state of emergency and was virtually banned.

He would not speculate on what stance the Cabinet would take. However, he anticipated the outcome might result in the AG using his new powers to place restrictions on Swapo and to ban a local Swapo-supporting newspaper The Namibian.

Kozonguizi admitted the Botha-Cabinet squabble would become irrelevant if regional talks succeeded in coming up with a settlement.

But he warned the Angolans would not let Swapo down and, Swapo's continued existence was one of the core issues involved in the Cabinet's squabble with Botha.

5/16/85  
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5/16/85  
**Unita said to be moving main bases to Zaire**

LUSAKA — Unita rebels, with United States help, were last night reported to be moving their main bases to Zaire in preparation for a thrust at Angola's northern economic heartland — a move that could distance Unita from South Africa and bolster its claims to a place in peace negotiations.  
Tension mounted along the border

between Namibia and Angola yesterday as the SA Defence Force detailed foreign troop movements.

The Angolan ambassador in Lusaka, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, said US aircraft were ferrying Unita equipment from its headquarters at Jamba, in south-east Angola, to areas in Zaire on the border with northern Angola. (5)

# Cubans:

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

11641 6/16/88 (5) [Signature]  
A CALL-UP of certain Citizen Force units as part of precautions against Cuban troop movements in southern Angola is being considered.

Military sources today confirmed the possibility of such a move. They said this would mainly be part of the Defence Force's strategy of being prepared for all contingencies.

The military, including the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, have recently played down suggestions that South Africa has aggressive intentions in Angola.

One source said today that the SADF had regular call-up programmes and that some of them might be due now.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuter reports from Lusaka that a senior Angolan diplomat has claimed that Unita rebels, with United States help, are moving their main bases to Zaire in preparation for a thrust at Angola's northern economic heartland.

## Big airlift

The Angolan ambassador in Lusaka, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, said that US aircraft were ferrying Unita equipment from rebel headquarters at Jamba, in south-east Angola, to areas in Zaire on the border with northern Angola.

There was no immediate way to verify the reported rebel re-deployment — a distance of about 1300 km in a straight line and much farther by the roundabout route through Zaire.

If confirmed it would represent a major political as well as military move, taking Dr Jonas Savimbi's pro-Western movement out of the shadow of its main sponsor, South Africa, in an apparent effort to bolster its claims to a place in current peace negotiations.

## US pressure

Mr Kiambata said that "the United States is pressing Unita and South Africa to dismantle Jamba and all the Unita equipment is being transferred to Zaire... It is being done now".

He said the rebels hoped to set up a new base in Quimbele that would directly threaten northern Angola's diamond fields and oil wells, the main source of the country's wealth.

Dr Savimbi's present headquarters at Jamba is on the border with Namibia about 1300 km south-east of Luanda and about the same distance south of Uige province.

In Lisbon, Abel Chivukuvuku, one of several Unita officials in the Portuguese capital, said the rebels had no intention of moving their main base to Zaire or setting up bases outside Angola.

"Our main base is and will remain in Jamba. We do not intend setting up bases outside Angola," he said.

He confirmed that Unita hoped to expand its activities in northern Angola but said no big cross-border operation was involved.

SADF may call up more

Malan likely to act as Cubans mass troops

# SADF poised for Citizen Force call-up

Star 6/6/88

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By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

A special call-up of certain Citizen Force units is being considered by the Government in the face of the continuing build-up of Cuban forces in southern Angola.

The escalation of tension in the region appears to be reflected in new setbacks to peace talks.

The next round of negotiations between South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the United States, scheduled to take place in Brazzaville this month, has foundered, and now there is no venue or date for further talks.

Defence sources said today any call-ups should be seen in the light of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's assurances that South Africa would always be prepared in situations such as the one now developing in the region.

It was distinctly possible that one or more Citizen Force units might be called up, but this would "totally correspond with the Defence policy of being prepared", one source said.

"The Defence Force would never be caught with its pants down," he said.

"This does not mean South Africa is taking an aggressive posture, but it does mean that it is absolutely necessary that precautionary steps be taken."

## Cuban reinforcements

The Defence Force announced at the weekend that further Cuban reinforcements had arrived at the port of Namibe in southern Angola.

Soldiers in strange uniforms, presumably Cubans, had been spotted within 10 km of the Ruacaf water scheme on the border between Angola and Namibia.

Whites "with long hair" had also been seen about 40 km from the border, an indication of either Russians or East Germans with special tasks.

Military sources said last week it appeared that Cuba was building a defence "crescent" ranging from Mupa through Evale to Ongiva in central southern Angola and then sweeping up through Xango and Humbe to Cahana.

An airfield announced by Cuba's President Fidel Castro was believed to be about 80 km north-west of Xangongo.

Dr Castro had referred to this as a front line, but South Africa believed his intention was to create the infrastructure to provide Swapo with an umbrella for attacks on Namibia.

Cuba's continued aggressive posturing in southern Angola has started to throw large question marks over its sincerity in taking part in regional peace talks, according to South African sources.

One question being asked is whether Cuba ever had any sincerity in taking part in the talks, when it must have been planning its major push to the south of Angola for some time.

South Africa, having rejected Paris as the venue for the next round of talks, at the weekend proposed that either Luanda, Cape Town or Pretoria should be the venue.

It is reported from London that a spin-off of last week's Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow is that Western leaders now believe the Soviet Union will tell Cuba to withdraw its troops from Angola.

The *Observer* quoted British government sources as saying Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan were confident this would happen.

The sources said Mr Reagan left Moscow "with the firm impression that the Soviets are ready to orchestrate the withdrawal of tens of thousands of proxy Cuban troops", the newspaper reported.

A British Foreign Office official said: "I think it could be said from the tone of the discussions in Moscow that we are hopeful of progress on the Angolan and Namibian issues."

# Angola, SA propose new venues for talks

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Angola has now proposed three new alternative venues for the next round of its talks with South Africa, Cuba and the US over the Angola and Namibian conflicts.

According to diplomatic sources these are the Cape Verde Islands, Zambia or Zimbabwe.

South Africa today declined to comment on the new venues, but it is understood that counter-proposals, with four alternative venues, have been made.

South Africa has argued that there is no reason to renege on an earlier agreement to hold the talks in Brazzaville, Congo. South Africa's attitude was that the talks should be in Africa because they dealt with African problems being discussed by African leaders.

South Africa then proposed three African venues — Luanda, Cape Town or Pretoria.

Angola's proposals for Zambia or Zimbabwe as venues are believed to be unacceptable to South Africa, which is apparently not in favour of allowing ei-

ther Harare or Lusaka to claim any kudos for bringing off a peace deal.

Cape Verde may be a problem because of a lack of facilities to accommodate the large number of officials and journalists.

● Russia's latest pronouncements on the Angolan situation have raised hopes.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamashin said in an interview with *The New York Times* that an internal settlement in Angola could be reached easily once South African troops had backed off and Cuban troops had withdrawn.

Senior South African sources today said if this was Russia's attitude towards the withdrawal of Cuban troops, it would be a decisive breakthrough.

Attempts were being made today to verify the accuracy of the interview.

One senior source said the Adamashin interview would have an extremely demoralising effect on the Luanda government and Swapo, because it strongly implied the Cubans would have to go.

## Angola, Zaire security talks

LUSAKA — Senior defence officials from Angola and Zaire began talks in Luanda yesterday aimed at improving security along the 2 600 km common border between the two countries, Angolan state radio reported.

The talks followed accusations by Angolan officials that Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko's government was supporting Angolan Unita rebels in their fight to topple the Angolan government.

Zaire has denied Angolan allegations that it is providing bases and support for the Unita rebels to launch attacks across the border. — Sapa-Reuter.



Optimism follows Russian offer on withdrawal of Cuban troops

# Soviets step in

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

Mk's 7/6/85

RUSSIA has brought a new mood of optimism to the stalled Angolan peace talks but haggling over the venue for the next round continues.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, told the New York Times yesterday that Angolan reconciliation could be achieved easily once South Africa backed off and Cuban troops were withdrawn.

Senior South African sources said today that if Russian statements agreeing to a withdrawal of all foreign forces, Cuban and South African, were true it was a "decisive breakthrough".

The Soviet offer reportedly emerged in an interview in Moscow with Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin, the Kremlin's top official on Africa. His statements added definition to a vague offer last week by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to join the US in working for settlements in regional troublespots.

## Rejected

Mr Gorbachev's words were interpreted as a specific reference to the Angolan issue.

Mr Adamishin apparently told the newspaper his country would participate in the Angolan peace efforts "if others want it" and emphasised his country's willingness to play a more active role in trying to settle the conflict.

Mr Adamishin said peace did not hinge on an end to US aid to Unita. The US has been supplying sophisticated weapons to Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebels since early 1986.

However, Mr Adamishin made it clear the Soviets would not press the Angolan Government into sharing power with Unita.

South African sources warned however that the major threat to the peace talks remained the Cuban build-up in southern Angola.

According to diplomatic sources Angola has made a new offer on a venue for the talks but this had apparently been rejected by South Africa. Angola has recommended Cape Verde, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed that proposals had been received, adding that "counter proposals have been made".

## Demoralising

South African sources said today that if the Russian statement linking South African and Cuban withdrawal were true then there was a "decisive breakthrough".

South Africa was today attempting to verify the statement made by Mr Adamishin.

The sources said South Africa had always maintained that there could only be national reconciliation in Angola once all foreign troops had withdrawn.

"All this seems to be implied in the Russian statement."

They claimed the Russian statement would have a demoralising effect on Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and on Swapo.

● See page 6

5 below 7/6/88

# US confirms SADF claims of Cuban build-up

**LONDON** — US diplomats monitoring Angola, have confirmed SADF claims of a build-up of heavily armed Cuban troops in the south of the country.

They fear that if this leads to a confrontation with SA troops, peace negotiations could be jeopardised.

They said the US had been in touch with both sides urging more talks, but a meeting that was supposed to have taken place this week had been postponed because of an argument about the venue.

The officials confirmed the Cubans were being urged to move the artillery equipment to units nearer to the

**MIKE ROBERTSON**

the Namibian border"

They said: "The way they are going about troop movements does appear to be provocative from an SA point of view."

While unable to confirm claims by Defence Minister Magnus Malan that 11 000 Cuban troops had been deployed, the officials said estimates of their proximity to the Namibian border ranged from 50km to 9km.

Operating from an area between Mulando and Cuvetla, they were "building airstrips in southern Angola and have the area covered for move-

ment south". The troops were moving in "major anti-aircraft equipment". They said the Angolans now had the ability to control the airspace.

The officials stressed they did not believe the Cubans had any intention of moving into Namibia. "If a confrontation does occur, it will be in southern Angola."

British officials concurred, saying: "The movement does not amount to preparations for a push into Namibia. To think that is foolish and does not bear any resemblance to reality."

Diplomatic sources in SA said yesterday the suggestion that SA was

considering mobilising additional troops had caused concern among Western nations, who were questioning whether SA seriously wanted an Angolan settlement.

A senior diplomat said: "Up to this point, we have regarded the various moves in Angola, including the Cuban drive southwards, as a build-up of pre-negotiation positions. But if SA was to call up the troops, it would send a serious message to the world."

"It would be regarded as a dangerous move which would threaten the

● To Page 2

## US confirms SADF's Cuban claims

peace process. All over-reaction does is breed more mistrust abroad."

Political sources said reports that Citizen Force (CF) units might be called up could be a ruse to reassure right-wing voters that Pretoria had the Angolan situation well in hand.

A Defence spokesman dismissed the reports as "pure speculation."

"If necessary the SADF could go over to that stage, but at the moment it is just an option which remains available," he said.

Foreign Affairs sources said it was possible delaying tactics by the Angolans on more negotiations could be to allow time for a greater Cuban build-up. In terms of the agreement reached by Angola and SA at last month's Brazza-

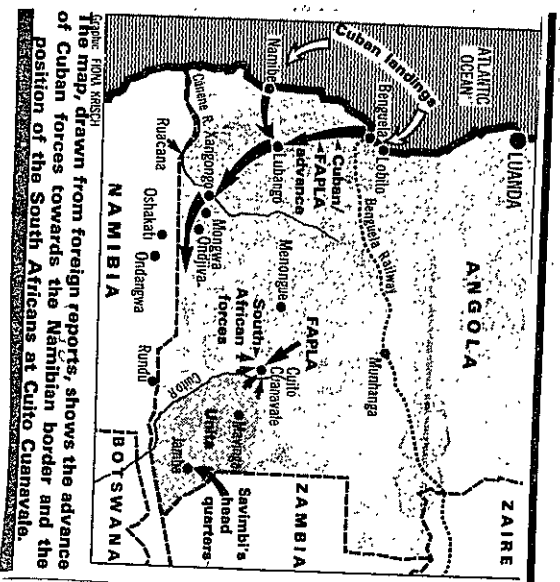
From Page 1

ville talks, the two countries were due to meet there again this week.

However, the SA government said at the weekend the Angolans had reneged on that agreement and another venue had still to be decided upon.

Helmoed Heitman, SA-based correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, said the Cuban advance was a Russian-backed attempt to delay the peace talks until after the US presidential election — and SA's best bet was not to take military action against it.

● Pik Botha on peace talks — Page 5  
● Comment — Page 4



The map, drawn from foreign reports, shows the advance of Cuban forces towards the Namibian border and the position of the South Africans at Cuito Cuanavale.

# Search goes on for peace talks site

Political Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN - South Africa and Angola have now worked their way through about 20 percent of Africa's capital cities in their bid to find a mutually acceptable venue for their next round of peace talks

The search for an African venue for further negotiations between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US is apparently proving to be a major stumbling block.

Diplomatic sources today revealed that the latest series of African capitals on the table for consideration submitted by South Africa are Gaborone (Botswana), Kinshasa (Zaire), Lilongwe (Malawi) and Abidjan (Ivory Coast).

This follows Angola's earlier proposals of Praia (Cape Verde), Harare (Zimbabwe) and Lusaka (Zambia).

Although South Africa did not formally reject any of these out of hand, it is understood that Pretoria is not in favour of either Zambia or Zimbabwe because of their hostile attitude towards South Africa.

Cape Verde is considered to be ill-equipped (from a hotel and conference point of view) to handle the large delegations from four countries and the world's media.



Champagne for cheerful blood donors Mr Godfrey Badenhorst and his wife, Jacey, of Discovery in Roodepoort. Mr Badenhorst has given 100 units since 1946 and Jacey 75. Picture by Karen Fletcher.

# 'Do not underestimate our fist of iron,' Vlok replies to ANC threats

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - The Government has reacted angrily to the latest threats by the African National Congress of massive violence against the white community, particularly white MPs, judges and "other legitimate targets for attack and assassination".

These threats, and threats to disrupt the October municipal elections, were made by various ANC leaders in interviews with Mr Michael Hornsby of *The Times*, London.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, hit back yesterday with a strong counter-warn-

ing: "Do not underestimate our fist of iron. We will not just sit back and allow you to threaten or endanger the lives of South Africans."

Mr Vlok said the report by Mr Hornsby following interviews with Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Chris Hani and others of the ANC clearly depicted the true colours of the murderous organisation.

Mr Vlok said: "If what is reported are the views of the ANC, and I have no reason to believe otherwise, then it is more proof that the ANC has realised that it has lost all support for its cause in South Africa."

"It cannot get any voluntary support to negotiate because it

has no mandate to do so.

"Its last hope of becoming a ruling dictator is to force and coerce people through violent intimidation, murder, chaos and large-scale bloodshed to follow their communist line of thought.

"From its own mouth it is nothing but a terrorist organisation which kills wantonly and indiscriminately, such as was again the case last night when an eight-year-old Soweto child was killed when a hand grenade was hurled into his bedroom."

Mr Vlok said that although in the interview the organisation reveals certain of its plans, it was another matter whether they would succeed.

ALLIE D. DANIEL TILLET

ARGUS 8/6/88 (5)

# US 'encouraged' by progress on Angola

from NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — President Reagan's national security adviser says the United States is encouraged by progress on the Angolan conflict.

General Colin Powell said here yesterday, shortly before a closed-door session in the President's office, that with the Soviet Union's more "forthcoming attitude" a solution to the Angolan problem should be in sight soon.

A solution by September 29 this year, the target date set by President Reagan and Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev at their Moscow talks last week, was "entirely possible", he said.

### Russian statement

General Powell said he had noted with interest a statement this week by Soviet Deputy-Foreign Minister Mr Anatoli Adamishin which suggested that Moscow might even be willing to serve as a co-guarantor of an agreement.

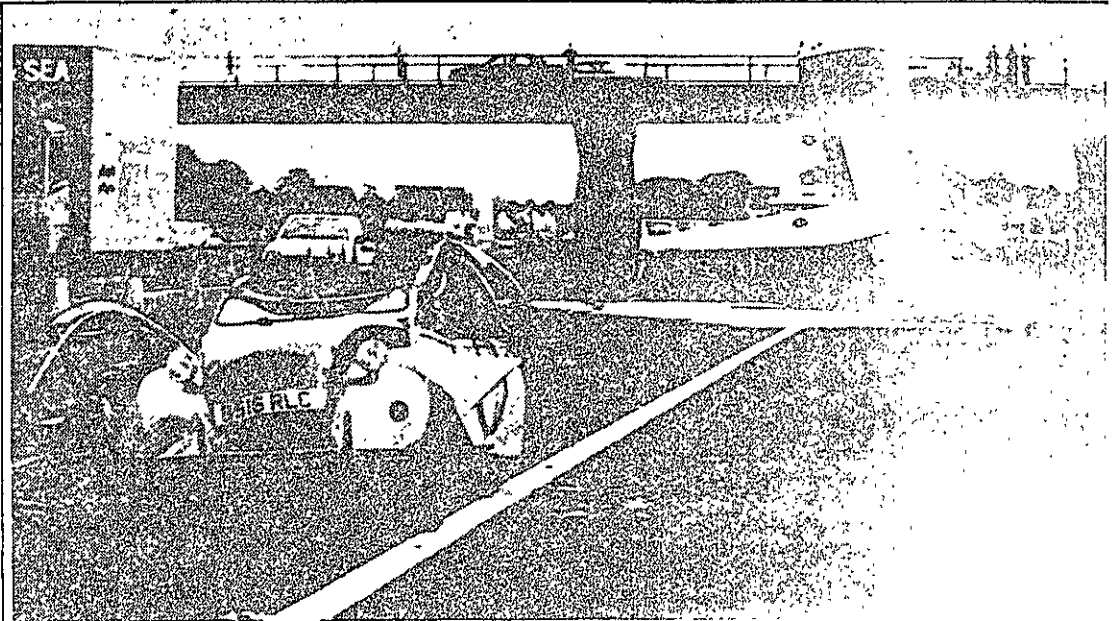
"We have seen for the first time a realisation that all foreign troops need to be withdrawn from the region, but the piece that is still missing and which we have to come to grips with is a commitment to national reconciliation dialogue. And that is the next step," he said.

General Powell, the first black to serve as national security chief in the US and a man tipped as a potential chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, America's military high command, played a key advisory role in the Moscow summit.

### Four-sided talks

Referring to the discussions about Angola in Moscow and the four-sided talks in London between South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the US, he said he was "somewhat encouraged" by the progress that had been made in recent months.

From Lisbon it is reported by Sapa-Reuter that Unita claimed yesterday they killed 50 government soldiers, captured two towns and destroyed a radio station in raids this month.



**MOTORWAY MANGLE:** The crushed remains of a car near the wreck of a light aircraft on a packed British motorway near Manchester after the plane hit the car when it crash-landed yesterday. The car driver lost a leg, but his three passengers and the two occupants of the plane were only slightly injured. Several cars avoided disaster by skidding violently to a halt. A spokesman at nearby Barton airfield said the pilot may have been trying to land in a field.

## Invitation withdrawn

**Political Staff**  
THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has withdrawn his invitation to Dr Max Coleman of the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC) to point out any children in detention who are under the age of 16.

Mr Vlok suspended this offer last night after two days of wrangling with Dr Coleman over whether or not certain detainees were younger than 16.

A scheduled visit by Dr Coleman to two detainees in Krugersdorp yesterday was cancelled after police produced baptismal and birth certificates to show that the two were older than 15.

Dr Coleman, acting in his personal capacity, had earlier insisted that, contrary to assurances by Mr Vlok, children of 15 and younger were being held in detention in terms of the emergency regulations.

Mr Vlok invited Dr Coleman to visit any police cell or pris-

on in the company of a magistrate to point out such detainees.

Dr Coleman and a magistrate visited seven detainees in Diepkloof prison earlier this week, five of whom told the magistrate they were 15.

Dr Coleman then declared that there were indeed children of 15 in detention.

The police subsequently produced baptismal or birth certificates, copies of which have been given to the magistrate and the media, to prove that all five were older than 15.

In the light of Dr Coleman's statement to the Press following his visit to Diepkloof, Mr Vlok said in a statement last night that he was withdrawing his offer to Dr Coleman.

The Minister said the birth and baptismal certificates corroborated his statement that the five detainees in question were older than 15 and they refuted Dr Coleman's statement issued after the visit.

## Taxi treat for kids

LONDON. — With horns honking, 120 London taxis drove more than 300 children to Buckingham Palace to meet Queen Elizabeth II. The taxis were marking the 60th anniversary of the London Taxi Drivers' Fund for Underprivileged Children. — Sapa-AP

## Death penalty upheld

KATMANDU. — The Supreme Court of Nepal has upheld the death penalty for four men involved in bomb blasts which killed six people in Katmandu three years ago. Government buildings and a tourist hotel were the main targets. — Sapa-AP.

## Minority vote on peace

JERUSALEM. — Israel's Parliament, long divided over how to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict, backed a United States Middle East peace initiative by a 4-3 vote with 113 of its 120 members absent — Sapa-Reuter.

# Behind the sudden Angola turnabout

By MERVYN FROST, professor of political science, University of Natal

**T**HE turnaround in South African policy in Angola has been remarkably sudden.

As recently as November 16 last year Defence Minister Magnus Malan was reported as saying that in the face of Soviet aggression there were only two options: "Fight the USSR or capitulate."

This was the language white South Africans understood. It was the language of the total strategy to counter the total onslaught. The Russians were coming in behind the Angolan-Cuban front and South Africa was engaged in forward defence.

Now, a mere eight months later, there is a superpower accord to achieve Russian, Cuban and South African withdrawal from the region. There is even mention of September as a target date for the completion of the project.

How is the *volte face* to be explained?

First, there was a major shift in the balance of military power. No longer did South Africa, and the Unita forces it supported, have easy dominance in the territory.

At the end of last year a major offensive was launched by the South African-Unita alliance and there were reports of the Soviet-Cuban-Angolan front having been given a bloody nose. But the progress and victory which the readers of South African newspapers were expecting did not materialise.

Instead, what started emerging in snippets of news was that the battles were not going so well.

Early this year we were re-

peatedly told of a Unita-South Africa victory at Cuito Cuanavale.

It soon became apparent that this victory was not a reality. Indeed, South African forces were subjecting the place to heavy bombardment but were not winning the battle. There was a stalemate.

The cost in human, economic and military terms was becoming great for both South Africa and Angola. It was apparent that no clear victor would emerge via this route.

The second major development which helps explain the turn of events in the Soviet Union.

In the face of dire internal economic pressures, First Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev has decided to cut back on defence expenditure and channel saved roubles to internal uses.

To this end he has sought to limit political friction and arms racing with the United States, he has extricated Russia from Afghanistan and he has sought to limit Soviet defence commitments elsewhere in the world: in Angola and Mozambique, for example.

A third development concerns the United States, which has been aiding Unita for the past few years with military hardware and financial assistance.

The close links between Unita and South Africa are making it increasingly difficult for the President to get such aid Bills through a hostile Democratic Congress. Congress would not tolerate

American involvement in a growing regional conflict in Africa, especially on the side of a South African surrogate.

The United States has a motive to withdraw from the region with honour if it can.

There are some pressing questions which all those who are watching this drama should be asking:

● What has happened to Unita? On April 1 Dr Jonas Savimbi was reported to have set up a government of an independent country in south-eastern Angola. He even appointed a Cabinet.

What is that "country" doing now? What role will it play in the negotiations?

● Foreign Minister Pik Botha and the Chief of the Defence Force, General Janjie Geldenhuys, have stated that the current negotiations about the future of Angola are linked to the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for SWA/Namibia.

Yet the United Nations has been singularly quiet about this whole negotiating process. At what point will the UN become involved again?

● What has happened to Swapo? Is it to be involved in

future dealings between Angola and South Africa? Will a deal be struck in which Angola ceases to support Swapo in return for South Africa's ceasing to support Unita?

What is encouraging in all this is that the prospects of a conventional war between South Africa (backed by no state) and Angola (backed by a superpower) have receded and an era of politics (defended as bargaining) has dawned.

# CALL-UP

CMC Traps 9/6/88

# Official

**PRETORIA.** — The Defence Force is calling up Citizen Force members in response to the Cuban presence on the Namibian border, SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys said last night.

## Details of Cuban firepower on border

**Own Correspondent**  
**LONDON.** — Jane's Defence Weekly says there are 10 000 Cuban troops close to the Namibian border. Jane's said they faced 9 000 South African troops, who had inferior firepower. It said the Cubans deployed an armoured division, bringing the total number of T-55 and T-62 tanks in the region to about 400. There were six rifle regiments of between 1 500-2 000 men each; one artillery regiment with 122mm D-30 guns, 122mm BM-21 and 240mm BM-24 multiple rocket launchers; and an air defence regiment with SA-2 Guideline, SA-3 Goa, SA-6 Gainful, SA-8 Gecko and SA-13 Gopher surface-to-air missiles and ZSU-23-4 anti-aircraft systems, supported by an array of radar support systems.

He also disclosed that a Cuban reconnaissance group had been involved in a skirmish with South African forces less than 12km north-west of Ruacana last week. There were no casualties.

The military situation in the south of Angola had deteriorated over the past fortnight and the call-up was to enable the SADF to deal with the situation, Gen Geldenhuys said.

He was addressing a special news conference after his return from the operational area. He emphasized that there was no reason for panic and that the SADF was fully capable of dealing with the situation. News of a possible call-up became known earlier this week but this is the first official announcement, by the SADF chief, that a call-up of troops is under way.

No information was immediately available on which, or how many, CF units were involved.

Gen Geldenhuys said Cuban and Angolan forces had moved further south during the past two weeks and were within 20km of the border. He estimated there were 11 000 Cubans in the No 5 military area in the Cunene province.

The southward thrust by combined Cuban-Swapo forces was still proceeding, and had political as well as military implications. The SADF was prepared and ready to counter any move which jeopardized security.

Gen Geldenhuys emphasized the strategic importance of the Calueque area where

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From page 1  
Call-up 9/6/88

the vital Ruacana hydro-electric scheme was situated. Apart from power, this area provided water to drought-ravaged Ovamboland.

Outlining the deployment of Cuban and Swapo forces, Gen Geldenhuys said there was one unit 35km north-west of Ruacana and a reconnaissance unit about 12km from the border.

There was another Force when two opposing armed forces came into contact "you are looking supported by tanks and for trouble". —Sapa

armoured vehicles. One other combined force had been strengthened by a battalion with tanks, artillery and sophisticated anti-aircraft equipment.

The Cubans were lengthening an airstrip at Xangongo to handle sophisticated aircraft.

Foreign Affairs senior official Mr D W Auret, when asked at the press conference whether a flashpoint had been reached in the area, repeated Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr P Pienaar's statement that

When two opposing armed forces came into contact "you are looking supported by tanks and for trouble". —Sapa

Forces seen 12km from border

# SA call-up as Cubans move closer

5

B/dwy  
9/4/88

SADF Chief Jannie Geldenhuys last night confirmed a citizen force call-up was under way after SA forces had spotted Cuban troops spread along a 450km front — in some places only 12km north of the Namibian border.

Geldenhuys revealed that a skirmish between SA troops and a Cuban reconnaissance patrol had taken place less than 12 km northwest of Ruacana last week. There were no casualties.



● GELDENHUYS

SA was ready to meet any Cuban threat but there was no cause for panic, said Geldenhuys at a Press conference in Pretoria, also attended by Foreign Affairs officials.

"We want to ensure we will now and in future have the necessary forces ready to maintain border security at an acceptable level in Namibia," said Geldenhuys.

He estimated there were 11 000 Cubans in the No. 5 military area of Cunene province.

There were indications that Cuban President Fidel Castro was following an independent line from the MPLA government and that full consensus was lacking, he said.

He said combined Swapo/Cuban forces were spread along a front of about 450km, the nearest about 20km

GERALD REILLY

from the border, and mostly north of Ovamboland.

He said there had been visual contact — but no shots fired — between Cuban and SADF forces on June 2 only 20km north of the border.

The southward thrust by combined Cuban/Swapo forces was still proceeding, and had political as well as military implications. The SADF was prepared and ready to counter any move which jeopardised security, but the Cuban move destroyed hopes of future peace negotiations, said Geldenhuys.

Integrated Cuban/Swapo forces deployed north of the Ovambo border could place Swapo in a more favourable position to infiltrate but this threat was being closely monitored.

Geldenhuys emphasised the strategic importance of the Calueque area, where the vital Ruacana hydro-electric scheme was situated. Apart from power, this area provided water to drought-ravaged Ovamboland.

Foreign Affairs senior official D W Auret, asked whether a flashpoint had been reached in the area, said Foreign Minister Pik Botha had stated when two opposing armed forces came into contact "you are looking for trouble".

Auret said as far as he knew no date or place had been decided for the follow-up peace meeting of SA, Angola and Cuba.

Expectations for the success of talks

● To Page 2

## SA call-up as Cuban troops advance

could not be placed too high, he said. "And we hope any further negotiations will not take place under the cloud of a continued southward thrust of Cuban forces."

Geldenhuys said one Cuban/Swapo force was 35km northwest of Ruacana and a reconnaissance unit was about 12km from the border.

There was another Fapla/Cuban force 15km southwest of Humbe supported by tanks and armoured vehicles. One other combined force had been strengthened by a battalion with tanks, artillery and

5 B/dwy

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sophisticated anti-aircraft equipment.

The Cubans were lengthening an airstrip at Xangongo, preparing it for the handling of sophisticated aircraft.

The authoritative military magazine Janes Defence Weekly (JDW) said yesterday the ranks of Cuban troops massed close to the Namibian border numbered 10 000, MIKE ROBERTSON reports from London.

# Bid to cement aid for Unita into US policy

AMGWS  
9/6/88  
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From ALAN DUNN

The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — A group of conservative US senators have launched a bid to embed military aid for Unita into American foreign policy beyond President Reagan's term.

They introduced the Freedom Fighter Assistance Bill in the Senate yesterday and said support for anti-communist fighters throughout the world, including Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and Cambodia, had been successful.

The legislation authorises military, humanitarian, economic and political aid to anti-communist groups which are indigenous and which respect human rights.

## Vanished

While specifying Unita for support, a noticeable omission by the handful of senators sponsoring the Bill was the Mozambican rebel movement Renamo.

Some of the senators favoured Renamo a few months ago. But their support seems to have vanished following a State Department study listing Renamo atrocities.

The senators said they wanted to perpetuate Mr. Reagan's policy of supporting anti-communists in their "right not just to fight and die for freedom, but to fight and win freedom." This "Reagan doctrine" had worked, they said.

## Suspend ties

The US has, since early 1986, been supplying Unita with sophisticated weapons. Senator Paul Trible of Virginia, leader of the campaign, said the Marxist government in Angola had now shown a willingness to send home Cuban troops.

The Bill also urges the President to suspend trade and diplomatic ties with target governments until they are removed or reformed and their people freed.

Senator Trible said: "If we are to help freedom fighters abroad, we must ensure that we do not help the communist governments they are fighting. Too often the US has found itself in this untenable position."

Senate sources said the Bill stood scant chance of becoming law for a variety of reasons.



# Thatcher: 'Start new peace talks'

LONDON. — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has called for the urgent resumption of Angolan peace talks in the light of Cuban troops massing on the Namibian border and South Africa's decision to call up army reserves.

She also reiterated her belief that the Soviet Union sincerely wanted to resolve the dispute.

And Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary for Africa, has said Cuba may be acting on its own initiative in its ominous new push towards the Namibian border.

"One assumes" the Cuban deployment had Lunda's approval, Dr Crocker said at a briefing yesterday, adding, however, that "one has to wonder sometimes".

But Angola insisted yesterday that a buildup of Cuban troops near South African-controlled Namibia was purely defensive and no cause for alarm in Pretoria.

Meanwhile, the Independent newspaper reported yesterday that Argentina was selling Mirage III fighter-bombers to South Africa.

The newspaper cited Western diplomats as its source. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

## Cubans in Angola are no threat — diplomat

LUSAKA — A senior Angolan diplomat dismissed yesterday South Africa's suggestion that a big Cuban deployment in southern Angola was a threat to Namibia. (S) Star 10/6/88

Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, Angola's ambassador to Zambia, told reporters that Angolan and Cuban troops were under strict instructions not to cross the Namibian border. "Our objective is not to attack anyone," Mr Kiambata said.

He said that the Angolan forces, and their Cuban allies who had recently moved south towards the border with Namibia, had the right under international law to occupy any part of Angola's national territory.

"They are under strict instructions not to cross the Namibian frontier or to create problems, and they will not," said Mr Kiambata, who held consultations earlier this week in Luanda with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

"We want to avoid confrontation. But, of course, if we are attacked . . ." he added, stressing that the Angolan armed forces had the right to defend themselves. — Reuter.

# Cubans, Swapo are reinforced

CUBAN and Swapo forces in Angola had been reinforced and were now spread across a 450 km front about 20 to 30 km north of the Namibian border, the head of the SA Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said in Pretoria.

Addressing a media conference on Wednesday night at the Waterkloof Air Base on developments in Southern Angola over the past two weeks, he said the Cuban-Swapo forces had been reinforced. A few days ago, after the forces were deployed,

elements moved southwards towards the Namibian border and were now occupying Southern Angola towns such as Capira, Henda, Shangalala and Chitado.

Many were armed with tanks and armoured vehicles.

"To sum up, most of the action over the past few days took place in these areas, but we are prepared and ready to counter any movement which might counter the security in the region."

## Call-up

With regard to Swapo, Gen Geldenhuys said another military implication was that the organisation would be placed in "a better position than in recent years" to continue its activities across the border.

The SADF is calling up Citizen Force members in response to the Cuban presence on

## SA Press Association

the Namibian border, Gen Geldenhuys said.

SABC radio news quoted him as saying there was no reason for panic and that the SADF was fully capable of dealing with the situation.

Asked about the present diplomatic initiative between South Africa and Angola over the withdrawal of Cubans from the territory, a spokesman said on behalf of the director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, that expectations should not be aimed too highly but that South Africa would be present.

## Encouraging

Mr van Heerden could not attend because of an indisposition.

"Over the past few days it has been our feeling that these (troop) movements have placed a

cloud over the talks.

"It would appear, from Moscow reports, that there are encouraging intentions to go ahead, but time will tell whether this is so."

Asked whether a recent report that the strength of the Cuban forces in southern Angola was 11 000, Gen Geldenhuys said after "a rough calculation" the figure could be correct in round figures if troops to the north were included.

"Suffice it to say that we have the forces to handle the situation, although the situation is serious — and more serious than it was — but we can handle it. The point is, how does it affect the negotiations?" — Sapa.

## Teacher goes to jail

PRE-SCHOOL teacher Farieda Khan was due to begin serving a six-month sentence yesterday for being a member of the African National Congress.

In April, Khan pleaded guilty to being a member of the ANC from December 1982 to June 1987 and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, of which 18 months were conditionally suspended for five years.

She said although she had appealed, she had decided to go to jail.

"My attorney said the appeal could take more than a year to be settled. Seeing the sentence is six months we felt that we should get it over and done with. But I will not withdraw my appeal."

## Jeers for Archbishop

ANGOLA

## The waiting game

Conflicting interpretations of why Cuban forces are massing in southern Angola and SA's likely response left the situation confused as the *FM* went to press.

Behind the scenes, however, a multilateral diplomatic initiative aimed at trying to defuse the tension was under way. But the delicate groundwork on which SA, Angola and the US hoped to establish a peace plan for the region appears to have suffered a serious setback.

On the military front, Cuban forces estimated to number 15 000 or more, backed by sophisticated equipment including tanks and missile systems, were reported to be deployed in a wide area north of the Ruacana Falls. The troops and equipment are reported to have landed at the southern Angolan port of Namibe during the past eight weeks.

On the diplomatic front, both SA and Angola — backed from the sidelines by the US and the Soviet Union — appear to want to continue peace talks as soon as possible,

but are having serious problems agreeing on a new venue.

The SADF this week gave notice that citizen force units will be called up if the situation deteriorates to the point where SA's security interests in northern Namibia are perceived to be threatened beyond tolerance.

According to military sources, however, such a move would be a last resort, because of the likely social and economic disruption. In the meantime, a careful watch is being kept on Swapo guerrillas deployed with Cuban and Fapla forces to ensure that they do not use the opportunity of Cuban cover to infiltrate Namibia en masse.

It has been reported that large groups of Swapo guerrillas have moved far south in recent weeks in the knowledge that the build-up of Cuban forces and equipment gives them virtually guaranteed protection from SADF pre-emptive strikes.

Another military factor that complicates the issue is the likelihood that SADF elements are still stationed near Cuito Cuavale, to the north-east of the current Cuban concentrations. It is not clear whether they will be withdrawn to avoid being cut off if the Cubans move further eastwards.

It seems unlikely at this stage that the SADF will advance into Angola to confront the Cubans. A number of analysts believe the Cuban move is linked to improving the Angolan bargaining position at the negotiating table. There is also speculation that a Cuban-Fapla force will continue to move eastwards in an effort to set up an attack from the rear on Jonas Savimbi's Unita headquarters at Jamba.

If correct, this strategy could be linked to diplomatic speculation that the US is negotiating with Savimbi to move his headquarters to Zaire (reports of which have been denied by Unita). This would allow SA to stop direct military support for Unita without abandoning Savimbi and at the same time possibly simplify a settlement in the region.

FINANCIAL MAIL JUNE 10 1988

This would, however, leave southern Angola firmly in Cuban-Fapla hands (at least until the withdrawal of Cuban troops could be negotiated) and could greatly strengthen Swapo's ability to infiltrate Namibia from bases close to the border without fear of SADF cross-border raids.

Probably the most reassuring development on the diplomatic front this week came when Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoli Adamishin told the *New York Times* that the Soviet Union remains committed to the withdrawal from Angola of Cuban troops and from Namibia of the SADF. It is not clear, however, how much pressure the Soviets can exert in the short term on both Cuba and Angola to prevent the situation in the region deteriorating even further.

But, in parliament, Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded a pessimistic note when he said SA sees little point in continuing peace talks with Angola outside Africa. He said he is still waiting for an Angolan response to the proposal that the next round takes place in Luanda, Pretoria or Cape Town now that Angola has decided that Brazzaville in the Congo is no longer a suitable venue. Angola has proposed a venue in Europe. ■

THE presence of a Cuban division on the Namibian border is provocative and is obviously cause for concern.

Yet there is no need for panic or alarm. Neither side is about to start shooting, even if there is always the risk of miscalculation.

It helps to get things into perspective to note that the Cuban presence is in accord with international law, the Cuban troops having been invited into the Angola by the recognized government of the country to protect it against the UNITA rebel onslaught.

The way that the world sees it, South Africa is the aggressor — and has no right to be in Namibia anyway, having agreed in 1978 to Resolution 435 of the Security Council which provides for UN-supervised elections and independence for Namibia.

Pretoria does not contest Namibia's right to independence but has chosen for a number of reasons to draw things out for the past 10 years.

SADF strategists have seen a continuing military presence in Namibia as useful in asserting this country's authority as the regional power.

And so the Cuban presence in Angola became a handy argument for delaying withdrawal from Namibia. South Africa was happy to support the United States's insistence that Cubans troops should leave the sub-continent before Namibia was given independence.

The strategy of delay has now run its course. The Soviet Union's new readiness to support a Western-sponsored solution has brought an unprecedented degree of pressure to bear on Pretoria.

In going boots and all into the Angolan civil war last year, Pretoria may have overplayed its hand.

Perhaps understandably, the military were reluctant to relinquish the control of Southern Angola which they had won in backing the UNITA rebels as a surrogate



Political Survey BY GERALD SHAW

force. When UNITA was seriously threatened by a major Soviet-backed offensive, the SADF intervened successfully and advanced right up to Cuito Canavale. But this northward drive by the SADF prompted a counter-thrust southwards by the Cubans, levelling up the score in anticipation of negotiations about troop withdrawals.

There are signs that Pretoria believes there is no more benefit to be gained in playing the military game and so has given its diplomats their head to negotiate.

Sadly, however, it looks as if the negotiation is going awry. If there is a military clash of any significance on the Namibian-Angola border the negotiation could go right off the rails, I gather.

It seems that South Africa's action in going ahead on its own to hold a bilateral meeting with

Angola in Brazzaville, which was designed to emphasize Pretoria's status as an African power, was not seen as helpful in Washington or in Moscow for that matter.

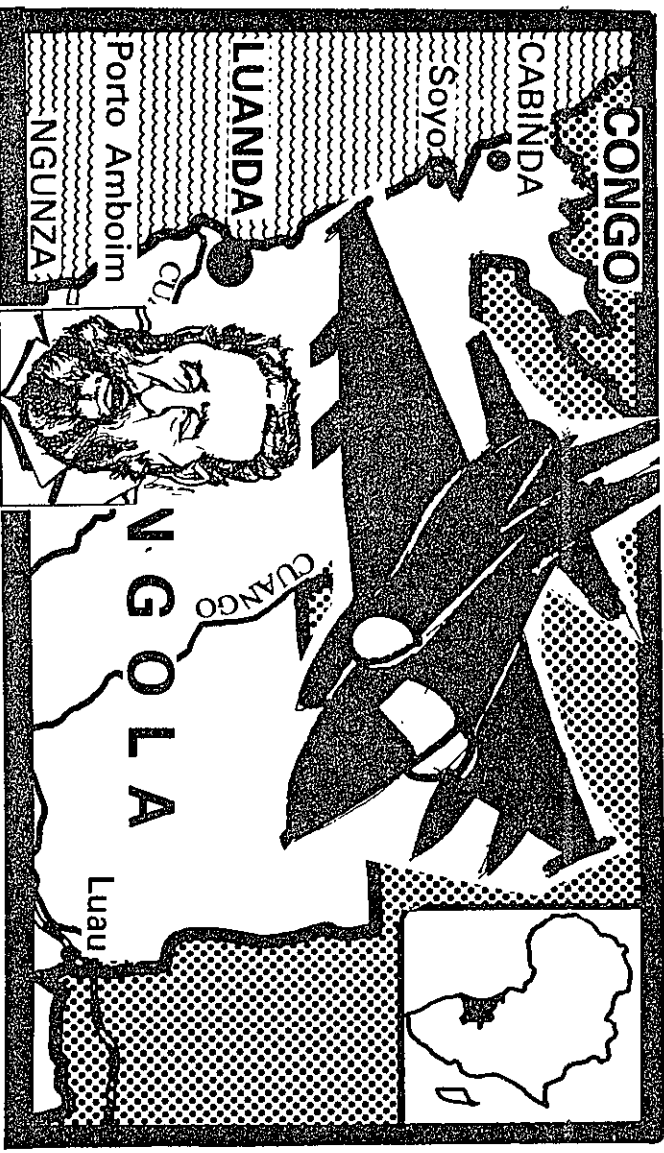
Pretoria seems obliged to demonstrate its independence of the big powers at such times, partly to soothe its conservative political constituency, having for so long stirred people up to face a communist "total onslaught" and having told the United States and everybody else to "go and be damned".

Thoughtful citizens will keep their fingers crossed. There is much to be gained if this negotiation is successfully concluded, including a non-aligned Angola, with the UNITA rebels at last getting a share in government.

Pretoria would have to live with a Swapo-dominated government in Windhoek. Yet an independent Namibia would have little choice but to keep on good terms with the regional power, which dominates the regional economy, power lines and transport links

# Getting a perspective on Cuban troops in Angola

9477 TMS 10/6/88



The current build-up of Cuban forces in Angola is provocative. In going boots and all into the Angolan civil war last year, Pretoria may have overplayed its hand.

included.

If South Africa chooses to defy the world over Namibia-Angola, however, the consequences could be drastic.

The major powers presented in the Security Council would be faced with demands to invoke Chapter 7 of the UN Charter, which could mean mandatory UN sanctions and even a blockade enforced by the Superpowers.

This remote-seeming scenario was foreseen in a prophetic interview on this page a year or two

Fidel Castro

ago by Conor Cruise O'Brien, the distinguished scholar and diplomat.

O'Brien, who is well-known in Cape Town for his spirited opposition to the academic boycott, is nevertheless, with Archbishop Tutu, a reluctant supporter of economic sanctions — on the grounds that they are the only alternative to violence. He believes that sanctions should be and ultimately will be enforced by a Superpower blockade.

In an interview with

my colleague Anthony Johnson in September 1986, O'Brien foresaw that the SADF would be increasingly drawn into action in neighbouring countries and would eventually come into conflict with the Soviet Union, probably over Angola, in circumstances in which the

United States could not possibly back South Africa. Measures under Chapter 7 are rare because the major powers are rarely unanimous about anything. Such measures remain a remote prospect — but in the Glassnost era they are beginning to figure on the

James McClurg

reviews the Afrikaans Press

### From the Bible

THE Lord is not slow in keeping his promise, as some understand slowness. He is patient with you, not wanting anyone to perish, but everyone to come to repentance. (2 Peter 3:9)



# DEBATE

ARGUS  
11/6/82



**FROM WASHINGTON**  
by NEIL LURRSSEN, Weekend Argus Foreign Service in WASHINGTON

**I**n the complex and delicate situation that has developed this year in the Angolan conflict, one of the biggest puzzles for American experts to figure out is what the Cubans are up to.

Have they pushed into the south-western sector of the country, close to the border with Namibia, because they are eager for a decisive and final clash of arms with the South African gringos?

Or is their movement just a macho display that will enable them to withdraw later with a swagger and a sense of honour?

Have they deployed their troops in the previously no-man's land with the approval of the Angolan government and the Soviets? Or have they done it on their own initiative?

Are the Cubans sending a signal not only to Washington but also to Moscow — a message that they are not about to be pushed around by the Superpowers, but will decide for themselves what they will do in Angola?

**I**NTelligence experts in Washington just don't know what the Cubans are trying to achieve — and the puzzle gets deeper every day.

What is clear is that the Cubans have gone out of their way to announce that the southward push is their operation, their military exercise. Last year's offensive against Unita and South African forces was an Angolan government operation with Soviet help — but this time Havana is in command and the Cubans want that fact to be known.

And it is a command at the highest level. President Fidel Castro himself has given a lengthy briefing on the subject, mentioning the names of



**SAVIMBI — in America soon to talk.**

obscure little dorps in the operational area as he explains the military situation. His performance indicated a day-to-day involvement in the details.

Havana has adopted a risky course. If their advance leads to a clash with SADF forces, the Cubans could suffer severe losses. Given the massive effort they are making now and the wide publicity it has received around the world, their prestige could be badly damaged.

Prestige appears to be a Cuban priority — one of the chief reasons they are in Angola at all.

They seek a leadership role in the Third World and teaching the hated white racists a military lesson is a good way to achieve it.

The Americans understand this need and the pride involved and it may account for the fact that current Cuban activity has not been greeted by the sort of criticisms and denunciations that Washington has levelled in the past at Havana's activities in Angola.

US officials hope that the deployment is nothing more than posturing and advance-stage-seeking during the negotiation process and that both Havana and Pretoria will keep it at that level.

**C**UBAN escalation not only runs the risk of serious

military losses but also of creating new tensions with Havana's chief international sponsor — the Soviet Union.

The Americans are cautious about the apparent commitment by the Soviets to a peaceful settlement of the conflict. But they do recognise as significant the Soviet statement at the recent Moscow summit meeting that a political solution should be found for Angola.

That statement carries several important implications. One of the most important is that if the solution is to be political it must include a political role for the Unita movement — a major shift of position by Soviet policymakers.

Thus, while Washington is waiting for deeds to match Moscow's words, it is proceeding on the assumption that the Soviets are serious about playing a new peace-seeking role in the world — first in Afghanistan and now in Angola.

Efforts by Cuba to thwart Mr Gorbachev's aims would not be welcomed in Moscow. Recent statements by Mr Michael Dukakis, the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, have indicated that that a Democratic Administration would end US military support for Unita, thus pulling the rug from under the anti-Marxist guerrilla movement.

But State Department officials as well as informed independent analysts in Washington say that aid to Unita is not about to end — not even if the Democrats do win the election.

They see strong bipartisan support for continued aid building up in the Congress

the negotiations have got to the level they have reached only because Unita has been a viable movement — a force in its own right and not just a loot of the Americans and the South Africans.

Therefore a Cuban decision to scuttle the peace process this year in the hopes that a friendlier US Administration will cripple Unita next year would be a miscalculation, say the analysts.

**U**NITA's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, will be in Washington in a fortnight's time where it is expected that he will convey a conciliatory message to the Congress — declaring his willingness to be part of a fair solution.

It will create a tricky situation for Mr Dukakis who needs to attract conservative support.

Will the Democratic candidate scuttle a reasonable anti-communist in favour of a communist regime that takes an even harder line than the Kremlin? What does worry some Americans is their uncertainty about South African intentions.

Why has the SA Government been so adamant about holding future talks in Brazzaville, they ask, is it because the South Africans have wider plans for the Congo and are using the Angola talks as a cover for making inroads into black Africa?

Does South Africa have any real intention of giving up Namibia to UN-sponsored independence — which it must do if it wants Cuban troops to withdraw from Angola? Or are the political costs for the Botha government, meaning rightwing pressure, just too high?

These are additional puzzles for the US experts as they ponder the draw-out conflict in distant Southern Africa and wonder how the eventual outcome will affect the new pragmatic relationship that appears to be developing between Moscow and



**HELLO, AMERICA, HERE**

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

**P**ROMINENT American strategist and foreign policy analyst, Professor Terry L. Delbe, will take part in a telepress conference in Cape Town on Monday at which the Angolan issue will be discussed.

He is Professor of National Security Policy at the National War College in Washington DC.

The telepress conference, to examine the implications of the recent Moscow summit talks, will be conducted at the American Centre by means of a telephone link-up between South Africa and the United States.

It has been arranged by the United States Information Service (USIS) and Stellenbosch University's Institute for Soviet Studies.

The conference will also link with USIS offices in Pretoria and Johannesburg, where other academics will listen to the discussions.

The conference theme will be: "Moscow summit aftermath: What's ahead for Southern Africa?"

Another American participant will be Professor John A. Marcum, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Santa Cruz, who specialises in African studies.

Professor Delbe's primary area of research is American security relationships in the Third World, and he has had a distinguished career in American foreign policy development and evaluation.



**FROM LONDON**  
by SUE LEEMAN, Weekend Argus Foreign Service in LONDON

**M**ANY British observers are not overly optimistic about the chances that an Angolan peace settlement will be on the table by September 29, as the Superpowers hope.

They say the Soviets will not ask the Cubans to leave Angola until South Africa undertakes to grant Namibia its independence — and they have serious doubts about South Africa's intentions in this regard.

However, they say they expect ongoing peace talks to make progress towards peace, and that a settlement will ultimately be reached, even if it fails to meet the Superpower deadline.

And they discount speculation that the recent build-up of Cuban troops in southern Angola could be the prelude to full-scale confrontation with South Africa.

**P**ROFESSOR William Gutteridge of the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London said between now and September 29 there would be a number of attempts at finding a realistic basis for a settlement.

"The Russians are in the mood, not necessarily for a total withdrawal (of Cubans), but for negotiating a long-term settlement on the basis of an understanding with South Africa."

However, the major stumbling block to peace was the Namibian independence question, and he could not see this being resolved for some time.

He said he believed the Russians would be prepared to help with the demilitarisation of southern Angola, but this would necessitate the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia.

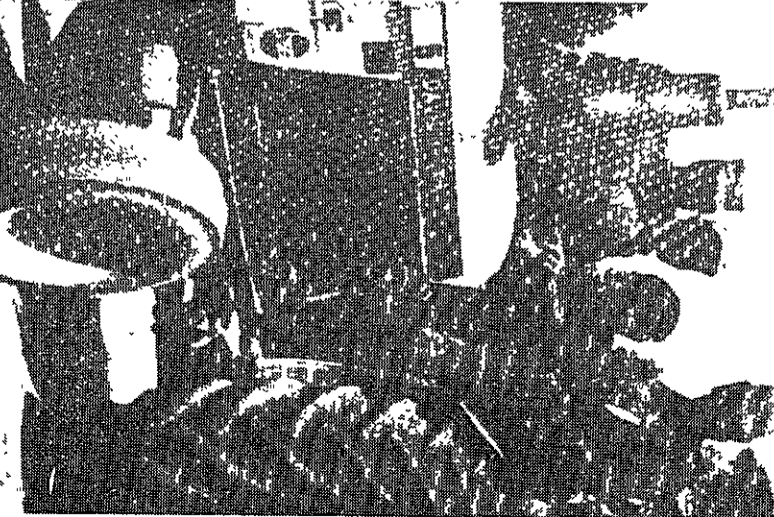
South Africa, he said, was still too concerned with its internal troubles — and the implications for internal public opinion of giving independence to Namibia — to tackle the issue head-on.

There were, he said, definite advantages to be gained by the Cubans if they stayed in Angola. The country is a hard currency earner for them and ideologically it provides a justification for their role in the world.

"Of course it is possible there could be a settlement by September 29 — compromise is always possible. But first there should be some kind of demilitarisation of southern Angola and US assistance to Unita must end.

"Perhaps what we will see by September 29 is a set of guarantees."

**A**FRICA editor at the Third World Foundation Mr George Alagiah said he did not see the build-up of Cubans in southern Angola as anything particularly sinister.



**CUBAN troops in Angola — will they ever leave?**

"It is a reaction to South Africa's invasion of the area, its bombardment of Cuito Cuanavale and its attempts to portray Savimbi as controlling the south. I don't think they will start chasing South African troops."

Visiting research fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs Mr Desmond Blumenthal said he could not see any reason for the Cubans to leave Angola now.

"They would have to repatriate 40 000 to 50 000 people and if they left before Namibian independence they would lose face in the Third World."

The recent developments in southern Angola, he said, were an attempt by the Cubans to establish a stronger position — and therefore greater leverage — before the next round of

# What SA analysts say

What SA analysts say

would not allow a client (Cuba), to whom it had given much money, to embark on such an adventure while South African forces were known to be well equipped.

As long ago as 1982 there had been speculation that the Soviet Union had told Cuba not to declare war.

He shared the belief that Cuba's move was aimed partly at seeking a better position for negotiation and partly to make it easier for Swazoo to establish bases near the border.

There was also a possibility that the Cuban move was aimed at ultimately cutting off Unita from South African support.

Present indications were that the Russians wanted peace with a view to better trading relations with the US. Any open clash in Angola could harm the chances of peace and would not be in the Soviet Union's interest.

South Africa, on the other hand, could not afford to engage unlimited manpower in warfare.

## IN CAPE TOWN

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

African Institute of International Affairs, said that in the absence of adequate information it was difficult to assess the Angolan situation.

It did seem, however, that there was a build-up of forces on both sides of the South-West African border. This created a serious potential threat to the negotiations for a settlement in the region.

"I don't think either side wants to get into a conventional war. There seems to be a posturing with a view to attempts for a negotiated settlement."

The Cubans seemed to be trying to make a 'show of strength' and the South African side did not want to appear to be weak.

PROFESSOR Barratt said the Soviet Union had never had a full say over Cuban ac-

tions. At times there had even been disagreement between the two and the Cubans could not be regarded as simply "a puppet" of the Soviet Union.

This time there might even be serious differences between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Should any serious border clash develop between South Africa and Angola, it was unlikely that the superpowers would get involved — except in the role of trying to keep the warring sides apart.

Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Pretoria-based Africa Institute, said he thought it was unlikely that the border situation would develop into a conventional war.

He was convinced that the Soviet Union

**BIZARRE** aspect of the build-up of Cuban forces threatening the South-West African border across a 450 km front is that most South African experts outside the Government dismiss it as a stunt or a kind of game not worth bothering about.

Although they recognise the danger of border incidents that could lead to serious clashes with South African forces, strategists and other experts do not see a threat of large-scale conventional war.

However, the Government is clearly taking no chances — as shown by its call-up of Citizen Force troops announced this week.

Professor Mike Hough, director of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, dismissed the Cuban move as "armed propaganda", saying the build-up of military forces seemed to have more political than military implications.

He said in an interview this week that the move seemed to be aimed at further talks to be held about a settlement in Angola and South-West Africa. It seemed as if Cuba hoped to gain some advantage at the talks by staging a show of force.

"There could, of course, be incidents that could spark off a confrontation, but I don't think the Cubans will move over the border deliberately. A confrontation could have serious repercussions for Castro, as it would certainly provoke reaction from the United States," Professor Hough said.

**THE** border build-up could also be a strategy by Angola and Cuba aimed at isolating Unita. So far there had been no sign of any serious attempt to accommodate Unita in attempts to seek a settlement of the Angolan conflict.

A border clash at this stage could be the biggest clash seen so far in the Angolan war, but indications were that a game of brinkmanship was being played.

For the Cubans there would be big logistical problems if a serious clash occurred.

Professor Hough said he doubted whether the Cubans would have the ability to wage a conventional war on a big scale — "it will be a total disaster for them."

It was known that South Africa had so far not mobilised "even a sizeable fraction" of its military capability.

**A THEORY** had been put forward that Cuba was acting independently of the Soviet Union in its border build-up. Professor Hough does not support this view.

To him it seemed more likely that the Cuban move had at least tacit support from the Soviet Union. Russia supplied much of the military equipment used by the Cubans and was almost certain to have a hand in the border build-up.

It seemed unlikely that the US would want to get involved at this stage. Technically the Cubans were still on Angolan territory, and President Reagan would not want to have a confrontation with the Soviet Union so soon after the Moscow summit.

Professor John Barratt, director of the South

had never had a full say over Cuban ac-

tions. At times there had even been disagreement between the two and the Cubans could not be regarded as simply "a puppet" of the Soviet Union.

This time there might even be serious differences between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Should any serious border clash develop between South Africa and Angola, it was unlikely that the superpowers would get involved — except in the role of trying to keep the warring sides apart.

Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Pretoria-based Africa Institute, said he thought it was unlikely that the border situation would develop into a conventional war.

He was convinced that the Soviet Union

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7:30 pm  
MONDAY 19 JUNE  
BELVILLE CIVIC CENTRE  
VOORNBERGER RD  
(BETWEEN SANLIAM AND BELLEVILLE HIGH SCHOOL)

**MUZENBERG**  
7:30 pm  
TUESDAY 14 JUNE  
COMMUNITY CENTRE  
CIVIC CENTRE  
CNR ATLANTIC AND BEACH ROADS  
(BEACH FRONT)

**CAPE TOWN**  
7:30 pm  
TUESDAY 14 JUNE  
6th FLOOR, RENTHOUSE SUITE  
ST GEORGE'S CENTRE  
13 BOND STREET RESERVE  
18 JUNE 9 am - 11 am

**NEWLANDS**  
7:30 pm  
WEDNESDAY 15 JUNE  
NEWLANDS HOTEL  
MAIN ROAD  
(OPP NEWLANDS POOL)

**NEWLANDS**  
7:30 pm  
WEDNESDAY 15 JUNE  
NEWLANDS HOTEL  
MAIN ROAD  
(OPP NEWLANDS POOL)

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WEDNESDAY 15 JUNE  
NEWLANDS HOTEL  
MAIN ROAD  
(OPP NEWLANDS POOL)

been threatened and coloured dormitory complexes on the Cape Flats."

A member of the Coloured Representative Council, Mr E M Essop, said Nyanga station was a friction point because it was boxed in between African and coloured dormitory complexes on the Cape Flats.



throughout the country. The government has been accused of putting up and down on the backs of the people. The government has been accused of putting up and down on the backs of the people. The government has been accused of putting up and down on the backs of the people.

# Swapo behind Cuban 'shield'

Joint op in Angola, offensive in Namibia

insurgents claim

Cuban forces in Angola had taken over from the Angolan army the role of providing a protective shield and support for Swapo insurgents, the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer said in Windhoek yesterday.

This confirmed a report from Maputo in which the South West African People's Organisation claims it is involved in operations with Cuban troops.

**SATURDAY STAR REPORTERS, CORRESPONDENTS**

In Windhoek yesterday, General Meyer said, after a reference to new battalions of Swapo and Cuban troops: "For years the Angolan army, Fapla, has given shelter and support to Swapo's murder gangs, but in spite of that the terrorists' position deteriorated and their numbers were reduced."

"With great bravado, the Cubans have taken over the role after years of keeping the Angolan government going."

General Meyer said one of the reasons for this development was probably to strengthen Swapo's negotiating position in forthcoming talks on the regional conflict. "But the build-up of forces north of the border heightens tensions and may jeopardise further negotiations."

to continue with the peace talks, despite being "deeply concerned" about the buildup.

Alton Dunn reports from Washington that United States Intelligence wants to continue sharing information with South African agencies on the military activities and equipment of Cuban forces.

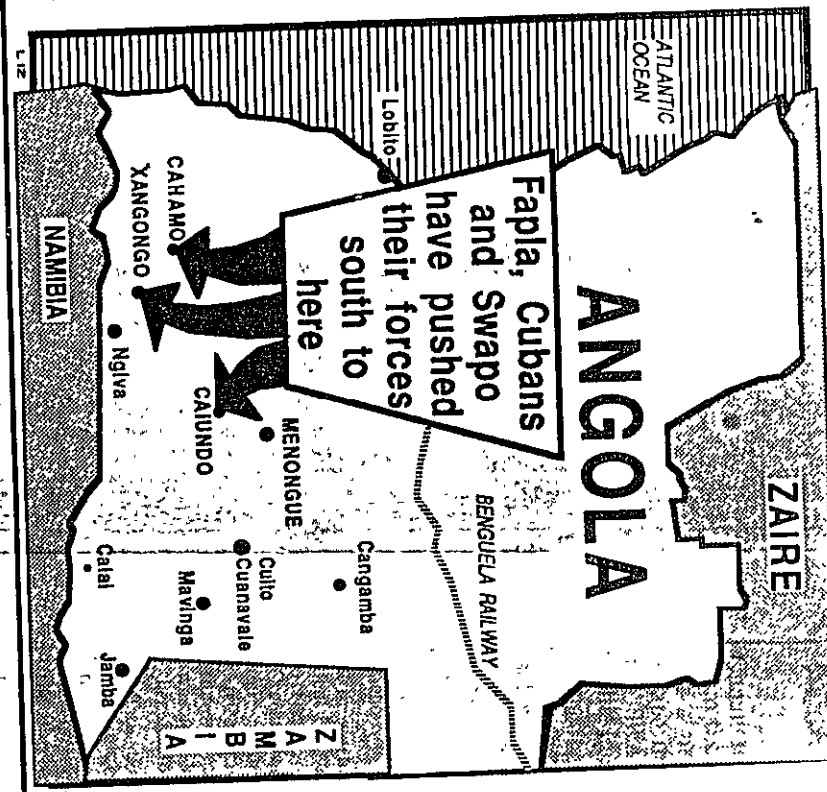
"There are many gaps that are basic and still need to be breached. It is more of a date to see if the negotiation target can be concluded."

Craig Kotze reports that the Conservative Party lashed out on Thursday at the Government for "condoning the massing of Cuban troops" and of "turning a blind eye" to it.

PPF leader Mr. Colin Eglin said he believed every effort should be made to resolve the issue by diplomatic means and

ANGOLA

Fapla, Cubans and Swapo have pushed their forces south to here



Monitored in Maputo, said its forces and Cuban troops were "flushing out" South African troops from southern Angola.

At the same time, said Swapo, its forces had launched an offensive inside Namibian territory aimed at disrupting what it called preparations for further South African involvement in southern Angola.

"The simultaneous offensives have resulted in a high human and material loss for the South Africans," the Swapo communique said.

Nell Lurssen reports from Washington that Dr Crocker said what was different now was the pattern of deployment of Cuban troops in southwestern Angola and the South African call-up of military reserves.

Asked what the the US and the Soviets hoped to see achieved by September 29 this year - a target date named at the Moscow summit for the Angola peace process - Dr Crocker said: "We are not talking about a par-

Be at your table

Problems... United States... Cuba... press... and... all...



# Angola accuses Zaire of weapons airlift to Unita

Star 11/6/88

5

Saturday Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Defence chiefs from Angola and Zaire have held talks in Lusaka on alleged airlifts of weapons from Zaire to rebels in Angola.

The government-owned *Zambia Daily Mail* said yesterday that Zaire denied Angolan charges that weapons had been airlifted to the Quimbele area in northern Angola on May 17 and May 26.

Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, the Angolan ambassador in Lusaka, said that at the meeting on Wednesday he asked Zaire for an undertaking not to allow its territory to be used as a transit route for arms and equipment bound for the Unita rebels.

Angola has accused the United States of supplying Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi with weapons through Zaire.

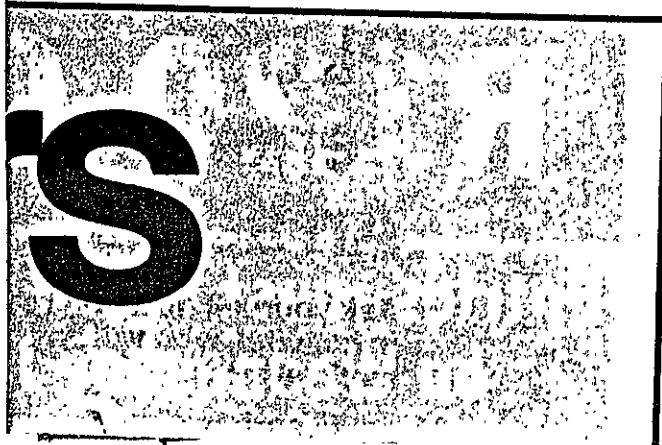
Mr Kiambata said that on the eve of the last round of talks between Angola and South Africa in Brazzaville, Unita launched several attacks in the Quimbele area.

He repeated accusations that Unita was planning to transfer its headquarters to Quimbele.

Mr Kiambata said 450 Unita guerillas had taken part in military manoeuvres near the Angolan border with United States and Zairean army personnel last month.

He said Israeli "secret service" members had also taken part in the manoeuvres near the Kamina air base.

Unita claimed in Lisbon yesterday it killed 23 government and three Cuban soldiers last weekend, reports Sapa-Reuter. Unita said guerillas attacked a convoy travelling south in Cuao Cubango province.



w/e Argus 11/6/88 (5)

# BATTLE PLAN

## What SADF faces — and gives!

an assessment by MARK STANSFIELD  
Weekend Argus Reporter

**B**OTH sides bristle with some of the most up-to-date, sophisticated conventional weapons systems in the world — but the Cuban element have several bone-shattering advantages — all of them of Russian origin.

Like the opening moves in a chess game, the SA Defence Force has probably analysed what firepower Cuba has massed close to the Namibian border in the Namibian 5 military area in the Cunene province and is busy deploying pawn for pawn and mobile castle for castle — but Cuba's arsenal includes some terrifying weapons which Africa has no match for.

In tank firepower alone the Cubans hold an edge against South Africa's handful.

The advantage the SADF does have, however, is that it knows the chessboard better than the Cuban opponent — if it ever came to a full-scale conventional clash between the two armies.

South Africa has already tested its military machine in conventional battle inside Angola. A large part of the Cuban contingent, on the other hand, are recent arrivals on the African continent and have never been tested in battle.

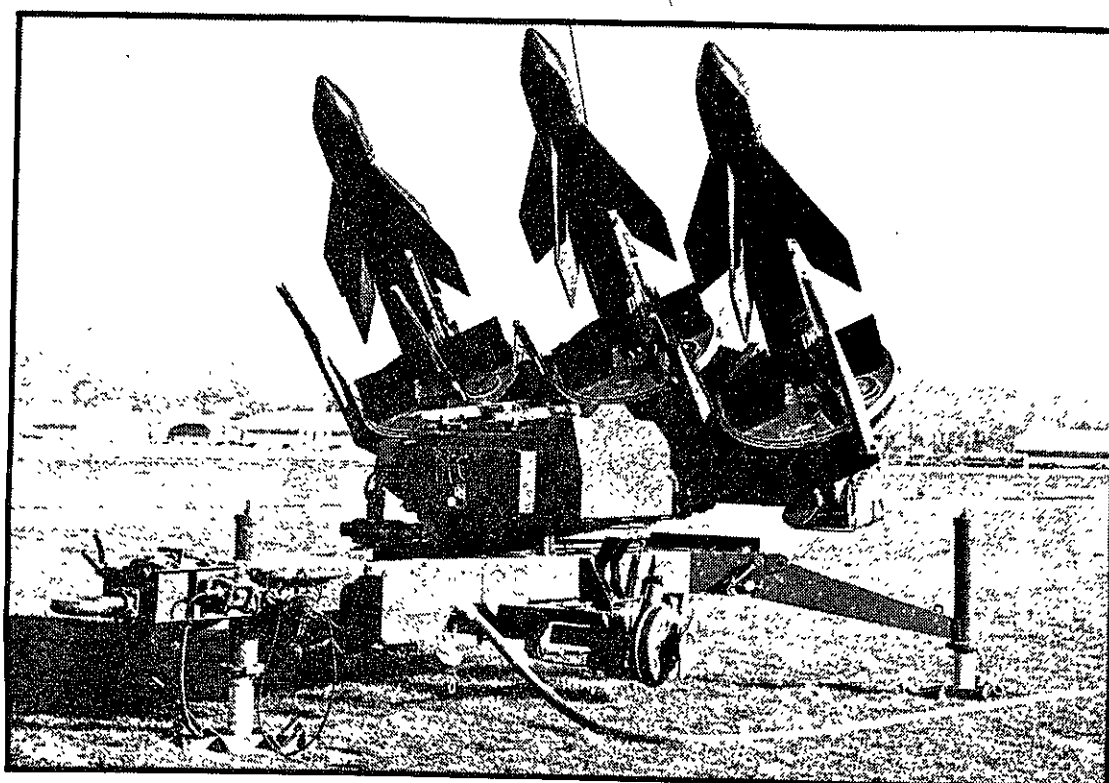
The SADF conventional battle doctrine is as follows:

The Army intends to fight as mobile a war as possible — which is, in fact, necessitated by geographical factors. Accordingly, the emphasis is very much on gaining and retaining the initiative, keeping the enemy off balance by means of manoeuvre and offensive action until he can be destroyed.

Within this basic doctrine, the mechanised elements are expected to conduct the manoeuvre battle with the aim of presenting the enemy to the armoured brigades for destruction. The presence of armoured cars and mobile, long-range artillery in this scenario can be readily appreciated. The parachute brigade is not expected to be used *en bloc*, but this is a possibility which will not be lost sight of. Its normal role is that of 'fire brigade' and raiding force against helicopters and/or aircraft." (Lieutenant-General Andreas Liebenberg, Chief of the Staff)

In accordance with these principles, most of the SA Army's heavy conventional muscle has been designed and built for fast deployment and easy manoeuvrability on the battlefield.

As far as heavy artillery guns are concerned, the Cubans are the poorer — but the outcome of a full-scale battle would depend upon the quality of such weapons each side deploys in the field — and such statistics are not readily available for obvious reasons.



SA: Tigercat ground-to-air guided missile system for low-level close-range air defence.



CUBA: Russian Guideline (SA2) medium-range surface-to-air missile. Used against US B-52 bombers in Vietnam.

■ SOUTH Africa's self-propelled 155mm G6 howitzer with a range of 30km is the cream of the crop. It appears from European military analysts that Cuba has not deployed any artillery weapon to match this highly mobile weapon. The Cubans are already within bombardment range of both the G6 and static G8 cannons.

■ CUBA'S heaviest artillery weapons in Angola are the Russian-made BM-21 and BM-24 artillery rockets. Both are multiple rocket launchers. The 122m BM-21 has 40 barrels, a range of about 20km and a deployment speed of 75km/h. The 240mm BM-24 has 12 barrels and a range of about 10 km.

■ TO match this South Africa has her trusty 127mm multiple rocket system, the Valkiri, described as a "highly mobile, 24-tube rocket launcher with a range of between 8 and 22km." Its most frightening aspect is that the Valkiri rockets have a lethal target area of 1 500sq m. One rocket can be fired every second — which could shrapnel-infest a vast part of Angola within seconds.

The Cuban advantage, it would appear, is the range and number of surface-to-air weapons she has deployed in the Cunene province.

This will probably be the crucial factor if a conventional battle were to be fought on the Namibian border.

SOUTH African Air Force aircraft are precious because there are no replacements — and aircraft, especially fighter craft, play an essential part in modern warfare.

To counter the South African air-strike threat Cuba has deployed no less than five sophisticated anti-air weapons systems in Angola plus a complicated network of radar defences for early warning:

■ THE SA-2 Guideline, a medium range surface to air missile, carries a 130kg explosive warhead which travels at a speed of Mach 3.5 — greater than the strike speed of SAAF jets.

■ THE SA-3 Goa can incorporate a homing, heat-seeking system. Speed, Mach 2-plus, range 25km, ceiling: over 13km.

■ THE SA-6 Gainful has a high altitude range of 60km and a speed of Mach 2.8.

■ THE SA-8 Gecko, a low-altitude rocket with a ceiling of 6km which will counter any low-level sneak attacks launched on their forces.

■ THE SA-13 Gopher, even deadlier with a maximum range of 10km and a minimum of 500m. It carries a 6kg warhead.

To counter Cuban airstrikes which are bound to be launched from an airfield under construction in the Cunene province, the SAAF would possibly deploy the Crotales Cactus and Tigercat anti-air weapon systems at her disposal. These do not carry the range or warhead capability of the Cuban equivalents.

As South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha recently mentioned — when two opposing forces come into close proximity and they are both well-armed, you are looking for trouble.

11/6/88  
w/c AGUs

# THE SHADOW OF WAR

## 'All it needs is a spark'

By ROBERT HOUWING  
Weekend Argus Reporter

ALL it needs is a spark and it could be war! This is the assessment of military analysts anxiously watching the confrontation of Cuban and South African forces placed on alert across the Angola border.

Equipped with the latest weaponry, they face each other across the Cunene River — only a few kilometres apart. Both know that at any moment they could be plunged into a full-scale conventional war.

Although commentators have described the situation as mere posturing and sabre-rattling on the eve of further Angolan peace talks, it could take only a minor skirmish to spark a full-scale battle.

### "Brinkmanship"

Professor Mike Hough, director of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, believes there could be incidents causing confrontation. However, he does not think the Cubans would move over the border deliberately.

A border clash at this stage, he says, could be the biggest so far in the Angolan war. However, indications are that a game of "brinkmanship" is being played by both sides, he adds.

SA Defence headquarters spokesman Commandant Ian Buck told Weekend Argus he had "absolutely nothing to add" to statements already released on the situation.

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said the situation in the south of Angola had deteriorated over the past fortnight.

He disclosed earlier in the week that a Cuban reconnaissance group had been involved in a skirmish with South African forces less than 12km north-west of Ruacana last week. There were no casualties.

In response to the Cuban

presence on the Namibian border, the Defence Force has begun calling up Citizen Force men. It has not divulged which units, or how many, are involved.

Dr Chester Crocker, President Reagan's top Africa official, has warned that the current build-up of military might would be a "risky game for either side to pursue".

British observers discount speculation that the build-up of Cuban troops is a prelude to full-scale confrontation with South Africa, while most South African experts not connected with the Government describe the move as a "stunt or a kind of game not worth bothering about".

Both sides have sophisticated conventional weapons systems, but the Cubans have several Russian-made trump cards. Observers have stated, however, that only a small percentage of South Africa's potential arsenal has been put in the field.

Angola has insisted that the build-up of Cuban troops near SWA/Namibia is purely defensive and no cause for alarm in South Africa.

### Relationship

American analysts say that Cuban supremo Fidel Castro will take his troops home from Angola if and when he feels the time is right — not because of a Soviet Union wish.

They believe it is wrong to see a "master-and-puppet" relationship between Moscow and Havana.

There is evidence, provided by a top-ranking Soviet diplomat who defected to the United States, that the idea of launching a large-scale military operation in Angola came from Havana in the first place.

■ "Battle plan"  
— page 16  
■ "Will there be war?"  
— page 17

Cape Times 13/6/88 (5)

## Cuban buildup is seen as a 'political move'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The southward movement of Cuban-backed Angolan forces within artillery range of the Namibian border has put SA under greater military pressure, but is not likely to lead to increased military conflict.

This was the view of

Jane's Defence Weekly's SA correspondent Mr Helmoet Heitman, who interprets the buildup of Cuban-backed MPLA forces in south-west

Angola not as a new battle position but as "a purely political move" in an attempt to improve their bargaining position in future talks for a settlement in the area.

## 48 men killed, claims Unita

53-11316188  
Unita said at the weekend that 38 Angolan and 10 Cuban troops had been killed this month in the provinces of Zaire, Malange, Lunda and Cuando Cubango.

Sources said from Lisbon that the 10 Cubans and six Angolan troops had been killed in an ambush by Unita north of Cayundo in the south-eastern province of Cuando Cubango earlier this month.

Fifteen government troops were killed in an attack on the 29th brigade at Tarihonde in the Zaire province on June 4, and 11 others were killed in an attack by Unita on the 42nd brigade near the town of Luma Cassai, in Lunda province, on June 5.

On the same day, six Angolan troops were killed in an ambush by Unita on a military convoy between Cambondo and Mukixé, in Malange province. — Sapa.

# Brother, sister to visit wounded POW in Cuba

MS 628  
13/6/88

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The brother and sister of captured South African soldier Johan Papentus, 25, leave for Havana, Cuba, tomorrow to see the wounded serviceman, who is apparently still unaware of the visit.

They will probably be the first South Africans to visit the country freely since it became communist in 1959 under Fidel Castro.

The visit was confirmed yesterday by Private Papentus's foster father and cousin, Mr Johan Language of Pretoria, and his sister, Miss Marietha Papentus.

The trip had been arranged and financed by the South African Defence Force, said Mr Language. The Defence Force has refused to comment on the matter.

Miss Papentus and her brother, Frank, leave Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow afternoon for Madrid in Spain, from where they will fly to the Caribbean island.

## Negotiations

"I don't think Johan knows about the visit yet. All the negotiations were made with the Cuban Government so he probably still doesn't know," said

but his leg is worse than we thought. He has already had 12 operations on his hip and said he might have to undergo even more surgery.

"Also, he still has a huge hole the size of a fist in his leg but there is a possibility it will heal. Johan believes he will walk again but at the moment he can't walk on his injured leg," said Mr Language.

Asked whether they had had any indication about Private Papentus' release, Mr Language said Marietha and Frank had been told to prepare themselves for the possibility that their brother would still be held for a long time.

"We had hope with the peace talks to end the war in Angola but we don't know how the Cuban build-up on the border will influence things.

"Look at how long they held Wynand Du Toit — two years and eight months," said Mr Language.



# Brother, sister to visit wounded POW in Cuba

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"I don't think Johan knows about the visit yet. All the negotiations were made with the Cuban Government so he probably still doesn't know," said Mr. Langnage.

Private Papenfus was seriously wounded this year in the operational area. Originally posted as missing, he was taken prisoner and was taken to a Cuban hospital.

"Marietha and Frank will spend seven days visiting Johan and I think they are quite nervous about the visit. But they are very excited."

"Johan wrote them a letter which they received last week. He was well, but homesick, and said that Cuba was a very beautiful country where the vegetation was fantastic. He said he was being treated well

but his leg is worse than we thought. He has already had 12 operations on his hip and said he might have to undergo even more surgery.

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15/10/88

# Angolan forces move 'political'

THE southward movement of Cuban-backed Angolan forces within artillery range of the Namibian border had put SA under military pressure, but was not likely to lead to increased conflict.

This was said by Jane's Defence Weekly SA correspondent Helmoet Heitman who interpreted the buildups "a purely political move" in an attempt to improve Angola's bargaining position in future talks for a settlement in the area.

The citizen force call-up announced by SADF Chief Jannie Geldenhuys last week was aimed at maintaining the present forces' level in anticipation of the

ELSABÉ WESSELS

annual mid-year manpower drop as national servicemen left, Heitman said at the weekend.

Commenting on a report in the British newspaper the Independent, which claimed that SA was losing air power, Heitman said although the Angolans had a greater number of aircraft, SA's air defence was not necessarily inferior.

The Independent claimed that owing to its recent loss of aircraft, SA's air superiority over the southern Angolan battlefield seemed in doubt.

5  
13/6/88



(S)

~~Blowing~~ Blowing  
14/6/88

Own  
Correspondent

LONDON — Direct confrontation between Cuban and SA troops in southern Angola is threatened after last week's deployment of 10 000 Cuban troops to positions within 19km of the Namibian border.

## Cuban-SA square-up threatens

The Cuban move, involving almost a quarter of Castro's forces in Angola, places a Cuban armoured division and modern MiG-23 aircraft within striking range of crucial SA bases in northern Namibia.

In response to the move, which leaves Castro's troops occupying a line running several hundred kilometres from the Angolan port of Namibe to the besieged town of Cuito Cuanavale, SA has mobilised army reservists.

If the Cuban deployment is as large as SA claimed last week, it may shatter the prospects for peace negotiations between SA, the Angolans and the Cubans, aimed at the withdrawal of Cuban and SA troops from Angola.

Western sources acknowledge it is a departure from the role the Cubans have played in Angola. Until now, the estimated 40 000 Cuban troops have tended not to become involved in frontline combat. Moreover, the presence of Cuban forces so close to the border will hamper "hot pursuit" operations against Swapo.

Whatever the scale of the Cuban move, SA has cause to be worried by it. Besides several hundred tanks, intelligence reports suggest the force is protected by modern Soviet air defence weapons.

Western analysts suggest the Cuban move may be designed merely to strengthen the Angolan-Cuban negotiating position. For Pretoria, however, accepting the Cuban move as purely a negotiating ploy may, in the long run, prove more costly than paying the high short-term price of a pre-emptive strike against key Cuban positions before they become established.

... (11)

(S) B/day 14/6/88

**T**HE MOST important point that emerged from the talks between Dr Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Adamishin at the Moscow summit is that peace in Angola is not within the superpowers' gift.

It may be true, as Crocker observed last week, that after Afghanistan, Southern Africa is "logically the next candidate for urgent attention". But this begs the question of what such "urgent attention" might achieve.

"There are — indeed, there have to be in the modern world — limitations on what superpowers can do," Crocker went on in answer to the begged question. "They have roles, they have influence, but we are not talking about colonies, but countries which, albeit in varying degrees, are independent."

The Americans had hoped, on the basis of their earlier discussions in London and Lisbon, that the Soviets would be prepared to make a formal statement calling for reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita while privately agreeing to use a little muscle on Luanda to prod it in that direction.

**A**damishin, quite understandably, demurred. Being seen to bully a long-standing protégé is bad for business. One betrayal — that of Afghanistan's Najibullah — is quite enough for the time being, however much, privately, the Soviets would like to see the MPLA and Unita reconciled.

The only vaguely muscular point that Adamishin was prepared to make for the record (in an interview with the New York Times) was that the Angolan government, its coffers depleted by weak oil prices, was now paying "not a kopek" for its Soviet arms. He added: "Of course, it's not cheap."

Whatever menace these words might contain the Minister had already diluted. "Suppose the Luanda government sets forth its programme of national reconciliation, we shall consider it. But as for inventing a programme in their place or forcing a programme on them, that's a very delicate matter, and I wouldn't take the liberty to do it."

**I**f the Soviets do not feel they can push around the MPLA, what then about Cuba?

There can be little question that Fidel Castro is showing off in Southern Angola, where he began deploying new forces in late February, early March. There can also be little question that his bravado is fully calculated. His African adventures have, however, long been rather more independent of Moscow than has often been recognised.

There is, for example, a respectable body of opinion holding that Castro's decision to rush substantial new forces to the MPLA's side in 1975 — there had been a 100 or so



□ CASTRO ... pondering his next move?

# Why Fidel Castro is showing off in southern Angola

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

Cuban advisers in Angola for some 10 years previously — took even the Kremlin by surprise. Since independence, Havana has frequently taken different sides to Moscow in MPLA factional disputes.

Apparently inspired leaks from the non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting in Havana at the start of this month, credibly suggest that Castro is telling the Soviets that his decision to pull out will be his and his alone. This accords neatly not only with his past behaviour, but also with his moves towards the Namibian border.

**B**y all accounts, there was a serious difference of opinion between Moscow and Havana on the strategy for last year's offensive. The Soviets won the argument, convincing Luanda to let them lead the ill-fated thrust towards Jamba that was blunted at Mavinga and finally degenerated into a stand-off at Cuito Cuanavale.

The Cubans had argued for what they are doing now. After the debacle at Mavinga, the MPLA, which had in any event begun to wound Castro's pride by accusing him of not letting his troops take a more active role in the fighting, decided to let him have his go. All right, they seem to have said, you may have been right. Now put up or shut up.

Castro has evidently put up — to the tune of 11 000 new men by American counts — in a manner that may be somewhat more than the Angolans themselves had bargained for. He does not appear adverse to a



□ CROCKER ... "we are not talking about colonies, but countries which are independent"

settlement. Indeed, he has made significant compromises, most recently dropping the termination of US support for Unita as a condition for withdrawal. It would be simplistic to view him as taking a harder line than the MPLA.

He is, however, determined to leave as an acknowledged victor. For that he needs more than the triumphal parade in Luanda that has

already been raised as a possibility (by the Americans, no less); he needs to demonstrate that he has cowed Pretoria. Such a demonstration Pretoria may have already afforded him by mobilising some reserves.

In addition, of all the actors on the Angolan side, Castro seems to have been the most concerned about Swapo. The MPLA, which is after all fighting for its own territory, has long given the impression that Swapo's fate was not its principal worry and might even under the right circumstances be negotiable.

**C**astro, by contrast, is an internationalist devoted to putting his sort of people in power wherever he can. If this aggravates the chewing up of Angola, that is a price that he, if not the indigenes, is prepared to pay.

Thus, he is using his sweep south to re-establish Swapo in the border areas from which the SADF has spent the last 10 years sweeping Swapo. Only now, his troops and their superior air power and defences will be there to protect them.

This is a sound strategic move because, unlike the Soviet-led drive on Unita, it presents the SADF with a stark pair of choices that cannot easily be put off.

One is to roll the dice and go on the attack, which could prove extremely costly in South African lives, would have no guarantee of success and would quite likely commit Pretoria to another generation of Operation Proteas and Askaris.

The other is to accede, finally, to Resolution 435 and get the whole business over and done with.

A further indication that this is what Castro has in mind may be found in the fact that it was the Cubans who first suggested setting September 29, the 10th anniversary of the United Nations Security Council endorsement of 435, as the target date for agreement on a settlement package. The idea is to help Pretoria concentrate.

Implicit here is the notion that Castro would not object to his troops staying on indefinitely if the SADF chose the first option. This is what has the MPLA, and the Americans and Soviets for that matter, slightly uneasy about the approach.

Under their interpretation, and by "their" we must include the Americans as at least tacit partners, the Cuban move south should by now at least have begun to have the effect of focusing Pretoria on the second option, rather than on the faintly spurious vanity-driven question of the venue for the next round of talks.

Furthermore, there is always the possibility that the Cubans might go too far — or, perhaps more to the point, that Swapo might take the opportunity to launch a major operation across the border, leading to the inevitable SADF response.

**L**uanda, meanwhile, has other anxieties, not the least of which is Jonas Savimbi's trip to Washington later this month, during which he will be visiting President Reagan.

Now it may be the case that there can be a settlement with only SA, and not the US, promising to cease support for Unita. But there are limits. The American effort to wean Unita from SA and move its centre of gravity to the north-east closer to supply routes through Zaïre, whose President Mobutu was himself in the White House last week, is not encouraging the MPLA to be reasonable.

Nor does it help when Reagan and Mobutu are reported as expressing undying admiration for Savimbi. The White House now says that spokesman Martin Fitzwater, not knowing much about the subject, misquoted the two leaders who actually only expressed support for reconciliation. Even so, the MPLA can be forgiven for feeling a little angst.

**I**ndeed, it may well conclude that the safest course would be to wait for the next administration — especially since Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis is promising to recognise Angola and cut off Savimbi for free.

For his part, Crocker says this should not be a factor. The current framework, he observes, is the only one that makes sense, and is only "going to be around for a few more months being pursued by people who know how to pursue it." He adds quickly: "That is not me talking I am having that echoed back to me by the parties concerned."

Crocker has a point. Now if only the parties would do a little more than tell him how useful he is as a facilitator and do what the superpowers want them to do.

**SCOTT, SKIET en DONNER/John Scott**

# Angola, Zaire fall out over Unita

The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — Angolan diplomatic relations with Zaire could be jeopardised because of Zaire's

relations with Unita, the Angolan ambassador to Zambia, Mr Luis Kiambata, has said.

Mr Kiambata accused President Mobutu Sese

Sekou of Zaire of supporting Unita.

"Mobutu's support for Jonas Savimbi is a clear demonstration that he is personally involved in the destabilisation of Angola," he said.

Mr Kiambata said the American under-secretary of state for African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, had recently met Mr Savimbi secretly in the Zairean capital of Kinshasa.

He said the meeting had taken place after the summit meeting in Moscow between United States President Mr Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr Kiambata said the Unita leader was due to visit the United States later this month.

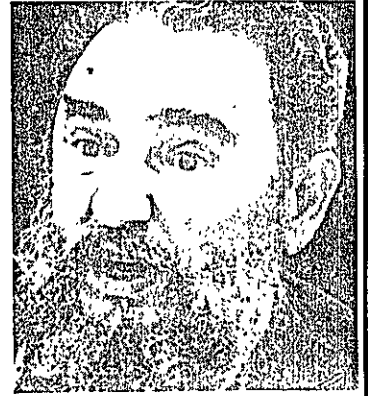


Washington  
Letter  
by SIMON BARBER

# Castro's moves in Angola have their own independent logic



NAJIBULLAH... betrayed by Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.



CASTRO... determined to leave Angola as a victor.

*Call Times 14/6/88*

THE most important point that emerged from the talks between Dr Chester Crocker and Soviet deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Adamishin at the Moscow summit is that peace in Angola is not within the superpower's gift.

It may be true, as Crocker observed last week, that after Afghanistan, southern Africa is "logically the next candidate for urgent attention" but this begs the question of what such "urgent attention" might achieve.

"There are, indeed, there have to be in the modern world, limitations on what superpowers can do," Crocker went on in answer to the begged question. "They have roles, they have influence, but we are not talking about colonies, but countries which, albeit in varying degrees, are independent."

The Americans had hoped, on the basis of their earlier discussions in London and Lisbon, that the Soviets would be prepared to make a formal statement calling for reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita while privately agreeing to use a little muscle on Luanda to prod it in that direction.

Adamishin, quite understandably, demurred. Being seen to bully a long-standing protege is bad for business. One betrayal — that of Afghanistan's Najibullah — is quite enough for the time being, however ever much, pri-

vately, the Soviets would like to see the MPLA and Unita reconciled.

The only vaguely muscular point that Adamishin was prepared to make was that the Angolan government, its coffers depleted by weak oil prices, was now paying "not a kopek" for its Soviet arms. He added: "Of course, it's not cheap".

### Diluted

Whatever menace these words might contain the Minister had already diluted. "Suppose the Luanda government sets forth its programme of national reconciliation, we shall consider it. But as for inventing a programme in their place or forcing a programme on them, that's a very delicate matter, and I wouldn't take the liberty to do it."

If the Soviets do not feel they can push around the MPLA, what then about Cuba.

There can be little question that Fidel Castro is showing off in southern Angola or that his bravado is fully calculated. His African adventures have long been rather more independent of Moscow than has often been recognized.

Apparently inspired leaks from the non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting in Havana at the start of this month credibly suggest that Castro is telling the Soviets that his decision to pull out will be his and his alone. This

accords neatly not only with his past behaviour but also with his moves towards the Namibian border.

By all accounts there was a serious difference of opinion between Moscow and Havana on the strategy for last year's offensive. The Soviets won the argument, convincing Luanda to let them lead the ill-fated thrust towards Jamba that was blunted at Mavinga and finally degenerated into a stand-off at Cuito Cuanavale.

The Cubans had argued for what they are doing now. After the debacle at Mavinga, the MPLA, which had in any event begun to wound Castro's pride by accusing him of not letting his troops take a more active role in the fighting, decided to let him have his go. Alright, they seem to have said, you may have been right. Now put up or shut up.

Castro has evidently put up — to the tune of 11 000 new men by American counts — in a manner that may be somewhat more than the Angolans themselves bargained for.

He does not appear averse to a settlement; indeed, he has made significant compromises, most recently dropping the termination of US support for Unita as a condition for withdrawal. It would be simplistic to view him as taking a harder line than the MPLA.

He is, however, determined to leave as an acknowledged victor. For that

he needs more than the triumphal parade in Luanda; he needs to demonstrate that he has cowed Pretoria. Such a demonstration Pretoria may have already afforded him by mobilizing its reserves.

### Internationalist

In addition, of all the actors on the Angolan side Castro seems to have been the most concerned about Swapo. The MPLA, which is after all fighting for its own territory, has long given the impression that Swapo's fate was not its principal worry.

Castro, by contrast, is an internationalist devoted to putting his sort of people in power wherever he can. If this aggravates the chewing up of Angola, that is a price that he, if not the indigenes, is prepared to pay.

Thus, he is using his sweep south to re-establish Swapo in the border areas from which the SADF has spent the last 10 years sweeping Swapo. Only now, his troops and their superior air power and defences will be there to protect them.

This is a sound strategic move because, unlike the Soviet-led drive on Unita, it presents the SADF with a stark pair of choices that cannot easily be put off.

### No guarantee

One is to roll the dice and go on the attack, which could prove extremely costly in South African lives, and would have no guarantee of success.

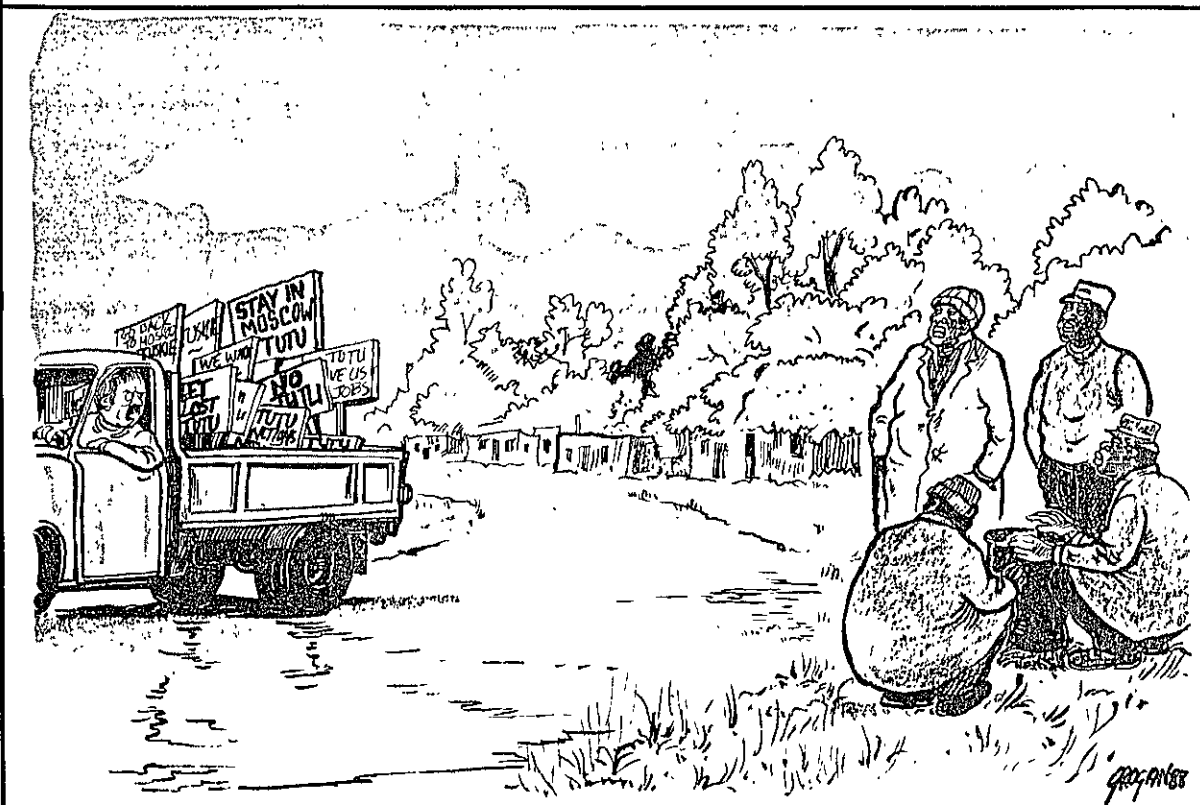
The other is to accede, finally, to Resolution 435 and get the whole business over and done with.

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Implicit here is the notion that Castro would not object to his troops staying on indefinitely in the event the SADF chose the first option. This is what has the MPLA, and the Americans and Soviets for that matter, slightly uneasy about the approach.

Under their interpretation — and by "their" we must include the Americans as at least tacit partners — the Cuban move south should by now at least begun to have the effect of focusing Pretoria on the second option.

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"Anybody for a quick job at the airport?"



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to the point, that Swapo might take the opportunity to launch a major operation across the border, leading to the inevitable SADF response.

Luanda, meanwhile, has other anxieties not the least of which is Jonas Savimbi's trip to Washington later this month during which he will be visiting President Reagan.

Now it may be the case that there can be a settlement with only South Africa — and not the US — promising to cease support for Unita but there are limits. The American effort to wean Unita from South Africa and move its centre of gravity to the northeast, closer to supply routes through Zaire, whose President Mobutu was himself in the White House last week, is not encouraging the MPLA to be reasonable.

### Reconciliation

Neither does it help when Reagan and Mobutu are reported as expressing undying admiration for Savimbi. The White House now says that spokesman Martin Fitzwater, not knowing much about the subject, misquoted the two leaders, who actually only expressed support for reconciliation. Even so, the MPLA can be forgiven for feeling a little angst.

Indeed, it may well conclude that the safest course would be to wait for the next administration, especially since Democratic candidate, Michael Dukakis is promising to recognize Angola and cut off Savimbi for free.

For his part, Crocker says this should not be a factor. The current framework, he observes, is one that makes sense and is only "going to be around for a few more months being pursued by people who know how to pursue it". He adds quickly: "That is not me talking. I am having that echoed back to me by the parties concerned."

He has a point. Now if only the parties would do a little more than tell him how useful he is and do what the superpowers want them to do.

## Black Viewpoint

THE white Press was missing the point that by losing his majority in the House of Delegates, the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, was eminently qualified to keep his position, The Indicator commented.

"After all, the name of the system is minority rule," the Lenasia-based newspaper said.

"The white Press — especially the newspaper that asked whites to sit on the fence during the 1984 referendum — should be consistent. If Mr Rajbansi is to be sacked for being in the minority, it should demand that all MPs in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives resign as well.

"After all, they were elected by a pathetically small minority," The Indicator said.

□ □ □

THE clash between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the former Detainees Parents Support Committee member, Dr Max Coleman, was "reprehensible and objectionable", Sowetan said.

"To quibble about a detainee being a day older or younger than 15 shows the extent to which the sensibilities of South African adults have gone. To us, anybody who has not reached 18 years is a child and should not be in jail."

□ □ □

SAAMSTAAN, an Oudtshoorn-based newspaper which has been warned that it may be shut down in terms of the emergency regulations, said its executive board rejected allegations that it was stirring up hatred among people and causing ill-feeling and hatred towards the security forces.

"We say it is the apartheid system which sows hatred and violence. We in Saamstaan have strived to bring the truth to the people."

### From the Bible

REMEMBER now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not.

(Ecclesiastes 12:1)

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# Angola <sup>APCWS</sup> warning on <sup>15/6/88</sup> peace talks

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Angola has threatened to pull out of the Angolan peace talks if a scheduled visit to the United States by rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is allowed to go on.

The Angolan ambassador to Zambia, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, said the scheduled June 30 visit by Dr Savimbi and American involvement in the opening of a new war front in Zaire would jeopardise talks with the United States and South Africa.

"These actions show bad faith on the part of the US administration which is likely to jeopardise the process of the talks," he said.

"We are ready to continue the talks but not in an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion nurtured by negative activities," Mr Kiambata said.

## WITHDRAWAL

He accused the United States Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, of being behind Dr Savimbi's visit.

Mr Kiambata said Unita was moving its main bases to Zaire which indicated that South Africa was ready to give the negotiations a chance. South Africa's withdrawal from Angola was one of the points discussed during the negotiations.

## US visit will 'jeopardise' peace talks

**(S)** The Star's Africa News Service <sup>Star</sup> 5/6/88  
LUSAKA — Angola has threatened to pull out of peace talks with South Africa and the United States if a scheduled visit to America by rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is allowed.

The Angolan ambassador to Zambia, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, said the scheduled June 30 visit to the United States by Unita leader Dr Savimbi and American involvement in opening a new war front from Zaire would jeopardise talks with the United States and South Africa.

# Hopes are fading for Angolan talks

Star  
16/6/88 By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent (5)

CAPE TOWN — Regional peace talks between South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the US have bogged down.

Three factors appear to have contributed to the stalling of the negotiations, which started with high hopes and promise of progress in London and later Brazzaville several weeks ago. These are:

- The menacing build-up of Cuban forces along the northern border of Namibia. Latest South African intelligence is that 17 000 Cuban troops have dug themselves in while Cuban aircraft have made several provocative "fast dash" sorties over Namibia.

- A wrangle over the next venue for talks, with Cuba and Angola vetoing any African capital where South Africa might be able to capitalise on improving relationships with Africa.

The talks at Brazzaville were "too successful" in the opinion of certain parties because the Congo had reportedly agreed to a State visit in June by President Botha. This visit, and the next round of talks to be held in the capital, are now both off.

- South Africa's insistence that the talks on an African issue should take place in Africa.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said today: "Assuming the State visit reports are true, and that such a visit is reason for Angola to renege on its agreement, then I'd say there can be hardly any chance of further successful talks."

Mr Botha said that if President Botha had been planning to visit the Congo he would have thought that such a visit would have enhanced the peace talks by giving them greater importance and impetus, and a real act of commitment on South Africa's part.

Diplomats understood that President Botha was to have visited the Congo four days after the talks.



news 16/5/88

# Malan warns Swapo against Cuban 'shield'

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA was today cautiously watching developments in Angola as reports continued that Cuban, Fapla and Swapo forces were still moving south.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned if Swapo used Cuban troops as a shield to launch attacks on Namibia "this could be the spark that starts the fire".

At the Brazzaville talks last week South Africa bluntly told the Angolans that an offensive southwards must stop.

According to military sources, between 4 000 and 6 000 Cuban, Fapla and Swapo troops could be moving south.

There was no evidence of a huge march southwards but there was a lot of troop activity, the sources said.

It is now believed that Cuba may be trying to shield Swapo insurgents from any possible hot pursuit operations in Southern Angola.

## ALL PARTIES

According to one overseas report Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujomo, who has been visiting Cuba, has demanded that Swapo be included in talks about an Angolan and Namibian settlement, but he wants Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement to be excluded.

A Foreign Affairs source pointed out today that South Africa had always maintained that all parties involved in the dispute must be involved in efforts to resolve it.

● The Angolan peace negotiations received a boost at the weekend when Angola's ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr Pedro Kivila, said the conflict in Southern Africa could not be settled by military means.

The Africa News Organisation, ANO, reported from Moscow that Mr Kivila said an agreement on the problems of Southern Africa could be reached soon.

## AGREEMENT

Mr Kivila said his government had informed all parties involved that military means could not solve the problems of southern Africa.

"It will be possible to reach agreement shortly, provided South Africa displays goodwill and a serious approach to the matter," said Mr Kivila.

He warned, however, that there could not be negotiations between the Angolan government and the Unita rebel group.

● Cuba has issued a medal for Cuban soldiers who took part in the defence of Cuito-Cuanavale and has disclosed that 39 of its soldiers died in the defence of the strategic town in south-eastern Angola. Three Cuban officers have been awarded the new medal.

● See page 9.

# From Brazzaville With Love

NR6US

16/5/81

5 (229)

From PETER FABRICIUS,  
of The Argus Political Staff  
who travelled  
to Brazzaville  
to cover the historic  
peace talks

MR Pik Botha's fleeing safari to Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, last week was an occasion full of bitter irony.

The Congo oozes the essence of Africa. It lies almost astride the equator, alongside the continent's mightiest river. Most of its surface is covered with tropical forest inhabited by elephants and some of Africa's most indigent people, the pygmies.

Politically too, the name Congo evokes powerful memories of the turbulent early days of independence and of the mercenaries, many of them South African, who fought in the area.

Although much of that was in the old Belgian Congo, now Zaire, that lies just across the river.

In Brazzaville too is a Rue de Nelson Mandela with a signpost portraying the imprisoned black South African leader in colour.

Into this most African of African countries stepped Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan, ministers in the hated apartheid Government of South Africa.

But from the way Mr Botha carried it off, you would think he had dropped in for a friendly chat with old pals — he did actually go as far as calling the Angolan delegation "my friends from Llan-nda" — and not an eyebrow to eyeball confrontation with bitter enemies in a bloody war.

Mr Botha — a master of the media — milked the occasion of its full potential.

From the moment he slept on the tarmac at Waterkloof airport, dressed in an African chief's hat and staff, he lost no opportunity to play the part of an African leader meeting other African leaders.

He told the Congo Minister of External Affairs, Mr Antoine Edinga Oba — as often as he could — that he appreciated him hosting the talks as "African problems should be solved by Africans."

When Mr Botha spoke at the start of the actual talks in the Villa du Mer he went a little further by telling Mr Oba that his decision to host the talks was "in line with my philosophy that African problems must be solved by Africans."

Mr Oba, more bluntly said the Congo had hosted the talks "to save Cuban lives." It

was also possible, as the South Africans believed, that the Congo was flattered by all the publicity.

And Mr Botha also let on that he had had very useful talks with "Congo friends" about the problems of Africa and about trade links.

His people also underlined the point that it was something of a coup for South Africa to have been received in a Marxist African state — while the liberal West was stunning us.

One could just imagine it: The Angola peace talks, soon showing in a cinema near you.

It almost sounded then, as though the whole thing was merely designed to show off South Africa being received by Africa.

There did not seem to be an earnest desire to end a war. Of the actual reason for the meeting very little was said in public.

They also revealed that they had taken the opportunity to castigate the Angolans for harbouring the ANC.

And had demanded that they stop the current Cuban southward advance or risk jeopardising the peace talks and provoking a bloody battle.

Observers had expected that at the heart of the matter was some sort of compromise on the central issue of synchronising Cuban withdrawal and independence for Namibia under UN 435.

It had seemed that the seven month period for the transition to independence, written into 435 might be extended to give the Cubans more time to pull out — a fairly reasonable-sounding proposition.

But afterwards senior sources said that South Africa had not budged on this point — although South African would be formulating "some proposals" to be put at the next round of talks.

Were the talks just an occasion to show South Africa off in Africa and to halt the current Cuban advance?

From private conversations it seems that the South Africans are hoping that Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev will put pressure on the Cubans to withdraw, as he himself has done from Afghanistan.



PEACE TALKS: South African Ministers Gen Magnus Malan and Mr Pik Botha meet with Angola's Col Jose Maria, presidential secretary for defence, and Justice Minister Fernando van Durem at the peace talks in Brazzaville

## A fleeing look at the Congo

“JE suis Sud Africain,” one of the journalists covering Mr Pik Botha's visit to the Congo ventured to a curious local. And he braced himself for a tirade about apartheid.

Instead the enthusiastic response was, “Ah, Afrique du Sud, that is a rich country.”

That remark seemed to typify the Republic of Congo today. The fervour of the official policy of Marxist-Leninism (if ever there was much) is giving way to healthy respect for the dollar.

Rather too healthy, we were to discover.

Along the boulevards the Brave New World bravado of Marxist slogans is still visible but the paintwork is peeling.

And the fresher paintwork is to be seen on new signs proclaiming private enterprises popping up on the roadsides. We came expecting the doctrinaire disapproval instead the Congolese were model capitalists. They disarmed us with smiles — and fleeced us.

If Afrique du Sud was a rich country when it arrived, it was destitute when it left — heretofore wads of French Franc travellers cheques — and desperately hauling out cash cards.

Two days accommodation at the Le Meridien Hotel — an establishment with five-star pretensions and slightly less than three star service (still very comfortable compared to what we had expected) — cost thousands of rands, mainly because of the astronomical price of foreign phone calls.

The currency is CFA Francs (called Cefas) which can be used throughout the old French West African colonies.

Fifty Cefas are equal to one French Franc and 2,55 of these in turn equal one rand.

An indifferent steak in the hotel's restaurant Le Flamboyant sets you back 3 900 CFA or R30 and a salad, R21.

The fixed menu of salad, rather dehydrated local sole, pudding and coffee carries the equivalent of R50 out of your foreign currency.

A beer starts at about R9 for the local brew — not too bad — and goes up to R12 or so for imported Heineken.

The next morning a cup of tea will set you back R7,80.

We were advised that we could drink the hotel water but most chose caution and ordered the bottled water.

This sort of European prejudice against the local bacteria costs you, of course.

The bottled water is imported from France and costs nearly R4 a litre.

The Congolese haggle for everything. In the local tourist craft market — which sells, ivory, malachite, copper, brass and ebony curios — the price of an ivory trinket starts at say, R100 and may eventually get down to R30 Or less depending on your bargaining skills.

One foreign hack said he had knocked them down from 10 000 to 175 Cefas for a malachite egg.

Even the petrol price is negotiable. We travelled around in an air-conditioned bus laid on by the Government.

They kindly took us on a tour — but when it came time to fill up with petrol, they passed the hat around among us and then proceeded to haggle with the pump attendant, knocking him down from 1 500 to 1 000 Cefas.

The marked price was 295 Cefas a litre — more than R2.

It was difficult to say how locals get by as we had little chance to check the price of basic goods in shops, although it was apparent there wasn't much.

# Soviets accuse SA of stalling

Star 16/6/88

The Star's Africa News Service

The Soviet Union has accused South Africa of deliberately setting up difficulties to delay peace negotiations with Angola.

In a report from Moscow, the Africa News Organisation (ANO) said a Soviet Foreign Affairs official, Mr Gennady Gerasimov, had said that "lately the South African Government has been doing its utmost to aggravate the situation in the region".

## RENEGED

A South African Foreign Affairs spokesman said last night that this was "clearly untrue".

"No one forced the parties to agree to have the next round of negotiations in Brazzaville and now they have reneged on their undertaking."

Mr Gerasimov is quoted as saying: "Giving some technicalities as an excuse, South Africa is piling up difficulties to delay the next stage of negotiations."

"South Africa does not

fulfil the UN Security Council Resolution 602 on ending aggression against Angola," said Mr Gerasimov, who is head of the information department of the Soviet Foreign Affairs Ministry.

Mr Gerasimov said the first stage of the negotiations held in London had shown that there was a fair chance of stopping aggression against Angola, granting its people the right to solve its domestic problems and "giving the Angolan and Cuban governments an opportunity to solve the question of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola stage by stage".

There had also been favourable prospects for granting independence to Namibia on the basis of UN resolution 435, he said.

A third round of talks between Angola and South Africa was originally expected to take place week, but the two countries have disagreed on where the talks should be held.

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## Unita claims

LISBON — The Unita movement in Angola claimed yesterday it had shot down a transport plane and killed a contingent of Angolan and Cuban soldiers. (S)

It also said it had caused serious damage to the strategic Huambo Airport during a rocket attack. — Sapa-AP.

CITY/NATIONAL

# Peace talks stall over venue and Cuban troops

NR645

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By DAVID BRAUN

Political Staff

PEACE talks involving South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the US have become bogged down.

Two factors appear to have contributed to the stalling of negotiations which started, with much promise and high hope in London and later Brazzaville several weeks ago. They are the menacing build-up of Cuban forces along the northern border of Namibia and wrangling over the next venue for the latest South African intelligence is that 17 000 Cuban troops have dug themselves in while Cuban aircraft have made several sorties over Namibia in what are believed to be deliberate acts of provocation.

Cuba and Angola have vetoed as a venue any African capital where South Africa might be able to capitalise on improving relationships with Africa. South Africa insists the talks should take place in Africa. The last round of talks in Brazzaville were "too successful" in the opinion of certain parties. It is believed the Congo agreed to a State visit in June by President Botha. This visit, and the next round of talks to be held in the capital, South Africa refuses to talk again in London, as the US has suggested, following last week's rock concert to celebrate Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday.

## "Nonsense"

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today: "Assuming that reports of a visit by the State President to Brazzaville are true, and that such a visit was the reason for Angola to renegge on its agreement, then I would say there can be hardly any chance of further successful talks. "This would make nonsense of any further talks because it would demonstrate a basic lack of bona fides on the part of the other parties." South African diplomats said today Cuba wanted to prevent South Africa improving its reputation in Africa. They said Cuba was furious at being excluded from the first round of talks in Brazzaville and did not want President Botha to win an advantage from further talks. South Africa rejects Zimbabwe and Zambia as venues because it believes these countries will use the opportunity to embarrass South Africa. South African defence sources said today Cuban aircraft had flown at night altitudes over Ondangwa. The flights had been fast dashes and it was believed the Cubans were trying to provoke an incident. South Africa believes Cuba is spoiling for a battle inside Angola but sources say Pretoria will not fall into the trap. They believe Cuba's forces are going to have to spend out for months, at vast expense and discomfort. Meanwhile, UNITA is stepping up its attacks on the long Cuban supply lines.

CONF. TO NIS 17/6/88 (5)

# Pik optimistic on Congo talks

A POSSIBLE visit to the Congo by President P W Botha would enhance any peace talks with the Angolans, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

He neither confirmed nor denied there were plans for such a visit, but said that if a possible visit was used as a reason for Angola to renege on its agreement to hold the next round of talks in Brazzaville, it made nonsense of any further talks.

"If President Botha had been planning to visit Congo Brazzaville, I would have thought such a visit would enhance the peace talks," Mr Botha said.

Reports of the planned presidential visit, from sources in London, is the latest development in what appears to be an approaching stalemate on the venue and date for the next all-party round of talks on the Angolan/Namibian

question.

Local Foreign Affairs sources are still confident that the talks are on and imminent, contrasting with other diplomatic sources who feel there is an irreconcilable difference in objectives to the talks between the Cuban and South African sides.

The first round of bilateral talks between South Africa and Angola at Brazzaville had, in the South Africans' view, been highly successful in demonstrating South Africa's commitment to "African" solutions and the acceptability of the so-called "white racists" on the black continent.

Sources here are adamant that the Angolans could have withdrawn from the Brazzaville agreement only under pressure from the Cubans, who are also scheduled, along with the United States, to take part in the next round of talks.

The bargaining about the next venue has meant the ruling out of several capitals in Europe and Africa, with the South Africans remaining firm in their insistence on an African venue.

Angola, apparently under pressure from Cuba, has now vetoed any African capital where the South Africans may, as at Brazzaville, capitalize on the occasion to improve its links with Africa.

Another factor which has placed obstacles in the way of talks is the Cuban military build-up in south-western Angola which, the South Africans insist, runs contrary to the spirit and the central objective of both the first London and the Brazzaville talks.

The estimated 17 000 Cuban troops in the area, a new airbase and provocative jet overflights of Namibian territory, they say, run directly contrary to the main objective of the talks. — Sapa

ANGOLA

## Risky business

Although the risk of head-on conflict between Cuba and SA now appears higher than ever, it has been there all along. However, the situation seems to have reached stale-

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mate and could stay that way for quite a while. At the same time, incentives for the players in the region to negotiate remain high — but the risk of the situation “flying out of control” is equally high.

Fresh insight into the regional situation came this week from two American academics linked up to a press conference in Cape Town organised by the US Information Service and Stellenbosch University's Institute for Soviet Studies.

John Marcum, an authority on Angola at the University of California in Santa Cruz, and Terry Deibel, professor of national security at Washington's National War College, believe an Angolan settlement is not a top priority for the Soviet Union, which is likely to want to see how the Afghanistan disengagement progresses before embarking on another major regional withdrawal. Even then, however, the Soviets are likely to regard solutions to problems in Vietnam as having a higher priority than Angola. The US also sees other regional conflicts — such as the Middle East — as a higher priority.

### Opportunities

But Marcum believes Angola presents opportunities for both the Soviets and the US to disengage without losing vital interests.

Marcum says possible moves by Cuba's Fidel Castro remain an unknown factor in the Angolan conflict. In spite of its ties to the Soviets, Cuba plays a largely independent role in Angola and it is not clear to what extent the “client can wag the dog” in the Cuba-Soviet relationship.

Castro is committed to Angola as a matter of principle and personal prestige, but has to consider the risks inherent in a front-line conflict with SA. He cannot be sure that the Soviets will keep him supplied in a long-term conflict. For that reason, a major cross-border strike into Namibia by the Cubans seems extremely unlikely.

Marcum says Cuba has a considerable stake in Angola, not only in terms of the number of troops deployed there, but also through the 5 000 Angolans currently reported to be studying in Cuba. This is twice as many as were studying there five years ago and compares to the 1 800 Angolans studying in the Soviet Union. He says Cuba is apparently determined to remain loyal to Angola.

Marcum says the Angolan peace negotiations did not have much going for them from the start, and perceptions that they are now coming off the rails are probably correct. There are indications that the Angolan government no longer sees the same urgency in negotiations as it did in the recent past. ■

# Hopes dim for Angolan peace talks

5/17/88

(5)

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The regional peace initiatives of recent months are running out of steam, if they had any in the first place.

Behind the haggling over the next venue for negotiations between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US lie deep and serious suspicions and scepticism of any breakthrough.

This is in spite of the optimism of the Soviet Union and the United States in setting a target date of September 29 for reaching agreement.

September 29 is the 10th anniversary of UN Resolution 435, which provides for Namibia independence.

By then, the superpowers hope, Angola, South Africa and Cuba will have agreed on the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from the region so that Namibia's independence can be set in motion.

There is a growing belief that America has "oversold" the enthusiasm of the Soviet Union in wanting a peaceful agreement in Angola.

## Motives unknown

Some academics in the US and in South Africa believe America may even be indulging in fantasies all round in its naive enthusiasm for Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost.

The Soviet Union has been careful to avoid making any real commitments, particularly in Angola, so it is too early to say what its real motives and intentions for the region are.

There is also growing doubt about Cuba's intentions in Angola.

On the one hand, Cuba astonished South African diplomats in the London talks earlier this year because of what was perceived to be a dramatic change of attitude towards total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

But while Cuba and South Africa were talking, Havana was pouring thousands of fresh troops into southern Angola and unloading tons of sophisticated weaponry at Namibe.

Cuban President Fidel Castro then publicly gave notice of constructing an airstrip just north of the border with Namibia for a squadron of sophisticated fighter jets.

The latest estimates are that there are 17 000 Cuban troops south of the

Benguela railway line, and about 7 000 Fapla and Swapo troops.

South Africa has moved several units of its own into northern Namibia and a special call-up of civilian reserves is underway.

On May 13, South Africa and Angola met for bilateral talks in Congo, Brazzaville.

The venue had been chosen in line with the agreement in London that the next talks should be in Africa. South Africa particularly was keen to promote the idea that African problems should be resolved by African leaders in Africa. There is substantial evidence that many important African leaders support this.

What was not published at the time of the talks was that South Africa had months previously started developing a relationship with the Congo.

When Brazzaville was accepted by Angola, the bilateral talks behind the scenes between Congo and South Africa proceeded separately.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha held talks with Congo President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, in preparation for a summit meeting between the Congolese and South African heads of state in June. South Africa denies that such a summit was planned, but Western diplomats confirm it.

For reasons which are not certain, Angola has in recent weeks reneged on its agreement to hold a further round of talks in Brazzaville. Angola suggested Paris and America suggested Brussels. South Africa turned both down and proposed Luanda.

Angola countered with Zambia, Zimbabwe or Cape Verde. The Angolan delegation knew from the London talks that South Africa would not be prepared to hold talks in Zimbabwe (because of Harare's incessant propaganda war against South Africa) and Zambia (because of its links with the ANC).

South Africa rejected this and offered Botswana, Malawi, Zaire or the Ivory Coast.

South Africa believes Angola will veto any African capital of stature because it knows there is growing support in Africa for a negotiated settlement to the Angolan problem, which would involve a national reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita.



Mikhail Gorbachev ... careful to avoid real commitment.



Fidel Castro ... personal announcement on building airport.



# The battle for Cuito has ended. But shells still fall

Journalists who have visited the Angolan battle front from the Luanda end have returned with a very different picture of the war from that which we read in official communiqués  
**JEREMY HARDING**  
*reports*

THE South African shells which have been falling on Cuito Cuanavale since the end of last year now have a strangely inconsequential character. Two batteries of South African G5 and G6 cannon are still active to the south-east of this ravaged little town on Angola's frontline, but the battle for Cuito Cuanavale is over.

A gruelling defence by the Angolan armed forces (Fapla) with extensive support from some of the 4 000 Cuban personnel stationed in the country, has blunted South Africa's fourth big offensive of the 1980s in Angola. Operation Modular has ground to an indistinguishable standstill.

If Cuito Cuanavale is history, its lengthy aftermath still provides a grim picture of what the Angolans and their Cuban allies have had to endure since the collapse last September of their dry season offensive against the town of Mavinga — a Unita stronghold about 200km to the south-east.

Trained on Cuito for six months or more, the G5s and G6s have a lethal accuracy. The bridge below the town draws regular fire, since it provides access to the government's forward positions 6.5km beyond Cuito.

Fapla officers say they have held these since March 23, when a major engagement on the plain led to heavy Unita losses and the capture of several South African tanks.

Today the original bridge on the Cuito river is a wreck, but a wooden pontoon has now replaced it. Last month a group of journalists went to the bridge with Colonel Joao Baptista Ngueto, commander of Fapla's Sixth Military Region.

It was mid-afternoon; there was an unlikely calm down by the river. A detachment of Angolan and Cuban soldiers began crossing the bridge from the opposite bank. As we prepared to leave the river, the first 155mm shell arrived without warn-

ing, throwing up a huge column of grey dirt within 20m of the bridge and some 60m from our vehicles.

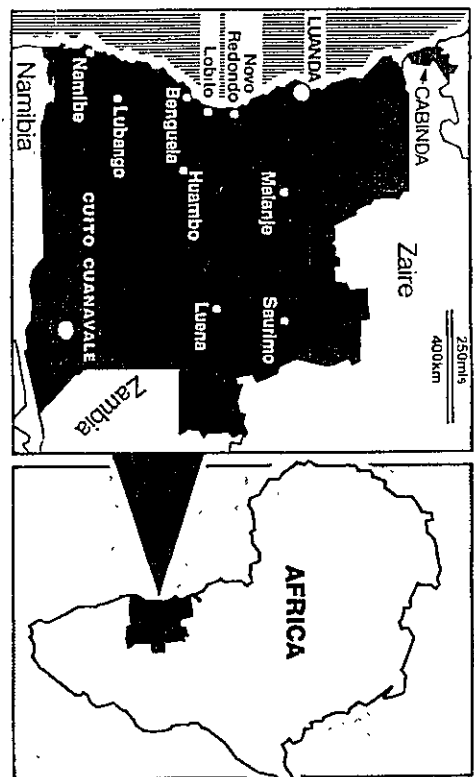
We began a frenzied retreat away towards Cuito Cuanavale. Another shell fell in the road behind us and a third to our left.

A large piece of shrapnel tore open a young Angolan soldier who had travelled with us by helicopter from the air base at Menongue, north-west of the front.

The vehicles stopped at at the crest of the road beyond Cuito and he was rushed to a field clinic. When we boarded the helicopter for Menongue he was lying unconscious on a stretcher. On the flight back, brutal changes of height and direction brought him around.

This saline solution drained slowly into his body from a drip feed fixed to the top of the cabin and he raised one arm in pain. When we set down at Menongue airstrip, he was hurried off for further treatment. Two weeks later we heard that the speed and efficiency of the field medics had saved his life.

There are no official figures for the casualties sustained by the Angolans and the Cubans at Cuito Cuanavale



Cuito Cuanavale: Cannon are active but the battle is over

but military sources say they have failed off dramatically since the height of the South African/Unita offensive earlier this year, when some 200 shells a day were hurtling down on to the town.

Now the G5s and G6s serve largely to restrain the movement of mechanised units across the river to Angolan forward positions and to ensure that the crucial airstrip at Cuito remains unusable. All that remains of Operation Modular is to extricate the SADF with a minimum of casualties.

Meanwhile all eyes are focused upon more critical fronts, especially to the west of Cuango Cubango province. In May the *Havana* daily, *Granma*, published maps showing a big Angolan and Cuban advance south of the 15th parallel, through the provinces of Cunene and Namibe. *Granma* reports the deployment began in March. The maps indicate that

guese and South African regulars based in Munhanggo, 40km to the east.

Now, however, Unita has moved further north, says Bie's provincial commissar, Luis Paulino Dos Santos, to open another front at N'Hareta in an attempt to siphon off government forces in Cuamba. Dos Santos last week also reported that South African aircraft were overflying the province.

Reports from the London-based *Africa Confidential* and statements by Angola's ambassador in Lusaka suggested that Unita's headquarters in the south is now being dismantled and will be relocated in Quimbele, near the border with Zaire. Such a move would bring Unita firmly under the control of Washington.

If the reports are true, this could well be the most important development since the war began — above all for the current diplomatic manoeuvres surrounding the conflict. The relocation, which is seen as a US initiative, has provoked an angry response from the Angolan government, which argues that it reduces the prospects for negotiations.

Clearly, too, if a large military threat develops in the north of the country, a consolidation of Cuban and Fapla positions near the Namibian border will be threatened.

But removing Unita from its southern bases may also pose military problems for South Africa. Any new commitments in the area, already likely to cost the SADF and the SWA Territory force dear, would probably be marked by a serious rise in casualties without Unita forces to bear the brunt of forward engagements.

By moving Unita north, the US would be nudging Pretoria towards a Namibian settlement through force of military circumstance. At the same time, if there were no diplomatic breakthroughs, Washington would have full control of Unita and thus a substantial stick to wave at the Soviet and Cuban presence in Angola.

While Fapla clearly has its work cut out, 13 years of guerrilla war have turned it into one of the best fighting forces in Africa. No figures exist for

the size of Angola's military machine, but observers believe there may be as many as 120 000 Angolans enrolled in Fapla, of whom 100 000 are involved in active combat.

Relocating Unita could be a dangerous business. If Pretoria decides that Namibia is worth a higher price in white South African lives, Angola could face two major fronts — one in the north, the other in the south. That could be a recipe for military escalation rather than negotiation.

Until now, the possibility of a diplomatic breakthrough has been welcomed with cautious optimism in Angola. The desire for an end to the war is strong. "We have not had a minute of peace since independence," said Lieutenant Colonel Ngueto, standing last month on the ruins of Cuito Cuanavale.

But the view at the frontline and the statements from Luanda concur on one key point: Cubans or no Cubans, Namibian independence is essential to a lasting solution in Angola.



# HIGH NOON ON NILE!

## Pik off to Cairo for new Angola talks

By LESTER VENTER and  
DRIES VAN HEERDEN

PEACE talks are back on track! South Africa will meet her Angolan and Cuban adversaries in Cairo this week.

The meeting in high summer in the land of the Sphinx has been welcomed by diplomats, following as it does tense weeks in which it seemed the initiative had derailed.

The South African team will be headed by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha confirmed the planned talks yesterday after news of the meeting began to emerge among Western diplomats.

The meeting of the three warring parties will take place with the Americans as "facilitators".

The Cairo talks will be a follow-up of the discussions started in London early last month.

The meeting represents a diplomatic success for the South Africans who have held out for an African venue against Angolan protests, prompted by Cuban pressure.

Until early this week it appeared further talks were doomed as the parties could not agree on a venue. At the end of a round of to-and-fro on the issue South Africa suggested four African capitals to Angola.

It seems Cairo was one of these and the Angolans relented, abandoning their insistence on a European venue.

South African diplomats said several African countries had offered to host the talks.

### Linkage

An important outflow of African involvement would come in later stages when reconciliation between the Angolan MPLA and Unita insurgents is attempted, according to diplomats.

The talks are still at an exploratory stage and the parties are sounding one another out with reciprocal proposals.

The Cuban push towards the Namibian border is expected to be one of the topics that will arise.

Meanwhile, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said at his Jamba headquarters on Friday that a changed Soviet attitude was an important reason for optimism about the prospects for peace.

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Meanwhile, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said at his Jamba headquarters on Friday that a changed Soviet attitude was an important reason for optimism about the prospects for negotiated settlements in Angola and Namibia.

Speaking to reporters only hours before his departure for Washington for high-level talks with American officials, Dr Savimbi said the main problem in the past had been the lack of political will on the part of both the US and the Soviet Union to grasp the nettle.

Now, for the first time, the Soviets agreed that there was a linkage between Cuban withdrawal from Angola and political settlements in the region, he said.

Dr Savimbi's visit to Washington forms part of a major diplomatic drive that will also take him to Britain, Western Europe and several African states.

Referring to the current southward military push by some 12 000 Cuban troops, he said he believed the situation was serious but should not be over-dramatised.

The Soviets had enough leverage, especially in the form of logistical support, to force the Cubans to comply with their wishes.

He deplored the "dangerous games" President Fidel Castro was playing and said there might be various reasons for the latest military ploys.

## Confident

"The Cubans might want to confront the South African military directly, which might be "very dangerous", they might want to attack Jamba from the south, they might want to facilitate Swapo infiltration into Namibia, they might want to strengthen their negotiation position or they might want to delay the talks until after the US presidential election," he said.

Expressing his full support for the current negotiations between South Africa, the MPLA, the Soviets and the Americans, Dr Savimbi however emphasised there could be no lasting solution without direct talks between Unita and Luanda.

He was confident Unita was more than holding its own in the military confrontation.

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# Cairo is new venue for peace talks

*Mr. Tavis 20/6/88*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE ailing Angolan peace initiative has received a shot in the arm with the resumption of talks, expected to last several days, in Cairo later this week.

The talks are a follow-up to discussions started in London last month by South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The response of the South African and Angolan governments to proposals on the withdrawal is ex-

pected to be the major item on the agenda.

The build-up of Cuban, Fapla and Swapo troops close to the Angola-Namibia border in recent weeks will also be discussed, sources said yesterday.

Agreement on Cairo as the venue for the next round of talks — confirmed by Mr Pik Botha, leader of the SA delegation — follows weeks of bickering between the parties that threatened to torpedo the initiative.

Only last week South African officials were speaking of "a dark cloud" hanging over the prospect of

an early resumption of the peace talks which were described as being "bogged down for the moment".

Angola, after initially agreeing to Brazzaville as the venue of the third round of talks, began pushing for a European venue after it leaked out that President P W Botha was planning a visit to the Congolese capital.

The Cuban government also put pressure on Angola to insist on a new venue, apparently because of Pretoria's success during the last round of talks in cementing ties with the Marxist government in Brazzaville.

However, South Africa insisted on an African venue for the talks.

The fact that the other participants finally relented is seen by diplomats as a positive sign that the Cubans and Angolans are serious about talks.

Sapa-Renter reports from Cairo that diplomats said all sides in the Angolan peace talks accept that Egypt is qualified by neutrality and distance to act as a compromise host for their third session this week.

Egyptian officials declined to confirm the South African news reports, but said a Foreign Ministry

statement was expected today.

Diplomats said Egypt, in accepting South African government ministers for the first time, would be making an exceptional gesture in view of its hostility to Pretoria's race policies.

The two countries have no diplomatic relations and South African passport-holders are usually denied entry to Egypt.

But Cairo, which has a history of trying to help to settle disputes, was evidently prepared to make an exception at the request of the parties to the Angolan talks.

# Pope to visit Angola

LUSAKA — Pope John Paul has accepted an invitation to visit Angola made by President Jose Dos Santos, Angolan State radio reported on Saturday.

The radio, monitored in Lusaka, said the Pope would visit Angola "soon" but did not specify a date.

It would be the first visit by a Pope to Marxist-ruled Angola, which became independent from Portugal in 1975 and still has a substantial Roman Catholic community.

The radio quoted a message from Pope John Paul to President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos in

which the Pontiff said he willingly accepted the invitation extended during a visit to Luanda by Papal Envoy Cardinal Roger Etchegary in mid-May.

Pope John Paul said he was looking forward to meeting the people of Angola and getting to know the realities of their nation.

Dos Santos met the Pope in September 1987 when he called at the Vatican during a tour of Italy, France, Belgium and Portugal.

This September, the Pontiff is due to visit Zimbabwe, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho and Mozambique, another former Portuguese colony.— Sapa-Reuter.

September 20/1988

# Question hangs over soldiers' presence

Star 20/6/85  
Eliten Soviet or East German Spetznaz troops — the equivalent of South African "Recces" or the British SAS — are said to have been spotted in southwestern Angola. CRAIG KOTZE reports on those soldiers and examines their possible role in the Cuban buildup on the Namibian border.

When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, its offensive was spearheaded by a Spetznaz attack on the palace of President Amin in Kabul.

Eleven years earlier, Spetznaz troops in civilian dress captured Prague airport and other strategic installations immediately before the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

And at the height of the European crisis over the deployment of American medium-range Cruise missiles, women Spetznaz operatives were spotted mingling with women demonstrators calling for peace at the Royal Air Force Greenham Common in Britain.

## RAPID ACTIVATION

The presence of Spetznaz troops, so it seemed, heralded the rapid activation of any front — military or propaganda — they were deployed on.

So what are troops specialising in sabotage, intelligence-gathering and assassination of key military and political figures doing in an area regarded by South Africa as strategically vital?

The Ruacana hydro-electric scheme which supplies Owamboland with water and electricity is in the region and would therefore be a prime target for sabotage, without necessarily provoking a full-scale clash between South African troops and Cuban/Swapo forces.

Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Strategic Studies faculty, says the Spetznaz presence, which is probably East German, indicated that the Cuban/Swapo buildup of between 8 000 and 12 000 men has not taken place without Soviet consent.

## SPECIAL ROLE

"No one really knows why they're deployed in the area. It may be that a special role could have been foreseen for them, but I don't think the buildup is necessarily offensive-minded," he said.

"I don't see any direct role for them inside Namibia, unless as advisers to Swapo or to direct their sabotage, because the Soviets will not take the risks with its attendant publicity during peace talks."

"However, the specialist troops might be used to counter Unita attacks, which have taken place all over Angola and have tied down thousands of Cuban and MPLA troops.

"One aspect might be the psychological and propaganda effect of deploying Spetznaz troops to bolster the image of the Cuban buildup," he said.

Mr Helmoed-Rohmer Heitman, South African correspondent for *Jane's Defence Weekly*, said Spetznaz forces could be used as instructors or to fight against Unita.

Angola and SA rejected 13 possible venues

ster 20/6/88

# US move ends talks deadlock

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The United States intervened directly to break the deadlock in the southern African peace negotiations, leading to this week's talks in Cairo, diplomatic sources have revealed.

The US intervention came after South Africa and Angola had rejected 13 suggested venues for the resumption of the talks.

The sources said last night that the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, had discussed with Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak the availability of Cairo as the venue for the negotiations between the United States, South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

President Mubarak agreed and issued an invitation to the various parties. The US persuaded Angola and South Africa to accept.

## Separate visit

America's initiative ends weeks of haggling between South Africa and Angola over the venue.

Angola previously rejected Congo Brazzaville after initially having agreed that this should continue to be the site for ongoing negotiations.

President Botha's planned visit to Brazzaville, which was arranged separately to the multiparty talks, could have played a role in Angola's decision to renege on the agreement. Mr Botha's state visit to the Congo may still take place, according to sources.

South Africa insisted that the talks be held in Africa between African leaders, as was agreed in the first round of the current series of negotiations in London.

Until late last week, the two sides were still exploring the possibility of using Maputo as the venue.

South African diplomats believe Angola is reluctant to hold talks in a black African capital partly because Luanda fears pressure from African leaders that it must take part in a national reconciliation with Unita and also because of what is perceived to be South Africa's exploitation of such an opportunity.

Cairo is seen as a face-saving compromise because, although it is still in Africa, it is not in sub-Saharan Africa and is well out of South Africa's sphere of influence.

This week's talks, expected to last two days, are being described by South African diplomats as "still exploratory".

They warn against optimism because solutions to the problems of Angola and Namibia will not be found easily.

The recent Cuban operations in southern Angola are likely to be at the top of the agenda at the Cairo talks.

The United States and the Soviet Union have agreed on September 29 as the target date for the various parties to reach an agreement.

(5)

## Angola to display captured weapons

The Angolan government is planning to display equipment captured from South African forces during the siege of Cuito Cuanavale, the Africa News Organisation ANO, has reported. (S)

ANO said a conference would take place in "a southern African country later this year" but gave no other details.

A Defence Force spokesman said South

African losses in Angola were a matter of public record and the SADF "sees no point in reacting further to this latest Angolan propaganda attempt".

SKN 20/6/84  
The conference, said ANO, would be very embarrassing for the South African Government because proof of planes shot down and servicemen killed in Angola would be displayed.



# 'Russians want peaceful solution'

CAF Jinks 20/6/88

SOWETO. — The Russians have no selfish interests in South Africa and think the political injustice should be solved non-violently, Archbishop Desmond Tutu told reporters at his home here on his return from Moscow.

Archbishop Tutu and his wife, Leah, arrived in South Africa on Saturday after attending the 1000th anniversary celebrations of the Russian Orthodox Church.

"The Russians do not know anything about the Cuban build-up. The Cubans are not their 'clients'," Archbishop Tutu said.

He said the Russians wanted the crisis in South Africa to be solved equitably and believed that when things deteriorated it was the people who suffered.

Asked about his attitude to sanctions, he said: "The monster is apartheid. When that goes, there won't be any justification for sanctions."

The archbishop, who was faced with a barrage of placard-waving anti-Tutu campaigners at Jan Smuts Airport, said he was tired of the campaign to discredit him.

"I ask those organized anti-Tutu demonstrators to stop before someone gets hurt.

"Who tells these people my travel schedule?"

He said he was angry about the "scandalous" conduct shown to his wife last week. — Sapa

## Same numbers win lottery for twins

BOCA RATON, Florida. — Identical twin sisters came up winners in Florida's Cash Three lottery, unaware each had bet on identical numbers.

Karen Snyder — who won about R2 160 from her three one-dollar tickets with the numbers 2-4-6 — and her sister Kathy, whose single ticket paid about R580, agreed it was a strange coincidence. — Sapa-AP

ivetti

# Angolan talks back on track

CAPE TOWN — The ailing Angolan peace initiative has received a shot in the arm with the resumption of four-power talks — expected to last several days — in Cairo later this week.

The high-level, multi-lateral talks are a follow-up to discussions started in London early last month by SA, Angola, Cuba and the US on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

After a subsequent bi-lateral meeting between Pretoria and Luanda in Brazzaville, detailed proposals were exchanged on Cuban withdrawal — and the response of the two governments to these proposals is expected to occupy pride of

(S) (W) Political Staff 20/6/85  
place on the agenda.

The massive build-up of Cuban, Fapla and Swapo troops close to the Angolan-Namibian border in recent weeks will also be placed on the table, sources said yesterday.

Agreement on Cairo as the venue for the next round of talks — confirmed by the leader of the SA delegation Foreign Minister Pik Botha — follows weeks of bickering among the parties that threatened to torpedo the initiative.

● To Page 2 →

# Venue decision fillip for Angolan talks

Only last week, SA officials were speaking of "a dark cloud" hanging over the prospect of early resumption of the peace talks that were described as being "bogged down for the moment".

Angola, after initially agreeing to Brazzaville as the venue for the third

(S) (W) ← ● From Page 1 20/6/85  
round of talks, began pushing for a European venue after it leaked out that President P W Botha was planning a visit to the Congolese capital.

Belligerent Castro wants a victory before his forces withdraw

# Cuba 'set for war' in Angola

Sts 20/6/85

(57)

**HAVANA —** Hopes of an early settlement to the long war in Angola — fuelled by the Moscow summit — are running into the potent obstacle of Cuban leader Fidel Castro's pride.

Diplomats in Havana say Mr Castro refuses to be pushed around by the Soviets and wants a battlefield victory before withdrawing his military forces from Angola.

He has been secretly strengthening his expeditionary force without telling the Angolan government and has reportedly told foreign ambassadors he is ready for a "serious" war.

President Ronald Reagan and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the American and Soviet leaders, agreed at their summit in Moscow on a target date of September for a pact on withdrawal which would also be expected to lead to independence for Namibia. It was one of the few deals reached in their talks.



President dos Santos ... fears for peace talks.

But diplomats believe that Mr Castro so much detests the idea of giving way publicly to Moscow that pressure from the Soviet Union could lead to the failure of negotiations between Cuba, Angola, South Africa and the United States, which resume this week in Cairo.

Officially, Angola also refuses to accept orders from the Soviet Union about the withdrawal programme. Mr Luis Doukui, Angolan ambassador in Havana, said: "They cannot decide for us. The presence of the Cubans in Angola is the result of the aggressive attitude of South Africa. The withdrawal of the troops will be sorted out by Cuba and Angola, and nobody else."

But there is serious disagreement between Castro and the Angolan leadership over the recent deployment of his troops on a spectacular new fortified line in southern Angola, near the Namibian border.

President Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola fears that this offensive line may sink the del-



Soviet-made Mig-23 ... recently sent to Angola by Castro and flown by "Cuba's best pilots".

icate peace negotiations. But Mr Castro and the Angolan military believe that only from this position of military superiority will they be able to make the South Africans give way at the negotiating table.

Mr Castro revealed details of his new troop dispositions in Angola to a group of ambassadors from non-aligned countries in Havana at the end of May. He told them that, until late last year, he had kept his troops on the defensive but he had decided to go to war "seriously" after South African forces attacked the strongly fortified Angolan town of Cuito Cuanavale in October.

Mr Castro said that, from November 23, elite Cuban troop reinforcements were transported by ship and plane to Angola and disembarked se-

cretly at Luanda, the capital, and in Benguela and Namibe.

Eight brigades and surface-to-air missiles moved forward to a new line less than 19 km from the Namibian border, ready for combat with South African forces. They were backed by minelaying units and Mig-21 and Mig-23 planes flown by "Cuba's best pilots".

Mr Castro ordered the construction of two military airports in the forward area.

## Force of 46 000

The Cuban leader said he now had 46 000 troops and technicians in Angola.

But the problem with the reinforcement operation was that Cuba "forgot" to tell Mr Dos Santos, who had asked for Cuban assistance with military

supplies after the South African attack on Cuito Cuanavale — but not for troops.

Mr Castro told the non-aligned ambassadors last month: "We don't want a military victory over South Africa. We want a global, negotiated, political solution. But now the balance of forces favours us."

The diplomats have a different opinion. They believe the Cuban military deployment is a response to Cuban domestic needs. They argue that Mr Castro needs a military victory before pulling out after 13 years of war in which more than 300 000 Cubans have served in Angola, backing the left-wing forces that seized power after independence from Portugal in 1975. — *The Sunday Times*, London.



Cuban leader Fidel Castro ... "decided to go to war seriously" in Angola after SA attack on Cuito Cuanavale last October.

## PW expected to speak on 'state of the nation'

By David Braun (S) round of talks in Cairo between the United States, South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

The State President, Mr. P W Botha, was due to address a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament today in what is being billed as a wide-ranging "state of the nation" speech.

Mr Botha has called the special meeting on the eve of a joint debate between the three houses on the National Council Bill.

It is thought unlikely that Mr Botha will talk about the National Council today.

Indications are that he will touch on a variety of issues, including the military situation in southern Angola and this week's

Mr Botha previously spelt out his bottom line with regard to the negotiations on the eve of the Congo Brazzaville round of the talks.

Then he made it clear that the Cubans must leave Angola before there could be a settlement.

The fact that there are now an estimated 54 000 Cuban troops in Angola and that 17 000 of these have moved south of the Benguela railway line has stiffened South Africa's resolve in this regard.

## Damaged bus back on route without repairs — passenger

A Putco bus caught fire and then returned to its route two days later with its emergency windows still smashed and still smelling of smoke, says a commuter.

Miss Cathy Hoffman

and men in the bus smashed the emergency windows."

Miss Hoffman said that on May 20, the same bus arrived. The windows had not been replaced and the bus smelled.

# Haggling ends: SA, Luanda fall in line

PAR 6/25 20/6/88

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By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent  
UNITED States intervention broke the deadlock in the Southern African peace negotiations leading to this week's talks in Cairo.

Angolan peace talks, threatened by a Cuban military build-up and wrangling over the venue, seemed to be bogged down until US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz had discussions with Egyptian President Mubarak about the avail-

ability of Cairo as the venue for talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States.

## First round

President Mubarak agreed and the US persuaded Angola and South Africa to fall in line.

America's initiative ended weeks of haggling between South Africa and Angola over the venue.

Angola rejected Brazzaville in the Congo after initially agreeing to this venue after the previous round of talks there.

South Africa insisted that the talks be held in Africa between African leaders, as was agreed in the first round of the current series of negotiations in London.

South African diplomats believe Angola is reluctant to hold talks in a black African capital, partly because Luanda fears

pressure from African leaders to force it to take part in a national reconciliation with Unita and because of what is perceived to be South Africa's exploitation of such an opportunity.

Cairo is seen as a face-saving compromise. Although it is in Africa, it is not in sub-Saharan Africa and is well out of South Africa's sphere of influence.

This week's talks, expected to last two days, are being described by South African diplomats as still exploratory.

They warned against optimism and said solutions to the problems of Angola and Namibia would not be found easily.

The recent Cuban troop movements in southern Angola are likely to be at the top of the agenda in Cairo.

One Foreign Affairs spokesman said Pretoria would press for an explanation for the deployment of thousands of Cuban troops on Angola's tense border with Namibia.

● Castro ready for "serious war" in Angola. See page 9.

# Fidel Castro is ready for 'serious war' in Angola

ARCUS  
20/6/88  
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From MARIA LAURA AVIGNOLO of the London Sunday Times in Havana

**HOPES** of an early settlement to the long war in Angola — fuelled by the Moscow summit — are running into a potent obstacle: Fidel Castro's pride.

Diplomats in Havana say the Cuban dictator refuses to be pushed around by the Russians and wants a battlefield victory before withdrawing his military forces from Angola.

He has been secretly strengthening his expeditionary force without telling the Angolan government and is reported to have told foreign ambassadors that he is ready for a "serious" war.

President Ronald Reagan and the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, agreed at their summit in Moscow on a target date of next September for a pact on withdrawal, which would also be expected to lead to independence for SWA/Namibia. It was one of the few deals reached in their talks.

But diplomats believe that Dr Castro so much detests the idea of giving way publicly to Moscow that pressure from the Soviet Union could lead to the failure of negotiations between Cuba, Angola, South Africa and the United States, which began last month in London.

They blame Dr Castro's anger on the emotional scars of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 when Moscow withdrew its missile bases from Cuba without consulting him.

Officially, Angola also refuses to accept orders from the Soviet Union about the withdrawal programme.

The Angolan ambassador in Havana, Mr Luis Donkui, said: "They

cannot decide for us. The presence of the Cubans in Angola is the result of the aggressive attitude of South Africa. We called on Cuba without consulting anyone, and they accepted without consultation.

"The withdrawal of the troops will be sorted out by Cuba and Angola, and nobody else."

But there is serious disagreement between Dr Castro and the Angolan leadership over the recent deployment of his troops on a spectacular new fortified line in southern Angola near the SWA/Namibian border.

President Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola fears that this offensive line may sink the delicate peace negotiations. But Dr Castro and the Angolan military believe that only from this position of military superiority will they be able to make the South Africans give way at the negotiating table.

This difference of opinion has caused the postponement of a negotiating round between the four governments in Congo's capital, Brazzaville.

Dr Castro himself disclosed details of his new troop dispositions in Angola to a group of ambassadors from non-aligned countries in Havana at the end of May.

He told them that until late last year he had kept his troops on the defensive, but he had decided to go to war "seriously" after South African forces attacked the strongly fortified Angolan town of Cuito Chanavale in October.

Dr Castro said that from November 23, elite Cuban troop reinforcements were taken by ship and aircraft to Angola and disembarked secretly at Luanda, the capital, and in Benguela and Namibe.

Eight brigades and surface-to-air missiles moved forward to a new line less than 19km from the SWA/Namibian border, ready for combat with South African forces. They were backed by mine-laying units and Mig-21 and Mig-23 aircraft flown by "Cuba's best pilots".

Dr Castro also ordered the construction of two military airports in the forward area.

The Cuban leader said he now had 46 000 troops and technicians in Angola.

The problem with the reinforcement operation, however, was that Cuba "forgot" to tell Mr Dos Santos, who had asked for Cuban assistance with military supplies after the South African attack on Cuito Chanavale, but not for troops.

When Cuban soldiers continued to arrive on the eve of the London talks with South Africa and the United States, Mr Dos Santos was annoyed by what he saw as a display of overt autonomy by the Cubans in partnership with hardline Angolan military figures.

Dr Castro told the non-aligned ambassadors last month: "We don't want a military victory over South Africa. We want a global, negotiated, political solution. But now the balance of forces favours us."

The diplomats have a different opinion. They believe the Cuban military deployment is a response to Cuban domestic needs.

They argue that Dr Castro needs a military victory before pulling out after 13 years of war in which more than 300 000 Cubans have served in Angola, backing the left-wing forces that seized power after

independence from Portugal in 1975.

"Dos Santos wants the Cubans to go. Castro feels that his mission is fulfilled, but he wants a battle with South Africans to prove that he has not lost his shoes on the battlefield," said a diplomat familiar with Dr Castro's thinking.

The Cubans deny staying against Angola's wishes. Mr Geraldo Masola, a Deputy Foreign Minister and participant in the London negotiations, said: "We are not an army of occupation. We were called in by Angola in 1975, and we will go when they consider it necessary."

Cuba said at the negotiations that it would pull out when South Africa stopped interfering with Angola and gave independence to SWA/Namibia, and when American aid to the Unita rebels was halted.

A period of two years was proposed for this gradual withdrawal so that Angolans could take over Cuban positions. Cuban officials say they are ready to reduce this time scale.

However, Dr Castro has domestic pressures to cope with. Cuban troop losses are secret, but throughout the island there are families mourning sons buried in Angolan graveyards. The war is not popular, and returning veterans complain that they were not welcome in Angola.

Until recently, the troops' presence there was rarely mentioned in the official Cuban media.

But in the past two months, reports from the "Cuban southern front in Angola" have started to appear in papers.

## Downed plane 'had defectors on board'

Star 30/6/88 (5)  
Cuban forces shot down a plane with a Cuban general and 26 officials in Angola because some officers aboard were defecting to South Africa.

The claim was made in an interview with the Spanish service of Radio RSA by a major who was in charge of the Czech-Cuban intelligence office before he defected.

The defector said the operation, known as Camillo Cienfuegos, was aimed at getting Brigadier-General Francisco Crus Borsao and some other officers, including the pilot of the plane, out of Angola.

### ORDERED TO LAND

The frequency used for the operation's communications was detected and the pilot was ordered to land.

He refused and the plane was summarily shot down, the major said in the interview.

When the incident was announced by Cuban President Fidel Castro, it was said that the Soviet plane had been shot down accidentally.

The statement by the defector seems to contradict the Cuban version of the incident.

No further particulars of the incident or the defector were made known. — Sapa.

# OAU approved Cairo talks

Boycott shelved 'in interests of peace'

STP 21/6/85

CAIRO — Despite its boycott of South Africa, Egypt said yesterday that it agreed to host peace talks involving the Pretoria government next weekend in an effort to end two southern African wars.

An official Egyptian Foreign Ministry announcement said the talks in Cairo were agreed only after consulting other African countries and obtaining the Organisation of African Unity's approval.

The announcement said the talks involving Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States would start on Friday and end on Sunday.

It will be the third round of negotiations on Angola's civil war, to which Cuba has devoted more than 40,000 troops, and the Swapo campaign in Namibia. The first round was in London, the second in Brazzaville, Congo.

Foreign Minister Piki Botha announced the new talks in Pretoria on Saturday. Egyptian sources said Cairo was angered at his action because it had been agreed that the capitals involved would release simultaneous announcements yesterday.

## Approval of OAU

The statement said Egypt was "motivated by a strong desire to create a favourable climate for a constructive and positive dialogue" when it agreed to the plan.

"After the approval of the current chairman of the OAU, and after consultations with sister African countries, the government of Egypt has agreed to host a new round of negotiations among Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States," the statement said.

Mal heads the OAU.

South Africa's participation in the talks brings about a tenuous situation for Egypt. Egyptian law does not recognise passports issued by the South African Government and South African planes are not allowed in Egyptian air space or given landing rights. There are no direct mail or communications facilities between Egypt and South Africa.

Egypt strongly opposes South Africa's racial segregation policies and supports demands for international mandatory sanctions against Pretoria.

Egypt severed diplomatic relations with South Africa in May 1961 in protest against its racial policies.

## American mediators

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, would represent the United States. The Americans participate more or less as mediators although they are party to the Angolan war in that aid from the United States and South Africa maintains the fighting potential of Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels.

Egypt's statement said the talks were being held "with a view to contributing to peace and stability in Africa."

"The government of Egypt sincerely hopes that this round of negotiations will lead to peace in Angola and the independence of Namibia" after the collapse of a short-lived coalition government that followed Portugal's withdrawal from the colony in 1975.

Since 1985, the administration of President Ronald Reagan has been the main weapons supplier for Dr Savimbi's Unita movement against the Marxist government in Luanda.

South Africa provides troops and other support and has faced Cuban troops and Soviet advisers in several major battles.

Pretoria's soldiers also enter Angolan territory frequently in pursuit of guerrillas of Swapo which is trying to drive South Africa from Namibia. — Sapa-AP.



# Cairo is 'perfect' venue for peace talks

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The choice of Cairo as the venue for the next round of Angolan peace talks is being seen here as a diplomatic feather in the cap of the Egyptian government.

With South Africa at loggerheads until now with the Angolans and the Cubans over the site of the talks, analysts see Cairo as the perfect compromise for both Pretoria, which wanted the meeting in Africa, and the communists who wanted it to be outside the continent.

It is possible that the American ambassador to Cairo, Mr. Frank Wisner, played a key role in the final decision.

Mr. Wisner is a familiar figure to all the participants in the talks, having been for years Dr. Chester Crocker's deputy at the State Department, and he has a detailed knowledge of the issues to be discussed at the meetings at the end of this week.

The US team in the four-sided talks will be led by Dr. Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

The timing of the talks is seen as advantageous for South Africa in the unrelated question of anti-SA sanctions to be debated by a US senate committee here tomorrow and Thursday.

US officials believe that it would not help the diplomatic effort to find peace in Angola and independence for Namibia if the SA Government was angered by congressional support for tougher sanctions.

**POLICE have arrested 23 alleged ANC members in the past three months in connection with 16 incidents, including the Roodepoort lunch-hour blast which killed four people on June 3.**

Details of the security forces' slaughter against South Africa in latest successes were released the second half of this year. late yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, after President P W Botha addressed a joint sitting of all three houses of Parliament.

Mr Botha again appealed to the ANC to renounce violence and join in the search for peaceful solutions.

Referring to the arrests, Mr Botha said some of those detained had already disclosed information while several weapons and documents had been seized.

**Black in cabinet**

Among the 16 incidents connected to the arrests were the murder of three Atteridgeville policemen on March 18, a limpet-mine explosion at the Johannesburg city hall on April 15, another blast at a cinema complex in Pretoria on April 15 and two limpet-mine explosions in Pretoria on May 25, one of which injured four women.

In his wide-ranging "state of the nation" address to the joint sitting, Mr Botha also said that legislation to bring a black into the cabinet — to take control of black education — will be tabled in Parliament in August.

He said South Africa was re-considering its financial aid to Namibia and that the build-up of Cuban troops in southern Angola was "provocative" and warned of an intensified on-

slaught against South Africa in the second half of this year. He repeated his offer to security prisoners and those who had left South Africa for whatever reason to "reject and abandon violence".

"Turn your backs on godless Marxism and destructive radicalism. If you prove your sincerity in this regard, you will find the government's approach reasonable."

If the ANC wished to talk, he said, it should lay down its arms, cease its acts of terrorism and cut its ties with international communism.

"Then they may return to South Africa to participate in the peaceful search for solutions, to build the economy and improve social conditions."

The Cuban build-up in southern Angola seriously disturbed the balance of forces in the area and it could threaten the security of the entire region.

"Necessary precautions" would be taken in this regard, however.

Mr Botha said the government had no alternative but to renew the state of emergency, even though this was not its wish.

It was the government's hope that the situation would change to allow the lifting of the emergency — and serious consideration had been given to lifting it before its reimposition earlier

To page 4

**P W Botha's Call To ANC**

From page 1

CAR TIMES  
21/6/88

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[Handwritten scribbles]

this month. However the government's commitment to orderly development and broadening of democracy could not be promoted in conditions of disorderliness, subversion and violence, he said.

"The emergency measures of the past two years have contributed, as far as the general security situation is concerned, towards the creation of a condition of greater stability within the country.

"Even radical and revolutionary groups have had to concede openly they have suffered severe setbacks," Mr Botha said.

In spite of the visible decline in unrest-related incidents, there was still a high underlying climate of revolution which could lead to an escalation of unrest if the emergency were to be lifted now.

In addition, there was "adequate proof" that radicals and revolutionaries were planning an intensified onslaught in the second half of 1988 and which was to include "hard intimidation" and violence designed, among other things, to disrupt the countrywide municipal elections in October.

"These forces fear the orderly development of democracy in South Africa."

Mr Botha said the changed circumstances brought about by the emergency measures, which restricted the capability of radicals for mass manipulation and intimidation, had led to new methods being applied to change the status quo and influence the course of the democratic process.

"The ANC/SACP alliance has decided to adapt its tactics for pursuing the 'struggle' without relinquishing violence."

This new dimension of the onslaught was directed at gaining greater political acceptability for the revolutionary forces at home and abroad.

"Efforts are to be directed, in particular, at trying to unite the interests of various internal groups in an extra-parliamentary process to establish an alternative movement for radical political change," Mr Botha said. — Political Correspondent and Sapa

Political Correspondent and Sapa

# P W warns on Cuban forces

*Case 7-1-88 2/1/88 5*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha warned on the eve of the four-power peace talks in Cairo that the "aggressive" and "provocative" build-up of Cuban forces in southern Angola could "threaten the security of the entire subcontinent".

In a clear reference to the Cairo negotiations slated to begin on Friday, Mr Botha said the substantial Cuban troop build-up was "in direct contradiction to the search for peaceful solutions to the problems of the south-western sub-continent".

South African sources made it clear yesterday that Pretoria would press for an explanation of the massing of the Cubans near the Namibian border during the two days of talks.

The South African delegates had not been finalized by last night but government sources said that in view of the growing military threat posed by the Cubans, it was highly likely that Defence Minister General Magnus Malan would join Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha who heads the contingent.

While concrete proposals from the different parties on Cuban withdrawal will be discussed, the talks are still being regarded as exploratory.

A solution to the complex problems of the region — including the role of Unita in Angola after the Cuban withdrawal and eventual Namibian independence — do not appear likely in the short term, observers stress.

In his address to a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday, Mr Botha said South Africa could not allow the continued build-up of Cuban forces near the Angola-Namibia border without taking the necessary precautions.

"This build-up is not only provocative but also completely unnecessary. It cannot be regarded as a purely localized issue but is a threat to South Africa's flanks in the light of their particular geographic position in Southern Africa," he said.

Mr Botha said the recent Cuban troop movements also raised the question on whether Angola had "any control whatsoever" over the 50 000 foreign troops on its soil.

South Africa, he said, remained ready to continue the negotiations on the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Once this happened, the entire situation in Southern Africa should change for the better.

If, however, the world persisted in turning a blind eye to the Cubans in Angola and in accusing South Africa of being in Namibia illegally, "the result could well be disastrous".

Cape Times 22/6/68

## Magnus joins Pik for Cairo

Political Correspondent

A SOUTH AFRICAN delegation, including two cabinet ministers, will leave Johannesburg for Cairo tonight to resume the talks on Angola and Namibia.

The contingent includes the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan. They will arrive in Cairo tomorrow in a chartered SAA Boeing 737.

Two days of formal negotiations begin on Friday under the chairmanship of US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

This will be the first time that South Africa will meet at ministerial level with its Cuban and Angolan adversaries.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Cairo that Egypt has relaxed a law banning South African passport-holders and is laying on tight security. South Africa has also been given special permission to fly over land to Cairo.

ing, comment and pictures on the Cape Times

# 'CHANGE IS NEEDED'

Sowetan  
22/6/88

11A

A DEFENCE witness in the Vaal Triangle treason trial told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday that no radical change could take place in the black education system without the society itself being transformed.

## Tragedy

A MAMELODI woman was electrocuted in the shack in which she lived late on Sunday.

Ms Daphney Tlou (38), who was certified dead on arrival at the Mamelodi Day Hospital, lived in one of the shacks in a coalyard behind Beka's shopping complex in Mamelodi East.

## Indaba

COMMISSIONERS of prison services, their deputies and other senior prisons personnel of South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, are to meet on Thursday in Mzamba, Transkei.

## 'New deal'

THE proposed National Council would enable blacks to take part in making laws not only for their own community but for all the people of South Africa, the president of the East Cape Urban Councils' Association, Mr Milford Sili, said in Cape Town yesterday.

My Lybon Mabasa, Azanian People's Organisation vice-president, said the workers had also to realise that there would be no change for as long as apartheid was still in force.

The workers were the backbone of the struggle and had to challenge exploitation and harassment at their work place.

## Treason

He gave evidence in the trial of 19 leaders of UDF, Azapo, VCA and Azanyu.

The accused in the trial have pleaded not guilty to a charge of treason and alternative charge of terrorism, subversion and murder.

Asked by the prosecutor why Azapo had never declared itself as a peaceful organisation, Mr Mabasa said there had been no need to do so repeatedly "as if we doubt our credibility of being peaceful."

Proceeding.

# Angolans change tack over venue

By Joao Santa Rita,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

Angola has had to swallow the harsh words it directed at Egypt only three months ago in accepting Cairo as the venue for the next round of peace talks with South Africa.

In March, the Angolan government told Egypt to stick to Arab problems and said the Egyptian government could be one of the African countries secretly supporting Unita rebels.

The incident followed a visit to Luanda in March by the Egyptian Minister of State, Dr Boutros Ghali, during which he held talks with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

After visiting Luanda, Dr Ghali went to Zambia where he told Zambian Television in a pre-recorded interview that President dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi were ready to negotiate in order to solve the 17-year-old civil war in Angola.

He said the two sides were prepared to talk to each other once foreign intervention was removed from that country.

Dr Ghali's remarks enraged the Angolans, whose ambassador to Lusaka, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, promptly denied that President dos Santos was ready to negotiate with Unita.

He accused the Egyptian

22/6/88  
envoy of interfering in Angola's internal affairs and said Dr Ghali was not mandated by the Angolans to make statements on "such delicate issues".

"Egypt could be one of 10 African nations with secret contact with Unita and which are providing help to the group," he said.

Mr Kiambata said Egypt would be well advised "to stick to its Arab problems and Camp David, and leave the Angolans alone.

"Dr Ghali's statement can confuse public international opinion and I deny his statement as untrue," he said.

## DENIED

Later, Dr Ghali was reported to have denied saying President dos Santos was ready to negotiate with Dr Savimbi.

Dr Ghali's visit to Angola and Zambia came at a time when Egypt showed a public interest in getting more closely involved in the problems of southern Africa.

In March, Egyptian ambassadors to the six Frontline states met in Lusaka to discuss the situation in the region.

The ambassadors announced then that Egypt was willing to provide financial and other assistance to the Frontline states, Swapo and the ANC.

# SA 'still undecided on war or peace'

The Star's Africa News Service

South Africa has not yet decided if it wants to reach a compromise with Angola or pursue its war against the Angolan government, says the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin.

Mr Adamishin, the Soviet Union's leading Africa negotiator, also described the Angolan rebel movement Unita as a mere extension of the South African army.

In a wide-ranging interview with the Africa News Organisation (ANO), Mr Adamishin said the Soviet Union, the Frontline states and the national liberation movements favoured a political settlement of the problems of southern Africa.

"It is now up to the other side to change its policy," he said.

After describing the talks between Angola and South Africa as "a positive development", Mr Adamishin indicated a settlement acceptable to Angola and Cuba would also suit the Soviets.

"However, the position of the South Africans remains obscure.

"Pretoria has not yet made up its mind, I think, about whether to continue to rely on force and persist in its racial arrogance or seek reasonable compromises."

Mr Adamishin maintained: "It is now perfectly clear that Unita is an extension of South Africa's war machine and that but for Pretoria's support and the aid rendered to it by the United States in violation of international law, the Angolans would long ago have settled matters on their own."

He said Soviet policy towards Africa was not aimed at dislodging the Western powers from the continent.

"Relations, which have evolved over decades and even centuries, cannot be changed overnight and the USSR has no intention of damaging these relations."

The Soviet Union was now adopting realistic policies towards Africa, he said.

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# Delegates leave for meeting in Cairo

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A high-powered South African delegation flies to Cairo today for the next round of regional peace talks with Cuba, Angola and the United States.

The delegation will be led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and will include the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and senior military and diplomatic officials.

A large contingent of press representatives will accompany them.

This is the third round of talks on attempts to find solutions to the problems of the civil war in Angola and independence for Namibia. The first round was in London and the second, between South Africa and Angola only, was in the Congolese capital, Brazzaville.

South Africa has been considering Cuba's counter-proposals regarding the presence of more than 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

South Africa wants all the Cubans withdrawn from Angola before Namibia's independence can be granted. Cuba and Angola want the Cubans to be withdrawn to the northern part of Angola, while the South Africans must leave Angola and stop assisting Unita.

Top of the agenda at the talks, which are to be held on Friday and Saturday, will be the build-up of Cuban forces in the fifth military region of Angola, which is immediately north of Namibia.

● See Pages 3 and 11.



# Cairo venue for SA talks means <sup>17/6/85 22/6/88</sup>

**I**N accepting Cairo as the venue for the next round of peace talks with South Africa, Angola has had to swallow the harsh words it directed at Egypt only three months ago.

In March the Angolan government told Egypt to stick to Arab problems and said the Egyptian government could be one of the African countries secretly supporting the rebel movement Unita.

The incident came after a visit to Luanda

in March by the Egyptian Minister of State, Dr Boutros Ghali, during which he held talks with the Angolan president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

After visiting Luanda, Dr Ghali went to Zambia where he told Zambian Television in a recorded interview that President dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi were ready to negotiate to end the 17-year-old civil war.

He said the two sides were prepared to

talk to each other once foreign intervention was removed from that country.

Dr Ghali's remarks enraged the Angolans, whose ambassador to Lusaka, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, promptly denied that President dos Santos was ready to negotiate with Dr Savimbi.

He accused the Egyptian envoy of interfering in Angola's internal affairs and said Dr Ghali was not mandated by the Angolans to make statements on "such delicate issues".

## Angola must eat its words

He added: "Egypt could be one of 10 African nations with secret contact with Unita and which are providing help to the group."

Mr Kiambata said Egypt would be well advised "to stick to its Arab problems and Camp David and leave the Angolans alone. Dr Ghali's statement can confuse public international opinion and I deny his statement as untrue."

Later Dr Ghali was reported to have denied saying that President dos Santos was ready to negotiate with Dr Savimbi.

Dr Ghali's visit to Angola and Zambia came at a time when Egypt showed a public interest in getting more closely involved in the problems of Southern Africa.

Earlier in March Egyptian ambassadors to the six frontline states had met in Lusaka to discuss the situation in the region.

The ambassadors announced then that Egypt was willing to provide financial and other assistance to the frontline states, Swapo and the African National Congress. — Argus Africa News Service.

# War ruins rich Angola

Southern 23/6/88



UNITA president Dr Jonas Savimbi (left) and Unita secretary general commander Nzau Puna discuss Unita strategy.

**U**NITA rebels in Angola, led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, have fought the Government's forces, backed by Cuba and the Soviet Union, in a civil war which has brought economic ruin and misery to what could be one of Africa's richest countries.

In late June, as Angolan, Cuban, South African and US negotiators began the second round of talks aimed at settling the international dimensions of the war, Dr Savimbi was facing potentially the most important mission in his long career, seeking to make Unita part of any eventual settlement.

Unita, whose stubborn resistance has sustained the war, has been excluded from talks aimed to secure the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola and implement UN Resolution 435. This calls for independence for Namibia, now ruled by South Africa, through UN-supervised elections.

Dr Savimbi told a news conference in his bush headquarters at Jamba, near the Namibian border in the far South-Eastern corner of Angola, that he supports the negotiations. They were an encouraging sign that all sides now accepted the impossibility of a military solution, he said.

The most positive element was Soviet acceptance of the need for a negotiated settlement and its tacit recognition of a link between Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence.

Over the last 13 years, he has built up what is probably the most effective guerrilla army in Africa. The 54-year-old son of an Angolan railway worker, he was trained by China in guerrilla tactics and led Unita from its beginning in the 1960s as one of three liberation movements fighting the Portuguese Colonial administration.

He took to the bush again in 1975 when Cuban and Soviet military support for the Marxist MPLA movement led to the break-up of a coalition government which lasted briefly after independence from Lisbon.

An agreement just before the Portuguese withdrew

**F**OR thirteen years Angola's civil war has brought ruin and misery to one of Africa's potentially richest countries. Now the leader of the right-wing Unita rebels, Dr Jonas Savimbi, is campaigning to secure a role in any eventual-peace settlement. From his base in Southern Angola, he talks to Anthony Robinson:

established that a three-party transitional coalition government in Angola be followed by a general election. This was not held, so the US has never recognised the MPLA government as legitimate.

Unita has been widely labelled a South African stooge because of Pretoria's military support. The heavily-bearded, charismatic Dr Savimbi vigorously denies this. He likens his tactical alliance with South Africa to the pact of mutual convenience between the Western democracies and Stalin during World War II.

He denies that Pretoria is representing Unita in the four-power talks and points to big differences with South Africa, notably over the South-West Africa Peoples' Organisation.

"Pretoria calls Swapo terrorist. I recognise them as freedom fighters," Dr Savimbi said.

However, in the event of Unita joining a coalition government in Luanda, the Angolan capital, neither Swapo nor the African National Congress bases Swapo nor the African National Congress would be allowed bases in Angola, he added.

In recent years, Unita has reduced its dependence on South Africa, thanks to financial support from Saudia Arabia and other anti-communist sources. However, Dr Savimbi denied reports that he is moving Unita's main base from Jamba to a new, US-supplied base in Zaïre.

"If I leave Jamba, it will be to go to Luanda, not to a foreign country where my freedom would be restricted, he said.

Declaring himself satisfied with the level and quality of US aid so far, he added that he had enough US supplies (of which the most important are Stinger missiles) to last another two years.

Even so, one of his priorities will be to try stifle the threat to cut off aid to Unita, made in June month by Mr Michael Dukakis, the probable democratic candidate for the US presidency.

This intervention resuscitates Unita's doubt about US reliability and brings back memories of 1975 when

P.T.O.

the US Congress, in an isolationist mood after the Vietnam war, refused to counter the first big Cuban and Soviet intervention in Angola and Mozambique. Instead, it passed the Clark Amendment, which banned US aid to Unita.

### Stingers

Stinger missiles have helped over the last two years to neutralise the threat from Soviet Mig-23 fighter-bombers, Hind helicopter gunships and other sophisticated weapons. Unita has shown ability to use such weapons effectively. \* \* \* \* \*

Its 65 000 well-trained men and women now operate in all the country's provinces, Dr Savimbi claimed, adding that his forces had killed 1 150 Government troops and 51 Cubans in more than 400 operations against Cuban and Government forces since April. Unita casualties were 85 killed and 277 injured, he said. N

Enemy losses included 14 tanks and armoured cars, four helicopter gunships and two Mig-23 fighters, he said. The most spectacular recent operations include five attacks on the Lobito-Huambo railway line in mid-June. 00

Dr Savimbi, who displayed two captured Cuban soldiers, claimed that the morale of Cuban and Angolan forces was low despite the recent introduction of 12 000 crack Cuban troops and pilots, which brings the total Cuban contingent up to a new high of 57 000 men, he said.

A march-past by more than 1 000 men, before his departure, underlined Dr Savimbi's claim that his main source of supply continues to be the Soviet Union. Every soldier who marched past a line of captured Soviet trucks, armoured cars, artillery and rocket-launchers carried a captured Soviet AK47 rifle.

One senior officer said: "We like Perestroika but we wish the Russians would make better trucks. The ones we capture are rubbish. — *From the Financial Times of London.*

# SA team set off for Cairo talks

Cape Times  
23/6/88

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A large South African delegation left Johannesburg last night in a chartered Boeing 747 for a fresh round of peace talks in Cairo.

The contingent was originally due to travel in a Boeing 737, but problems with obtaining landing rights in Khartoum resulted in a last-minute switch to the larger aircraft, capable of flying non-stop to Cairo.

The high-powered delegation, which includes General Magnus Malan and top military brass, are to get together with their Cuban and Angolan adversaries for an informal ice-breaker meeting today.

Included in the "acclimatization" programme for the South Africans — normally persona non grata in Egypt — is a visit to the sphinx and the pyramids.

The parties will get down to business with formal discussion at tomorrow's session, chaired by the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

The Cairo meeting, the first at ministerial level between the parties, will be the third round of negotiations,

since the beginning of last month aimed at ending the war at Angola and bringing independence to Namibia.

Proposals and counter-proposals for the withdrawal of more than 50 000 Cuban troops submitted by the respective governments after the Brazzaville talks will come up for discussion.

The South Africans have signalled their intention to engage in some tough talking over the huge deployment of Cuban troops just north of the Namibian border.

In the past, Pretoria has been critical of the failure of Angola and Cuba to produce a sufficiently detailed schedule for withdrawal, including specifics on troop numbers and exact geographic positions of Cuban forces.

Cuba and Angola, on the other hand, want a slower timetable for withdrawal, and are strongly opposed to a total pull-out while South Africa remains in Angola or continues supporting the Unita rebels.

Other topics likely to feature prominently at the talks are the future position of parties like Unita and Swapo, as well as the role of the ANC in Angola.

The main challenge facing participants at the Cairo negotiations is to fashion a settlement in which all sides look like winners.

# SA delegation off to Cairo

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan left Jan Smuts Airport last night to join their Cuban and Angolan counterparts for two days of talks in Cairo.

Also on board a chartered SAA Boeing 747 were 55 state officials and 17 journalists.

Plans to make the flight in a smaller 737 were changed at the last minute and they are now scheduled to fly direct to

⑤ *Monday 23/6/88*  
Cairo with an ETA of 6.30 this morning. The talks, to be chaired by the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, are not due to start until tomorrow.

Crocker is scheduled to land at Cairo airport shortly after the South Africans.

Once in Cairo, the SA negotiators will be taken to the Hyatt El Salam Hotel where the talks will be held in a basement conference room. — Sapa.

Opinion

LONDON — Two events have cast a pall over the Angola peace talks now starting in Cairo. One is the arrival of Cuban troops on the Namibian border. The other is the support Michael Dukakis is gathering in the contest for the presidency.

Two explanations can be suggested for the Cuban's southward movement. The less likely one is that this is a build-up for a strike across the border — a total onslaught on the SA bases in Namibia.

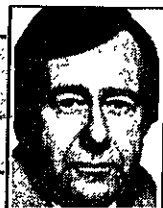
The more likely explanation is that Fidel Castro has decided that if the Cubans have to leave before long, it will be in macho style. They will be seen to have fulfilled their mission of defending their Angolan brothers.

The southward movement of their troops, therefore, can be seen as a last rococo flourish before they are withdrawn.

This is a dangerous game. What the Cubans have achieved is to narrow significantly the SADF's area of movement in southern Angola. The military balance there has been redressed substantially in Angola's favour.

Following on the SADF's failure to capture Cuito Cuanavale, the generals in Pretoria now know what it feels like to be humiliated. The cost to the SADF of recovering its superiority in the region may be

# Castro's are a wi the Ango



BY STANLEY UYS

unacceptably high now in loss of lives and aircraft.

The Cubans, and many others who share the view that the SADF had no right to be in Angola in the first place, will feel that the deployment of troops a few miles from the Namibian border is fully justified.

But in terms of the peace talks, clearly it will be counter-productive, even if the Cubans calculate that it will strengthen Angola's bargaining position. The SADF has been cut down to size and it does not like it.

But just as the Cubans are unlikely to march on Windhoek, so the SADF will think twice about launching a full-scale assault on the new positions. This does not mean though that it will

See also - HOMELANDS - Labour

African unions

Workers' Organisations -

See - INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS -

See - HOMELANDS

- Includes SADC

See also - specific countries

See - PROFESSIONS

"P.N. African unions

"P.N. African homelands

"P.N. AFRICA - General

"P.N. Advocates

Workmen's Compensation

# Old Wrongs - VII

Political Staff

Political Staff  
LABOUR PARTY MP for  
Wentworth - Mr. Tommy

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CAP. Tavis 23/6/88

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not retaliate in some other way. It may well feel impelled to redress the military balance — or at least the score sheet — by striking at a more limited target, possibly even in some other area.

## Motivation

Neither the Cuban's high profile move, therefore, nor the SADF's retaliation, if it comes, will aid the peace process. The minimum damage will be to provoke an outburst of mutual recriminations at the talks. And the talks will be difficult enough without this complication.

The Cuban move raises the whole ques-

tion of Castro's motivation in the peace talks. All the other parties to the process can be said to be either strongly motivated or at least reasonably interested — Angola, US, Soviet Union, South Africa and Unita.

But the Cuban role is ambivalent. The total of Cuban troops in Angola is said to be about 46 000 now (Savimbi puts it at 57 000), of whom between 11 000-15 000 are reportedly in the south. There are no particularly compelling reasons why Cuba should want to pull them out, either from the south or from Angola itself — although according to some re-



**SAVIMBI ... on a grand tour to publicize his demands.**



**DUKAKIS ... his election could dramatically alter the US role.**



**CASTRO ... reports suggest he wants a victory.**

ports the war in Angola is not as popular in Cuba as it used to be.

So far, over the 13-year period in which they have been in Angola, the Cubans have avoided a major battle with the SADF. If they were to suffer casualties now, pressure might increase in Cuba for them to be brought back. But there are no other discernible pressures back in Cuba.

## Disagreement

The Angolans do not get Cuban support free. Cuba is paid by Angola in scarce hard currency (in spite of Havana's denials), so it is no skin off its nose to keep its troops in Angola.

A report in last week's London Sunday Times claimed that Castro wants a battlefield victory before he withdraws his troops, that he secretly strengthened his expeditionary force without telling the Angolan government, and that there is serious disagreement between the Cubans and Angolans over the southward movement of Cuban troops and the new fortifications that are being built on the new line close to the Namibian border.

It is difficult to ascertain just how far Castro is doing his own thing. Possibly, he "forgot" to consult the Angolans about the troop movement, but the report that he is openly defying the Soviet Union is more

suspect — can he afford it?

Then there is the question of the American presidency. From the start of the peace talks, Pretoria was aware that it was working against a deadline: that the US's contribution to the peace talks would diminish after Reagan left office, and certainly if Dukakis became president.

With Dukakis in the White House, the US emphasis in the peace talks may shift somewhat — away from both SA and Unita. The present mediating role played by Dr Chester Crocker may take on a harder edge in the hands of a Dukakis nominee — and, irony of ironies, Pretoria may wish it had made better use of the offices of Chet Crocker while he was still around. The other complication will be if Dukakis commits his administration to a more pro-sanctions position. This will further widen the gap between Pretoria and Washington, and inevitably reduce the US contribution to the peace talks.

Of course, George Bush may win the presidency and yet save the day.

## Chess game

The peace talks, therefore, have a long and difficult road ahead. The London talks on May 3-4 were a relatively easy scene-setter compared with what lies ahead. The Cairo talks will get down to more detailed

discussions and no breakthroughs must be expected at this stage.

The parties to the talks have not even staked out their public positions yet. Savimbi, for example, has set off on a grand tour to publicize his demands, and the Angolans have countered by sending one of their ministers (Van Dunem Loy) on a similar tour. These are all opening moves in a chess game that will be long and unpredictable.

But at least the parties to the talks should spare us the childish games they played over a choice of venue for the present round of talks (Pik Botha wanted an African venue and the Angolans and Soviets wanted a European venue, so they compromised on Egypt, which is as far north as you can go without actually falling off the edge of Africa).

The squabbling over a venue was sparked off by SA's performance at the Brazzaville talks. The Angolans felt they had been conned. Pik Botha and Magnus Malan turned up in style, bowled over the Congolese, and turned the event into an SA media road show.

Pik Botha, on a twin-track as usual, intends to use the peace talks to get as much mileage as he possibly can out of contacts with African states. It's good knockabout stuff, but the peace process is the priority — isn't it, Mr Botha?

# 'No quick fix' in Cairo

Sowetan 2-3/6/88 (5)

CAIRO — A senior South African diplomat, the first known to visit Egypt since World War Two, said on Tuesday he did not expect quick results from Angolan peace talks opening here this week.

"We're very realistic about it," Andre Jaquet, a foreign ministry official from Pretoria heading an advance group of eight diplomats and security men, said.

"We don't expect a quick fix but we want a lasting solution. The issues are very complicated and they won't be resolved in one meeting. But we are certainly going to give it a good try," he said.

The group arrived on Monday night to prepare for the talks opening tomorrow between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States.



**FOREIGN Minister  
Pik Botha.**

South Africa's advance men were a rare sight in the capital of a founder of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) pledged to fight Pretoria's apartheid policies of racial separation.

"It's been a good

experience," Jaquet said, adding that his team was well received at Cairo airport on Monday night.

He said South Africa's main negotiators, expected to be led by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, would fly in at the last minute.

## **Students**

Apart from students and liberation movement officials, no South Africans are known to have come to Egypt since its soldiers fought with allied armies against Nazi Germany in Western Desert tank battles 45 years ago.

Some South Africans are buried in the Commonwealth war cemetery at El-Alamein on the Mediterranean coast.

Egypt's contacts with Pretoria were conducted through the United States, the government's Africa expert, Minister of State Boutros Boutros Ghali said.



# CAIRO TALKS START

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

CAIRO. — The historic four-power talks on Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence move into top gear today.

The adversaries yesterday had an opportunity to size each other up during brief, informal bi-lateral discussions, but up to 28 hours of tough bargaining lie ahead before the talks end tomorrow night.

On the table will be concrete proposals on Cuban withdrawal forwarded to the various parties a few days ago. "This will be the starting point," the leader of the South African delegation, Mr. Pik Botha, said after arriving here yesterday. He described the negotiations as "the first substantive talks" on the vexing problem.

Arriving in Cairo later, after talks in Washington, Angolan Foreign Minister Mr. Afonso Van-Dunem said that he was approaching the talks with an open mind but would not be drawn to comment on the proposals.

## Surprise move

He also said he would do everything possible to help secure independence for South African-ruled Namibia. But he was cautious about the prospects of success in the coming negotiating round — "it depends how the meeting will be handled... it depends on all the parties concerned."

In a surprise development, Egypt's State Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Butros Ghali, had an hour-long meeting with Mr. Botha, sources close to the talks said.

Previously, Egyptian officials said Cairo, which strictly observes a total boycott of South Africa, would limit itself to providing the venue and facilities for the peace talks involving the South Africans, an Angolan-Cuban team and US mediators. The officials had said no further Egyptian involvement was contemplated.

There was no explanation of the apparent shift that brought about the Botha-Ghali meeting, the first private session between cabinet ministers from the two countries in nearly three decades.

The sources characterized the meeting from the Egyptian viewpoint as "just a courtesy call."

An Egyptian official sidestepped questions about the meeting and said: "Egypt continues to condemn South Africa's policy of racial discrimination. Egypt also firmly supports the Namibian struggle for independence."

The Foreign Ministry's protocol chief, Mr. Ismail Mubarak, was the senior Egyptian official on hand at Cairo International Airport when the South African delegation arrived on a special SAA flight. The Angolan delegation was also met by the protocol chief.

Speaking to the press, Mr. Botha characterized the third round of talks between South Africa, Cuba and Angola as "very important", but would not be drawn on their possible outcome. He later indicated that

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From page 1

Cairo (5)

the September 29 deadline set by superpower leaders at the Moscow summit for a resolution of the issue should not be interpreted as a "blunt, formal, final date"

It was the South African government's understanding that the target date set by President Reagan and Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev was "their way of expressing a desire to get something substantial off the ground by then."

Turning to the buildup of Cuban forces near the Namibian border, Mr. Botha said this was a very serious matter but he was hesitant to raise it on the eve of the talks.

Today's talks, which will be chaired by the US Assistant Secretary for State for African Affairs, Dr. Chester Crocker, will also be attended by the US ambassador in South Africa, Mr. Edward Perkins, and SA's ambassador in Washington, Dr. Piet Koornhof.

The Angolan Foreign Minister will be accompanied by Justice Minister Mr. Fernando Van-Dunem and Armed Forces Chief of Staff and Deputy Defence Minister General Antonio dos Santos Franca.

Cuba's delegation to the talks arrived in Cairo last night. It was led by Communist Party Politburo member Mr. Jorge Risquet, an Africa expert who also headed his country's team at the London meeting.

The four parties held initial talks in London last month. Dr. Jonas Svimbi's Unit is not participating directly in the talks.

SA's secret meeting 'significant'

# Surprise talks with Egyptians

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Cairo

A one-hour meeting between Egypt's junior Minister of Foreign Affairs and the two South African Ministers here for peace talks is being regarded as highly significant.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, met Egypt's Foreign Minister of State, Mr Boutros Boutros Ghali, at the Hyatt el-Salam hotel, where the South African delegation, attending the round of Angola-Namibia peace talks, is staying.

Mr Ghali is a member of the general secretariat of the National Democratic Party and is Cairo's expert on African affairs.

The talks, at South Africa's request, were originally intended as a matter of courtesy and they were due to have lasted for between 10 and 15 minutes.

The fact they lasted more than an hour is regarded as highly significant, South African officials say.

Mr Ghali was accompanied by five Egyptian officials from protocol and five other security officials.

Officials would not say what was discussed. However, it is understood the general situation in southern Africa and relations between South Africa and Egypt were among the matters broached.

It is also understood there is a possibility of further follow-up talks, possibly at a higher level.

The South African delegation also had a two-hour meeting with the American delegation in Cairo yesterday.

The US delegation is led by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

The peace talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US are due to start today.

The Cuban and Angolan delegations arrived in Cairo late last night.

This morning, General Malan and Mr Botha were to visit a war cemetery near Cairo in which South African soldiers killed during World War 2 are buried.

A wreath-laying ceremony has been arranged.

● A late-night diplomatic hitch has resulted in today's talks being delayed.

According to sources, the Cuban delegation arrived in Cairo at 10 last night and refused to surrender their passports. The South African delegation's passports were surrendered when its members arrived in Cairo yesterday morning.

They have not been returned. The incident involving Cubans was settled after some hours, resulting in the Cuban delegation going to bed very late.

The Cubans have asked for today's talks to begin after lunch rather than this morning.

● See Page 11.

# Not enough votes to pass sanctions, says Simon

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Liberal Democrats in the United States Senate probably will not be able to muster enough votes to hit South Africa with additional economic sanctions this year, according to one of their leaders.

This admission came from Senator Paul Simon of Illinois — one of the unsuccessful 1988 presidential candidates and a prominent figure in the sanctions campaign — during a committee hearing on new legislation to toughen the sanctions imposed by the US Congress in 1986.

Arguing that new sanctions were needed to pressure the South African Government to negotiate fundamental change, Senator Simon said that passage of the legislation would be an



Senator Simon

important message to South Africa and the world.

But, candidly, he did not believe that supporters of the sanctions had enough votes to override a veto by President Reagan.

It was the first public confirmation of increasing signs here that a significant number of US Senators — including key Democrats — have doubts about the wisdom of tougher sanctions.

President Reagan is expected to veto the sanctions should they be approved by the Senate. They are certain to win approval in the House of Representatives soon, probably next week.

One of the doubters is believed to be Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell of Connecticut who chaired yesterday's session of the Foreign Relations Committee.



Senator Edward Kennedy

Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts made an impassioned plea for tougher measures, claiming that the hearing was a chapter in one of the most profound congressional debates about foreign policy in the history of the United States.

Conservative Republican Senator Steve Symms of Idaho told the committee that the sanctions against South Africa had served only to harm US business and security interests and that they were ... "foolish at best and hypocritical at worst".

# Angola buys aircraft for coast defence

STW 24/6/88

The Star Bureau LONDON — Angola will take delivery soon of two Brazilian maritime surveillance aircraft, *Jane's Defence Weekly* reports.

The purchase of the two Embraer EMB-111s underlines Angola's commitment to maintaining superior defences along her coastline.

The country is particularly dependent on sea-borne deliveries of arms supplies.

Angola has repeatedly accused South Africa of clandestine activities off the Angolan coast in recent years.

South African Defence Force and UNITA troops have been accused of involvement in five sea-borne attacks in the past seven years.

The EMB-111 twin-turboprop aircraft has a range of 1 600 nautical miles.

# Teachers 'will not be happy' with a 7 pc rise

STW 24/6/88

By Paula Fray and Sue Valentine

Teachers have said they may take "undisclosed action" if they are still unhappy with the pay increase expected from the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, today.

Mr de Klerk is expected to announce a 7 per cent increase. Teachers are asking for a minimum of 11 per cent.

Mr Jack Ballard, general secretary of the Transvaal Teachers Association (TTA), said teachers would not be happy with only 7 per cent as they had proven the need was much greater.

Mr Ballard said he did not think the 7 per cent pay rise would affect all teachers. "At this stage I don't know which grades would be affected — pos-

sibly the first and second grades where the greatest need occurs."

But "this is still not going to remove the (pay) backlog between the teaching profession and the public sector", he said.

Mr Ballard said a teacher with a three-year diploma had a starting salary of only R700 a month — well below the commercial sector. He said teachers would persevere until their pay was comparable to other sectors.

However, yesterday indications were that teachers could get the lion's share of the R205 million added to the Government's R250 million budget for occupational specific adjustments in the public service.

Earlier in the year the Teachers Federal Council

asked the Government for a general increase of 15 per cent to bring them in line with pay increases in the private sector.

They had also requested an 11 per cent "occupation specific" raise for those sectors of the teaching profession that were well below the income of the commercial sector.

They have also asked for a reconsideration of the Government decision not to allow general salary adjustments in the public sector during this financial year.

It seems unlikely at this stage, however, that across-the-board increases will be granted to teachers, and there is growing concern about a tendency towards even larger numbers of resignations before the end of the year.



## THE WEATHER

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# Withdrawal with honour possible, says top Cuban

24/11/88 The Star's Africa News Service.

A senior Cuban Communist Party official has said he is convinced that an honourable withdrawal of all parties concerned in the Namibian conflict is possible.

According to a report by the Cuban News Agency, Prensa Latina, senior party member Mr Carlos Aldana, whose position is described as being the equivalent of a Minister of Information, also said Cuba was willing to maintain a flexible approach to the proposed schedule for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

In an interview in Havana Mr Aldana said that Cuba had already presented concrete proposals for a just solution and was awaiting South Africa's reply.

## UN RESOLUTION 435

But he said that, for Cuba, "withdrawal with honour" from Angola would mean the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 under which Namibia would become independent and Angola would have guarantees of safety.

He said that Cuba's proposals called for a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops over a four-year period.

"It is not easy to implement the withdrawal of tens of thousands of men that do not just have to withdraw, but must also be replaced by Angolan troops," he said.

With regard to the movement of Cuban troop concentrations to within 12 km of the Namibian border, Mr Aldana said this was an indication that the balance of forces in the area had changed drastically.

Time for US to step in, says expert

# Soviet policy shift is worrying the ANC

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Star 2-1/6/88

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union's shift in policy toward southern Africa appears to be causing anxiety among African National Congress leaders, according to an American expert.

And the ANC's dependence on the three countries where it has sanctuary — Angola, Zambia and Tanzania — is making its leadership distinctly nervous, Dr Stephen Davis, a research analyst at Washington's Investor Responsibility Research Centre, told a US senate panel here yesterday.

With the ANC leadership under fire from extremists within the organisation, worried about their Soviet and Frontline state patronage, and showing new eagerness to improve relations with Washington, the time could be ripe for the US to expand its contacts with the anti-apartheid resistance, he argued.

Dr Davis, author of a book on the ANC, was testifying at a hearing into proposed new anti-SA sanctions.

## Once an ally

He said the Soviet Union — once an unquestioning ANC ally — was signalling a review of its policy toward South Africa.

"The end result is in doubt, but so far Moscow seems intent on finding ways to avoid an extended war that could compel the USSR to devote resources it cannot afford to a region in which it has little interest, while risking a superpower confrontation it does not want.

"As a consequence, Soviet representatives have suggested softening the terms the ANC has said Pretoria must meet for negotiations to occur.

"In addition, Soviet policy-makers have hinted that the ANC should consider a settlement formula granting minority guarantees to whites — something the ANC has not been prepared to concede," Dr Davis said.

He noted reports that Moscow had told the SA Communist Party, its close ally, that a mixed economy, rather than socialism, was likely to prevail in South Africa.

Dr Davis argued that the ANC could survive a break with Moscow since most of the items it got from the Soviets could be obtained elsewhere. But it was heavily beholden to Angola, Tanzania and Zambia.

"A break with them would be viewed by the organisation as catastrophic. ANC facilities in these countries give Umkhonto (the ANC military wing) insurgents access to the SA frontier," he said.

"ANC 'executives' worry that the sanctuary nations, under economic and military pressure from Pretoria, are capable of making policy demands on the ANC, ejecting the ANC altogether, or insisting on SA settlement terms far short of what the ANC itself would demand."

Dr Davis described a "tug of war" within the organisation between the forces of militancy and statesmanship. Its outcome was uncertain, he said.

"On the one hand, the compulsion to attract increasingly impatient and angry comrades into the movement has resulted in some Umkhonto commanders pressing for permission to target white civilians such as judges and politicians."

On the other hand such moves have been rebuked and "the group's ban on terrorism reiterated. The ANC leadership seems eager to preserve and enhance the organisation's image as a responsible party, both to allay fears of whites inside South Africa and to attract more international sponsors."

The tug of war between the opposing points of view was likely to grow more acute as black frustration mounted and the ANC continued to lag in its ability to extend effective control over its members inside South Africa, he said.

"Evidence suggests that as the state of emergency crackdown drags on and moderates remain in detention, radical factions within the ANC camp are gaining in influence."

Cuban govt  
now 'less <sup>(S)</sup>  
aggressive <sup>Stw. 24 6/88</sup>  
towards SA

LONDON — The Cuban government has always prefaced any remarks about South Africa by referring to the "racist" white minority regime. Yet since the latest series of negotiations began on Cuban troop withdrawals and the future of Namibia, official language has been less aggressive.

For the Cubans, their presence in Angola is a complex and emotional issue, and their offer to carry out a phased four-year withdrawal has not been taken lightly.

President Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader, has invested considerable personal prestige in the Angolan venture.

With the Cuban military presence approaching 41 000 and a further 5 000 to 6 000 civilian advisers, this accounts for more than half Cuba's total overseas "internationalist" commitment.

This presence has been maintained at considerable sacrifice in terms of loss of life and for Dr Castro to agree to withdraw he would need to be able to provide some tangible gain.

As a minimum, therefore, the Cuban leadership would need to be able to show that Angolan sovereignty had been fully respected (that is, a withdrawal of all South African and South African-backed forces from Angola). It would also require Namibia to be given a prospect of independence with international guarantees against South African intervention.

Neither of these can be easily negotiated. However, the Cubans have been encouraged by what they see as a more "responsible" attitude on the part of the United States.

While having few illusions about Washington's ultimate ability to twist Pretoria's arm, the Cubans find the State Department less instinctively anti-Cuban.

Professor Wayne Smith, a leading expert on Cuba and a former State Department official, noted the change.

"For the past seven years, the Reagan administration has been putting Angolan policy on the wrong foot, seeing the obstacle as the presence of the Cuban troops. Now it is prepared to see that the main obstacle is the South Africans' unwillingness to give up Namibia."

As a result, the ability to talk with Cuba over Angola has become part of a more general but discreet dialogue. — Financial Times News Service.

ANGOLA: VIEW FROM THE SOUTH

THE only ways of getting to Jamba, isolated bush headquarters of the Angolan Unita rebels, are unorthodox ones.

The least taxing of these, it seems, involves boarding an unmarked turbo-charged Dakota aircraft at Pretoria's Wonderboom airport, overflying one independent country (Botswana), one occupied area (the Caprivi Strip), and skimming the treetops of southern Angola for as long as it takes to reach General Jonas Savimbi's spanking new secret airstrip.

It's a four-hour trip if there's no tailwind, and has distinct advantages over more traditional forms of international travel.

The irritation of having to carry a passport, for example, is dispensed with. There are magnificent views of Botswana's Okavango delta and later, Angola's still-abundant wildlife. Cabin service is rudimentary, but to the point: two voluminous garbage bins, filled with the finest (South African) beer, expertly packed in enough ice to keep them frosty for the duration of the venture into the interior.

The beer, and the flight are courtesy of the rebel movement, which must rank among Africa's most skilled in the art of public relations. "Unita shall provide" is a catchphrase around Jamba, and it is difficult to argue with it.

The human cargo on this particular junket — better known as a *Jambaree* — comprises journalists. The world's media is being spirited into Angola's intractable south-eastern corner to hear the *Commandante* pronounce on the current peace negotiations, and to be reminded that he remains a serious player in the sub-continental game.

Whatever one chooses to make of the latter claim, his "capital" is extraordinary.

As soon as the Dakota crosses the "security road" running along the northern perimeter of the Caprivi strip, the pilot sends the plane careering earthwards, dropping from normal flying altitude to what he says is about 50 feet above the trees, but feels more like an imprecise exercise in foliage-punning.

The reasoning, so it's said, is that sophisticated anti-aircraft weaponry would struggle with such a low-flying target. As no hostile aircraft is evident, perhaps it is true. But then again, it could all form part of Act One of *Jonas Savimbi, Starper*.

On Angolan soil, the Dakota is met by burgundy-bereft Unita troops, who lead the way to two unprepossessing mud huts: Customs and

The best food, the best beer, the best live shows. Jonas Savimbi hosts another junket in the jungle ...

JAMBA WITH A VIEW



Wade Rowland Head

Left, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi addresses the press at Jamba before his trip to Washington. Above, one of two captured Cuban soldiers paraded at the conference. He gave his name only as Luis

"Savimbi is our guide" reads one of dozens of didactic posters. "My country right or wrong — General Savimbi", proclaims another. And: "Unita is ready for dialogue with MPLA for peace in Angola." Newcomers are quickly acquainted with the rebels' philosophy.

Jamba is also designed as a model town of sorts. There is a clinic, run by a charming Portuguese-trained doctor, a uniform factory, a weapon-repair workshop, and so on. Vehicles are in tip-top condition, and clothing neatly pressed. How, in a dustbowl without running water and very little electricity? "Unita shall provide."

The core reason for its existence becomes clear when Savimbi makes a personal appearance. Red and green-clad women dance and sing up a storm, drummers go into a frenzy, and the tedious of isolation is exorcised. The shamed hero-

ANGOLA: VIEW FROM THE NORTH

FROM HUAMBO, UNITA LOOKS LESS PRETTY

For the grim reality of the Angola war, one needs to venture far away from Jamba, to Huambo, central Angola, a town ravaged by constant Unita attacks. JEREMY HARDING reports

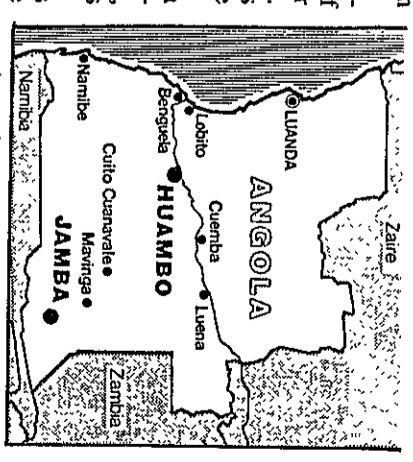
UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi may have a first-class nose for propaganda, but his campaign looks much less attractive on the ground in Angola.

Hospitals and orthopaedic centres are crammed with grim evidence of Unita's work and the conditions of civilians in the country are an implacably hostile witness to Savimbi's cause.

Nowhere is the war more sinister than in the provincial capital of Huambo, central Angola. The city is held by the government, but contains many Unita supporters. Security problems in the town are major and Jonas Savimbi's movement is a thorn in its side.

Over a year ago, Huambo suffered one of the worst Unita car bomb attacks in Angola. The building which was targeted still bears the scars.

Today, Huambo is a city of shortages — water, food, electricity, petrol and spare parts are all in short supply. Local officials say it is unsafe to go beyond the outskirts of the town at any time of day. At night, after curfew, there is gunfire on the streets and Unita handmines have made the neighbouring fields unsafe for peasant farmers. Huge Soviet transport jets wheel over the air-



Eighty kilometres from Kuito, a hospital with 100 beds was completely destroyed earlier this year, he says. In Katatola, 32km from the town centre, Unita rebels ransacked the local clinic and in Camacupa, 80km from town, they



**Savinibi? The boss doesn't think so.**  
**SHAUN JOHNSON**  
**reports from Jamba**

The well-being of visitors is the responsibility of what can best be described as Unita's equivalent of the South African Bureau for Information: a specially trained unit of articulate and urbane minders who can be trusted not to diverge from the party line in "informal" conversation. They are omnipresent. Food and drink is plentiful and served with *bonhomie*, but any attempt to stray from the camp is met with polite, firm refusal.

(This was discovered by one journalist who, having been provided for rather too well by Unita, stumbled beyond the precincts in the early hours of the morning. Immediately confronted by a well-armed and distinctly sober Unita officer, he loudly proclaimed his refusal to turn around. "That would be very bad," said the officer gently, and the journalist changed his mind.) Unita troops, at least those at Jamba, do not drink alcohol, and do not raise their voices. They are disconcertingly disciplined, in sometimes embarrassing contrast to the visitors they play host to.

Most are armed with AK 47's and Star pistols, although some RPG's are in evidence. Many sport identical "Dirty Harry" sunglasses — possibly a bulk consignment from an American optically African setting.

JONAS SAVIMBI has to tread a fine line between prevarication and innuendo when pronouncing on groups fighting apartheid. This is not surprising, for while the Unita leader insists he is not Pretoria's lapdog, he relies heavily on South African aid. Speaking in the rebel capital Jamba last week, he was clear about Swapo, the "liberation movement" just over the "border", but equivocal when pressed on his attitude towards the African National Congress.



**In la supporters put their anti-Castro sentiment on display for journalists, who had been invited to the movement's headquarters in Jamba, Angola for a press conference last week**

When we have to clash with them. "And South Africa has never succeeded in asking me to fight Swapo, because I will not. I don't want to have bad relations with Swapo, and they know that." He declined to confer the "freedom fighter" appellation on the ANC, however, saying as he had no "border" with South Africa, it was not necessary for him to pass judgement. But, he said he would not hand over his two ANC captives — held since last year — to Pretoria. "I took the South Africans by surprise by saying I had these two boys, and would re-

lease them. Even if they try to come and get them, it will not be possible." He claims he will be endeavouring, on his current international tour, to arrange for the Red Cross to return the prisoners to the ANC "in Lusaka, London, Dar es Salaam, anywhere". In a revealing aside, Savimbi said he had come to know both ANC and Pan Africanist Congress exiles over the years in other African capitals. But, "everyone has his friends. Bad luck for me, my friends were the PAC. Now they don't have much impact — bad luck." He added: "But even if there is an ANC government in South Africa tomorrow, I will not be worried."

Savimbi is a masterful performer. Long dubbed the "Gucci Guerrilla", his outfit is the last word in rebel chic: pearl-handled Colt, ivory-topped cane, gold ring, silver wrist-chain, appropriately faded battledress, buffed boots, raffish beret. He manages, rather than subjects himself to, a press conference. Journalists are heavily outnumbered by Unita officers and what is called the "LP" (local population), and they respond to his responses much like zealous converts at a revivalist meeting. Quoting Churchill and punctuating his announcements of crushing Unita victories with witty asides, he must be the envy of many a political movement. "Is it true you're leaving Jamba to move to Zaire?" he is asked. "The only time I will leave Jamba is to go to Luanda", he replies to the delight of his followers. "If South Africa and the MPLA are bickering about a venue for talks, why not have it in Patagonia?" he quips. His message is unequivocal and insistent: "The Em Pel Yay" (this is the precise rendition of MPLA with an Angolan accent), "the Em Pel Yay must talk directly to Unita to end the civil war in Angola and bring independence to Namibia! There is no other way." It is just bluster from a man who has been sidelined in the Angolan peace talks, and whose 13-year personal war is coming to an end? The answer, whatever it may be, is probably not to be found in the oddity that is Jamba.

As in Huambo, the beds in Duma's hospital contain many children who have lost their legs on Unita landmines. Several of the victims are Ovimbundu — the group from which Savimbi is said to draw the bulk of his support. One can also see the results of Unita bullets. In Kuilo hospital, a young girl of 12 has a gaping white furrow between her shoulder blades, a bullet wound from a rebel attack. Tessa, a 10- or 11-year-old who walks on crutches, is another bullet-wound victim. She has been discharged from hospital and lives in one of Kuilo's big orphanages. She was shot during a Unita raid on her village. Both her parents were killed. Tessa is one of 500 orphaned children in care in Kuilo. At national level, Angola's Secretary of Social Affairs has mounted two schemes for orphaned and displaced children — an estimated 25 000 in all — and both are running in Kuilo. One scheme relocates homeless youngsters in a new environment, while the other seeks to integrate a privileged few into their original communities.

Despite their remedial efforts, the Angolans are alarmed by the long-term effects of the conflict on children. "In one way or another, a senior secretariat official, "all Angolan children have been effected by the war."

Two Cuban prisoners of war were on display at Jamba. Savimbi alleged that because of the southward movement of Cuban troops, Unita guerrilla activities further north were being stepped up. He had enough sophisticated weaponry to last "a couple of years", he said. Politically, he believed a breakthrough had been achieved because "the problem was never a military one. It was a lack of political will from the Russians, and a lack of drive from the US. The superpowers have agreed that this is the moment to lay the foundations for a real solution."

Units would have to be included in the negotiations at some point, he said. Savimbi's future.

**SAVIMBI ON THE ANC: A DEFT DIPLOMATIC JIG**

By SHAUN JOHNSON

JONAS SAVIMBI has to tread a fine line between prevarication and innuendo when pronouncing on groups fighting apartheid. This is not surprising, for while the Unita leader insists he is not Pretoria's lapdog, he relies heavily on South African aid. Speaking in the rebel capital Jamba last week, he was clear about Swapo, the "liberation movement" just over the "border", but equivocal when pressed on his attitude towards the African National Congress.

**The six Cuban options that face Unita**

BEFORE leaving this week for a world tour, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi — the wallflower of the current Angolan peace initiative — admitted that his rebel capital, Jamba, may face its first direct attack.

The four, during which he hopes to "consolidate" external support, could prove decisive for the survival of the rebel force for 13 years. Although claiming to feel "comfortable" about his exclusion from preliminary peace talks, Savimbi could well be in trouble if his allies decide to scale down their support. He will be visiting the USA, Britain, Europe and "some independent African countries". Savimbi set out six options — a kind of "Jonas' Pick Six" — resulting from recent Cuban advances. He said Cuba might be

planning to:

- Confront South African forces directly, "which would be extremely dangerous"
- Attack Jamba from the south, and cut Unita's logistical line
- Ensure a more effective Swapo infiltration of Namibia
- Enhance Havana's status in peace talks
- Delay negotiations until the US presidential election, or, "more dramatically", "Stop the negotiations completely"

The possibility of an attack on Jamba was serious, he said, but there was little clarity yet "because we have a big river, the Cuito, between us". The rebel base has never before been thus threatened. Savimbi was publicly sanguine about the "current military and political situation" in Angola, however. He claimed Unita had mounted 403 successful attacks in the past

two months, in the course of which "1 150 Fapa (Angolan government) troops and 51 Cubans were killed."

listed what he said was an increasing number of African countries who accepted Nigeria, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Congo-Brazzaville, Zaire, Togo, Morocco, Cameroon, Zambia, Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome, and Guinea-Bissau.

Denying reports that Jamba was to be evacuated in favour of a new base in or near Zaire, Savimbi said: "We are entrenched here. I am a guerrilla leader more than a politician, and the advantages of being here are enormous."

Units claims to have 65 000 troops, ranged against 120 000 Fapa forces and, according to Savimbi, 57 000 Cubans.

The rebels are now fighting a rearguard action — military, political, and diplomatic — to remain a relevant factor in Angola's future.

# SA not at opening peace talks in Cairo

24/6/88

CAIRO. — Angola, Cuba and the United States held initial talks today to prepare for full negotiations with South Africa later in the day on ways of ending Angola's 13-year-old war, delegates said.

South Africa's representatives will join a full session for all four delegations to begin at a luxury Cairo hotel at 2pm, delegates said.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his delegation were hoping to lay a wreath this morning at a cemetery to commemorate South African soldiers killed in World War 2, South African officials said.

The Cuban, Angolan and US negotiators were expected to consider their reaction to South African proposals for a pull-out of Cuban troops from southern Angola, delegates said.

## SHORTER TIME

Pretoria is seeking a shorter timetable for withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cubans than the four-year period previously proposed by Angola.

Delegates expressed cautious optimism that the talks could lead to progress on the linked problems of the Angolan war and independence for SWA/Namibia.

"The very fact that we are talking is progress," the US Ambassador to Pretoria, Mr Edward Perkins, told reporters.

The Angola peace process, which started in London in early May, had nearly collapsed as the four parties wrangled over a venue for the next round and a big deployment of Cuban troops in southern Angola raised tension.

Mr Botha emphasised his country's demands for a Cuban pull-out and said: "The key to the whole thing is the withdrawal of foreign troops (from Angola), including our own. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See page 11.

SA delegation grim-faced after angry exchanges

# ough talk in Cairo

5 Star 25/6/88

DAVID BRAUN and CORRESPONDENTS

CAIRO — South African and Cuban delegates hurled heated words at each other yesterday during four-sided talks in Cairo aimed at ending the 13-year-old war in Angola, sources close to the talks said.

A South African official described the two-hour meeting, also attended by Angolan and US representatives, as "tough".

"It was vintage Pik," he said, referring to the hard-hitting style of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha. "There were Cuban histrionics and the South Africans gave as good as they got," he said.

A Cuban official also described the meeting as heated.

He said Angola had made new proposals, but declined to give details.

Talks chairman Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State in charge of African Affairs, said only informal discussions were planned yesterday evening and the four parties hoped to meet again today.

Diplomats said earlier that differences had emerged over the timetable for the withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

Mr Botha and South African Defence Minister Mr Magnus Malan are believed to have proposed that the troops be withdrawn over a shorter time than the four years suggested by Havana.

At the adjournment of the first session yesterday the South African delegation looked so serious and

grim that their attitude gave rise to speculation that the talks had run into serious trouble.

There was much speculation that an international peace-keeping force had been proposed to police a buffer zone between Angola and Namibia, and that South African, Angolan and Cuban troops must be withdrawn well away from the zone.

Such a force would then protect Namibia during the vulnerable run-up phase to elections for independence.

The Cairo round of talks, the third in two months, has been clouded by reported Cuban and South African troop build-ups along the Angola-Namibia border.

It was reported from New York that Dr Jonas Savimbi, the US-supported rebel leader fighting Angola's Cuban-backed government, said he was optimistic about yesterday's talks.

He warned, however, that an agreement leaving Marxists in control would not end the fighting.

Dr Savimbi spoke at a news conference sponsored by Freedom House, an American human

© To Page 2

## Savimbi under fire in US

WASHINGTON — Prominent black American leaders, denouncing US support of Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, accused him on Thursday of genocide and called him a South African tool for destabilising black Africa.

They attacked Dr Savimbi as he began a US visit seeking more military aid plus political support.

"The present foreign policy of the United States towards Angola is an unmitigated disaster," said Mr Benjamin Hooks, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. "We are supporting the wrong side for the wrong reasons."

Other black leaders, including Washington mayor Marlan Barry and Baltimore mayor Kurt Schmoke, also attacked Dr Savimbi at a news conference organised by TransAfrica, a leading organiser of US protests against apartheid.

"Jonas Savimbi is doing South Africa's dirty work in Angola," said Mr Randal Robinson, TransAfrica's executive director.

Several of the black American leaders accused Dr Savimbi and Unita of turning Angola into what they called "the amputee capital of the world" by planting land mines that maim civilians.

"Savimbi is a blood-sucking vampire, a hazzard who preys off the blood of his own people," said Mr Benjamin Chavis, executive director of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice. Sapa Reuter.

## Cairo talks fears

● From Page 1 Star 25/6/88

rights group on Thursday evening.

"We are here because we feel the potential for peaceful settlement in our country is very great," Dr Savimbi said, adding that the combatants "realised there will be no military solution" following recent guerilla victories.

In New York yesterday, a senior Angolan official charged that the United States had introduced a new "double linkage" in its negotiating position on removing Cuban and South African troops from Angola.

He said Secretary of State Mr George Shultz, in a meeting on Wednesday, had not only reiterated the American call for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops that back the Angolan government, but had also pressed the Angolans to negotiate with Dr Savimbi.

Mr Pedro Van-Dunem, Minister of State for petroleum and economy and effectively No 2 in the Angolan government, told reporters that such negotiations were "out of the question".

Mr Van-Dunem said Angola had expected the United States to push for negotiations with Unita. Previously, the United States had asserted that a withdrawal of Cuban troops had to be a condition for any settlement of the Angolan problem, including the withdrawal of South African troops backing Unita, and for implementation of a United Nations resolution demanding independence for Namibia.

Mr Van-Dunem said Angola still considered "the end of all aid to Unita" as one of Angola's principal demands.

A report yesterday in *The New York Times* quoted Angolan Justice Minister Mr Fernando Franca Van-Dunem as saying the issue was not on the table at this time. The statement was later praised by the US State Department as an indication of a "flexible approach" by Angola towards negotiations to end the 13-year civil war.

But in reaction to this interpretation Mr Pedro Van-Dunem said the Justice Minister's comments had been incorrectly interpreted due to "imperfection of expression". He said they only meant that the issue was "not on the table at the Cairo quadrilateral meeting".

"If we want peace, it is necessary to cut all aid to Unita, including US aid," Mr Pedro Van-Dunem said.

He described Unita as "an extension of the armed forces of South Africa". He said there was no civil war in Angola, only "a war of aggression by South Africa".

JUST ARRIVED

SHARP FO 210

FO 210

FO 210

The Sharp FO 210 - greater successor to a great success - The FO 209

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# Bugging fears disrupt talks

APR TUE 25/68

5

Political Correspondent

CAIRO. — The Angolan peace talks got off to a dramatic start yesterday as delegates left the conference room amidst rumours that it was bugged.

This followed sharp exchanges between the South African and Cuban delegations at yesterday's brief session — which was delayed for four hours because of the late arrival of the Cubans in Cairo.

A news blackout has been slapped on the talks, but a well-placed conference source said: "There were Cuban histrionics (on proposals for Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola) and South Africa replied in kind — it was vintage Pik ..."

Details of the exchanges were not available. But sources close to the talks said they involved South African proposals for the withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops bolstering Angolan forces against rebels backed by South Africa and the United States.

Responding to Pretoria's ideas, Angola set out a new formula for a Cuban pullout from its territory and independence for Namibia, Angolan officials said.

The grim-faced delegations then met separately to discuss tactics at

various open-air venues outside the conference hotel because of what one top source described as "concern about being bugged".

Officials from South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the United States sat at separate tables in the garden of Cairo's Hyatt El Salam Hotel.

"We met in the open because we were a bit concerned about being bugged," said a member of one delegation, who did not want to be named. "It is safer outside than anywhere inside."

An Egyptian government official said: "There is no justification for any concern like this. It is not true at all that the rooms are bugged."

The four delegations were tentatively scheduled to meet again at 10am today. The United States's chief delegate, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, said there would be a lot of informal work in the meantime.

One thorny issue was the timing of any pullout of Cuban troops, sent in at Angola's request when the war started after independence from Portugal in 1975.

South Africa, which has several thousand of its own soldiers in south-



**WAR GRAVE ...** The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha (right), with the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, at the grave of a South African soldier in the Commonwealth cemetery in Cairo.

Picture. REUTERS

To page 3

## Leave Cairo

Conference sources indicated that there should be adequate time at today's session to work through counter-proposals being prepared by the various parties.

"While today's talks may produce some progress, none of the parties involved has indicated that a decisive breakthrough leading to a resolution of the Angola war-Namibia independence problem is likely to be finally resolved today.

The South African delegation is scheduled to leave Cairo before midnight tonight.

Earlier yesterday the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, laid wreaths at the Helopolis War Memorial.

They placed miniature wreaths at the foot of the memorial.

The wreaths, made of roses and proteas, were placed after the Egyptian government agreed to a ceremony yesterday morning.

From page 1

ern Angola backing anti-government rebels, wants a much faster Cuban pullout than Luanda, which puts greater stress on the issue of Namibian independence.

During a break in a three-sided morning meeting which the South Africans did not attend, a high-ranking Angolan diplomat said Pretoria's proposals so far were unacceptable.

"Apart from the fact that we received the proposal a month-and-a-half late, it's not really a proposal at all," he said.

Before the session, Mr Botha said he was ready to discuss the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola as a condition for Namibian independence.

The US is serving as mediator in the Angolan peace talks and is chairing the Cairo meeting. Egypt, a compromise choice as host, is not taking part.

At the beginning of yesterday's talks in the candlelit banquet room of the El Salam Hotel, only a large pot plant positioned in the middle of the room separated the South African delegation and the Cuban-Angolan contingent directly opposite.

But by last night the mood was more serious and only today's decisive round of talks will tell if the gap between the sides is bridgeable.

# THEY NERVOUSLY TOOK PLANNED FOOD BUT FOUND THE HUMPS (SUR) MOUNTABLE

By LESTER VENTER

**SOUTH Africa's Foreign Minister has a keen, perhaps unequalled, sense of the symbolic.**

As he greeted his Egyptian host at Cairo's airport on Friday morning, Pik Botha said simply: "I never realised how close we were."

It was hyperbole, certainly, and yet in recent months the pace and extent of southern African negotiations has opened to the Department of Foreign Affairs a possible vision of the future — co-operation in Africa.

When the South Africans took their seats on Friday at the U-shaped table in Cairo's El Salam Hotel — the name means "peace" — with America's Dr Chester Crocker at the head and the Cubans and Angolans opposite, there was a tangible realisation in the room that an important chapter in Africa's modern history was being forged.

## Trepidation

But in everything surrounding the talks, even in just getting there, a story of wider significance was being written for South Africa.

The SAA jumbo with 75 South Africans aboard that touched down at Cairo soon after dawn on Thursday had flown up the length of Africa to the Egyptian capital — the first SA aircraft to do so for more than 25 years.

The permission given by the governments of the countries that passed below for it to do so symbolised the de-



Bargaining for peace — and a gold scarab ... Pik Botha with Magnus Malan in Cairo (left) where he shopped for Egyptian gems



Bargaining for peace — and a gold scarab ... Pik Botha with Magnus Malan in Cairo (left) where he shopped for Egyptian gems

# SOUTH AFRICANS FIND CAPE AND CAIRO ARE VERY OPPOSITE POLES OF AFRICA

site of Africans for their war-ringing southern brothers to come to an agreement.

The fact that the aircraft carried precautionary supplies of blood, bottled water and tinned SA food reflected the trepidation of those on board about what might

await them.

In view of this, restrained diplomatic niceties on the part of the Egyptian hosts might have been expected. But once again, as in Brazzaville, the South Africans were surprised at the willingness to meet on a clean slate, the

patent desire to have pre-arranged dices disapproved, and the genuine pleasure when they were.

In Egypt — as in the Congo — the visit, once on, generated its own momentum. The Egyptians began by being pedantic about being

uninvolved with the South Africans and merely being providers of a venue.

However, before the first day was over, SA's Foreign Minister was sitting down to a face-to-face exchange with his Egyptian counterpart. But abruptly had its limits.

The opposite African poles of Cape and Cairo are very opposite indeed, as the South Africans discovered when they set out on a sight-seeing tour.

Plunging into the maelstrom of Cairo traffic that moves its 18-million citizens

## Bugs

Nearly 1 500 of those earlier visitors died in their great undertaking. And on Friday General Malan, Mr Botha and SADF chief, General Jannie Geldenhuys, visited the Heliopolis cemetery where 226 lie buried.

Back at the El Salam, the harsh realities of diplomatic bargaining asserted themselves. Suspecting their rooms were bugged, the South Africans held their pre-talks strategy session in the hotel's public lounge.

And as the talks progressed, an Egyptian security man toppled over the pot plant behind which he had been straining to eavesdrop on a conversation between a South African journalist and a Pretoria diplomat.

At the end of the talks, when the negotiators closed their briefcases on proposals and counter-proposals, the party ended another rare glimpse of an African future.

While the search for an Angolan settlement goes on, those glimpses remain by special permission. Only when that settlement is found, and South Africans themselves find one of their own, may that future become a commonplace.

● Fleur de Villiers: Page 19

In a restless rhythm, it was noted that the hooters of all the vehicles work.

"There are traffic regulations," said an Egyptian guide, "although you may not notice them very well."

One rule was easy enough to grasp — that of right of way. It belongs to the brave.

Having survived the traffic, Mr Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan were talked into mounting camels at the Great Pyramids of Giza. Their anxious expressions suggested they had encountered an art that required some practice.

At the foot of the Pyramid of Cheops, Mr Botha was reminded that his destiny lay in Africa. As many foreign tourists mused over the safari-suited visitor attracting more camera attention from his followers than the ancient pyramid, one asked: "Who's that?"

## Informed

Eventually one American accent ventured: "Say, I think that's Piko Boaster."

By contrast, Egyptians seemed to have a more ready appreciation of South Africa. Thursday's Egyptian Gazette carried, on one page, a report on Pretoria's concerns at the Cuban build-up in Angola, a detailed report on the bomb blast in Johannesburg that injured 10, and a Kenyan clemency appeal for the Sharpeville Six.

Commenting on the South African presence in Cairo, the deputy diplomatic editor of Al-Ahram, Africa's largest daily, Ms Hedayat Abdel Nal, said: "We Egyptians are very proud. We are helping Africa solve one of its most thorny problems."

The SA party in Egypt in search of peace was the first since the South Africans who came 45 years ago to fight for freedom in the Second World War.

20/10/88  
Sunday Times

69

Man from Moscow leans on Angolans as break threatens

# REDD'S SAVER SAVES MATTERS

Mr Botin and Gen Malin at the Great Pyramid



**LESTER VENTER**  
reports from CAIRO



**THE dramatic late-night intervention of a Soviet emissary helped the Angolan peace talks in Cairo towards its first fragile success yesterday.**

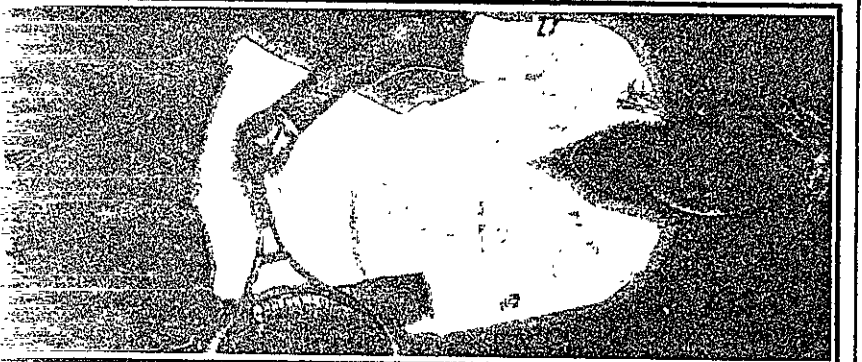
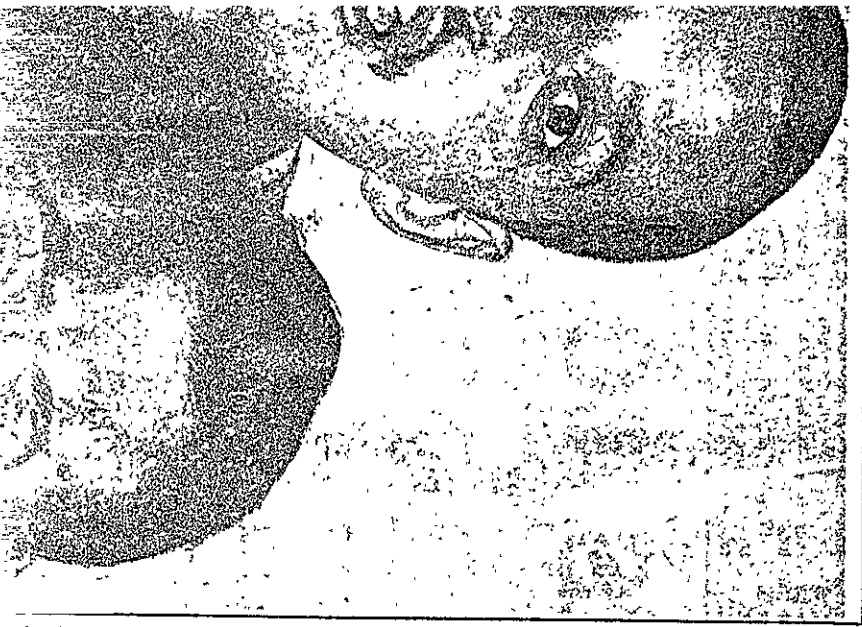
After an acrimonious opening on Friday, the tricky negotiations were on the point of breakdown when unexpected Russian pressure saved the day. And after two days hard bargaining the four parties emerged with a communique confirming progress towards a working plan for expanding on the advances at Cairo.

Delegates also had encouraging words last night about the talks. "The gap has been narrowed," observed one delegate. And an Angolan official commented: "It's positive. There has been some progress."

The man who intervened to keep the talks on track after some tense moments between Cuban and South African delegations was Mr Vladilen Vasev, third secretary in the Soviet foreign ministry with responsibility for Africa. A high conference source said it was the Americans — acting as mediators at the talks — who first detected the presence of the top Soviet official.

During the night the Man from Moscow met the Angolans and Cubans, who returned to the conference table yesterday in a more conciliatory mood.

A South African source said: "Big brother must have played a part in the turnabout." The conference ended yesterday after what one source described as "the brass lacks" of hammering out an agreement.



**INSIDE TODAY:**

**ALSO:**

**Lethal bomb spotted in time**

*Stones*

**Lethal bomb spotted in time**

*Stones*

*29/6/88*

*8/44*

**Sunday Times Reporter**

**SOUTH AFRICA** was spared what could have been its worst bomb outrage when an alert waitress in an East London restaurant spotted a suspicious-looking parcel under an empty chair.

The package was identified as an SBN2 limpet mine and the restaurant was evacuated. Twenty minutes later — just after 12.15am on Friday — the device exploded. "It was a close shave," admitted a senior police officer.

Scores of late-night revelers fled the Papagallo restaurant after the mine was discovered. Although the building was wrecked, there were no injuries. The Papagallo is one of the few post-ambush venues in

A high conference source said it was the Americans — acting as mediators at the talks — who first detected the presence of the top Soviet official.

During the night the Man from Moscow met the Angolans and Cubans, who returned to the conference table yesterday in a more conciliatory mood.

A South African source said: "Big brother must have played a part in the turnabout."

The conference ended yesterday after what one source described as "the brass tacks" of hammering out an agreement for the pullout of Cuban forces from Angola and a SA withdrawal from SWA.

Further talks — at a "technical" level — are planned for July 11 in the United States, possibly New York.

Much tension — and some intrigue — surrounded the talks.

## Strategy

On Friday the South African delegation held their pre-conference strategy session in a public room of the hotel because they suspected the suite used by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan might be bugged.

It seems the Cuban delegation also feared electronic eavesdropping and took precautions.

Yesterday the talks were back on track. The two sides were working on a joint document containing proposals for the withdrawal of foreign forces and other details of a settlement formula.

This joint paper is to emerge from separate proposals by SA on the one side, and Cuba and Angola on the other.

It was on Friday that the talks teetered on a precipice. Soon after proceedings began in Cairo's El Salaam Hotel — the name means "peace" — Cuban and Angolan delegates launched into bitter and heavily ideological set-piece attacks on the South African position. These included an attempt to pull apartheid into the discussion.

This, say sources, elicited a broadside from Mr Botha, who challenged the Cubans and Angolans to a debate on human rights in their countries.

The afternoon proceeded "punch-by-punch" and after two-and-a-half hours the parties called an adjournment until Saturday.

Yesterday they met for 90 minutes before breaking for more work on the joint document. The meeting ended late in the afternoon.

TER

## Rugby Risor

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left the field with a  
ing injury in the 20th  
of the first half in the  
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esterday.

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atch report: Page 24.

## asked

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lowed to play in Fiji,  
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tralia would want to  
aid.

A source said both sides had now fully declared their positions and a critical period of bargaining had started.

SA, Angola and Cuba are meeting under the chairmanship of US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker.

## Proposals

The Angolans want SA to cease support of the Unita. The South Africans want a detailed record of all Cubans in Angola before discussing the specifics of a Cuban withdrawal.

It is clear that the talks have now moved beyond what one diplomat called the "exploratory phase" of earlier encounters in Brazzaville and London.

SA went into the Cairo talks with what one diplomat described as a "full set of proposals" which were handed to the Cubans and Angolans a few days before their arrival in Egypt.

While the Angolans are said to regard the SA proposals as "over-prescriptive," Mr Botha and General Malan are insisting on a detailed plan for withdrawal.

They want a settlement formula to include moves for national reconciliation among Angola's warring internal groups.

● See Page 2

## PICK 6

WITH scratchings and coup-  
lings playing their part, yes-  
terday's Pick 6 at Turffon-  
tein paid out R11 567,50 to 78  
ticket holders.

The winning numbers  
were: 5, 6, 6, 7, 1, 2, 11, 15, 1, 7.

The Pick 6 at Scottsville  
had only one winning ticket  
for a dividend of R354 499,40.

## Ros through to the last 16 — again!

ROS FAIRBANK, who now  
lives in America, kept SA's  
Wimbledon hopes alive yes-  
terday by beating No 10-seed  
American Lori McNeill 7-6  
(7-3) 6-4.

She now goes through to  
the last 16 for the second year  
running.

Martina Navratilova, one  
title away from a Wimbledon  
record of nine singles cham-  
pionships, beat Karen  
Schimper of SA 6-0 6-4.

## Pardoned

FERGIE'S disgraced dad,  
Major Ron Ferguson, was  
given a "pardon" by the  
Queen — seats in the Royal  
Box at Wimbledon. The  
major and his wife sat behind  
the Duke and Duchess of  
Kent.

## Hole-in-one

SOUTH AFRICAN Denis  
Hutchinson scored a hole-in-  
one at the 150m sixth hole  
yesterday for a three-round  
total of 216 in the Trusthouse  
Forte PGA Seniors Golf  
Championship at North Ber-  
wick, Scotland.

## Dagga haul

POLICE confiscated  
R100 000 worth of dagga  
after a gun battle during a  
60km high-speed car chase  
yesterday near Elliot in the  
Eastern Cape.

## Cell death

A long-term prisoner at Bar-  
berton Maximum Security  
Prison apparently commit-  
ted suicide by hanging him-  
self with a self-made rope.

THE contents of this issue of  
the Sunday Times have been  
restricted in terms of the  
emergency regulations.

# No quick results from new Angola talks expected (5)

A SENIOR South African diplomat — the first to visit Egypt since World War II — has said he did not expect quick results from the Angolan peace talks opening there this week.

"We're very realistic about it," said Andre Jaquet, a Foreign Ministry official who is heading an advance group of eight diplomats and security men.

"We don't expect a quick fix but a lasting solution. The issues are very complicated and they won't be resolved in one meeting," he said. The group arrived on Monday to prepare for the talks opening today between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the US.

South Africa's advanced men were a rare sight in a founder-member country of the Organisation of African Unity which has pledged to fight apartheid. "It's been a good experience," Jaquet said, adding that his team was well received at Cairo airport.

He said South Africa's main negotiators, expected to be led by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, would fly in at the last minute.

Apart from students and exiled liberation move-

ment officials, no South Africans are known to have come to Egypt since its soldiers fought battles here 45 years ago.

Some South Africans are buried in the Commonwealth War cemetery at El-Alamein.

Egypt's contacts with Pretoria were conducted through the US government's Africa expert, Egypt's Minister of State Boutros Boutros Ghali told reporters.

Washington has publicly congratulated Egypt on its "statesmanlike initiative" in offering Cairo.

Jaquet said his government was pleased the conference was taking place in Africa.

"We have finally come to realise that salvation does not come from Europe but from Africa," he said.

Because of potential controversy over hosting the South Africans, Egypt sought and won wide international support, from the OAU chairman, Malian President Moussa Traore, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. — Sapa



# Unpleasant start but friendly ending to the Cairo indaba

DAVID BRAUN of The Argus Political Staff reports from Cairo

AR 45 27/6/88 5

**A** CAREFUL analysis of the available information on the Cairo talks shows that the peace initiatives "progressed" from an agreement that there should be a peace agreement to an agreement that there should be an agreement that there should be an agreement to be used to explore the possibilities of reaching a peace agreement.

In short, the process is still at the stage of talks about talks.

But some diplomats believe that the fact that the talks did not collapse is progress.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr. P. Botha, said in an interview at the end of the talks that progress had been made on the central issues: the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the implementation of the United Nations independence plan for SWA/Namibia.

"The countries involved in this whole issue are trying to reach an agreement on a framework within which an agreement can be negotiated," he said.

"In other words, it has been agreed to approach this matter using a step-by-step meth-

od of working instead of wanting to do everything at the same time."

Mr. Botha said the Cairo talks had started in a grim and unpleasant atmosphere, but they had ended in a friendly spirit — so that was also progress.

"Against the background of the tension regarding the build-up of Cuban forces in southern Angola, I am satisfied with the outcome as far as it concerns the element of negotiations.

"However, we are certainly not relaxed about the military situation in the region and it goes without saying we will continue to be on the alert."

Interestingly, the Cuban build-up did not feature very prominently at the talks. This was contrary to expectations that the build-up would be right at the top of the agenda and that South Africa would make a great fuss about it.

The joint Cuban-Angolan delegation spoke first at the opening session of the talks.

Cuba's Foreign Minister and delegation leader, Mr. Jorge Risquet Valdes, started by rejecting South Africa's latest proposal on Cuban troop withdrawal and

SWA/Namibia's independence.

According to Cuban sources, the Cuban-Angolan delegation regarded the proposal as hardly a proposal at all.

Having rejected South Africa's proposals, Mr. Valdes then apparently delivered what South African diplomats later described as a vicious diatribe aimed at South Africa's apartheid policies.

The South African delegation briefly considered appealing to the Americans, who were presiding at the meeting, to call the Cubans and Angolans to order, failing which it would consider a walkout.

However, according to sources, Mr. Botha suspected a trap. It was possible that the Cubans and the Angolans wanted to provoke a South African walkout, which would discredit South Africa. She would then be blamed for the collapse of the negotiations.

Mr. Botha then changed tactics, according to sources, and took the Cubans and Angolans on by playing the same game.

Instead of being upset, he mocked the opposing delegation, sneering and smiling throughout as he compared

their human rights records with South Africa's. He also did not mention the Cuban troop build-up in southern Angola.

South African and American diplomats later described this performance as brilliant and awesome.

There is no hard evidence to support reports that a Soviet official intervened late that night to bring the Cubans and Angolans to order. Sources in both delegations scoffed at such a notion, which they said was South African propaganda.

□ □ □ □

In fact, the reports appear to have been based on a casual remark by a senior South African delegate that he suspected the change in attitude on the part of the Angolans and Cubans on the second day of the talks was because of the presence of the Russian in Cairo.

"Big Brother must have had an input, between sunset yesterday and sunrise today," the delegate said.

Mr. Botha said in an interview that unless one had direct, visible evidence of Russian action, it was always difficult to say with certainty

whether the Russians had played a given role or not.

It was Russia's style of diplomacy to remain in the background, although obviously Moscow was in constant contact with both the Americans as well as those delegations with which it had friendly relations, he said.

The talks chairman and United States Assistant Secretary of State in charge of African affairs, Dr. Chester Crocker, said after the talks had ended that it had become increasingly standard practice for the United States to keep in contact with the Russians.

The Soviet union sent a man to observe the London round of the talks and it had done the same in Cairo. The American delegation had been in touch with him.

On the second day of the talks, South Africa submitted its redrafted proposals, which had been altered to resemble more easily accommodated broad objectives, rather than specific proposals.

Cuban sources hinted it was the dropping of certain aspects from the earlier South African proposals which had brought about the

change in attitude of the Cuban and Angolan delegation. Cuba and Angola then submitted their own viewpoints, setting out their proposed guidelines and framework for the first time.

A day of high drama ensued with the talks constantly breaking up so that the various delegations could consult among themselves or for delegation leaders to meet separately. Most of these discussions took place in the hotel gardens in the view of the media, but out of their hearing.

Mr. Botha said after the talks that South Africa could associate itself with about half of Cuba's submissions, but that South Africa had proposed amendments to the other half.

At the end of the day, it was agreed to disagree. The proposals of both sides were on the table and it was agreed that the delegations should meet again, at the level of experts, to devise a *modus operandi* as to how a merging of the two sets of proposals could be brought about.

That meeting is scheduled to be held in the United States on July 11.

July meeting will be test of sincerity

# US pushing for action on Angola

STV 27/6/88

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Cairo

South Africa and Cuba/Angola will have to start putting their money where their mouths are when they meet for the next round of peace talks next month.

This is the view of Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State in charge of African affairs and chairman of the peace talks.

## Robbers die in shoot-out with police

By Craig Kotze,  
Crime Reporter

Two robbers were shot dead and a third man was wounded in a shootout which started in a crowded restaurant in Illovo, Johannesburg, last night.

A policeman, Constable C Inngs, was also wounded in the shoot-out at the Meo Patacca Hostaria Romana in Chaplin Street shortly after 6 pm. He was shot in the leg and is in a satisfactory condition in the Milpark Hospital.

The man was taken to the Hillbrow Hospital and is in a satisfactory condition, said a police spokesman.

He said three men armed with guns and a knife, entered the restaurant shortly after 6 pm, forced about 30 patrons to lie on the floor and began collecting money and watches.

One patron slipped away and called the police. Constables Inngs, M Wessels and W Kellerman arrived.

The men opened fire on the policemen, wounding Constable Inngs.

The policemen returned the fire, fatally wounding one of the men. He ran out of the restaurant where he collapsed and died.

The other two, also wounded, fled towards the Wanderers golf course, pursued by Constables Wessels and Kellerman. One was then shot dead and the other arrested, said the spokesman.

A motorist, who did not want to be named, said he and his girlfriend turned into Chaplin Street and saw a man fleeing down the street, pursued by policemen on foot and in cars.

"There was a lot of shooting and this man was chased down the street by the police.

"But I must commend the police on their discipline. As soon as they saw us they stopped firing. They resumed shooting again once we were past," said the motorist.

The next meeting is scheduled to be held in the US, probably Washington or New York, in the week starting July 10.

Dr Crocker said at the close of the third round of the series of negotiations to resolve the conflict in south-western Africa that the Cairo talks had yielded two accomplishments:

- They restored the positive atmosphere which had been achieved in the London round.

- The agreement to meet in the near future provided the basis for both sides to test whether or not there was genuine desire to resolve the problems.

According to the Cairo communique, issued by all the parties at the conclusion of the weekend's negotiations, a plan had been developed for continuing exchanges at the level of experts.

This is understood to mean that future talks could be held by experts whose job it will be to investigate how the positions of the two sides can be boiled down into an agreement which spells out basic principles they support in common.

## Proposals

Once a set of basic principles is agreed to, further negotiations to end the two wars in the south-western African region may proceed.

It is likely that South Africa will push for the principle that all foreign troops, including its own, should be withdrawn from the conflict region.

It is unlikely that a further round of talks will be held at ministerial level until the experts can work out some kind of proposals.

The next round of talks at experts' level is already becoming the subject of controversy.

SA Defence Force Chief General Jannie Geldenhuys has again been designated by South Africa as one of its experts.

This means the US will have to waive its policy of not granting visas to South African military and police generals.

- Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had a second meeting with Egypt's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghail.

● See Page 13.



Rescue workers and French police look for survivors after a French Air Force A-320 crashed in eastern France yesterday. At least four people were killed.

## France and UK ground flights

LONDON — Air France and British Airways yesterday suspended all flights of the new A-320 Airbus after the dramatic crash which killed three people and was witnessed by a crowd of thousands at a display on the French-Swiss border.

Announcing the decision to ground the A-320, the French director-general of civil aviation, Mr Daniel Tenenbaum, said he had ordered a full inquiry into the accident. Aviation experts were flown to Mulhouse on the Swiss frontier last night.

South African Airways has ordered two A-320 Airbus jetliners for delivery in 1992, with an option to take five more, but a spokesman for SAA, Mr Francois Louw, said today that yesterday's crash would not affect the order.

"History has taught us that any hitches or problems that new model aircraft might have are usually straightened out later on. We are confident that by the time SAA's order is delivered, any problems will have been sorted out," said Mr Louw.

But he added that the airline would obviously take note of the findings of the inquiry into the crash.

He said the Airbus manufacturers would also follow through the results of the inquiry and any bugs in the construction of the craft would be corrected.

The newly built French plane crashed into a forest at Mulhouse during an air show while it was flying low during a demonstration flight.

The aircraft has been highly controversial. Pilots all over the world have expressed res-



The new A-320 Airbus jetliner used more fuel than expected, particular systems which are under investigation by the authorities in controlling the aircraft.

The new aircraft used more fuel than expected, particular systems which are under investigation by the authorities in controlling the aircraft.

South African Airways spokesman Mr Leoportant to establish a crash to set every-

He said that by the delivery of the new aircraft would have logged 100,000 hours.

Mr Els said the SAA would be certain to check the airline before the aircraft was used.

The Airbus manufacturer said the functions of the pilots were happy to see the aircraft in service. The Airbus manufacturer said the functions of the pilots were happy to see the aircraft in service.

# US venue for next round of peace talks

ARGUS 27/6/88

By DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

SOUTH Africa, Cuba and Angola will meet for the next round of peace talks in the United States, probably Washington or New York, in the week of July 11.

The US Assistant Secretary of State and chairman of the talks, Dr Chester Crocker, said at the close of the two-day third round of the series of negotiations to resolve the conflict in south-western Africa that the Cairo talks accomplished two things:

- They restored the positive atmosphere achieved in the London round.

- And the agreement to meet soon provided the basis to test on both sides whether or not there was genuine desire to resolve the problems.

## PLAN OF WORK

According to the Cairo communiqué, issued by all the parties at the conclusion of the weekend's negotiations, a plan of work has been developed for continuing exchanges at the level of experts.

It is understood this could mean that the next few rounds of talks could be at the level of experts whose job it would be to investigate how the stated positions of the two sides can be boiled down into an agreement or a series of agreements which spell out basic principles they support in common.

Once a set of basic principles are agreed to, perhaps in the form of an accord, further negotiations may proceed to end the two wars in the south-western

African region in line with those principles.

It is likely that South Africa will push for the principle that all foreign troops, including its own, should be withdrawn from the conflict region.

Cuba and Angola, on the other hand, insist that first UN Security Council Resolution 435, providing for Namibia's independence, be implemented and then all the Cuban troops will be sent home.

Cuba has also proposed a lengthy period for the withdrawal of its 50 000 troops from Angola, on the basis that Angola's security must be assured and that the departing troops are replaced by Angolan forces.

The positions of the two sides therefore continue to be very far apart.

It is unlikely that a further round of talks will be held at ministerial level until the various experts can work out something.

It was learnt in Cairo at the weekend that Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had a second meeting with Egypt's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The second meeting, before the departure of the South Africans, was kept under wraps.

The contents of the talks have not been disclosed, but South African diplomats were delighted with the general attitude of the Egyptian government.

- Pictures, page 6.

- Cairo indaba, page 10.

Accord now seen as possible

# Framework for peace, says Botha

(5) B/Boy  
27/6/88

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha said yesterday a framework for a regional peace settlement had been established.

On his return from the Cairo talks, Botha said: "We went there to try to put up a framework within which I hope we can now make progress on a step-by-step basis. That is what we have done."

The 50-strong SA delegation arrived in Johannesburg after two days of US-mediated talks with Angola and Cuba. Their arrival was marred by the emergency removal from the aircraft of Botha's seriously ill private secretary, PJ Botha, who is feared to have malaria.

The four nations said they made tentative progress towards agreement on a withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and independence for Namibia. Experts from the four countries will meet again in the US in mid-July.

Botha said there was sufficient advance to both sides to make an accord possible.

It's now a question of bringing the positions closer to one another. We must try to get agreement on a broad basis of objectives, principles and guidelines, and use that first step as a foundation to work out an agreement in greater detail."

Botha said the talks had not allayed his fears about Cuban troop movements in southern Angola.

He had told the head of the Cuban delegation, Jorge Risquet, that "with the closeness of large numbers of military forces, you only need a spark to set a big fire to explode".

Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who accompanied Botha to Cairo, said the SA army was prepared for anything in southern Angola.

"But we have made such tremendous progress on the political and diplomatic front that I hope nothing will happen to

● To Page 2 →

dated Mr's remain.

## Framework set for peace, says Botha

← ● From Page 1 (5) B/Boy  
27/6/88

force us" to act against them (the Cubans)," he said.

Asked whether SA would be prepared to grant independence to Namibia as part of a regional settlement, Botha said: "SA would gladly accept a voluntary, free and fair decision on the part of the people of South West Africa as to their constitutional process or future, on condition we are satisfied this is not forced on them by a hostile power...."

Botha said there had been a remarkable change in the attitude of the Angolan and Cuban negotiations in the course of the talks.

"It could have been that the superpowers, both the US and the Soviet

Union, played a role which they would not admit openly," he said.

Meanwhile, Risquet said in Cairo yesterday his country was not seeking military victory in Angola, but the reality of the war would force SA to withdraw its troops.

He said the time was ripe for agreement on independence for Namibia and an end to the Angolan conflict.

Risquet strongly defended the recent reinforcement of the Cuban military contingent in Angola and a big offensive towards the Namibian border. — Sapa-  
Reuter.

## **SOUTH AFRICA is likely to press for an official visit to Moscow following the increasingly important behind-the-scenes role the Soviet Union is playing in a search for a resolution to the Angola-Namibia impasse.**

The Soviet's timely, if indirect, intervention in the four-power peace talks in Cairo has helped turn what was threatening to become an unproductive slanging match into a focused, serious bargaining session that produced some significant advances.

Conference sources described the approach of the Cuban and Angolan delegations at the start of the talks as "the height of arrogance".

### **Soviet rescue mission**

But just when the talks looked like floundering, Mr Vladilen Vasev, head of the Africa department in the Soviet Foreign Ministry, stepped in. The next day "the whole tone changed dramatically".

The Soviet rescue mission apart, discreet South African contact with Soviet officials — and Pretoria's appetite, albeit privately expressed, for more of the same — has increased in recent months.

This has coincided with signals sent out by Moscow that it is serious about rationalizing its involvement in costly regional conflicts around the world.

The extent to which the Soviet Union is now seen as a key player in resolving the war in south-western Africa is reflected in the remark by one top government source: "I sincerely believe it is important to discuss things with the Russians."

Even the military brass, while remaining suspicious of Soviet intentions in Angola, now clearly view Cuba, whose national pride has been hurt by military setbacks in that country, as the wild card in the pack when it comes to conflict in the area.

In his closing remarks at a late-night press conference at the end of the Cairo talks, the chairman, Dr Chester Crocker, noted the "positive" efforts of the Soviet Union to work on a settlement for this "very important regional issue".

Asked what direct or indirect role the Soviets had played in the talks, the US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs said it had become practice to keep in regular contact with Soviet counterparts on discussions.

Even an unofficial visit to the Soviet Union would be a major diplomatic feather in Pretoria's cap, and would fit in with Pretoria's current programme of path-breaking visits to ideologically hostile African capitals.

Government sources acknowledge that the visits to Brazzaville and now Cairo have done much to boost South Africa's international profile.

And meetings with top officials and businessmen during the trips

To page 3

From page 1

have opened up new avenues for diplomacy and trade.

The Egyptian government, while clearly sensitive about its foreign minister meeting Mr Pik Botha in Cairo, was "very happy" with South Africa's efforts at the negotiating table in the city, according to one well-placed source.

The Cubans and Angolans are known to be angry about Pretoria capitalizing on peace talk visits in this way.

South Africa is becoming increasingly secretive about its non-conference contacts during such visits so as not to embarrass the host country and to avoid the impression that its delegates' minds are not solely on the talks.

In Cairo, for example, the South African delegation declined to confirm the hour-long meeting Mr Botha had with Egypt's State Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Butros Ghali, and dodged questions on South African hopes to meet Egypt's president, Mr Hosni Mubarak.

Officials admitted last week that even if the latest round of talks did not produce any concrete results, the mere South African presence at such a symbolically important venue would have made the trip worthwhile.

Some progress has been made at the talks and further talks on the technical "expert level" are scheduled for a venue in the United States, possibly in Washington or New York, in the week beginning July 11.

What was described as the "extraordinary strain and aggression" of the first day has been turned around and two sets of proposals from the opposing camps were put forward.

The proposals, on Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence, were described as "not necessarily opposing or contradictory".

The technical teams of the respective parties will now wrestle with the two proposals to see if they can reach an "amalgamated viewpoint".

Dr Crocker said a "measure of agreement" had been achieved in basic principles but that "there remains a great deal of work to do".

He said no formal agreement had been reached to deal with the military build-up of forces on either side of the Namibia-Angola border.

The talks also failed to address the issue of American support for Unita which was "not put on the table by the Angolan side".

The South Africans pronounced themselves as "quite pleased" or "very satisfied" with developments, particularly after the talks "got off to such a rocky start".

# SA for MOSCOW

By ANTHONY JOE  
Political Correspo

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CMB-7518 3/11

# FROM CAIRO WITH HOPE

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Soweto com  
27/6/88



SOME of the estimated 2000 employees of the Soweto City Council who attended a meeting yesterday to discuss their grievances. They are demanding — among other things — recognition of their union, the SA Municipal Workers' Union, and higher pay.

SOUTH African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, returned home yesterday from a Cairo conference on Southern Africa and said a framework for a regional peace settlement had been established.

"We went there to try and put up a framework within which I hope we can now make progress on a step-by-step basis. That is what we have done," Mr Botha told reporters on board the jet which carried the South Africans on their rare trip to Cairo.

The 50-strong South African delegation arrived back in Johannesburg after two days of US-mediated discussions with Angola and Cuba.

It was the first known visit to Egypt by top South African officials since World War 2.

The four nations said they made tentative progress towards agreement on a withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and independence for neighbouring Namibia.

Experts from the four countries will meet again in the United States in mid-July.

Defence Minister, Mr



PIK Botha.



MAGNUS Malan.

Magnus Malan, who accompanied Botha to Cairo, said the South African army, stationed over the border in Northern Namibia, was prepared for anything that developed in southern Angola

# Cuba sends extra 10 000 troops to Angola

*Cape Times 27/6/88*

## Cairo snippets

(5)

A US STATE DEPARTMENT official at the talks admitted that Cuba had raised the number of its forces in Angola to 50 000, by adding 10 000 men. But he said the Cubans and South Africans had decided "to step back from the brink of destroying their diplomatic options". This did not mean that peace was close at hand.

Mr Jorge Valdez Risquet, a Cuban delegate, confirmed that Cuban forces had been increased as "a proportionate and appropriate response to the brutal offensive launched by South Africa against Angola".

□□□

MR Pik Botha yesterday told the BBC he and the senior Cuban representative at the talks had confronted each other at lunch in Cairo on Saturday, "I hope in a sober but realistic manner".

"I told him that with the closeness of a large number of military forces, you only need a spark to set a big fire to explode."

□□□

DR Chester Crocker said the next round of talks in the US on July 11 will prove whether South Africa, Angola and Cuba want peace in the region. He said the improving relations between the US and

the Soviet Union provided a positive background to the peace talks.

□□□

THE Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram said the Angolan-Cuban delegation had offered a Cuban withdrawal over four years, but the South Africans countered that it should take no more than eight months.

□□□

THE talks ended with congratulations by the Egyptian hosts for the progress. But in an apparent rift, the Cuban and Angolan delegation held separate press conferences and expressed different viewpoints on the issue of Cuban troop withdrawal.

The Angolans appeared more willing to seek compromises. Portuguese sources confirmed that the Cubans were "livid" over the Angolans' apparent turn to the Americans for support. "They want the petro-dollars in Cabinda," the source said.

He said his country was not seeking military victory in Angola, but the reality of

the war would force South Africa to withdraw its troops from Angola

□□□

EGYPT'S Middle East News Agency said Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Alfonso van Dunem set three conditions for removing Cuban troops: Stopping US aid to Angolan rebels, starting a process to give the UN control of Namibia and ending South African attacks on Angola.

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THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said the SA army was prepared for anything that developed in southern Angola.

"But we have made such tremendous progress on the political and diplomatic front that I hope nothing will happen to force us to act against the Cubans"

□□□

DR Jonas Savimbi received a humanitarian award from the Medgar Evers Foundation in Lafayette, Mississippi, at the weekend. Medgar Evers was a colleague of Martin Luther King and fellow civil-rights campaigner in the 1960s who was murdered in Mississippi.

# US to continue backing Unita

Own Correspondent

CAIRO. — Washington will support the Unita guerillas in Angola as long as Moscow backs the Angolan government and until the country's underlying political problems are resolved, a senior State Department official said here on Sunday.

Russia was supplying the Angolan government with military hardware worth about \$1 billion (R2 billion) a year, he said.

Commenting on the two days of negotiations between a South African delegation and a joint Angolan-Cuban delegation that ended in Cairo on Saturday, the official said that the parties, in agreeing to negotiate, had "pulled back from the brink".

They had decided "conscientiously not to destroy their diplomatic options".

Both sides had presented proposals, only to see them rejected by the other, but there had, as yet, been no developments of political substance.

The official said President Reagan and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev had decided at their recent meeting in Moscow to work for an Angolan-Namibian settlement by September, the tenth anniversary of the United Nations Security Council resolution 435 on leading Namibia to independence.

He said the Russians were behind the negotiations, and had used "a lot of very positive words", but more action was needed. Russia acknowledged there was a political problem, he said, implying that it accepted the need for the reconciliation of the Angolan government and the rebel guerillas.

Until this comes about, America would back Unita and the superpowers would presumably continue their intervention.

The Cubans had accepted the need for the complete withdrawal of their estimated 48 000 troops, although there were still differences over the timetable, said the American official.

Meanwhile, the leaders of Africa's five former Portuguese colonies met in Guinea-Bissau yesterday to discuss the Angolan peace talks and general African affairs.

International peace efforts to end the Angolan civil war, relations with South Africa and Pan-African affairs would top the agenda at these talks, according to diplomats.

Unita claimed yesterday that its guerilla forces killed 45 government troops in two clashes last week and blew up a train carrying military supplies in southern Huila province.



# Savimbi opposes apartheid and defends links with South Africa

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Dr Jonas Savimbi has defended himself vigorously against criticisms of his relationship with South Africa. He said he was a black nationalist and fully sympathised with those fighting against apartheid.

The Unita leader was addressing a newly created "Angolan Task Force" of supporters in Congress.

Dr Savimbi said it was no secret that he talked to President P W Botha, not only on his own accord but with African heads of state for whom he had conveyed the message that ANC leader Nelson Mandela should be liberated.

He said he was surprised that those Americans who condemned his willingness to accept aid from South Africa had no qualms when others accepted help from the Soviet Union.

He quoted Archbishop Tutu as saying: "When you are thirsty and a communist gives you water, you thank him, even if you don't agree with him."

The Russians and the Cubans had invaded his country. Taking help from South Africa and others against this threat should be viewed as just that and nothing more.

Freedom in Angola would lead to freedom in Namibia and in South Africa, he said.

Dr Savimbi told the senators that Angola's MPLA regime was anxious about reconciliation with Unita because it feared the Cubans.

He said he had been talking to the MPLA for two years and had made clear his policy to-



Dr Savimbi with Senators Dennis DeConcini (centre) and James McClure before addressing the new "Angolan Task Force" group.

wards national reconciliation and unity.

But it was not easy to find agreement when the goal was power sharing, he said.

There were now 57 000 Cubans in Angola — an extra 12 000 since March. He was concerned about the situation in the south where they were face-to-face with the South Africans.

It was possible that Cuban leader Fidel Castro was trying to get a stronger position at the negotiating table, or that he was trying to intimidate the South Africans and then wipe out Unita.

But it was a risky game and Castro was playing with fire.

"We are worried. We don't know exactly what is going on," he said.

● The Angolan Task Force is a bipartisan group of US senators including former Secretary of State General Alexander Haig. Its aim is to support US policy goals in the country — withdrawal of all foreign forces, the formation of a government of national unity, and the holding of free and fair elections as agreed in the 1975 Alvor Accord.

Govt questions whether  
peace talks should continue

# 12 S A soldiers

STW 20/6/88  
S

By Craig Kotze

Twelve South African soldiers were killed in heavy fighting with Cuban/Angolan forces on Monday at the Calueque dam on the Cunene River close to the Namibian border, the Defence Force has announced.

The attack has led the South African Government to send urgent messages to the United States and Angola asking whether any useful purpose would be served by further peace talks. It is awaiting a reply before deciding on any further action.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan described the attack as "treacherous". He said it took place in an area where South Africans were doing charitable work by providing the Ovambo people with water.

The Defence Force said that about 200 Angolan and Cuban soldiers were killed in the clash.

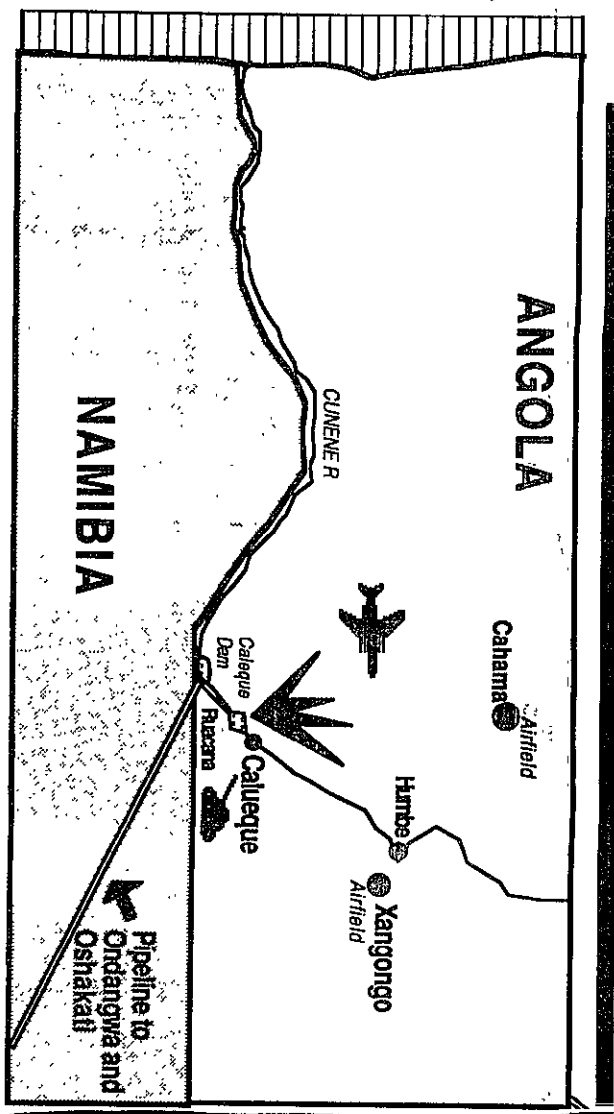
The South Africans were killed when the Cubans and Angolans launched a ground attack in the direction of Calueque and a subsequent air attack on the dam installations, which are a few kilometres up-river from the strategically vital Ruacana hydro-electric scheme.

The water pipeline to drought-stricken Ovambo has been cut as well as electricity to the dam wall. The dam wall was also damaged in the attack, said the SADF.

The latest reports bring to 87 the number of South African and South West African Territory Force (SWATF) soldiers killed in fighting in Angola or against the Cuban/Swapo forces since September last year.

Cuban-piloted MiG 23 planes, apparently based either at Xanxongo (where the runway was recently lengthened) or at Cahama (where airfield defences were recently strengthened) were probably used in the air attack.

A major clash with Cuban, Fapla and Swapo forces massing on the border has been looming since an exchange of fire between the SADF and a Cuban reconnaissance unit on June 2, about 12 km from Ru-



# die in big Angolan battle

cana.

No casualties then were reported on either side.

According to the Defence Force, integrated Cuban and Angolan forces launched an offensive in the direction of Calueque.

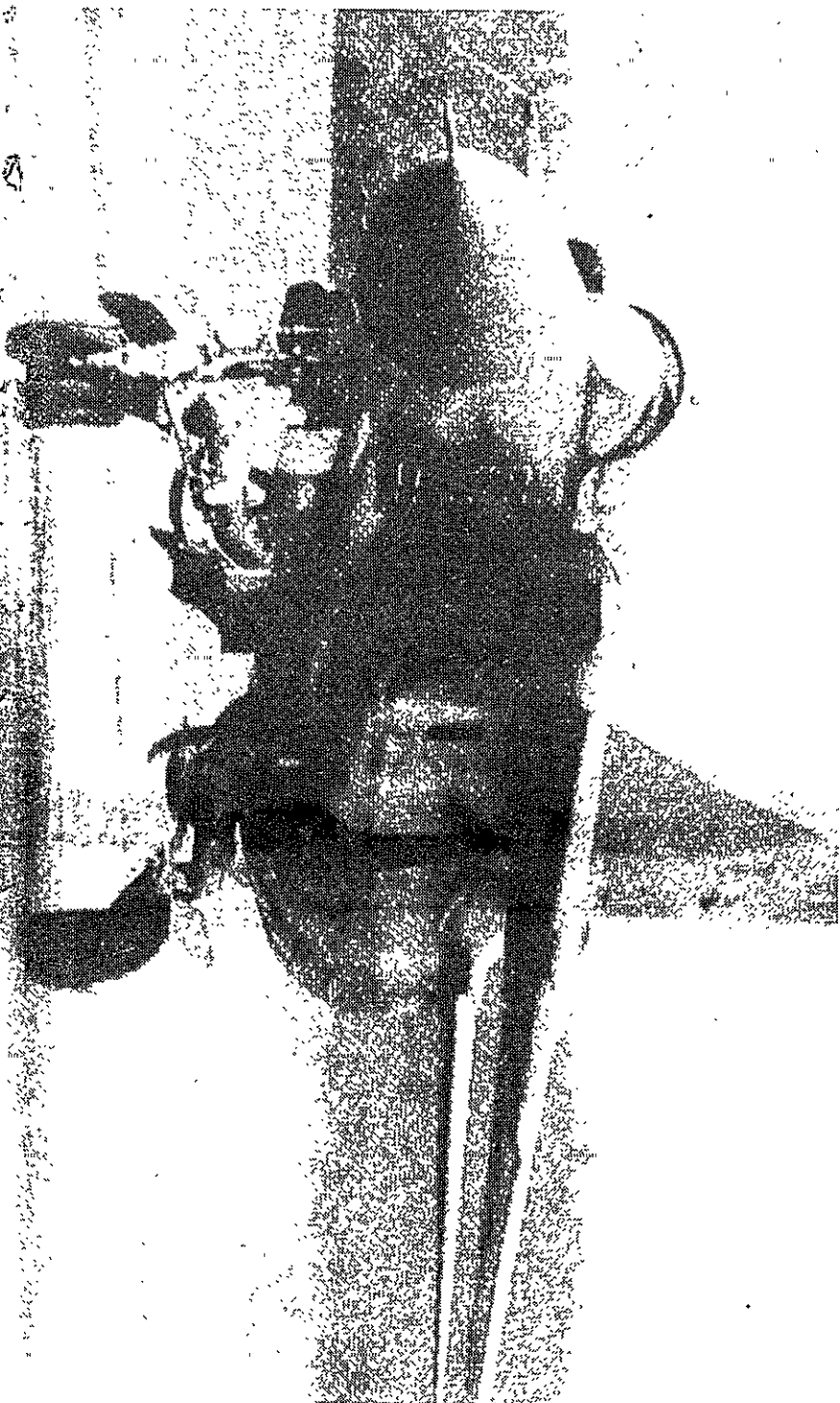
The attack was repulsed north-west of the town by South African and South West Africa Territorial Force troops deployed as a protection force. One South African officer was killed.

## Destroyed

Two Russian-made T54 tanks, two BTR armoured personnel carriers and eight enemy vehicles were destroyed in the fight. Two SADF infantry combat vehicles were badly damaged and had to be destroyed.

An air attack was then launched against the dam at Calueque, killing 11 South Africans. A SWATF spokesman said from Windhoek that no SWATF members were killed or wounded in the fighting.

South Africa called up Citizen Force units to counter the Cuban deployment but Defence Force Chief General Jannie Geldenhuys said the SADF would act with restraint.



The MiG 23 jet fighter. These aircraft, probably piloted by Cubans, were apparently used in the Calueque air attack. The fighter is highly sophisticated and forms the backbone of the Soviet air force.

# Peace bid: Angola scornful

LONDON — Angola made it clear yesterday that reaching a peace settlement in southern Africa would be a long and arduous affair.

On his return from Cairo, Angolan ambassador to the UK Elisio de Figueiredo said the Cuban advance in the Angolan south had full government backing and that the SA timetable for troop withdrawals could not be considered.

The SA delegation had, he said, presented a document that showed "disrespect for our territorial integrity. They wanted to dictate the terms on how we should behave within our own country.

5 B/day 29/6/88

Own Correspondent

The timetables they advanced could not even be contemplated for discussion."

Pressed on whether any concrete progress had been made in Cairo, he said: "I would say so. I believe there are some aspects which will be discussed in the US which constitute progress. These are aspects which our experts will need to dwell on. The implementation of Resolution 435 is certainly one of these. The complete withdrawal of SA forces and the gradual and complete withdrawal of Cuban troops are others."

**Mighty Cuban force on the alert**

By GERALD L'ANGE  
Editor, Argus  
Africa News Service

THE Cubans have strong and heavily armed units deployed in the Calueque area and the SADF and SWATF, in turn, are believed to have powerful forces available to throw against them should Monday's action lead to further hostilities.

South Africa has made it clear it will not hesitate to protect its interests in the area and this determination was reiterated last night by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, who said any further action such as that at Calueque would not be tolerated.

South Africa's duty, he said, was to protect the integrity of the area over which it had responsibility and would do so at all costs. South Africa would defend its interests to the end.

**INTENTIONS**

Whether the SADF retaliates, or how strongly it does so, remains to be seen. These decisions will obviously be taken in the light of Pretoria's professed desire to continue with the Angolan-Namibian peace negotiations that have been held in London, Brazzaville and Cairo and are due to resume in New York next month.

Another unknown factor is the intentions of the Cubans. It is not clear whether the Calueque attack was intended to provoke a major military confrontation with the SADF or merely to strengthen Cuba's negotiating position and put a better appearance on the Cuban troop withdrawal.

Since they made their surprise southward advance to within 50km of the Namibian border the Cubans have given every indication of spoiling for a fight.

They have been backed by rhetoric from Luanda, asserting that South Africa, in spite of its claim to be the regional power, has lost its air superiority in the region. Cuban aircraft have recently made at least three flights over Namib-

# Bloody battles to peace talks

MCAS 29/6/88

MCAS 29/6/88

**SA soldiers die in clash**

(Continued from page 1)

fire between the SADF and a Cuban reconnaissance unit on June 2, about 12km from Ruacana.

No casualties were reported then on either side.

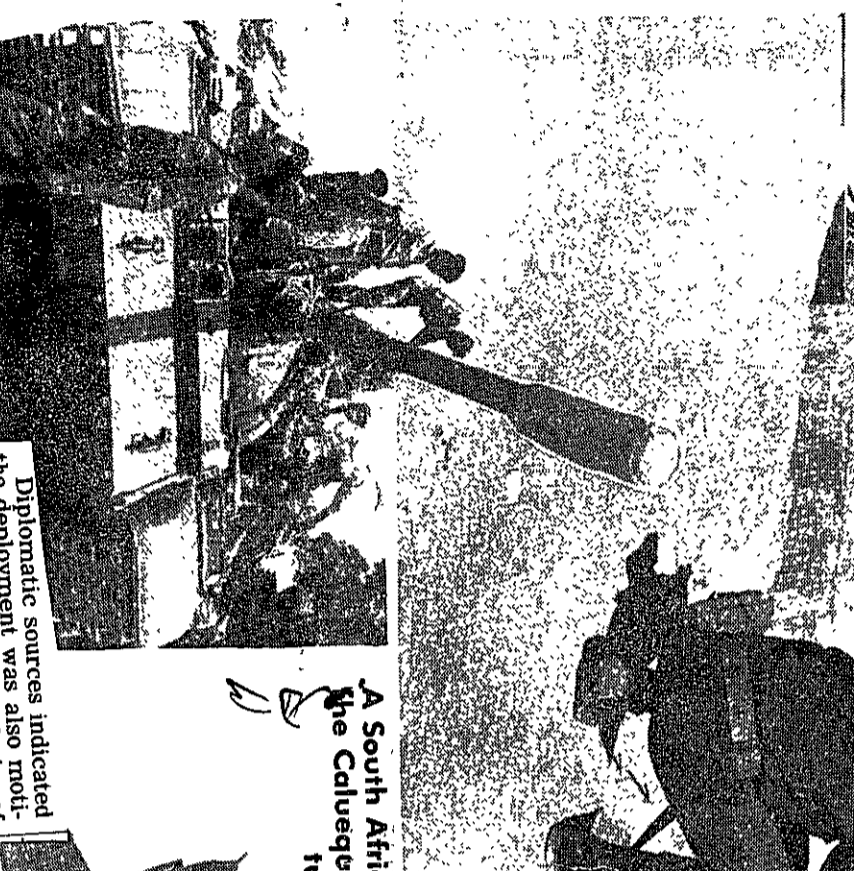
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The attack was repulsed north-west of the town by South African and South West Africa Territorial Force troops deployed as a defensive force. One South African officer was killed.

Two Russian-made T54 tanks, two BTR armoured personnel carriers and eight other enemy vehicles were destroyed in the fight. Two SADF infantry combat vehicles were badly damaged and had to be destroyed.

**A South Africa the Calueque**

An air attack was then launched against the dam at Calueque, killing 11 South Africans. A SWATF spokesman said from Windhoek that no SWATF members were killed or wounded in the fighting. No further details were released.



Diplomatic sources indicated the deployment was also motivated by the reported desire of Cuban leader Fidel Castro for a military victory against South Africa. South Africa called up Citizen Force units to counter the Cuban deployment, but Defence Force chief General Jan-Geldenhuis said the SADF would act with restraint.

By BRUCE CAMERON,  
Political Staff

PEACE TALKS teetered on the brink of failure today as South Africa waited for replies to urgent messages to the United States and Angola before deciding on the next step following the Cuban attacks on the Calueque water works.

But Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has warned that "South Africa would in any event not tolerate any further action such as that of Calueque," where 12 South African soldiers were killed on Monday.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in an interview today that "a very serious point has been reached. Any future talks are in jeopardy."

Senior Government sources still felt, however, that the Cubans were not intent on a major war but were attempting to retrieve their pride lost in the New Year battles in south-eastern Angola when Cuban/Papua attacks on Unita headquarters at Jamba were driven back.

But the Conservative Party military spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, today accused the Government of not properly defending the Ruacana water project or South African troops based at the vitally important water installations.

**Gentleman's agreement**

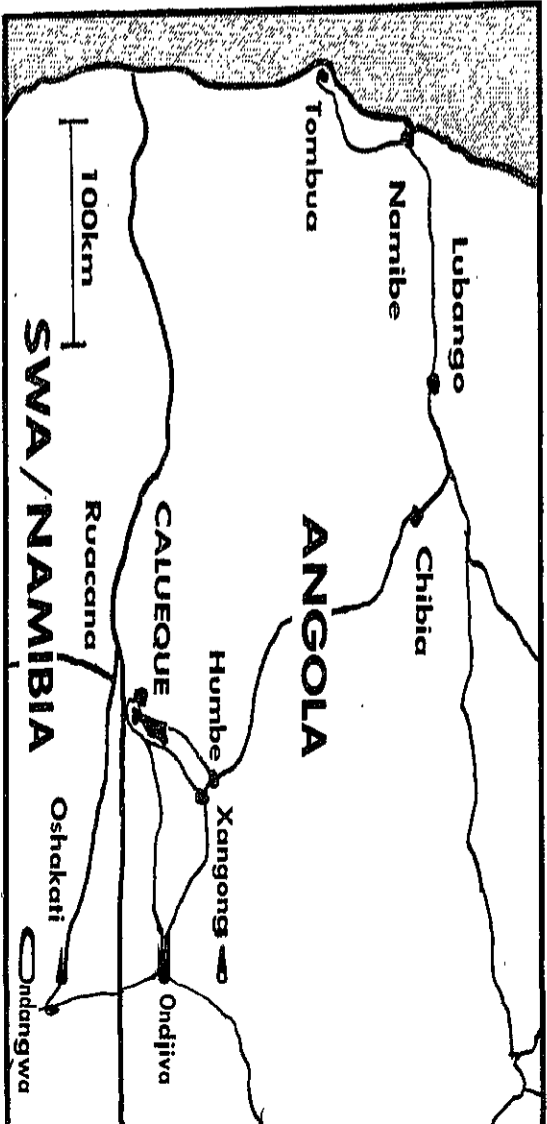
The Government was furious about the attacks, which claimed 12 South African lives, particularly as it was under the impression that a "gentleman's agreement" had been reached on Calueque.

Mr Botha pointed out in a statement that the Angolans had given assurances at Brazzaville and similar assurances had been received from the Cubans in Cairo.

Mr Botha warned that should attacks continue "it would serve no purpose to hold further discussions."

It was felt that in spite of the attack South Africa had gained enormously from the peace talks.

Sources pointed out that fingers could no longer be pointed at South Africa as the "war-monger intent on killing and destabilisation".



**Power, water still flow**

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — The Cuban air strike against the Calueque dam has not interrupted the supply of water or electricity to northern Namibia from its twin hydro-electric scheme at Ruacana.

This was confirmed today by the secretary of the Department of Water Affairs in Namibia, Mr Petro Maritz. He said that while a water-pipe supply from Calueque to Ruacana had been cut by the air strike, the Ruacana station still had the normal supply of the Cunene River to ensure that for the immediate future essential supplies to Ovambo would be continued.

The supply of electricity from Ruacana to Calueque had been cut by the air strike, but Evert was 'happy on border duty'.

Defence Reporter

A LETTER received last week by the family of Corporal Evert Philippus Kooort, 19, of Tubagun, showed that he was still happy with doing border service.

A distraught family member said the family was extremely shocked at hearing the news of his death. He said Evert had begun his national service in 1986 soon after matriculating, and was due to complete his stint at the end of the year. He then intended joining the Parasons Service.

The last time the family saw the popular young man was over the Easter weekend. The family has not yet decided whether to accept having him buried with full military honours. Corporal Kooort's, the youngest child of Mr and Mrs EP Kooorts, leaves his parents, two brothers and two sisters. — Names, profiles of SA dead — page 29.

#### PROVOCATIVE

The Cubans cannot have been unaware, however, of the importance South Africa attaches to the Calneque scheme and of the likelihood that any attack on it would be strongly resisted.

Short of crossing into Namibia, the Cubans could not have chosen a more provocative action, analysts believe.

Of major significance is whether the Cubans are acting on their own initiative, but they are supported by Swapo combatants and, according to some reports, by elements of the Angolan government's Fapla army. They are backed by Soviet-supplied fighter-bombers, tanks, ground-to-air missiles, radar systems and artillery.

On the Cuban side, according to recent SADF estimates, are: ● Six infantry regiments, each comprising between 1 500 and 2 500 men.

● Three special infantry battalions.

● An anti-aircraft regiment equipped with SA 2, 3, 6, 8 and 13 ground-to-air missiles and with the ZSU-23-4 anti-aircraft system. The missiles are scattered throughout the area immediately north of Owanbo and are supported by what the SADF describes as "a sophisticated array of radar systems", including the Flatface, Spoonrest and Barlock.

● An artillery regiment whose weapons include D-30 field guns and BM-21 and 24 multiple-rocket launchers.

● A tank regiment with 105 T55 and 162 tanks on their first deployment this far south.

The chief of the SADF, General Janne Geldenhuys, confirmed recently that Cuban deployment has changed the military balance in the region.

In the strongly worded messages sent to the United States and Angola urgent clarification has been sought on the position of the Cubans.

The messages inquire whether any useful purpose will be served by further talks in view of the attack on Calneque and the informal agreement reached over the position of Calneque.

The messages point out that the attack repudiated any idea of any good faith on the part of the Cubans at the talks.

#### 200 enemy lead

The Defence Force said about 200 Angolan and Cuban soldiers were killed in the clash.

The South Africans were killed when the Cubans and Angolans launched a ground attack in the direction of Calneque and a subsequent air attack on the dam installations, which are a few kilometres upriver from the strategically vital Ruacana hydro-electric scheme.

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A major clash with Cuban, Fapla and Swapo forces massing on the border has been looming since an exchange of

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

# There's a long, dusty road ahead between Cairo and the Kremlin

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE September 29 target date set by the superpower leaders at the Moscow summit for the resolution of Angolan war and Namibian independence questions would appear hopelessly optimistic.

The most that can be hoped for by the symbolically important 10th anniversary of the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 435 for Namibian independence is that the ongoing negotiation process produce some "concrete signs of progress".

The one thing that emerged with clarity from the latest round of four-power talks in Egypt is that it may well be the proverbial "long and dusty road" from Cape Town (or Luanda or Havana) to Cairo, but that many difficult steps lie ahead on the path to a final settlement.

The latest round of talks — the third since early May — began on a highly disquieting note and demonstrated just how fragile the process of searching for peace remains.

## Fair game

Although many of the delegates had met before and engaged in relatively constructive, focused discussion in London and Brazzaville, the opening two-hour session quickly degenerated into unseemly bickering on peripheral issues.

Once Cuba insisted that apartheid be brought onto the agenda the internal affairs of Cuba and Angola also became fair game and topics during the rest of the session ranged from Aids through international terrorism, to comparative political rights and living standards in various countries.

The participants — in a bid to score petty debating points and bait their ideological opponents — appeared to have lost sight of the central issues on the agenda: Namibian independence and foreign troop withdrawal from Angola.

Questions were immediately raised in the minds of observers about the

seriousness of purpose of the delegations — particularly the Cuban contingent — particularly since journalists were led to believe before the talks began that up to 28 hours of negotiation lay ahead.

There was a marked turnabout in tone and attitude on the second day and the delegates eventually managed to produce a framework for further talks on the technical level

## More talks

As unexciting as this sounds, the opposing delegations ultimately expressed varying degrees of satisfaction with the outcome.

But just what was accomplished in Cairo? What are some of the major remaining obstacles?

Probably the major achievement of the talks was that the warring parties have agreed to have more talks at a time when the military situation is looking particularly menacing.

As the chairman of the talks, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker put it in his closing remarks:

"I think these discussions reveal that the various parties have decided to keep their diplomatic options open and alive and to pursue them further at a time when the military situation on the ground can only be described as containing dangerous risks of military confrontation involving significant forces which are directly facing each other on a large scale."

## Tight-lipped

The talks also narrowed the gap between the major adversaries to the extent that the two sets of proposals they produced are seen as being "not necessarily opposing or contradictory".

A procedure has been agreed on whereby experts from the various sides will try to translate broad principles into an amalgamated viewpoint containing a concrete agreement.

While this process sounds awfully technical and boring, it will prove an

important test of the real intentions of the parties and help flush out those who are only paying lip service in their stated commitment to a negotiated settlement.

The parties were tight-lipped about the new sets of proposals on the table but is commonly agreed that the major sticking point still revolves around timetables for a phased withdrawal of foreign troops from the war zone in south-western Africa and the related issue of implementation of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

Although the belligerents have indicated a broad willingness to compromise, conference sources stressed that only the first step had been taken to achieve consensus and that much hard bargaining lay ahead.

Dr Crocker cautioned after the talks: "It is obvious... that there remains a great deal of work that has only been touched on here to be done at meetings that will take place in the near future."

Indeed, more obvious than its successes is what the Cairo talks have failed to accomplish — apart from the obvious central goals of foreign troop withdrawal and Namibian independence.

## 'No predictions'

First, while the dangerous military build-up on the Namibia-Angola border was raised, no truce was arranged and neither was there any agreement on how to deal with the situation "in an explicit manner".

Asked if the threat of conflict had diminished as a result of the talks, Dr Crocker admitted quite baldly: "I would not make any predictions on that."

However, it is also possible that an informal understanding was reached that the build-up was part of a game of brinkmanship, albeit an expensive one. Even if this is the case, the South African military brass made it clear after the talks that they have no intention of being caught by a sucker punch.



CHESTER CROCKER... parties keeping their options open.

The thorny issue of possible national reconciliation between Angola's MPLA government and the rebel Unita movement was barely raised in formal the sessions.

Dr Crocker, while acknowledging that the issue was important, glibly labelled it a "domestic concern" that was not appropriate at "international negotiations that go well beyond Angola".

Angolan disquiet, expressed before the conference, over US support for Unita while simultaneously wearing the hat of neutral arbiter and honest broker in the peace negotiations, was also not addressed.

The Angolans, it appears, were persuaded not to introduce the sensitive matter into an already already overcrowded and highly complex peace mosaic.

Apart from these potentially intractable issues, a number of other sticking points could be introduced into the equation at a later point, ranging from ANC bases in Angola to the status of Walvis Bay after Namibian independence.

So while the search for peace received a fillip in Cairo, the road ahead remains long and dusty.

Art Ruchwald

... syndrome

# 12 SADF DIE

*CAR TANKS  
2 9/6/85*

## Bloody clashes with Cubans in Angola

**TWELVE South African soldiers have been killed in the first major confrontation with Cuban forces in southern Angola.**

Defence Force headquarters in Pretoria, last night said the casualties occurred when the Cubans launched ground and air attacks on Monday on the water works at Caluque — just north of the Namibian border — the vital pump station for the Ruacana Falls hydro-electric and water scheme.

According to the SADF statement, about 200 Cuban and Angolan troops died in the ensuing clashes. The statement said Cubans and Angolans first launched an offensive in the direction of Caluque. "The attack was repulsed north-west of Caluque by a protection force comprising members of the SADF and the SWA Territory Force.

"About 200 Cuban and Angolan soldiers were killed, two T-54 tanks, two BTR armoured personnel carriers and eight vehicles were destroyed. A Defence Force officer, Second Lieutenant Muller Meiring, 19, died in the fire-fight and two SADF infantry combat vehicles were so seriously damaged that they had to be destroyed.

### Air attack on water scheme

"After that, in a second incident, an air attack was launched with the water scheme at Caluque as the target."

During the attack, 11 South African soldiers died. The dam wall was damaged and the electricity supply to the dam wall and the water pipeline to Ovamboaland were destroyed.

The South African government reacted angrily last night, with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. Botha, casting doubt on the usefulness of further negotiations with the US of the attacks.

Mr. Botha said in a statement that the battle north-west of Caluque and the air attack on Caluque confirmed Cuba's aggressive intentions.

The minister said that when he and the Minister

of Defence, General Magnus Malan, met an Angolan government delegation on May 13 in Brazzaville, the question of the use of water for Ovamboaland from Caluque was discussed in detail.

Indeed, the minister said he asked Minister Fyana van Dunem personally to ensure that the Cuban commanders be informed of this.

"South Africa played open cards completely with the Angolan government regarding the necessity of the South African presence, for humanitarian reasons, at Caluque. On the Angolan side, the Impres-

**Reports by JIM FREEMAN, ANDRE KOOPMAN, WILLEM STEENKAMP, JOHN VAN DER LINDEN and SARA**

sion was left that they understood the position and would ensure that at least Caluque would not become the scene of military intervention by Cuban troops.

Mr. Botha said: "I cannot, at this stage, predict how the events at Caluque will affect the further course of the discussions. The South African government's position regarding the events has already been conveyed to the American government, as well as to the Angolan government, and their reaction is awaited.

"However, should this trend continue, it will serve no purpose to hold further discussions." Mr. Botha's statement concluded.

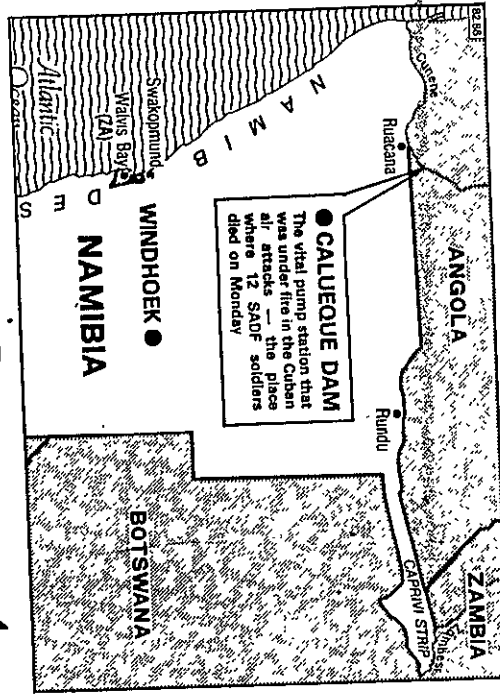
In his statement, General Malan described the air attack on Caluque as "treasonous".

General Malan said South Africa's standpoint was clear. It preferred to talk about problems, but a fight-and-talk situation was unacceptable.

South Africa would not tolerate any further action such as that of Caluque, General Malan said.

The distraught father of one of the dead soldiers, Corporal Evert Kooits, said last night from his Tullebos home that he was "very upset".

Mr. J. P. M. Scott, father of Trooper Gregory Scott, was not at his Marina da Gama home last night. A friend, Mr. Andre van der Westhuis, said Mr. Scott was on holiday in Durban and that Trooper Scott lived with his mother, Mrs. V. Scott, in Durban.



## More attacks on water supply line expected

FURTHER attacks are expected on the pipeline that supplies water from the Caluque Dam in southern Angola to drought-plagued northern Namibia.

Namibia's Secretary for Water Affairs, Mr. Pedro Maritz, said last night that engineers were in the area trying to evaluate whether it was safe to repair the pipeline.

Mr. Maritz said the pipeline had been cut very close to the dam wall, and had probably not been a target of the attack, but rather by an "over-shot".

He added that the supply cutoff would not immediately affect Ovamboaland, where more than half of Namibia's 1.2 million inhabitants live.

"We have long since made provision for the eventuality of the Caluque supply being cut, and built a canal from Ruacana to Ovambo."

Twenty-five kilometres of Angolan soil separate Namibia from the Caluque barrage and pump station.

This means the Cubans have not contravened any secret undertaking they might have given to stay north of the Namibian border while the present peace talks are in progress.

Meanwhile, senior military sources in Windhoek say two high-ranking officers — one of them a general — flew from Oshakati to Unita battle-planning headquarters yesterday.

## Names of SADF dead

The names of the 12 dead soldiers, released by the SADF last night:

Lieutenant Naah Tucker, 23, who is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. N. D. S. Tucker, of 35 Bernard Street, Hazeldene, Germiston.

Second Lieutenant Muller Meiring, 19, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Meiring, of PO Box 84, Verkeerdevallei.

Corporal Evert Philippus Kooits, 19, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. E. P. Kooits, of 15 West Street, Tullebos.

Lance Corporal Wyndam Albert van Wijk, 19, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. H. P. van Wijk, of 10 Eugene Street, Helderkrin, Roodepoort.

Lance Corporal Johannes Reinhardt Germausholder, 19, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Holder, of 27 Bernard Street, Centerville.

Riflesman Michael Johan van Heerden, 22, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. F. A. van Heerden, of 2 Ramusa Road, Virginia.

Riflesman Thomas Benjamin Rudman, 20, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Rudman, of 55, 5th Street, Fossville.

Riflesman Johannes Mattheus Strausz Venter, 19, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. S. G. Venter, of 29 Topass Street, Oranje.

Trooper Emilie Erasmus, 20, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Erasmus, of 24 Piet Hatfield Street, Cloveland.

Trooper Gregory Scott, 20, survived by his mother, Mrs. V. Scott, and his father, Mr. J. P. M. Scott, of 5 Basalen Walk, Marisa de Gama, Cape Town.

Riflesman Philippus Rudolph Marx, 19, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. A. Marx, of the farm Rivierwiel, Middelburg district, and

Riflesman Andries Stefanus Johannes Els, 19, survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. N. D. Els, of 39 Mark Avenue, Bethal North.

# Angola 'saved' Cairo talks

LONDON. — While only the intervention of the Soviet Union prevented a collapse of talks, the Angolan Ambassador to the UK, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, yesterday made it clear that reaching a peace settlement is going to be a long and arduous affair.

At a press conference, Mr De Figueiredo said the Cuban advance had the backing of his government, that the timetable for troop withdrawals proposed by the South Africans was too ludicrous to contemplate, and that only a set of reasonable principles advanced by the Angolans saved the meeting in Egypt.

The ambassador said the decision by the UK to grant a visa to Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to visit Britain was "insulting" and would harm relations between the two countries.

Turning to the Cairo talks, he said the South Africans had not at any stage raised the question of ANC bases.

He rejected reports that the Cuban advance in southern Angola had been carried out without the knowledge of the MPLA.

● Swapo yesterday said it received a briefing from Cuban officials on the peace talks, according to Sapa-Reuter



# Raid has not cut power, (5) water from Ruacana plant

ger 29/6/88  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

The Cuban air strike against the Calueque dam and pump station inside Angola has not interrupted the water or electricity supply to northern Namibia from its twin hydro-electric scheme at Ruacana on the border.

Namibian Department of Water Affairs secretary Mr Petro Maritz said that while a water pipe from Calueque to Ruacana had been cut, Ruacana still had the normal supply from the Cunene River.

He said the electricity supply

from Calueque to Ruacana had been cut, but was unable to say if this was by the destruction of pylons or of sub-stations at Calueque.

The dam wall at Calueque had never been completed, so the normal flow of the Cunene went to Ruacana.

A secondary supply fed from a pump station and short pipeline at the site supplied a canal which also fed Ruacana.

Mr Maritz said it appeared that this short length of pipeline had been destroyed.

The US yesterday reacted to news of the clash, declaring its determination to continue the peace effort.

An SA Defence Force spokesman in Pretoria told The Star yesterday that the fighting "was not continuing" after Monday's battle in south-western Angola, which claimed the lives of 12 SA soldiers.

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan said that if the SADF did not act when provoked, as was the case this week in the Calueque raid, loss of life would be much higher at a later stage.

General Malan said SA troops had proved at Calueque that they would not allow Cubans to attack them at random.

Referring to further peace talks, General Malan said SA would now have to convert challenges into opportunities and that it would have to do its utmost at the negotiating table. If this did not succeed, challenges would have to be met in some other way.

South Africa has sent urgent messages to Angola and the US

### SADF says:

A "freak" and badly aimed Angolan Air Force bomb killed 11 of the 12 South African soldiers who died in this week's confrontation with a combined Cuban and Angolan force near the Namibian border.

The 11 died when a 250 kg bomb dropped by a Soviet MiG-23 jet fighter fell among their hidden vehicles. The intended target was the Calueque Dam wall.

Details of the Cuban/Angolan ground offensive and air attack on Monday against SADF positions around the Calueque Dam in southern Angola were released yesterday by Brigadier Piet Gagiano, Director of Operations of the SADF.

He said more than 300 Cuban and Angolan soldiers, and not 200 as originally reported, died in the fighting. No prisoners were captured.

At about 2 pm, shortly after a ground attack was repulsed, about 12 MiG-23s, the most modern Russian-built attack aircraft in Southern Africa, swooped over the dam in a low-level raid.

They dropped between 12 and 18 250 kg bombs. The bombs were aimed at the dam wall.

Three bombs hit their target, causing relatively little damage, but knocking out the water pipeline to Ovamboland.

The last aircraft, which lagged behind the others, released its bomb off-target. Instead of crashing into the dam wall, the bomb landed 600 m east of the dam, exploding between two camouflaged vehicles as South African troops were replenishing their supplies.

Brigadier Gagiano said there was no way that the bomb was anything but a freak hit.

The ground battle saw an Angolan/Cuban force of a battalion of about 35 T-54/55 tanks, armoured personnel carriers and about 600 infantry launch a three-column attack on the SADF around the dam, apparently from Techipa, 75 km away. The infantry were armed mainly with RPG-7 anti-tank rocket launchers, apparently for fear of South African armour.

They were stopped by the SADF about halfway to Calue-

que asking whether any useful purpose would be served by continuing peace talks after Monday's attack, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha confirmed yesterday.

"A very serious point has now been reached and future talks are in jeopardy," he said.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said in Washington that a dangerous situation had developed and urged South Africa and Cuba to withdraw their forces to the positions they were in before the current round of settlements talks began.

US State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said yesterday the US still expected to host renewed talks in July.

Professor William Gutteridge of the Institute for the Study of Conflict in London said he believed the US or Soviet Union would step in to ease tensions.

Differing versions of the nature and number of casualties in Monday's clash have emerged.

A Defence Force spokesman said today that South African forces did not follow up their success after repulsing the Cuban-Angolan attack because they did not want to raise tensions further in the area.

### Angola says:

The Luanda government news agency, Angop, said yesterday its forces had killed 26 white South Africans 32 km north-east of the Calueque dam. It claims the South Africans were advancing into Angola.

The Angolans claim to have destroyed one South African tank and two armoured cars.

The statement did not say whether the South Africans were killed by air or ground forces. It said Angolan forces had lost eight men, but did not mention any Cuban casualties.

Angolan sources suggested the South African figure of 200 or 300 Angola losses was greatly exaggerated and denied that there was an attack on the dam at Calueque.

Staff Reporters  
The United States has warned that further military clashes in Angola would "only exacerbate the situation" following this week's Cuban and Angolan clash with SADF forces at Calueque.

# Angola, SA warned against hostilities

New push for peace negotiations

Spel 30/6/88

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que. The subsequent fire-fight raged for just under an hour - from 11 am and over a 3-5 km front - and repeated contacts were made before the Cubans and Angolans retreated to their base. They lost about 300 dead, two T-54 tanks, two BTR troop carriers and eight other carriers.

One SADF officer was killed in the battle.

Cuban attack seen as an attempt to gain status

# Talks unlikely to be scuttled

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

The attack on SADF troops at Calueque has been interpreted as an attempt by Cuba to gain status in the regional peace talks, an attempt that could backfire on that country.

The "seemingly inexplicable" attack on a tacitly accepted and long-standing SA troop presence is seen by Mr Pieter Esterhuyse, assistant director of the Africa Institute in Pretoria, as an attempt by Cuba to strengthen its position in the peace talks, where it has been regarded as of secondary importance to Angola and South Africa.

Cuba might, however, have gone too far, Mr Esterhuyse said yesterday. "The United States will obviously deplore the incident and the Soviet Union is also likely to regard it as counter-productive."

The Soviet Union, a key background figure in the talks between the US, Angola, Cuba and SA, could go so far as to censure Cuba privately for the move.

The attack was unlikely to cause South Africa to pull out of the talks, Mr Esterhuyse said, but would certainly be "very big" on the agenda when SA, Cuban, US and Angolan representatives next meet.

"I expect the South African representatives will put their case in the strongest terms, and they have every reason to do so," he said, pointing out that the SADF had maintained a presence in the Calueque area since about 1975.

## Military escalation

"The Cubans will probably say they were attacking the enemy on their (Angolan) territory ... but they will not be able to bluff the other parties to the talks. SA would be wise to exploit this."

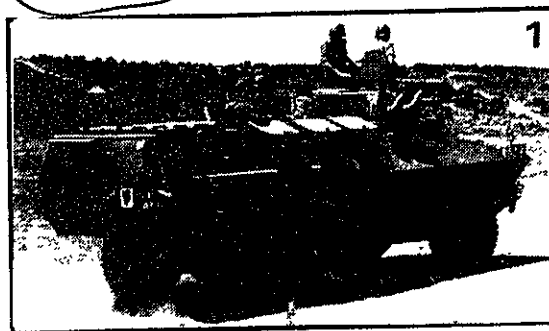
Professor Mike Hough, director of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, said the attack would not "automatically" lead to a cessation of the four-party peace talks on the region. Nor did he see the attack — "one of the most serious clashes in recent times" — as causing an immediate military escalation between Cuban troops and the SADF.

Calueque was a "special type of situation", he said: SA troops were guarding the dam and pump station, and not involved in a push northwards, when the attack occurred on Monday. "SA is in the unfortunate position that it would much more readily be branded the aggressor (in future military action) than would Cuba," Professor Hough said.

SA had indicated it would "draw the line" at a certain point of aggression from Cuban and Angolan forces, but Professor Hough did not believe that threshold had been crossed with Monday's attack.

The Cubans' intention in launching the attack was likely to have been a combination of genuine military strategy — to try to eliminate the SADF presence in Angola and hamper SA's cross-border operations — and propagandistic, in the light of Cuban President Fidel Castro's claims that the Cuban forces in Angola are superior to the South Africans.

The attack should not be read as Cuba and Angola ignoring the talks, he added.



Picture 1: A South African Ratel infantry fighting vehicle. Picture 2: A MiG-23 fighter — one was used in the bombing attack against the Calueque Dam on Monday. Picture 3: A South African soldier guarding the dam. Picture 4: A Soviet-made T-54 tank. Two of these were knocked out at Calueque.

## Modern MiGs and obsolete tanks

By Craig Kotze

Monday's battle for Calueque on the Namibian border saw the deployment of Soviet equipment ranging from highly sophisticated MiG-23 jet fighters to virtually obsolete T54 tanks.

According to the SADF, the confrontation resulted in the defeat of the combined Cuban/Angolan forces — with the reported loss of 200 dead — and the destruction of two T54 tanks, two BTR armoured personnel carriers and another eight unspecified vehicles.

Twelve South Africans died in the conflict.

South Africa admitted losing two infan-

try combat vehicles — Ratels — which had to be destroyed after being badly damaged.

The Defence Force would yesterday not say if any of its tanks or artillery were involved in Monday's fighting.

### ANTI-TANK WEAPON

But the Ratel 90 is a potent anti-tank weapon and may have been responsible for the T54 "kills".

The T54 has seen combat in the Middle East wars and in Angola, Vietnam and the Indo-Pakistan wars. About 50 000 have been built.

It is well armoured and is equipped with a 100 mm gun and can be fitted with a

snorkel for fording deep rivers and other water features.

The tank also has a full range of night vision equipment and can operate in a nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) warfare environment. Its main drawbacks are lack of depression for its gun, simple fire control system and external fuel tanks.

The Mig 23 fighter is a highly-sophisticated plane and is the mainstay of the Soviet Air Force.

An entire range of Soviet BTR armoured personnel carriers exists. Models include the BTR50P (tracked), BTR50PA (tracked) and eight-wheeled vehicles designated BTR60, BTR70 BTR 80. The family also includes earlier models.

# Peace talks showed wide gulf

STW 3016 18 r (S)  
By Patrick Laurence

Even if the current talks to end the Angolan and Namibian conflicts survive the border clash between South African soldiers and a combined Cuban-Angolan force — in which 212 soldiers, including 12 South Africans, are reported to have been killed — a huge gap remains to be bridged before a lasting settlement can be reached.

The extent of the gulf between South Africa and the Angolan-Cuban alliance is manifest in proposals and counter-proposals laid on the negotiating table in the earlier rounds of talks.

Details of the proposals and counter-proposals have been monitored as closely and as accurately as possible by Mr Andre du Pisani, research director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, who made them available to The Star.

They focus essentially on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Both parties agree in principle that the Cuban forces should leave. But there is substantial disagreement on when and, as importantly, how they should leave.

## FOUR-PHASE PLAN

The Angolan-Cuban allies have offered a four-phase, four-year withdrawal. The four phases, according to Mr du Pisani, are:

- Withdrawal of half the Cuban forces to north of the 16th parallel within a year after the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola.
- Further withdrawal of Cuban forces to the 13th parallel, up to and including the town of Huambo, in the second year.
- After three years 5 000 Cuban troops to be restricted to Luanda and 10 000 deployed to protect the oil-rich Cabinda province in the far north.
- After four years total withdrawal of Cuban troops.

But implementation of the Angolan-Cuban withdrawal timetable depends on South Africa fulfilling several conditions.

These include the obvious demand of a withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Linked to it are further demands — a cessation of South

African support for Unita guerrillas or, as Luanda labels them, "bandits"; a firm agreement to implement the UN peace plan for Namibia as outlined in UN resolution 435 of 1978; and conclusion of a ceasefire with Swapo guerrillas or, as Pretoria sees them, "terrorists".

South Africa's counter-proposals, Mr du Pisani says, envisage a much speedier exodus of Cubans.

It is a three-phase withdrawal over 12 weeks — all but 12 000 Cuban soldiers to leave within six weeks; another 3 000 to depart within nine weeks of the start of the countdown for their exodus; and, finally, a total withdrawal at the end of three months.

South Africa's 12-week timetable is designed to match the schedule laid down for a South African troop withdrawal from Namibia under Resolution 435, Mr du Pisani explains.

## UNITED NATIONS PROPOSALS

The UN peace plan consists essentially of two phases stretched over a year:

- Phase one stipulates that all but 1 500 SA soldiers should be withdrawn from Namibia in 12 weeks and that the remaining 1 500 should be located at pre-arranged bases.
- Phase two provides for the election of a constituent assembly under the joint supervision of the SA-appointed Administrator-General and a UN representative with a UN peace force, Untag, deployed during the elections.

After the election of a constituent assembly as the final step to the establishment of an independent Namibia, all South African troops will depart in terms of the UN plan.

It requires no great feat of imagination to see how far the two positions are from one another and how easily the talks can deadlock, even without the additional aggravating factor of the Cuban build-up along the Namibian border in southern Angola — defended by Angola's President dos Santos as a legitimate exercise of its sovereignty over all Angola — and the consequent bloody clash on Monday.

The imponderable question of just how many Cuban and South African soldiers are in Angola, and the demands of the smaller players, Swapo and Unita, and the concerns of their patrons, further compound the complex and fragile process.

# MI6 STUNG

## SA troops died in freak hit as Cuban jets came in below radar

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**JOHANNESBURG.** — The bomb attack on Calueque came from 12 MiG-23s which flew below radar range in a bid to destroy the dam, the SADF said yesterday.

The 11 South African national servicemen died when one of the bombs missed the dam by 600 metres and landed between two South African armoured vehicles, said SADF operations-director Brigadier Pieter Gagiano yesterday.

The air strike, which occurred about 2pm, was the second contact between South Africa and combined Angolan/Cuban forces on Monday. The earlier attack involving infantry and armour, claimed the life of a 12th South African soldier.

The attacks highlight the lead Cuba is taking in Angola's 13-year-old bush war. Cuba

has launched an unprecedented drive towards the border of South African-ruled Namibia, which appears to have the support of the Angolan government.

President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola was quoted by Tass as saying the raid was necessary.

According to UPI, Tass reported that Mr Dos Santos said the movement of Angolan troops backed by Cuban forces "pursues the aim of restoring sovereignty throughout the republic's territory".

### Defensive role

Cuba, which so far has played a largely defensive role in Angola, has boosted its presence to the highest level ever — about 50 000 troops.

While neither the Angolans nor Cubans gave detailed accounts of the encounters, the official Angolan news agency Angop yesterday claimed that 26 white SADF soldiers died in Monday's battle and ridiculed South Afri-

ca's claim that more than 300 Cuban and Angolan troops had been killed.

"The (Angolan and Cuban) casualty figure is an exaggeration aimed at justifying such a high South African death toll," the agency said, quoting military sources. Only eight Angolan soldiers were killed in the fighting, according to Angop, which made no mention of Cubans.

In reply, the Defence Force updated their statement on Tuesday saying that "the facts speak for themselves and are at least open to public scrutiny".

"It will serve no purpose to react to this sort of propaganda," the Defence Force said. Officials from the United States, which is mediating in peace talks between South Africa and Angola and Cuba, see Cuba playing the biggest role yet since the first Cuban troops went to Angola in 1975 to bolster the government against Unita forces.

"It's obvious to us the Cubans are running the war in the south west of Angola... They

are making the decisions," a senior US State Department official told reporters after the latest round of four-party peace talks in Cairo on June 24-25.

The US official, who asked not to be named, said the military situation had changed dramatically in the past few months in southwestern Angola, particularly in the war-torn province of Cunene which borders Namibia.

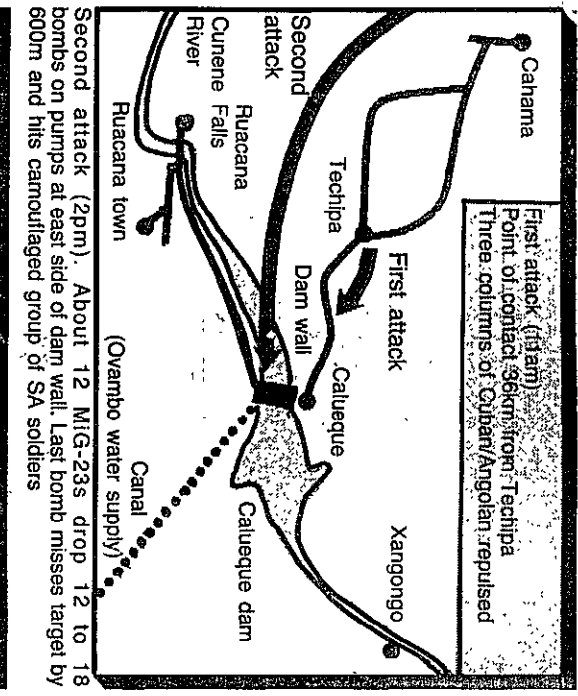
### Rolled forward

Cuban troops, who had held a defensive line along the 15th parallel bisecting southern Angola, 300km north of the Namibian frontier, have rolled forward with reinforcements to within a few kilometres of the border.

Angolan officials say government forces have strict orders not to cross the frontier from Cunene into Namibia. But Cuban troops have never before been so close to Namibia and South Africa is worried about Swapo guerrillas using the Cuban advance as a security umbrella under which to step up their attacks.



**The Angolan confrontation**  
How it happened



Cuban officials in Cairo were jubilant about the success of the recent advance which they said had greatly reduced the Angolan territory controlled by South African troops — Owen Corbett correspondent and Sapa-Reuters.

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# US still willing to host peace talks

WASHINGTON — The next round of Angolan peace talks is still on. "The situation that we have at the moment."

That is according to a US State Department spokesman who said that while the US condemned the upsurge in fighting, it was still prepared to host peace talks next month.

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the clash had jeopardized the next round of peace talks.

He said there "could hardly be any semblance of good faith" following the Cuban attack.

South Africa has sent messages of protest to the US and Angolan government.

It is understood that the Cuban government has also made representations to the State Department in Washington presenting its side of the case.

Speaking on TV last night the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said: "We cannot accept the sort of talk-fight

There was widespread reaction to the attacks from all the political parties in Parliament yesterday.

The Conservative Party said Mr Pik Botha and General Malan should be replaced by more competent negotiators for whom negotiations were more important than camel rides and sight-seeing tours.

In Parliament yesterday, the Speaker rejected a Conservative Party request that the Angola clashes in which 12 South Africans died be debated as a matter of urgent public interest.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday expressed sympathy to the families of the dead soldiers but demanded to know why South African troops continued to occupy parts of southern Angola. — Political Correspondent, Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI

# S African troops killed by 'lost' bomb at dam

ARGUS  
30/6/88

The Argus Correspondent in Pretoria reports

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**A** LAST, "lost" bomb was the cause of one of South Africa's worst losses in Angola.

Brigadier Piet Gagiano, director of operations in the South African Defence Force, has released details of a two-pronged attack on SADF positions around the Calueque Dam in southern Angola this week which claimed 12 South African and an estimated 300 Cuban and Angolan lives.

Addressing military correspondents, Brigadier Gagiano said the joint Angolan/Cuban force with about 35 tanks, armoured personnel carriers and about 600 infantry launched an attack on the SADF positions around the dam.

Shortly after this attack was repulsed about 12 MiG 23s — the most modern of the Russian attack aircraft in the Southern African theatre — swooped over the dam in a low-level raid.

The aircraft dropped 12 to 18 — "it's hard to tell exactly how many bombs are falling when you are being bombed" — 250kg bombs.

Most were apparently aimed at the wall of the dam,

which provides vitally needed water for Owambo and the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme lower down the river.

Some hit their target, causing relatively little physical damage, but knocking out the pipeline between the dam and the canal feeding Owambo. However, by a twist of fate the "failed" raid turned into one of the darkest days in SADF's recent history.

Brigadier Gagiano said the last aircraft, which had lagged behind the others, released its bomb off target and, instead of crashing into the dam wall, it landed 600 metres east of the dam, exploding between two (unidentified) vehicles as troops were replenishing.

Eleven soldiers were killed. Brigadier Gagiano said the bomb was a freak hit.

"At the time the vehicles and troops were under cover of bushes, and had camouflage up."

The MiGs apparently flew in from Lubango — an advance airfield — and came in low over the dam. The strike lasted only a matter of minutes and, although the SADF

troops fired at the aircraft, no hits were reported.

The raid took place about 2pm and, according to Brigadier Gagiano, was apparently planned to coincide with the estimated time of arrival of the Cuban/Angolan forces at the dam's shores.

Earlier, in a fierce firefight which raged for about an hour from 11am over a front of about three to five kilometres, repeated contacts were made. Here the SADF lost one man in the fighting.

Brigadier Gagiano emphasised that throughout the engagement the SADF had tried, whenever possible, to break the contact as soon as possible to prevent heightening tension in the area.

No Angolans or Cubans were taken prisoner during the engagement, and all South African troops had been accounted for.

Brigadier Gagiano said the situation had now returned to normal, although it would be "some time" before the pipe — about one metre in diameter — feeding water into the Owambo channel would be repaired.

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Renewed hostilities on the Angola-Namibia border take place against the background of the resumed peace negotiations which may now be in jeopardy as a result. WILLEM STEENKAMP discusses the situation from a South African vantage point while ANTHONY ROBINSON and ROBERT GRAHAM of the Financial Times, London, give perspectives from outside of what is at stake in this long-running regional conflict.

# What options are left for South Africa?

By ANTHONY ROBINSON  
JOHANNESBURG. — The sight of freight trains thundering through the empty miles of Namibia to their destination, the military logistics base at Grootfontein, sows some doubt in the mind about South African intentions. From Grootfontein a tarred road runs straight to the Angolan border, some 95 miles away. From the other bases such as Ruacana, Oshakati and Ondangwa it is a lot less. From the further-most base of Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi strip the whole of central Africa is within air range.

Does the South African military really intend to give up this string of bases from which it can intimidate half the continent? If so, at what price? Such are the difficult questions raised by the flurry of negotiations aimed at seeking peace in Angola and independence for Namibia. They are complicated by the military moves accompanying the current diplomatic manoeuvres. These include recent infiltration of about 11 000 more Cuban troops into southern Angola and fears that experienced Cuban pilots flying MiG-23 jets have reduced, if not eliminated, the air superiority once enjoyed by South African pilots.

probably dominated by the South West African People's Organization raises the red flag over Windhoek. Up to now it has done so largely thanks to the US government.

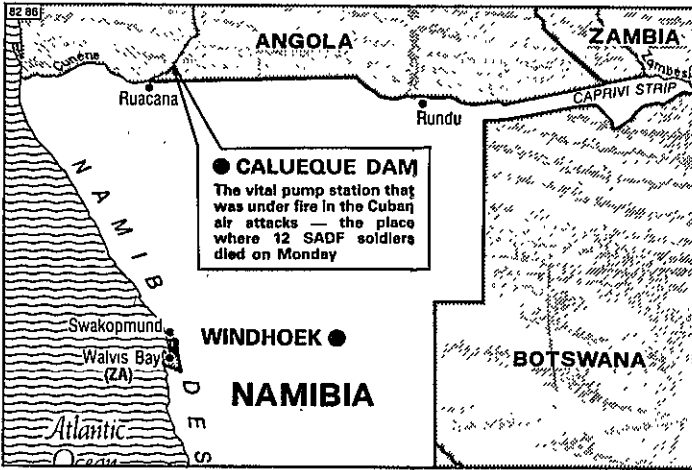
Both Washington and Pretoria insists that independence be linked to the removal of 40 000 Cuban and Soviet bloc forces and advisers from Angola.

What remains to be seen is whether South Africa still sees this as a fair trade. Ideally Pretoria would like to see the Cubans out of Angola and a coalition government in Luanda which included Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the South African backed Unita rebels. It would like to add expulsion of Swapo and the African National Congress from Angolan bases and achieve all this while retaining effective control over Namibia.

In practice the economic dependence of Namibia on South Africa for electricity, transport, markets and sources of supply means that any future government over the 1m inhabitants of this mineral-rich country of scrub, mountain and desert would enjoy no more real independence in its early years than other countries in the region such as Swaziland or Lesotho.

But Pretoria worries about the impact on the white electorate of Namibia and South Africa of "selling out Namibia" and the possible impact of a Marxist-oriented Swapo government led by Mr Sam Nujoma on opinion in the black townships of South Africa.

This, it fears, would raise expectations about the inevitability of black majority rule in South Africa too and bring the border with independent black Africa down to the line of the Orange River.



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# South Africa's internationalism at stake in Angola

ment and any South to the ability the lat-tionsne troop and the offi-been small Cu- into with the secue- and out a with-tak-should - pos- Castro, has in-per-the An-on the secue- and a 000 ci-tech- this half "in-

This presence has been maintained at considerable sacrifice in terms of loss of life, and for Dr Castro to agree to withdraw he would need to be able to provide some tangible gain. The gain would also have to reflect the fact that African solidarity plays a special role in the official mythology of Cuban support against international imperialism. Cuba's population contains a significant proportion of ethnic Africans who dominate particular elements of culture, notably music. At a minimum therefore, the Cuban leadership would need to be able to show that Angola sovereignty had been fully respected (i.e. a full withdrawal of all South African and South African backed forces from Angolan territory). It would also require that Namibia is given a prospect of independence

By ROBERT GRAHAM with international guarantees against South African interventionism. Neither of these can be easily negotiated. However, the Cubans have been encouraged by what they see as a more "responsible" attitude on the part of the US. While having few illusions about Washington's ultimate ability to twist Pretoria's arm, the Cubans find the State Department less instinctively anti-Cuban. Professor Wayne Smith, a leading expert on Cuba and a former State Department official, noted the change. "For the past seven years the Reagan Administration has been putting Angolan policy on the wrong foot, seeing the obstacle as the presence of Cuban troops. Now it is prepared to see that the main obstacle is the South Africans' unwill-

ingness to give up Namibia." Prof Smith also maintains that US pragmatism dealing with Cuba over Angola reflects the compartmentalization of the State Department, African Affairs are under Mr Chester Crocker, far less ideologically identified with the anti-communist right that controls policy towards Latin America. However, in the light of better superpower relations, the State Department overall is adopting a slightly less ideological posture towards Cuba. As a result the ability to talk with Cuba over Angola has become part of a more general but discreet dialogue. On the assumption that Cuba would now like to break the deadlock of its isolationism with the US, ability to deliver its side of a deal on Angola would clearly help establish good faith.

Both Havana and Moscow may well share the need to achieve the basic minimum results in an agreement over Angola and Namibia. But it would be a mistake to assume that Cuba will act as told by the Soviet leadership, even though Havana is kept afloat on Soviet aid. Cuba has on occasions been more willing to take risks in combat than the Soviet Union would like and there have been reports of disagreement on tactics against South African incursions.

The Cubans are unlikely to accept that all their nationals leave Angola and will want to retain advisers and technicians, both because the Angolans need them and because so much of Cuban foreign policy is geared to an "internationalist role".

Most of these have had military training, and in the case of Grenada the US was more than willing to regard them as military advisors even though they were working in the construction and aid fields.



# Attack was for image-building

Defence Correspondent

ALTHOUGH the Calueque fighting is still veiled by bi-lateral official secrecy, it would appear that the attack was mainly a Cuban image-building exercise which did not go off quite as intended.

From Cuba's point of view Calueque was, no doubt, ideal for this purpose.

Firstly, it is situated well inside the Angolan border, so an attack on its garrison could not be construed as aggression against SWA/Namibia but presented as defence of Angolan territorial sovereignty.

Secondly, the South African force was not large: its exact size is not yet known, but logic and a few facts indicate it was about a battalion (nominally 800 men) of infantry reinforced by armoured cars and/or tanks, some anti-tank weapons, perhaps some heavy mortars and just possibly some artillery.

All this would tend to identify Calueque as the chance of snatching a relatively cheap and easy victory — given the local imbalance of forces — which could be convincingly portrayed worldwide not only as a Cuban military victory but also defence of Angolan soil against South African aggression.

In addition, closing down the Calueque barrage could do some mischief to the South Africans, although contingency planning over the past few years has ensured that it is not the Achilles heel it once was.

Closing it down might disrupt the northern SWA/Namibian electrical power supply to northern SWA/Namibia to some extent, and possibly affect the Ovamboland irrigation system, an integral part of the anti-Swapo "hearts-and-minds" campaign — all this at a time when Ovamboland is experiencing its driest period in 15 years.

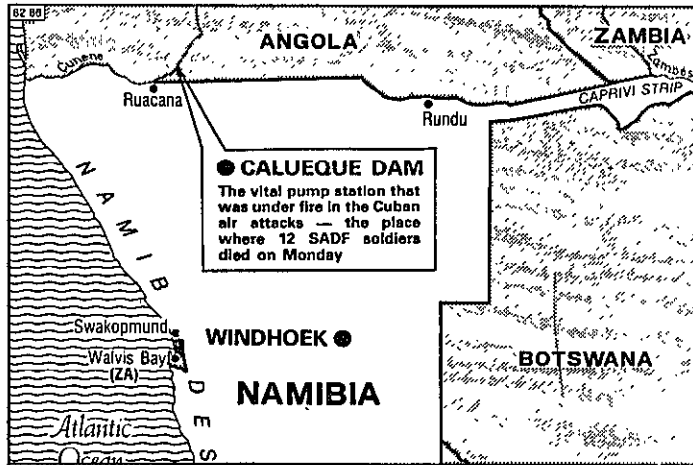
Such considerations might well have outweighed the assurances about the South African presence which were apparently given at the Brazzaville talks.

It is possible the Cubans made a miscalculation as regards the size and capability of the South African force and the fire support it could call on; it would appear from the imbalance of casualties that the initial ground attack was resolved mainly by an exchange of fire rather than hand-to-hand fighting.

Having been beaten off, the Cubans apparently resorted to an aerial attack aimed at the barrage wall, knowing the South Africans' relative weakness in anti-aircraft defences and taking advantage of the mountainous terrain, which inhibits defensive radar coverage; one overshooting bomb which missed the wall accounted for all the South African casualties.

The cardinal question now is the likely South African reaction and its effect on the peace process.

Renewed hostilities on the Angola-Namibia border take place against the background of the resumed peace negotiations which may now be in jeopardy as a result. WILLEM STEENKAMP discusses the situation from a South African vantage point while ANTHONY ROBINSON and ROBERT GRAHAM of the Financial Times, London, give perspectives from outside of what is at stake in this long-running regional conflict.



# Cuba's internationalism at stake in Angola

By ROBERT GRAHAM

This presence has been maintained at considerable sacrifice in terms of loss of life, and for Dr Castro to agree to withdraw he would need to be able to provide some tangible gain.

The gain would also have to reflect the fact that African solidarity plays a special role in the official mythology of Cuban support against international imperialism. Cuba's population contains a significant proportion of ethnic Africans who dominate particular elements of culture, notably music.

At a minimum therefore, the Cuban leadership would need to be able to show that Angola sovereignty had been fully respected (i.e. a full withdrawal of all South African and South African backed forces from Angolan territory). It would also require that Namibia is given a prospect of independence

ingness to give up Namibia."

Prof Smith also maintains that US pragmatism dealing with Cuba over Angola reflects the compartmentalization of the State Department, African Affairs are under Mr Chester Crocker, far less ideologically identified with the anti-communist right that controls policy towards Latin America. However, in the light of better superpower relations, the State Department overall is adopting a slightly less ideological posture towards Cuba.

As a result the ability to talk with Cuba over Angola has become part of a more general but discreet dialogue. On the assumption that Cuba would now like to break the deadlock of its isolationism with the US, ability to deliver its side of a deal on Angola would clearly help establish good faith.

# What options for South Africa

By ANTHONY ROBINSON

JOHANNESBURG — The sight of freight trains thundering through the empty miles of Namibia to their destination, the military logistics base at Grootfontein, sows some doubt in the mind about South African intentions.

From Grootfontein a tarred road runs straight to the Angolan border, some 95 miles away. From the other bases such as Ruacana, Oshakati and Ondangwa it is a lot less. From the further-most base of Katima Mulilo in the Caprivi strip the whole of central Africa is within air range.

Does it tend to string which half the at what Such quest. flurry aimed in Africa dence? are military nying matic — Those inflit. 11 000 troops Angola exper. lots fly have i climb. riority South A That embas. duced ia's rage, Canbe. ers ar Impala The by the national ports th helicep other ations take p night caught out air

Both Havana and Moscow may well share the need to achieve the basic minimum results in an agreement over Angola and Namibia. But it would be a mistake to assume that Cuba will act as told by the Soviet leadership, even though Havana is kept afloat on Soviet aid. Cuba has on occasions been more willing to take risks in combat than the Soviet Union would like and there have been reports of disagreement on tactics against South African incursions.

The Cubans are unlikely to accept that all their nationals leave Angola and will want to retain advisers and technicians, both because the Angolans need them and because so much of Cuban foreign policy is geared to an "internationalist role".

Most of these have had military training, and in the case of Grenada the US was more than willing to regard them as military advisors even though they were working in the construction and aid fields.

## LETTERS

# 26 whites died for the loss of a mere eight Angolan soldiers — claim

LONDON — Angola has poured scorn on SA claims to have killed more than 300 Cuban and Fapla troops in clashes near Caleneque on Monday.

The official news agency Angop said SA claims were exaggerated to justify the high white death toll, which it put at 26. It said a mere eight Angolan soldiers had died but made no mention of Cuban deaths.

US officials who have taken part in the peace talks said it was difficult to say whether the flare up in the war

MIKE ROBERTSON and KEN POTTINGER

would wreck the peace talks without hearing the Angolan side of the story.

"It's a fragile process. At this stage we don't know how it started, whether it was a planned offensive or an unplanned confrontation. Both sides are known to have itchy fingers."

Aviation expert at the prestigious International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) Don Kerr said that from re-

ports he had seen it appeared the SA troops had been "caught on the hop". The Angolan Air Force, he said, had improved tremendously in both quality and size.

● Comment: Page 6  
Reaction: Page 7

"Without having the specific details, the impression I get is that the attack occurred in a situation where the South African forces were not expecting to be

attacked by aircraft."

He said it seemed the forces, operating relatively far away from their own air bases, had not asked for a standing air patrol, which was extremely expensive to run and maintain.

"If your own air base is relatively far away, help can't come particularly quickly. You have to rely on ground intelligence and radar for the threat of air attack in the first case and actual activity in the second.

"However, the people carrying out the

attack can limit the effectiveness of radar by carrying out attacks at a low level. They would start high and descend to as low as 15m. If the aircraft have sufficient range the radar will not pick them up until it's too late."

Kerr said the Mig-23 aircraft, which carried between 3 000-4 000kg of assorted weaponry, had a range of about 450km at low level.

"If they had attacked flying at 15m,

● To Page 2

## Angola scorns SA claims of 300 dead

the maximum theoretical range of the SA radar would have been 12km. As the aircraft is flying at 15km a minute, it's too late."

He said that even if the SA aircraft were on QRA (Quick Reaction Alert) with pilots in the cockpits "you would be doing pretty well to get off the ground within three minutes."

To attack at 15m, he said, required great skill and if "the people in Angola (whether Angolans or Cubans) have not practised assiduously at this level they would not be able to fly this low."

"They would then fly at a level of 60m-75m, but every increase in height increases the potential range at which you can be detected by radar. At 68m the

● From Page 1

theoretical range at which you can be detected increases to 35km. But even at from 50 seconds to three minutes. Still a very difficult situation.

"To counter this you would have to fly combat air patrols, which involves a lot of aircraft. It's extremely difficult work, flying up and down in a line. And you are always at the mercy of a smart operator who will time his strike just before you are forced to land."

Kerr said the SAAR's main problem was that it could not afford to lose aircraft.

Botha says talks in jeopardy

# Stray bomb killed 11 SADF soldiers

(S) B/day  
30/6/88

ELSABÉ WESSELS

TWELVE Angolan MiG23 aircraft flying below radar range dropped up to 18 250kg bombs on the Calueque water project in southern Angola on Monday in an attempt to destroy the dam wall, the SADF said yesterday.

Eleven of the 12 SA national servicemen who died in contacts with combined Angolan/Cuban forces on Monday were victims of one of the bombs, which missed the dam by 600m and landed between two SA armoured vehicles about 2pm, said SADF operations director Brigadier Pieter Gagiano yesterday.

The 12th soldier died in an earlier attack involving infantry and armour.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night the attacks had put the next round of four-power Angolan peace talks in jeopardy.

## LATEST

THE US has informed Pretoria it sees no reason to abandon or delay talks in the light of the clash at Calueque.

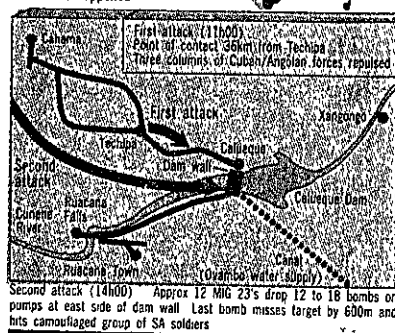
"We still expect to host the next round at senior expert level starting the week of July 11," State Department spokesman Charles Redman said yesterday.

SA has sent messages of protest to the US and Angolan governments objecting in the "strongest terms" to the incident, which came only a day after the end of the Cairo talks.

SA has also instructed all its embas-

## The Angolan Confrontation

How it happened



Graphic: JOHN MCCART

sies to lodge serious complaints with governments abroad.

It is understood the Cuban government has also put its side of the case to the US State Department.

At an SADF Press briefing yesterday, Gagiano said Monday's first attack was at 11am when Angolan/Cuban troops, moving in three columns, attacked SA forces 36km from Techipa, halfway to Calueque. The columns comprised 600 infantry, supported by a battalion of 35 T54/55 tanks and armoured personnel carriers.

Gagiano described the Angolans' use of RPG7 anti-tank missiles as an "unusual feature". He added that judging by the number of tanks it was a Cuban-commanded operation.

Heavy fire was spread across a 4-5km

● To Page 2 ➔

# Stray bomb killed 11 SADF soldiers

front in the attack, which lasted just under an hour. Two SA armoured personnel carriers were damaged and later destroyed.

SA destroyed two Angolan tanks. Angolan casualties, initially said to be 200, were now estimated at more than 300.

Having suffered high casualties, the Angolan/Cuban forces fell back towards Techipa. To avoid escalation, the SADF did not advance and the situation returned to normal, Gagiano said.

The air attack three hours later was a "surprise attack" due to the low altitude at which the aircraft approached the strategic water project, Gagiano said.

The exact altitude at which the MiGs approached the dam wall was not known, but it was "very low", Gagiano said.

The death of 11 national servicemen had been a coincidence. The fatal explo-

sion was caused by a "stray bomb which fell off target east of the dam wall in an area where SA camouflaged troops were replenishing their supplies".

The low casualty rate could be ascribed to the fact that the troops were camouflaged and not an open visual target, he said, adding that SADF troops had been deployed in the vicinity and northwest of the water works for years.

The aircraft dropped a number of bombs on the dam, three of which damaged the dam wall, cutting off electricity supply to Calueque as well as water pipelines to the canal linking Calueque and Owamboland.

Gagiano said the SADF took no prisoners and all SADF troops were accounted for.

← ● From Page 1

(S) B

# Savimbi Woods West

**WASHINGTON** — Members of Angola's MPLA regime are anxious about reconciliation with Unita because they fear the Cubans, rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has told United States senators here.

Dr Savimbi said a story going around the capital, Luanda, was that the first person to start negotiations with Unita would be killed by the Cubans. The second would be arrested. "The third person will become the president of the whole of Angola. In the MPLA, nobody wants to be in the first line, or in the second. We have to help them out by removing the Cubans."

Dr Savimbi, addressing a newly created "Angolan Task Force" up the US Congress, said he had been talking to the MPLA for two years and had made clear his policy toward national reconciliation and unity. But it was not easy to find agreement when the goal was power sharing, he said.

The Angolan task force is a bipartisan group of US senators led

by two Democrats. Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona and Senator Bob Kasten of Wisconsin. His aim is to support US policy goals in the country — withdrawal of all foreign forces, the formation of a government of national unity, and the holding of free, fair elections as agreed in the 1975 Alvor Accord.

Dr Savimbi told Monday's first meeting included former Secretary of State, General Alexander Haig, that he was encouraged by the current negotiations between South Africa, Cuba, the US and the

MPLA. The talks were the key to peace — which everyone wanted, including the Cubans who wanted to improve relations with the US. He cautioned that while the Soviets said they were for total Cuban withdrawal and national reconciliation, the facts pointed elsewhere.

The facts are that in 1987 they brought to Angola weapons worth 1.5-billion dollars. There is no sign up to now that the weapons supply is going to decrease.

Dr Savimbi said there were now 57,000 Cubans in Angola — an extra 12,000 since March. He was concerned about the situation in the south where they were face-to-face with the South Africans.

"If something happens, then the violence will flare up again," the Unita leader said.

It was possible that Cuban leader Fidel Castro was trying to get a stronger position at the negotiation table or that he was trying to intimidate the South Africans and then wipe out Unita. But it was a risky game and Castro was playing with fire.

"We are worried. We don't know exactly what is going on," he said. Dr Savimbi defended himself vigorously against criticisms of his relationship with South Africa. He said he was a black nationalist and fully sympathised with those fighting against apartheid.

Freedom in Angola would lead to freedom in Namibia and in South Africa, he said. It was no secret that he talked to President P W Botha, not alone but with African heads of state for whom he had conveyed the message that ANC leader Nelson Mandela should be liberated.

Dr Savimbi said he was surprised that those Americans who condemned his willingness to accept aid from South Africa had no qualms when others accepted help from the Soviet Union.

He quoted Archbishop Tutu as saying: "When you are thirsty and a communist gives you water, you thank him, even if you don't agree with him." The Russians and the Cubans had invaded his country. Taking help from South Africa and others against this threat should be viewed as just that and nothing more.

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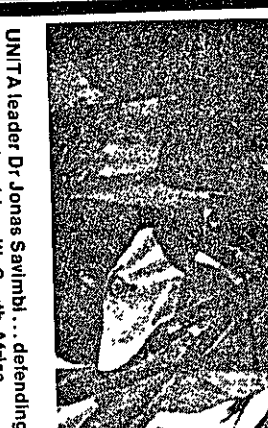
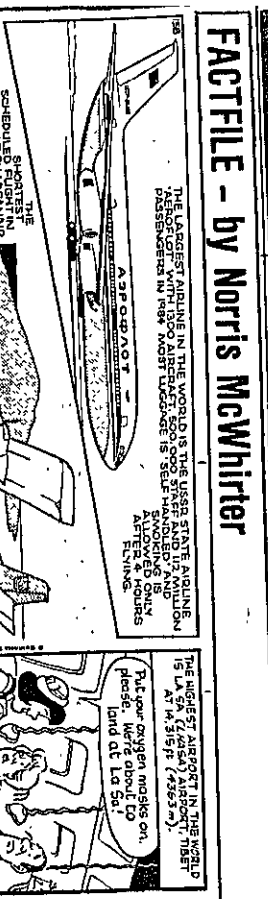
**FACTFILE - by Norris McWhirter**

**SCHEDULED FLIGHTS IN THE WORLD** — THE LARGEST AIRLINE IN THE WORLD IS THE USSR STATE AIRLINES, WHICH OPERATES 1,000 AIRCRAFT, 300,000 PASSENGERS IN 1987. MOST LEASERS IN THE WORLD ARE AMERICANS. THE MOST PASSENGERS IN 1987 WERE 1,500 MILLION. THE MOST PASSENGERS IN 1987 WERE 1,500 MILLION. THE MOST PASSENGERS IN 1987 WERE 1,500 MILLION.

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**Derbers SALE TOMORROW**

UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi... defending his relationship with South Africa.

# PEACE IN BALANCE

## Cuban forces launch attack

Sowetan 30/6/88

RELATIONS between South Africa and Angola reached a new low yesterday after MPLA-backed Cuban forces attacked South African forces in Angola on Monday.

According to a statement issued by the SADF, 12 South African and 200 Cuban and Angolan soldiers died in the attack.

South Africa has sent urgent messages to Angola and America, asking whether any useful purpose would be served by continuing peace talks after the attack.

An SADF spokesman in Pretoria yesterday said that the fighting "was not continuing".

### Attack

The South Africans were killed when the Cubans and Angolans launched a ground attack in the direction of Calueque and a subsequent air attack on dam installations, which are a few kilometres upriver from the strategically vital Ruacana hydro-electric scheme.

### Enraged

South Africa is enraged because it had been agreed, at an earlier round of the peace talks in Brazzaville, that the Calueque scheme which is vital to the survival of the people of the area, should not be attacked.

The latest deaths bring to 87 the number of South African and South

**SOWETAN**  
Correspondent  
and Sapa

West African Territory Force (SWATF) soldiers killed in fighting in Angola or against the Cuban/Swapo forces since September last year.

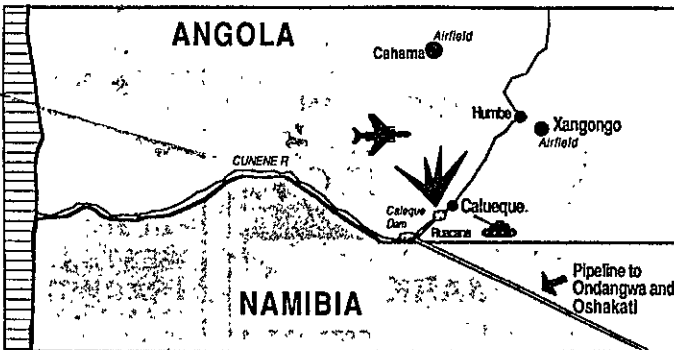
### Planes

Cuban-piloted MIG23 planes, apparently based either at Xangongo (where the runway was recently lengthened) or at Cahama (where airfield defences were recently strengthened) were probably used in the air attack.

A major clash with Cuban, Fapla and Swapo forces massing on the border has been looming since an exchange of fire between the SADF and a Cuban reconnaissance unit on June 2, about 12km from Ruacana.



A SOUTH African soldier guards the Calueque dam pump station. The dam was struck by Cuban airplanes in the battle that claimed the lives of 12 South African soldiers.



WHERE the attack took place.

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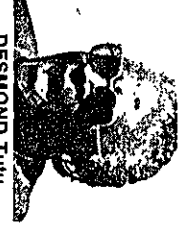
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# Angola

# WAR DRUMS

## Bishop Tutu's sympathy

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday expressed the Anglican Church's sympathies with the relatives of those on both sides who died in this week's fighting in southern Angola.



DESMOND TUTU

Archbishop Tutu also questioned why South African troops were in Angola, especially when peace talks were being held.

"The tragedy of their deaths is compounded by the fact that they are so unnecessary," he said in a statement issued in Cape Town.

"The tragedy of their deaths is compounded by the fact that they are so unnecessary. What are we doing with troops in Angola, especially when the South African Government is at the same time involved in peace talks?"

"I should like to express the Anglican Church's deepest sympathies with the relatives of those on both sides who died in this week's fighting in southern Angola." — Sapa.

## SOWETAN AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

THE Cuban attack at Caluque threatens to set off one of the biggest and fiercest battles yet fought in Angola.

The Cubans have strong and heavily-armed units deployed in the area and the SADF and SWATF in turn are believed to have powerful forces available to throw against them should the Caluque attack lead to further hostilities.

South Africa has made it clear it will not hesitate to protect its interests in the area and this determination was restated last night by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, who said any further action such as that at Caluque would not be tolerated.



MAGNUS MALAN

### Duty

South Africa's duty, he said, was to protect the integrity of the area over which it had responsibility and would do so at all costs. South Africa would defend its interests to the end.

Whether the SADF retaliates and how strongly it does so remains to be seen. These decisions will obviously be taken in the light of Pretoria's professed desire to continue with the Angolan-Nambian peace negotiations that have been held in London, Brazzaville and Cairo and are due to be

## Serious peace talks

MAPUTO — As the Cuban Air Force attacked the Caluque Dam, President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola told a summit meeting of Portuguese speaking African countries that his country wants to have serious peace talks with South Africa.

The Mozambique news agency, *Afin*, reported that at the meeting being held in the West African state of Guinea Bissau, President Dos Santos said the war in his country made it difficult to implement development plans.

He accused South Africa of adopting a violent and aggressive attitude but said "Pretoria cannot impose war solutions on the countries of Southern Africa, it must negotiate solutions of peace." — *Sowetan Africa News Service*

## No power failure

THE Cuban air strike against the Caluque dam and pump station inside Angola has not interrupted the supply of water or electricity to northern Namibia from its twin hydro-electric scheme at Ruacana on the Angolan/Nambian border.

This was confirmed yesterday by the secretary of the Department of Water Affairs in Namibia, Mr Petro Maritz.

He said that while a water pipe supply from Caluque to Ruacana had been cut by the air strike, the Ruacana station still had the normal supply from the Cunene River to ensure that for the immediate future essential supplies to Owanboland would be continued. — *Sowetan Africa News Service*

## Distress over killings

THE attack on Caluque by combined Cuban and Angolan forces indicated how fragile the border situation was, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Defence, Mr Nic Olivier, said yesterday.

In a statement expressing shock and distress over the deaths of 12 SADF members, he said the PFP extended its sympathy and condolences to the families and friends of the soldiers.

"We had hoped that the current peace talks would have prevented an open military confrontation in southern Angola and the PFP is distressed that this has not been the case." — Sapa.

## Deeply felt sorrow

THE National Democratic Movement expressed condolences to the families of the 12 soldiers killed on Monday near Ruacana, its leader, Mr Wyland Malan, said yesterday.

"We are deeply sorry about the loss of young lives at Ruacana this week," he said.

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# SADF tells how attack happened

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Defence Force yesterday gave details of how the Cuban attack on Calueque happened.

The SADF's operations director, Brigadier Pieter Gagiano, said the first attack came on Monday at 11am when Angolan-Cuban troops moving in three columns attacked South African forces 36km from Techipa, halfway to Calueque.

The columns comprised 600 infantry, supported by a battalion of 35 T54/55 tanks.

Heavy fire was spread across a 4-5km front in the attack which lasted just under an hour. One South African soldier was killed and two South African armoured personnel carriers were damaged and later destroyed.

South Africa destroyed two Angolan tanks and Angolan casualties, initially said to be 200, were now estimated at

To page 2

CAT Tom 15 30/6/88

From page 1

more than 300 (100 Cubans and 200 Angolans). The Angolan-Cuban forces fell back in the direction of Techipa.

The air attack by the MiG-23s which followed three hours later was a "surprise attack" because of the low altitude at which the aircraft approached Calueque, Brig Gagiano said.

The death of 11 national servicemen was a "coincidence", he said. The fatal explosion was caused by a "stray bomb which fell off target east of the dam wall in an area where South African camouflaged troops were replenishing their supplies".

He said SADF troops had been deployed in the vicinity and north-west of the water works for years.

The aircraft took off from Angola's major airbase at Lubango and reached Calueque from a north-westerly direction via Techipa, Brig Gagiano said.

The aircraft dropped a number of bombs on the dam, three of which damaged the dam wall, cutting off the electricity supply to Calueque as well as water pipelines taking water from the dam to the canal linking Calueque and Ovamboland.

Brig Gagiano said the Angolans' apparent aim was to damage the dam wall. "Because they could not achieve this with their advancing ground forces an air attack was launched."

An aviation expert at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, Mr Don Kerr, said that from reports he had seen it appeared the South Africans had been "caught on the hop".

The Angolan air force, he said, had improved tremendously in both quality and size. The operation of their ground air defence system had also markedly improved.

"Without having the specific details, the impression I get is that the attack occurred in a situation where the South Africans forces were not expecting to be attacked by aircraft.

"However, the people carrying out the attack can limit the effectiveness of radar by carrying out attacks at a low level. They would start high initially and descend to as low as about 16,6m. If the aircraft has sufficient range at that level the radar will not pick them up until it's too late.

To attack at about 16,6m required great skill and if "the people in Angola (whether Angolans or Cubans) have not practised assiduously at this level they would not be able to fly this low".

Mr Kerr said the SAAF's main problem was that it could not afford to lose aircraft.

A researcher with the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mr André du Pisani, said in Johannesburg yesterday that the air attacks demonstrated Angolan air superiority in the escalating battle for military supremacy in southern Angola.

The upgrading and introduction of a higher level of technology in its aircraft, such as the deployment of the sophisticated MiG-23 bomber aircraft, had put the Angolans in a superior position, he said.

In combination with their extensive radar network the Angolans were now in a position to maximize and integrate ground and air support.

While South Africa could claim air superiority until 1986, especially in Angola's southern provinces, South Africa had not been able to match the level of military technology available to the Angolans through its Soviet aid, Mr Du Pisani said. — Own Correspondents and Sapa-Reuter

# Strike could spark a full-scale battle

By Gerald L'Ange,  
Editor, The Star's Africa News Service  
The Cuban attack at Calueque could start one of the biggest battles yet fought in Angola if South Africa retaliates.

But whether it will do so remains an open question.  
Analysts suggested yesterday that the Government would opt to react politically rather than militarily on the grounds that this would better promote its interests and its international standing.  
South Africa has made it clear in the past

that it will not hesitate to protect its interests in the area and this determination was re-stated last night by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, who said any further action such as that at Calueque would not be tolerated.

Decisions on whether the SADF should retaliate and how strongly it should do so will obviously be taken in the light of Pretoria's professed desire to continue with the Angolan-Namibian peace talks.

A major unknown factor is the intention of the Cubans. Available information sug-

gests that, after the initial clash between ground troops in which one South African and about 200 Cubans and Angolans died, Cuban planes made a bombing raid on Calueque.

The purpose of this is not clear as the dam is not a strategic military target, although it was apparently defended by South African troops. It is understood that it was in this raid that 11 South African soldiers died.

It is not clear whether the Calueque attack was intended to provoke a military confrontation with the SADF or merely to strengthen

en Cuba's negotiating position.  
Short of crossing into Namibia, the Cubans could not have chosen a more provocative action, analysts believe.

The situation has the potential to develop into a major battle between powerful forces.  
The Cubans are supported by Swapo combatants and, according to some reports, by elements of the Angolan government's Fapla army.

They are backed by Soviet-supplied fighter-bombers, tanks, ground-to-air missiles, radar systems and artillery.

STW  
20/6/88  
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The Star's Africa  
News Service



The Soviet Union has started replacing the vast quantities of arms lost by the Angolan army in last year's failed offensive against the Unita-held town of Mavinga, says the Portuguese newsletter *Africa Confidential*.

It says the Angolan government lost arms worth about R2,2 billion in that attack; weaponry which the Soviet Union is now replacing.

In May, four Soviet cargo ships docked in Luanda and unloaded tanks and missiles, and another two cargo ships loaded with arms

Star 20/6/88

## 'Soviets re-arming MPLA'

have been spotted in the southern port of Namibe, says the newsletter.

The MPLA offensive against Unita was defeated at the battle of the River Lomba in South Africa and the Unita rebels then

went on the offensive, but failed to capture the town of Cuito Cuanavale from where the first MPLA attack was launched.

The newsletter says the Soviet Union and

the US agreed last month on the general terms of a peace plan for Angola and Namibia.

This plan involves three phases:

● Withdrawal of Cuban troops to the north of the 13th parallel; and withdrawal South African troops to the south of a line in Namibia still to be defined, coupled with the formation of an international force to occupy the demilitarised zone and supervise a ceasefire.

● Total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and of South African troops from Namibia.

● Namibian independence, with "reconciliation" between Unita and the MPLA government.

### REJECTED POSSIBILITY

*Africa Confidential* says the US has categorically rejected the possibility of Mr Jonas Savimbi being dropped as leader of Unita, to facilitate peace in Angola.

It says US aid to Unita last year totalled \$100 million (about R2,2 million).

# A misjudgment, suggests expert

By Craig Kotze 3/12/81

Cuban and Angolan forces probably "blundered" into battle with South African troops at Calueque on the Namibian border this week, thinking that no resistance would be offered or that the SADF had already withdrawn from the town, says a military analyst.

But damage to the Ruacana-Calueque hydro-electric scheme, which supplies drought-stricken Ovamboland with water and electricity, seemed to have been the objective — and putting it out of commission would have had serious consequences for the area.

Prominent military expert and writer Mr Helmoed-Rohmer Heitman, Southern African correspondent for *Jane's Defence Weekly* said: "I suspect the Cubans and Angolans did not ex-

pect the South Africans to defend Calueque — they expected them to refuse contact or simply retreat.

"It sounds more as if they just blundered into it."

The sequence of the Calueque offensive — a land attack followed by an air strike — also suggested the Cubans did not expect resistance.

On the severing of the water pipeline from Calueque to Ovamboland, Mr Heitman said the resulting problems would have serious implications for the local economy and the insurgency warfare waged by Swapo.

"What is happening is that the Cubans have added to the bill for defending Namibia. Perhaps they think if they keep on adding to it, the cost will become so great that South Africa will pull out," Mr Heitmann said.

ANGOLA - GENERAL

1988

JULY -

## Signing up Luanda

Last week the Reagan administration was busy handing out presents to both the Angolan government and Unita's Jonas Savimbi.

Sprucely dressed Angolan officials made the rounds of offices at the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), filling out application forms and making arrangements for a delegation of IMF economists to fly to Luanda later this year for preliminary consultations prior to the Dos Santos government applying to join the two aid and development agencies.

Angolan membership in either had been moot as long as the US and its allies threatened to blackball the Marxist government. Now that that objection has been shelved, the American representative to the bank has been actively involved in squiring the Angolans around.

Angola must first join the IMF and subject itself to the traditional dose of austere economic reforms before it can join the World Bank and load up on all the development loan goodies that are offered to Third World converts who agree to forsake their Marxist ways and adhere to the new religion of free markets and low-interest loans propounded by the Washington evangelists. Such a formal application is expected after the World Bank-IMF annual meeting in September and full membership could come as soon as next year.

What could that mean to Angola? Literally billions of cash in development loans and business underwriting. It would also mean teams of bank and fund development experts in agriculture, water, transportation and industrial development to replace the North Korean, East German and Russian "friends" who have made such a botch of the place in recent years.

But Savimbi was not forgotten either. The Unita leader was treated as a full-rigged head of a real nation, complete with motorcycle cavalcades that rushed about the city with lights and sirens going full tilt. There was a televised speech from the national press club, photo opportunities at the White House and — to crown it all — an award of the Medgar Evers Civil Rights award for outstanding leadership in the cause of justice. The award is named after a civil rights activist of the Sixties who was slain trying to lead an integration drive in the US South. Some do think highly of Savimbi. ■

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1/7/88

# The gulf between SA and Angolan positions



ANGOLAN foreign minister Alfonso van Dunon arriving at the talks on Angola and Namibia.

**E**VEN if the current talks to end the Angolan and Namibian conflicts survive the border clash between South African soldiers, and a combined Cuban-Angolan force — in which 212 soldiers, including 12 South Africans, died — a huge gap remains to be bridged before a lasting settlement can be signed.

The extent of the gulf between South Africa and the Angolan-Cuban alliance is manifest in proposals and counter-proposals laid before the negotiating table in the earlier rounds of talks.

Details of the proposals and counter-proposals have been monitored as closely and as accurately as possible by Mr Andre du Pisani, research director of the SA Institute on International Affairs, who made them available to the *Sowetan*.

They focus essentially

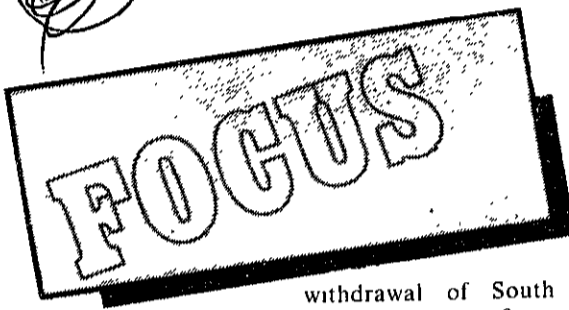
## Peace talks complex and fragile process

on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Both parties agree in principle that the Cuban forces should leave. But there is substantial disagreement on when and, as importantly, how they should leave.

### Phases

The Angolan-Cuban allies have offered a four-phase, four-year withdrawal. The four phases, according to Mr du Pisani, are:

- Withdrawal of half the Cuban forces to north of the 16th parallel within a year after the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola;



### Sowetan Correspondent

- Further withdrawal of Cuban forces to the 13th parallel, up to and including the town of Huambo, in the second year;
- After three years 5 000 Cuban troops to be restricted to Luanda and 10 000 deployed to protect the oil-rich Cabinda Province in the far north; and
- After four years total withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Implementation of the Angolan-Cuban withdrawal time table, however, is dependent on South Africa fulfilling several conditions.

These include the obvious demand of a

withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Linked to it, however, are further demands:

- A cessation of South African support for Unita guerrillas or, as Luanda labels them, "bandits";
- A firm agreement to implement the UN peace plan for Namibia as outlined in UN Resolution 435 of 1978; and
- Conclusion of a ceasefire with Swapo guerrillas or, as Pretoria sees them, "terrorists".

South Africa's counter-proposals, Mr du Pisani says, envisage a much speedier exodus of Cubans.

It is a three-phase withdrawal over 12 weeks: all but 12 000 Cuban soldiers to leave within six weeks,

Another 3 000 to depart within nine weeks of the start of the count-down for their exodus and, finally, a total withdrawal at the end of three months.

South Africa's 12 week timetable is designed to match the schedule laid down for a South African troop withdrawal from Namibia under Resolution 435, Mr du Pisani explains.

The UN peace plan consists essentially of two phases stretched over a year:

- Phase one, which stipulates that all but 1 500 SA soldiers should be withdrawn from Namibia in 12 weeks and that the remaining 1 500 troops should be located at pre-arranged bases;

### Election

- Phase two, which provides for the election of a constituent assembly under the joint supervision of the SA-appointed Administrator General and a UN representative, with a UN peace force, Untag, deployed to help hold the ring during the elections.

After the election of a constituent assembly as the final step to establishment of an independent Namibia, all South African troops will depart in terms of the UN plan.

It requires no great exercise of imagination to see how far the two positions are from one another and how easily the talks can deadlock, even without the additional aggravating factor of the Cuban build up along the Namibian border in southern Angola — defended by Angola's President dos Santos as a legitimate exercise of its sovereignty over all Angola — and the consequent bloody clash on Monday.

The imponderable question of just how many Cuban and South African soldiers are in Angola, and the demands of the smaller players, Swapo and Unita, and the concerns of their patrons further compound the complex and fragile process.

*Sowetan 1/7/88*  
*(S)*

# Still a huge gap between SA and Angola in talks

ACWS  
1/1/78

The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg

**E**VEN if the current talks to end the Angola and SWA/Namibia conflicts survive the border clash between South African soldiers and a combined Cuban-Angolan force — in which more than 200 men, including 12 South Africans, died — a huge gap remains to be bridged before a lasting settlement can be signed.

The extent of the gulf between South Africa and the Angolan-Cuban alliance is manifest in proposals and counter-proposals laid on the negotiating table in the earlier rounds of talks.

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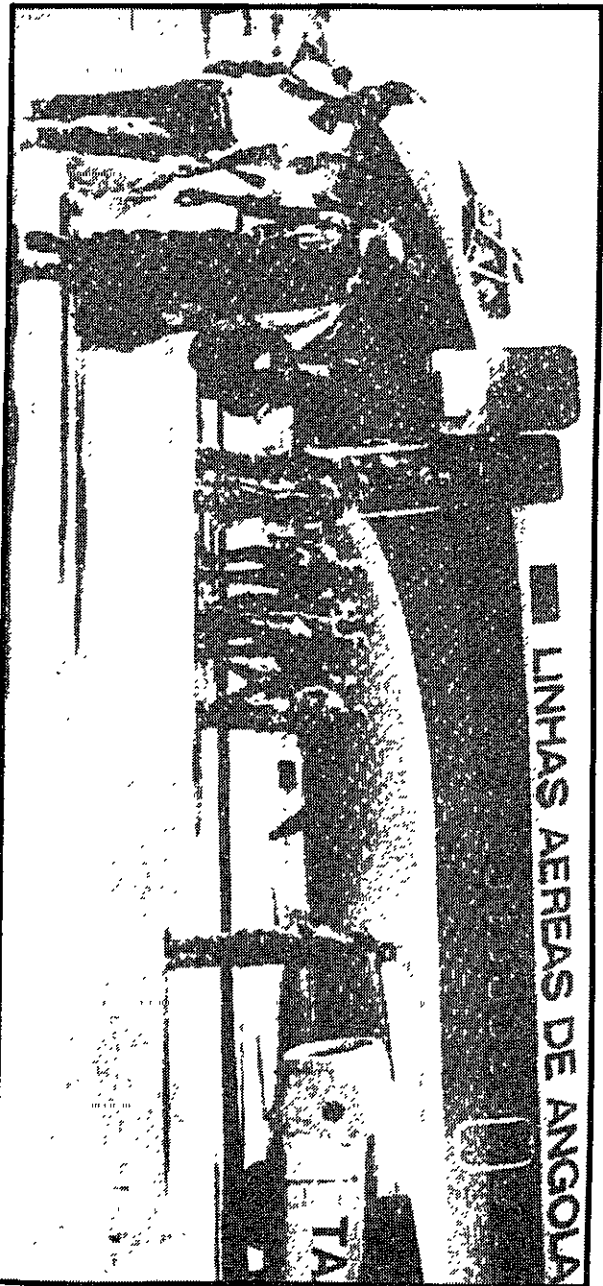
They focus essentially on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. Both parties agree in principle that the Cuban forces should leave. But there is substantial disagreement on when and how they should leave.

## Four phases

The Angolan-Cuban allies have offered a four-phase, four-year withdrawal. The four phases, according to Mr du Pisani, are:

- Withdrawal of half the Cuban forces to north of the 16th parallel within a year after the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola.
- Further withdrawal of Cuban forces to the 13th parallel, up to and including the town of Huambo, in the second year.
- After three years 5 000 Cuban troops to be restricted to Luanda and 10 000 deployed to protect the oil-rich Cabinda province in the far north.
- After four years a total withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Implementation of the Angolan-Cuban withdrawal timetable, however, depends on South Africa fulfilling several conditions. These include the ob-



Cuban troops disembarking from an Angolan airliner in the central city of Cuito recently.

vious demand for a withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Linked to it, however, are further demands: a cessation of South African support for Unita guerrillas, a firm agreement to implement the United Nations peace plan for SWA/Namibia as outlined in resolution 435 of 1978 and conclusion of a ceasefire with Swapo.

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The UN peace plan consists essentially of two phases stretched over a year:

- Phase one, which stipulates that all but 1 500 South African soldiers should be withdrawn from SWA/Namibia in 12 weeks and that the remaining 1 500 troops should be located at pre-arranged bases.
- Phase two, which provides for the election of a constituent assembly under the joint supervision of the Administrator-General and a United Nations representative, with a UN peace force, UNTAG, deployed to

help hold the ring during the elections.

After the election of a constituent assembly and as the final step to the establishment of an independent SWA/Namibia, all South African troops will depart in terms of the UN plan.

It requires no great imagination to see how far the two positions are from each other and how easily the talks can become deadlocked, even without the additional aggravating factor of the Cuban build-up along the SWA/Namibia border and the consequent bloody clash on Monday.

The question of just how many Cuban and South African soldiers are in Angola, and the demands of the smaller players, Swapo and Unita, and the concerns of their patrons, further compound the complex and fragile process.

# Angola dam attack: Has <sup>1-7/7/88</sup> SA <sup>W/ Mail</sup> lost air ~~superiority?~~ superiority? <sup>(5)</sup>

By ANTON HARBER

and SHAUN JOHNSON

THE losses inflicted on the SA Defence Force in this week's tragic encounter with a combined Cuban-Angolan force at Calueque constitute a "crushing humiliation".

This is the assessment, not of Angola's official news agency, but of the far-rightwing Conservative Party.

The parties involved in the clash gave sharply differing versions of what happened, but the inescapable impression is of the Angolans showing unprecedented confidence and the South Africans looking defensive.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan claimed defiantly on SABC-TV in the wake of the clash that South Africa "never had her nose bloodied" during the 21 years of the Namibian independence struggle. But recent developments point to an important change in the conflict in southern Angola.

Some observers have gone further. Andre du Pisani of the Institute of Strategic Studies said the attack on Calueque showed Angolan air superiority in the battle for supremacy.

There are some facts on which both sides agree: that the Angolans and Cubans attacked the South Africans, that the latter took unusually heavy losses and that Angolan MiG 23s were able to bomb South African positions — and return safely to base.

So what did happen on Monday?

The Angolans have given scant details. Angop, the official agency, issued a curt statement saying 26 white South African soldiers died in the battle on Monday near the Calueque Dam. They ridiculed the South African claim that hundreds of Cuban and Angolan troops had died, putting the figure at just eight Angolan deaths and a few wounded. No Cuban casualties were mentioned.

Angop said the Angolans had intervened to stop a northward push by the SADF.

The official South African chronology holds that the ground and air attacks occurred without provocation.

Malan went so far as to describe the Angolan offensive as "treasonous". The SADF was at Calueque for purely humanitarian reasons "in the interests of the Owambo people (of Namibia)," he claimed.

It is a bizarre sub-continent in which one country is outraged at being attacked by another while in their sovereign territory — and claims it is in that country to supply water to a third territory which it occupies.

HQW ironic that the name Calueque should appear again on the Angolan screen after all these years!

It was here, 13 long years ago, that South African forces first took up positions in Angola to defend the "vital" water supply to the Owambo people.

At that time, the situation in Angola was chaotic. In the aftermath of the Lisbon coup, Portuguese colonialists were packing to leave; hopes for a peaceful and prosperous Angola ran high; and nobody had heard of the Cubans.

But Owamboland's thirsty fields needed quenching and water was to be found in the costly Ruacana Scheme, which the South Africans and Portuguese had built across the Angolan border.

When a nervous John Vorster sanctioned the stationing of SADF units around the Calueque Dam, he set in motion a chain of events which helped elevate the role of an adventurous and ambitious cadre of young officers — one of whom, Magnus Malan, was destined to join the cabinet.

On the ground in Angola, early confusion enabled the SADF to strike hard against Swapo and to consummate a relationship with one of the competing parties for power in Angola, Jonas Savimbi's Unita. This relationship endures to this day.

## The 13 unlucky years between the two battles of Calueque

History is playing games with us. The dam which the Cubans bombed this week is the same one which the SADF moved into Angola to defend 13 years ago.  
By PETER VALE, Director, Institute of Social and Economic Research

These developments pushed the MPLA, then under the leadership of Dr Augustino Neto, to call upon outside assistance, thus bringing the Cubans to southern Africa in one of the most spectacular troop movements of modern times. This secured Neto's position as Angola's first president, and these events form the backdrop to Monday's tragedy.

But this week's skirmish did more than highlight the name Calueque again; it raised the question of why South Africa has chosen to involve itself so deeply in Angola — a country which by no stretch of the imagination can be used as a launching pad for operations against South Africa itself.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha gave the answer this week when he referred to "drought-stricken" Owamboland — Pretoria's role in Namibia

is (as it was in 1975) dependent on the water from the Ruacana River.

If South Africa is to continue to keep the upper hand in Namibia, especially in outflanking Swapo in Owamboland, she needs to retain access to its water supply.

South Africa's dependence on an Angolan resource is in marked contrast to the situation elsewhere in southern Africa, where every front-line state is dependent on South African resources. This is one reason why South Africa has stuck to Savimbi so tenaciously.

But, as Monday's events show, two reasons suggest this might be Pretoria's very undoing.

Firstly, Africa's strongest army is without certain air superiority in a war which more closely resembles the trenches of the Somme than more familiar counter-insurgency war of

modern times.

Despite earnest efforts to manufacture a counterweight to the Cuban-flown MiG 23s, the efficacy of South Africa's well-trained pilots has been blunted by a lack of hardware. Not surprisingly, the greatest damage wrought on Monday came from the air.

Secondly, the casualty rate seems tragically set to rise as a result. The dozen conscripts who perished on Monday are, almost certainly, matched by numbers drawn from the South West African Territorial Forces and mercenaries. (Angolan casualties will be high too; although probably not as high as the SADF are prone to claiming.)

Understandably, the SADF appears concerned about these mounting losses; and especially the potential number of national servicemen who may die.

Although still some distance away, the spectre of white communities in each town or hamlet burying their war dead — in American terms, the "Vietnam syndrome" — will rest uneasily with whites.

Despite Pretoria's constant claim that the Cubans are spoiling, the evidence is strongly to the contrary

The recent peace talks are not primarily about getting the Cubans out of Africa. To be sure, this is a factor — but it is conditional on South Africa's own intentions in Namibia

In short, the Cubans will not leave until, or unless, Pretoria agrees to the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on independence for Namibia. This means, essentially, that South Africa leaves Namibia.

The reciprocal link, therefore, between Cuban withdrawal and Namibian independence — originally insisted upon by Pretoria — is immutable.

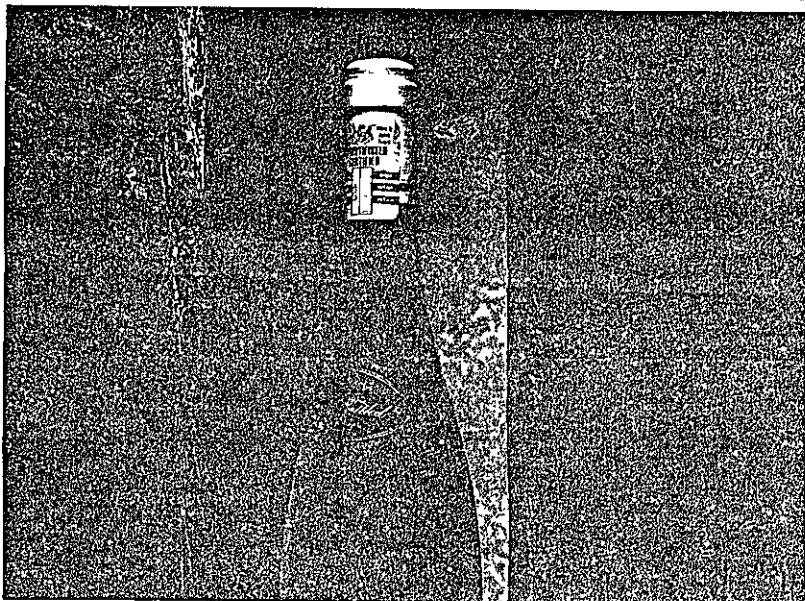
Pretoria's intention to keep Calueque out of the arena (and presumably off the negotiating agenda) appears only to confirm mounting international suspicion of Pretoria's motives.

Does she hope that the Cubans — pushed by the Soviets and increasing unhappiness in Havana — will go without a guarantee on independence for Namibia? Is the South African government not really involved in the talks to bolster its own flagging international position?

It seems unnecessarily cruel to question motives as a nation buries its dead, but the other partners in this particular peace process will require stronger evidence of the seriousness of Pretoria's intentions

After all, in guarding the Calueque Dam, South African troops have occupied part of another country — without the consent of its internationally recognised government — for 13 years

● Peter Vale is Research Professor and Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University



## Troops face a water crisis

TENS of thousands of South African troops stationed in Namibia's northern region face a critical water shortage after the water installation at Calueque Dam in Angola was damaged during this week's clash between South African and Cuban forces.

Dozens of army and police bases are scattered throughout the region, known as Owamboland or the "operational area". For years they have been using the water pumped from Calueque

It is difficult to estimate what percentage of the water the security forces used but it is believed they were the main consumers. Many Owamboland residents live in remote areas where there is no access to water.

The damage done to the water

By MARK VERBAAN, Windhoek

installation effectively means that 80 percent of Owamboland's water supply has been cut off. Being a drought area, it could be months before the first rains fall.

A representative of the South African-appointed interim government in Windhoek said the use of water would have to be restricted until the pipeline could be repaired. When this would come about was a matter for the army, he said.

"If the water from Ruacana is used sparingly, there should be sufficient for human and animal consumption," he added.

Three days after the fighting, there was still no water flowing from Calueque to Ruacana.



# Angola wants France as ally in peace negotiations

**A**NGOLA has signalled its wish to have France as an ally in its talks with South Africa.

Ambassador Luis de Almeida, Luanda's main overseas mission head based in Paris, who attended the recent four-nation Cairo talks, this week inaugurated the Franco-Angolan Association in the senate.

French politicians, bankers and businessmen, impressed by the Cairo talks, have become members, reflecting their interest in a regional peace settlement. Significantly, Mr de Almeida attended the Cairo meeting.

The French co-founder of the association, Senator Guy Penne, was for six years President Fran-

From JAMES TOMLINS in Paris

cois Mitterrand's "Mr Africa".

The association's vice-president is veteran French ambassador Francois Wibaux, who took a prominent part in arranging the release by Angola of Captain Wynand du Toit in a wide-ranging prisoner swap last year.

The association is backed by French businessmen with investments in Angola, including the ELF oil firm and the Bouygues construction company.

Mr Penne said at the inaugural meeting: "We want to take out all possible stops to put an end to

the war in Angola. We are overjoyed whenever peace talks are held and we are optimistic over the Cairo talks, although realising that a lot of patience is still needed."

Mr Penne made about a dozen secret trips to Luanda in the early '80s acting as a mediator in peace talks.

Mr de Almeida said the association would also provide "cultural, technological and training aid for Angolans as well as care for war cripples".

He is generally regarded as Angola's main spokesman in Europe, faithfully reflecting views of his government, which at present obviously needs France as an ally in the talks with South Africa. — The Argus Foreign Service

## Calueque 'under guard'

BY WILLEM STEENKAMP  
Defence Correspondent

THE Calueque pumping station in Angola — scene of Monday's firefight and bombing raid by Cubans on a South African force — is still under guard, a spokesman for the SADF said last night.

"Elements of the SADF and the SWA Territory Force are still in the area to protect the water supply to drought-stricken Ovamboland," the spokesman said.

It is reliably understood that the SADF presence has not been enlarged since Monday's fighting and that there is no intention of fortifying the area around Calueque, except to the extent necessary for the troops' safety.

# Cubans 'destroy four Ratels'

*Chob Times 1/7/88 (S) (P) (E)*

HARARE. — Cuba yesterday claimed it had destroyed four South African Ratel armoured personnel carriers and captured one intact during Monday's fighting near Calueque in Angola.

The South African Defence Force did not directly deny the claim, but said a "factual statement had been issued on Tuesday, June 28, and updated on Wednesday, June 29. The facts speak for themselves and are at least open to public scrutiny".

The Cuban ministry of defence statement, issued by the Ziana news agency here, said the captured Ratel contained "many maps, documents and infantry weapons".

The Cuban statement claimed the MiG-23 air strike on South African troops had been ordered in retaliation for an earlier South African attack.

It also denied South African claims that 200 to 300 Angolan-Cuban soldiers had been killed. It claimed to have lost only 10 men

The statement said no Cuban-Angolan vehicle was destroyed, but admitted to having a Cuban T-55 tank damaged.

The Cubans claimed long-range South African artillery pounded Cuban-Angolan positions on Sunday, provoking the MiG response.

The statement said a strong South African patrol belonging to the "regular forces' 61st mechanized battalion" was intercepted 17km from the town of Techiva. It claimed the South African patrol was "almost annihilated".

It claimed South African reinforcements were "intercepted, stopped and stricken by our airforce".

Yesterday Angolan state radio claimed

South Africa was massing troops at Calueque in preparation for a push northwards.

The radio, monitored by Reuters in Lusaka, quoted Angolan military sources as saying there was a big concentration of South African forces at Calueque.

● A former chief of the Cuban Air Force in Angola, Major-General Rafael del Pino, said the Cuban troops in southern Angola were not capable of mounting a successful full-scale attack on South African forces.

Speaking in an interview with the Spanish service of Radio RSA, General Del Pino, who defected to the United States last year, said the Cubans did not have the training, the organizational capacity, the communications system or the logistical support to mount such an attack.

He said if the Cubans attacked the South African forces they would be very heavily defeated. — Sapa-Reuter

# Savimbi presents new peace plan to Reagan

11/17/88  
By Neil Lurssen  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has offered the United States a four-point peace strategy for Angola that emphasises a role for African countries in a reconciliation process.

The rebel leader presented the plan to President Ronald Reagan during a 30-minute meeting in the White House yesterday and said afterwards he had been assured that the four points would be considered favourably.

Asked to list African countries that supported efforts to bring Unita and the MPLA government together for talks, Dr Savimbi listed Congo-Brazzaville, Nigeria, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Togo, Morocco and Cameroon.

Star 11/18/88  
Dr Savimbi told Washington's National Press Club that US military aid to Unita should continue as long as the Soviets and Cuba provided military aid to the MPLA.

"The US, with the assistance of key African states, should secure the agreement of both Unita and the MPLA on a date for free elections."

The new plan is seen as an attempt to outflank Dr Savimbi's American opponents — mostly liberal Democrats — who reject him because of his ties with South Africa and who are likely to try to force a Democratic administration to cut off US military support for Unita in 1989.

By tying continued US aid to communist support for the MPLA, Dr Savimbi has given a strong ar-

gument to congressmen, including a growing number of moderate Democrats, who are reluctant to abandon Unita.

By including African countries in the peace initiative, he is reducing the South African element and underlining the fact that the civil war is an African problem.

This week's military clash at Calueque, he said, had nothing to do with Unita but was a matter between South Africa and Cuba involving a water facility built with South African money.

Dr Savimbi said he supported the current four-sided talks aimed at getting the Cubans and South Africa out of Angola and independence for Namibia.

But in the final stages



Savimbi ... conflict an African problem

of the talks, he said, Unita and Swapo would have to be involved as UN Security Council Resolution 435 could not be implemented without Swapo participation.

# Cuba denies heavy battle toll 5

Star 1/7/88

HAVANA — Cuba yesterday accused South Africa of launching an unprovoked attack on its troops in Angola this week and denied Pretoria's claims of a heavy Cuban death toll.

An armed forces communique denounced an attack on Sunday on Cuban and Angolan troops in Tchiva, Cunene Province.

Cuba said its troops retaliated the following day, causing heavy casualties to a motorised patrol of South Africa's 61st Army Battalion, 17 km south-east of Tchiva.

A Defence Force spokesman last night declined to comment on the Cuban claims, saying a factual and updated SADF version — "subject to public scrutiny" — had already been issued on the battle.

The SADF said it had killed more than 300 Angolan and Cuban troops in battles on Monday near the Calueque dam, just a few kilometres inside Angola.

South Africa said Cuban troops and aircraft had attacked soldiers guarding the dam, cutting water supplies to black tribes in a drought-stricken region of Namibia. It confirmed 12 of its soldiers were killed.

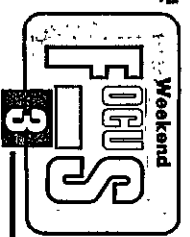
The Cuban communique said that after the two days of battles, Cuban, Angolan and Swapo forces suffered a total of 10 deaths.

"The South African troops were taught an exemplary lesson," it said, adding it had no precise figures for South African casualties, but estimated from a "rough battlefield count" that dozens may have been killed.

The communique, given to foreign correspondents, said Sunday's attack was unprovoked and occurred only 24 hours after a Cairo meeting where Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the US sought a peaceful solution to conflict.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba are seeking agreement in US-brokered peace talks on a withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 foreign troops from Angola and linked independence for Namibia after 70 years of Pretoria rule. — Reuter.

# THE ANGOLOAN EQUATION



**JEREMY HARDING, just back from Angola, and MICHAEL HOLMAN, Africa Editor of the Financial Times, consider the likely political and military course of the 13-year, four-sided conflict.**

**L**ONDON — The clashes at Caluque on the Angolan border with Namibia earlier this week between South African troops and a joint Cuban-Angolan force are the inevitable outcome of the military build-up in which the focus of the 13-year war has been shifting south.

On the face of it the fighting, in which South Africa claimed to have killed 300 Cubans and Angolans while losing 12 of its own men, could scuttle the current US initiative to end the Angolan war and implement a UN settlement plan for Namibia.

That may well prove to be the case. But a less pessimistic assessment suggests that the military manoeuvres by all protagonists — South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the South African-backed Unita rebel movement — are designed to secure advantages at the negotiating table, and to anticipate a regional settlement in which Unita's ties with South Africa are severed.

It is a war which ebbs and flows, with several operational areas. However, events over recent months indicate three important developments:

● South Africa's defeat in the battle for the strategic centre of Cuito Chanavele.

● A Cuban drive south apparently designed to drive a wedge between Unita and South African bases in northern Namibia.

● The possible shift to northern Angola of Unita's main base in a move which would "deouple" the movement from South Africa both militarily and diplomatically.

**F**OLLOWING the collapse of the Angolan Government's dry season offensive last year against the Unita stronghold of Mavinga in the south-west, all eyes have been on the epic counter-offensive by South African and Unita

forces, have moved down through the provinces of Namibe and Cunene to take up positions hard on the border with Namibia.

The most detailed information on the new deployments remains Gramma, the official Havana daily newspaper, which last month published maps showing a southerly advance of 200km by Cuban and Angolan troops.

The newspaper dates the deployment from March and reports that the Cubans are accompanied by fighters belonging to Swapo, whose guerrilla bases in Angola are the ostensible reason for South Africa's military presence.

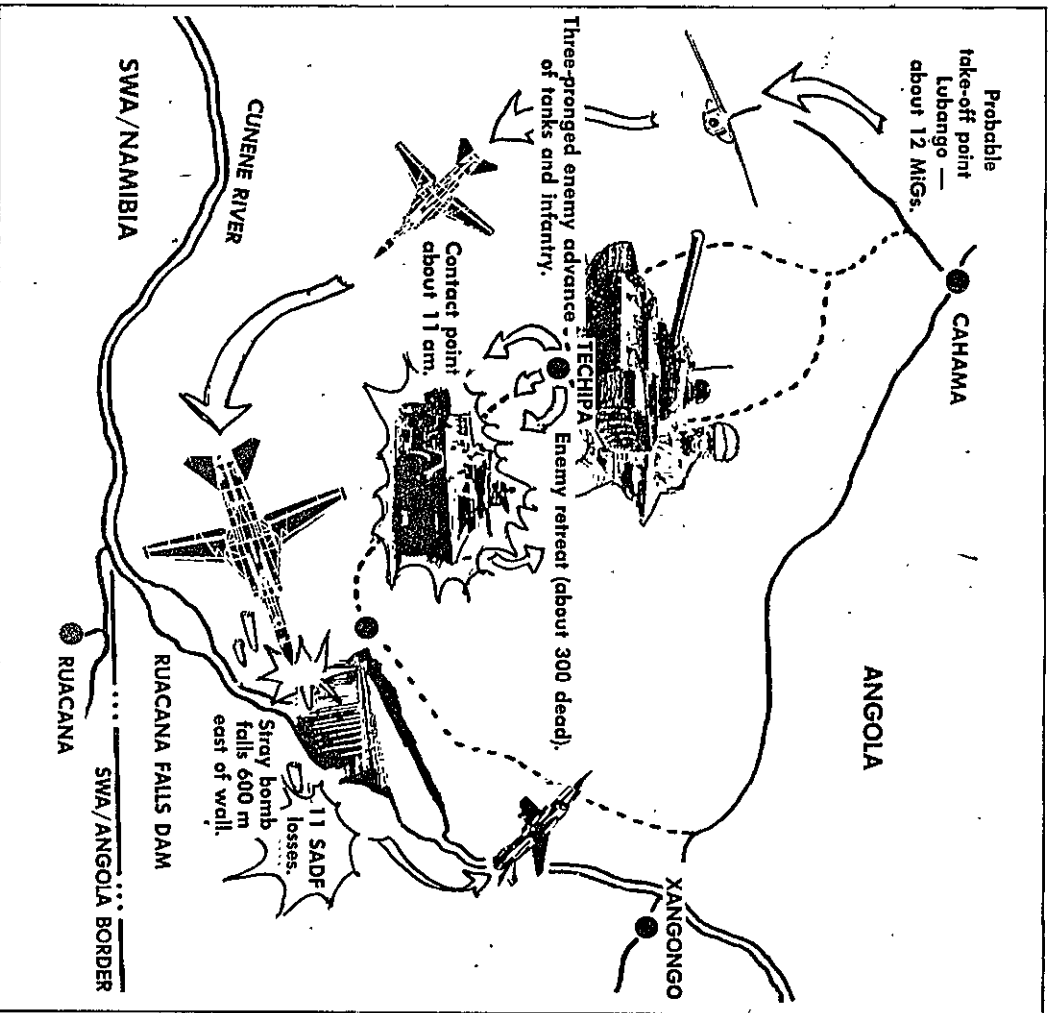
**E**L SEVIERE in Angola, Government forces have been hard pressed to keep up existing defences and respond to new areas of Unita activity.

In the central province of Bie, a vital bridge on the Cuanza River is down and a front opened by Unita late last year is still active after intense fighting throughout December and January, when the Government finally held the town of Cuenba.

Local officials in Bie, who believe that the move on Cuenba was an attempt to draw troops away from Cuito Chanavele, also maintain that Unita's offensive was masterminded by a commando of about 40 Portuguese and South African Irregulars still based in Mumbango, 48 km further east.

Now, however, Unita has moved to the north of the province, says Mr Luis Lantini Dos Santos, Bie's provincial commissar, to open yet another front at Nhyarea, in the hope of splintering Government forces from Cuenba.

In the town of Hamambo, Unita operations jeopardise the arrival of goods by road and rail from the coastal town of Benguela. At night in Hamambo



## The Red shadow at the talks in Cairo

by JOAO SANTA RITA  
Angus Africa News Service

**J**OHANNESBURG — The Soviet diplomat who flew to Cairo and reportedly saved the Angola peace talks from collapsing will remain a prominent figure in the next round of negotiations, experts on Soviet affairs have said.

Mr Vitolden Mikhailovich Vasev, 64, who is said to have whipped the Cuban and Angolan delegations into line when the peace talks were about to break, is the Soviet Union's chief Southern Africa official.

A veteran in the Soviet foreign ministry, Mr Vasev has, however, escaped the "waves of change" introduced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in his department of Foreign Affairs which resulted in the retirement of several top officials.

Mrs Susan Roothman, acting director of the Institute of Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, said Mr Vasev had caught the eye of Soviet watchers as early as 1971 when he was already involved in behind-the-scene negotiations with other countries.

He is now the head of the Third African Department in the ministry which covers Southern Africa and is a member of the ministry's collegium.

"This is an important position because it is in the foreign affairs collegium that strategies for the Soviet foreign policy are mapped out", she said.

**B**ECAUSE of his positions Mr Vasev is thought to have played an important role in the recent super-power negotiations on Angola and Namibia.

In 1985 Sovietologists gave Mr Vasev, who is not a member of the Communist Party Central Committee, a "C" grade, meaning that his influence in decision-making is regarded as medium.

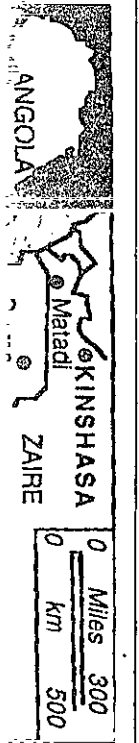
His experience in present and previous positions with regard to Southern Africa in general is regarded by those experts as "fair".

Diplomatic records show that Mr Vasev was a diplomat in London between 1987 and 1989 and again between 1982 and 1988.

He was deputy chief of the Second European Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1986 and 1987 and was then posted to Washington in 1980.

His European and American experience as a diplomat puts him in a privileged position to negotiate with the Americans on the questions of Southern Africa and he is well known to Dr

spokesmen in Britain, there are repeated suggestions that the rebels may be preparing to move from their present southern base at Jamba. Unita's new strategy, Unita would open a base at Quim-



stronghold of Mavinga in the south-west, all eyes have been on the epic counter-offensive by South African and UNITA forces against Cuito Cuanavale.

But the long defence of this key town, which has had more than 40,000 or more Cuban troops based in Angola, appears to have paid off for the Angola Government. Since March, the Angolans and Cubans have occupied a secure forward position about 6.4km beyond the town.

While the important airstrip at Cuito Cuanavale is still reported to be unusable and the town comes under half-hearted bombardment from long-range South African artillery, many observers believe that the front is no longer desirable.

Far more dramatic developments have occurred to the west, where an estimated 15,000-strong contingent of Cuban troops, backed by Angolan

operations jeopardise the arrival of goods by road and rail from the coastal town of Benguela. At night in Huambo there is small arms fire in the streets and the city, which had one of UNITA's biggest car bomb attacks more than a year ago, is burdened with security problems.

Petrol and spare parts are in short supply. Most of the city has no electricity by day, no running water and very little food. Dozens of children lie in pain in the city hospital because there are not enough drugs.

BUR reports that the entire rebel operation may now be relocated in the north of the country, with Washington's support, have far greater repercussions in military and diplomatic terms than the developments in the central provinces.

Though denied by UNITA's

to move from their present southern base at Jamba. Under the new strategy, UNITA would open a base at Quimbele, near the northern border with Zaire, which would be supplied via the port of Matadi.

American military supplies to UNITA are already being channelled through Kinshasa and the air base at Kamina, in southern Zaire.

If it were true, such a move would have far-reaching implications. It would "decoke" UNITA from South Africa — a possibility Dr. Jonas Savimbi has to plan for, since a successful outcome to the current Angolan peace talks would end Pretoria's direct support for the rebels.

It also has considerable diplomatic advantages for Dr. Savimbi, whose courteship of black Africa has been hampered by his South African connection.

# Savimbi tells US of his plan for peace

By NEIL LUNSEN  
Weekend Angus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON — UNITA leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi has offered the United States a four-point peace strategy for Angola that emphasises a role for African countries in a reconciliation process.

The rebel leader presented the plan to President Ronald Reagan during a 30-minute meeting in the White House this week and said afterwards he had been assured that the four points would be considered favourably.



UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

Asked to list African countries that supported efforts to bring UNITA and the MPLA Government together for talks, Dr. Savimbi listed Congo-Brazzaville, Nigeria, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Togo, Morocco and Cameroon.

The governments of these countries were aware that he would identify them, he said.

In an address to Washington's National Press Club, Dr. Savimbi outlined his new strategy. "US military aid to UNITA should continue only as long as the Soviets and the Cubans provided military aid to the MPLA."

"The US should maintain contacts with all parties, including the Soviets, the Cubans, the MPLA and South Africa, in a concentrated effort to force the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola."

"The US, supported by key African states, should promote dialogue between UNITA and the MPLA to focus on the formation of an interim gov-

ernment, leading to free and fair elections.

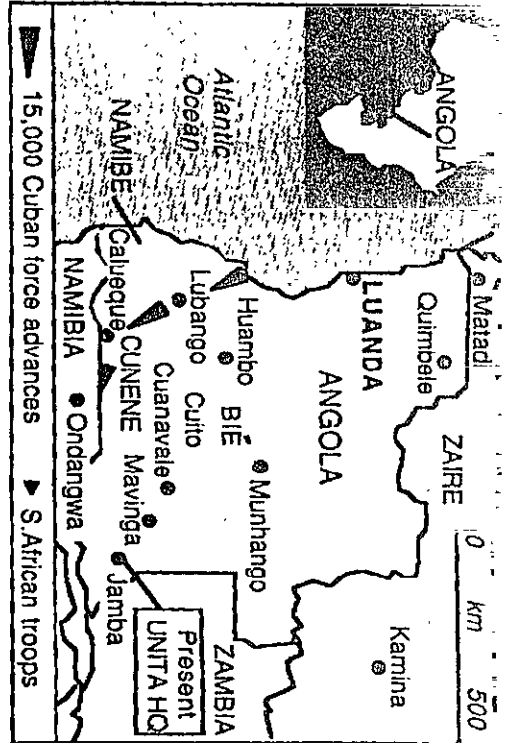
"The US, with the assistance of key African states, should secure the agreement of both UNITA and the MPLA on a date for free elections."

The new plan is seen as an attempt to outflank Dr. Savimbi's American opponents — mostly liberal Democrats — who reject him because of his ties with South Africa and who are likely to try to force a Democratic Administration to cut off US military support for UNITA in 1989.

By trying continued US aid to communist support for the MPLA, Dr. Savimbi has given a strong argument to congressmen, including a growing number of moderate Democrats, who are reluctant to abandon the rebel movement.

By including African countries in the peace initiative, he is reducing the South African element and undermining the fact that the civil war is an African problem.

The strategy's objective of removing from Angola all foreign troops, including South Africans, also makes



1700 posted to 1983 region 7.

His European and American experience as a diplomat puts him in a privileged position to negotiate with the Americans on the questions of Southern Africa and he is well known to Dr. Chester Crocker, the top American negotiator on African affairs.

The Stetlebosch Institute for Soviet Studies says that as early as 1981 Mr. Vasev had already been negotiating with Dr. Crocker.

It is considered likely that South African, Cuban and Angolan diplomats will be hearing more about Mr. Vasev as the Angolan negotiations continue.

In terms of South Africa's diplomacy, another Soviet diplomat to watch is the acting ambassador to Lesotho, Dr. Boris Aoyan, who is the Deputy Director of the Soviet Africa Institute.

He has been described by the Stetlebosch institute as "the most insightful Soviet writer on southern Africa and especially South Africa."

In Maseru he replaced Mr. Vladimir Ganyushkin who recently had emergency heart surgery in Bloemfontein when he became ill in Lesotho, where he had been since 1985, and is now back in the Soviet Union.

Ironically Mr. Ganyushkin is said by Soviet experts to be a member of the KGB. He was expelled from London in 1988 and Ottawa in 1989 for alleged spying.

The Stetlebosch institute has recorded no KGB links for either Mr. Vasev or Dr. Aoyan.

## Opening of the new Kroonvaal Route!

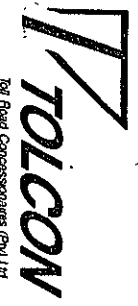
Opening Saturday 2/7/88



The KROONVAAL ROUTE is the first completed section of the proposed N1 Superway and traverses 124 kilometres between Kroonstad and the Vanderbijlpark interchange. This section will save toll road users a distance of 12 kms.

For the convenience of regular Superway users a Prepaid Debt Card facility has been introduced to eliminate the need for drivers to carry cash — These cards are available in denominations of R100, R200 and R500. A cash discount of 25% is offered on the face value of the Prepaid Card.

Purchase of the Prepaid Debt Cards can be arranged by telephoning Mrs Mariette Strydom, Graham Toll at Tolcon (011) 53-8820 or alternatively at the Vaal Plaza Mr. Norman Lephin or Mrs. Anne du Toit at (01601) 250538.



Toll Road Concessions (Pty) Ltd

## 26 Angolans, Cubans killed, claims Unita

*W/AM645 2/7/88 (S)*  
LISBON — Unita guerrillas said today they killed at least 26 Angolan and Cuban soldiers in attacks this week throughout Angola.

A statement distributed in Lisbon by the movement said the rebels ambushed a convoy on the Cuchi-Menongue road in southern Cuando Cubango province.

They killed 11 soldiers, including three Cubans, destroyed three military vehicles and captured 12 AK-47 rifles in the attack.

Unita also killed 15 government soldiers at Chicala in the eastern Moxico province in an attack on the 45th brigade. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angola <sup>5</sup> <sup>2/7/88</sup> Savimbi asks Reagan <sup>5</sup> <sup>2/7/88</sup>  
accuses SA to sponsor SA peace  
of attacks

LUSAKA. — Angola has accused South Africa of launching attacks in southern Angola to disrupt ongoing peace talks and said the attacks will not go unanswered.

Angolan state radio said on Thursday night that the South African attacks were directed against the areas of Tchipa, Mumbonde, Cuvélal and Mupa, in Cunene province, which borders Namibia.

"These areas have been bombarded with long-range artillery, there have been air violations and other actions by the South African ground forces. They have been mounted in an attempt to disrupt the ongoing southern African peace negotiations," the radio said.

● At least 10 people were injured when a bomb exploded near the Luanda head office of Angola's national airline TAAG, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter

WASHINGTON. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi on Thursday presented to President Ronald Reagan his plan calling for the United States to sponsor a peace settlement for Southern Africa.

Presidential spokesman Mr Marlin Fitzwater said that "generally speaking" Mr Reagan supported the plan, which called on the US to continue providing arms to Dr Savimbi's Unita forces as long as the Soviet Union and Cuba backed the Angolan government.

In a speech to the National Press Club, Dr Savimbi said the plan urged the US to pursue negotiations with Cuba, the Soviet Union and South Africa for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola as soon as possible.

It also called on the US and "key African states" to promote a dialogue between Unita and the Angolan government that would lead to an interim government and free elections.

Dr Savimbi declined to say how much aid he received from the US and South Africa, but it is estimated he gets about R32 million a year in US aid, including shoulder-fired Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

He credited the missiles, which he declined to name, with successfully stopping air strikes against his forces, thus enabling Unita's hospitals, schools and factories to operate. — Sapa-AP



# Cubans 'show SA should quit Namibia'

CPK Tiff  
2/7/88  
5

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Recent Cuban successes in the Angolan war should convince South Africa it was unable to destabilize its neighbours and should get out of Namibia as it ought to have done years ago, former British prime minister Mr Edward Heath said yesterday.

Speaking in a general foreign-affairs debate in the House of Commons, he said that, like present Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, he believed the Soviet Union wanted to disengage from Angola and that Cuban leader Dr Fidel Castro wanted to withdraw his forces.

"It has so worked out that the Cuban forces have achieved considerable success since the negotiations began.

"This may bring home to South Africa that they will not be able to overwhelm Angola and that the best arrangement for them is to get out of Namibia as they ought to have done decades ago."

Earlier in the debate, Labour shadow Foreign Secretary Mr Gerald Kauffman accused Mrs Thatcher and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey

Howe, of "obstructing, frustrating and sabotaging the efforts of leading nations to obtain a reprieve for the Sharpeville Six".

He said the Prime Minister should "get on the phone to President P W Botha and make clear that she wishes the South African government to abandon this appalling campaign against those innocent people".

From the SLD front bench Mr Alex Carlile criticized the British government for its South African policy.

"The South African government ... is stiffening its resolve because it believes the British government supports the way they are governing South Africa."

Mr Robert Rhodes-James, the Conservative MP for Cambridge, who recently visited Namibia, spoke of his horror at what he found there.

"It is not amusing to visit a black hospital in which there are no drugs or even bandages and then go to a white one that is equipped as well as Addenbrooks in Cambridge.

"It is not amusing to see the contrast between white and black education or the deployment of the defence force or the suppression of the people."

# No red carpet for Jonas Savimbi

3



**COLD SHOULDERED:**  
Dr Jonas Savimbi.

LONDON — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi flies into London early next week to a chorus of protests about his admission to Britain.

He will receive the official cold-shoulder from the British government which, although it has granted him a visa, does not want to be seen having contact with the leader of a rebel movement.

The best he can hope for is an audience with the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, an invitation which carries no great significance as most visiting politicians have spoken there at one time or another.

The Angolan Embassy has made a formal complaint to the Foreign Office about the decision to

SEP 21 71 88 SUE LEEMAN

grant a visa to a man they regard as a "terrorist" and a "South African surrogate" — and is threatening a cooling off in Anglo-Angolan relations if he is admitted.

And the Anti-Apartheid Movement says it is planning a few nasty surprises in the form of anti-Savimbi demonstrations.

Angolan officials believe Dr Savimbi's visit — he has also been to the United States — is part of a ploy to raise Unita's international profile and, possibly, gain a seat at the peace talks table.

⑤ of Times  
3/27/88

# Peace talks move to US

By LESTER VENTER and DE WET POTGIETER.

THE Angolan peace talks are still on — in spite of the armed clashes six days ago which left dead on both sides.

And the South African peace talks team is preparing to meet the Angolans and Cubans under American patronage in the US on July 11.

It was learnt that the Cuban Government complained to the US representative in Havana soon after the Angola clashes about what Cuba said was a South African provocation that led to the retaliatory air strike.

But in the same communication, the Cubans told the Americans they were still committed to the diplomatic process.

As the dust settled from the brief fighting between the two forces, it appeared that both sides were strenuously trying to prevent the tension from escalating.

Diplomats pointed to the fact that there had been no military follow-up by either side. Both groups were attempting to characterise the contacts as a momentary flare-up between two heavily armed forces facing each other in close proximity.

## Flashpoint

Although Cuba and SA accuse each other of responsibility for the fighting, which claimed 12 South African lives and an unknown number of Cubans and Angolans, US sources in Washington said who had initiated it was immaterial.

The fighting is almost certain to be raised at the July 11 talks and could provide a new flashpoint in the tenuous diplomatic bargaining.

The talks are intended as a platform for experts from both sides to explore the feasibility of putting nuts and bolts into the framework for agreement which the foreign ministers of all sides established in Cairo last weekend.

The diplomatic component of the SA team will be led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Neil van Heerden, while the military sector will be headed by the Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys.

Meanwhile, a tense calm has settled over the battle site around the Calueque water scheme after Monday's bombing.

SA maintains that the joint Cuban and Fapla forces were trying their utmost to lure SA into retaliatory action which could then be used to brand SA as the aggressor intent on sinking the talks.

General Magnus Malan gave a warning to the world at an Honoris Crux medal parade in Durban on Friday.

Introducing a new mine-protected ambulance, Mfezi (Zulu for Cobra), to the public, General Malan said: "I would like to warn those who are after our belongings and blood that Mfezi is not the end of our capabilities and creative powers."

# For the shortest solution to a long war, just look to De Gaulle

(5)  
S/Times  
3/7/88

WHICH airline in South Africa offers reliable service, on-time departures, good food — politely served — and a friendly staff? No, it is not SAA.

Hint: It flies C-130s.

It is the South African Air Force, flying to the war zone.

I had been familiar with most of Namibia but I had never been to the far north until I accepted the opportunity to acquaint myself with the activities at Katima Mulilo, Omega base, Eenhana and Ondangwa.

After several days of military briefings and inspections, I came back with more questions than answers. And as several among one group had Ramboesque tendencies, I also came away with a sore eardrum from the repeated demonstration firings of captured Soviet weapons.

Some, however, pursued questions which were not completely answered due not only to the sensitivity of the situation but also because they needed to be addressed more by politicians than by military men.

We learnt more by seeing than by listening. And learn we did.

## Price

The Caprivi hasn't seen any significant action in a decade. The locals don't like Swapo as it is too Ovambo-dominated.

The Bushman soldiers in the battalion at Omega base get education, good salaries, health care and housing for their families. But the price is high. They fight in defence of white privilege in the front lines of an area 1000km away in a land they know nothing about.

Most of Angola and the entire northern part of Namibia are now covered by Cuban radar — which requires all flying to be done at 30m levels.

Seventy percent of South African and Namibian forces are black, divided into various ethnic-based units — in the apartheid style.

Swapo is not a very large force and is comprised of mostly Ovambos, who straddle a border which is very fluid for most inhabitants.

by Karl Magyar

of Wits University's department of international relations



It is more of an armed propaganda force than a capable fighting unit. Swapo concentrates more on infiltration and on establishing its presence in the hearts and minds of the locals.

These are some of the things one can learn on such a trip, but the lessons lead one to question the entire war in greater depth.

First, what is the ultimate objective? As in the case of all protracted wars, the answer to this fundamental question is obscure. What is it that the United States pursued at such horrendous expense in Vietnam yet manages to

survive quite well without?

And what were the Soviets pursuing in Afghanistan at the expense of so many casualties? Whatever it was, they now appear to be abandoning it without adverse consequences to their strategic position.

Similarly, South Africa responded to Swapo's early terrorist actions in the late '60s by expanding its presence into Angola to enhance Savimbi's accession to power in place of the MPLA.

The MPLA in turn invited in the Soviets and Cubans to counter the imbalance. This broadened the

war, which was explained by South Africans as a necessary fight to keep the enemy at a distance lest Swapo took over Namibia and aggressive forces mounted attacks on South Africa — from the parched wastes of southern Namibia on to the parched wastes of the northern Cape.

It's all a bit complicated — and unconvincing.

There are already two Marxist-led governments on South Africa's borders who have hardly posed a threat to South Africa. In fact, non-Marxist Botswana is a favoured ANC route! And one of the commies is now trying to improve its economic relations with Pretoria out of sheer desperation. Mozambique can't defeat its own internal enemy, never mind its gigantic neighbour.

Should a "Marxist" Swapo ever come to power over Namibia's

sparse one-million people, 85 percent of whom live in the far north, its puny efforts would hardly add measurably to the threat of Zimbabwe and Mozambique's combined 20-million people.

Having fought a totally unimpressive guerrilla war, Swapo would be sufficiently challenged to improve its administrative capability lest that proved to be equally disastrous.

A second question which emerges about fighting a protracted war concerns viable progress — which is presently not very visible.

If we look at the bottom line, things are now worse than they were 10 or 15 or even 20 years ago. In those good old days, Swapo was a mere ragtag team of amateurs, and the Fapla forces could hardly keep order in distant Luanda.

## Cripples

Today, Fapla is one of Africa's best fighting forces. Angola receives billions of dollars worth of Soviet arms. The Soviets are active participants in that war and the Cubans, who now number over 40 000, have moved all the way to the southern border. Also, the main base for the lethal MiGs is now securely established in the south, as is the major helicopter base.

Savimbi, despite claiming to rule at times two-thirds of Angola, has been relegated to permanent dependent status and has to watch the negotiations on video. Thou-

sands have been killed or maimed in this land of cripples. Swapo remains as popular as ever within Namibia.

And South Africa has spent vast sums in pursuit of nebulous objectives — sums that should rather have been spent on her own poverty-stricken blacks, half of whose welfare levels equal those of only Mozambique in the southern African region.

And diplomatically it has been a disaster.

A third question concerns the tough dilemmas when fighting a protracted war — especially over a territory which South Africa intends to yield eventually anyway.

Unita had to be hauled out by South Africa at Mavinga last year and, despite a hailstorm of artillery thrown at the enemy at Cuito Cuanavale, they could not be dislodged.

This has made Savimbi nervous and we hear rumours that he may fold his tent and move northwards towards Zaire.

Should he do so, Fapla would easily fill the south-eastern vacuum, presenting South Africa with a 1700km-long border to defend from the Atlantic to the eastern tip of Caprivi.

Defending everything east of Rundu is an awesome proposition; as most of Caprivi is a 30km-wide strip of uninhabited wasteland. Yet a decision on this would have to be made.

## Lesson

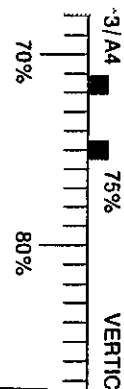
South Africa should have learnt that nobody ever wins a protracted war. Ask the Americans, the Soviets, or the Israelis. At best, they result in protracted stalemates, which the Americans and the Soviets could afford, and the Israelis can because they get much aid.

But South Africa can't afford it. The economy is too weak and too vulnerable. In this regard, Pretoria errs when it calculates the cost of the war in only direct terms. There are much greater indirect costs of internal social disruptions that even the Americans, Soviets and the Israelis had severe trouble with.

And while the international community may be content to maintain the protracted balance via the expenditure of only arms, funds and mercenaries, we must not forget that for the active participants this balance is maintained at a cost of constant loss of lives at a rate determined by distant manipulative actors.

The De Gaulle option looms ever more. When he came to power in 1958 in the midst of the Algerian crisis, he took one look at that protracted war, which had been threatening the collapse of France — and he chucked it all out.

And France prospered.



# Death penalty must go - SACC

By REVELATION NTOULA

GENERAL Secretary of the SACC, Rev Frank Chikane, this week urged the ecumenical body to campaign for the abolition of the death sentence in South Africa.

Chikane made the appeal during his report at the council's annual national conference in Bosmont, Johannesburg.

Of concern since the

beginning of this year, is the alarming increase in the number of executions in South Africa," said the clergyman.

He pointed out that in 1987, 164 people - mostly blacks - were hanged. At the end of the same year, 268 people were awaiting execution.

Of those on Death Row, he said, 53 had been found guilty of politically motivated offences.

Chikane said the

churches ought to be concerned about the death penalty, because of the "sanctity of life".

Another reason was the possibility of error in the court's findings which led to the imposition of the death penalty.

The death sentence was not an appropriate punishment "because society is, in the main, responsible for conditions which make people guilty of offences

punishable by death".

Chikane said it had also been proven that the death sentence did not have a deterrent effect.

"The number of murders have increased over the years," he said.

"The execution of 'political offenders' in South Africa has motivated more young people to join the armed struggle," Chikane said. He cited the much-publicised Messina trial as a case in hand.

3/7/88 C/Pers

# Angolans ridicule SA claim on Cuban troop casualties

THE official Angolan news agency, Angop, has said 26 white South African soldiers died in Monday's battle near the Calueque Dam and ridiculed the South African claim that 12 South Africans and more than 300 Cuban and Angolan troops had been killed.

"Twenty-six white South Africans died on Monday in clashes with Angolan government troops," Angop said in a brief dispatch monitored in Lisbon.

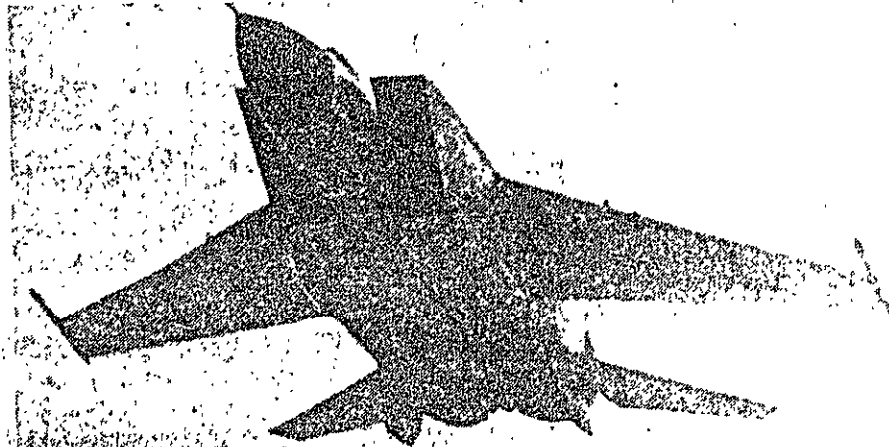
"The (Angolan and Cuban) casualty figure is an exaggeration," the agency said, quoting military sources.

The SADF announced that "more than 300 Cubans and Angolans were killed in the clash".

Only eight Angolan soldiers were killed in the fighting, according to Angop, which made no mention of Cubans.

"The South African troops around Calueque are becoming a main base for the SA army in its aggressive actions against Angola," it said.

South African artillery



The Russian-built MiG-23, similar to the plane used in the raid on SA bases in Angola this week.

and aircraft bombarded the region last weekend, it added.

An SADF spokesman said from Pretoria that the Defence Force issued a "factual statement" earlier in the week and an updated statement on Wednesday.

"The facts speak for themselves and are at least open to public scrutiny."

"It will serve no purpose to react to this sort of propaganda," the spokesman said.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, said if the Defence Force did not act when provoked as was the case this week in the air raid on Calueque in south-western Angola, loss of life would be much higher at a later stage.

Malan said in an interview that South Africa was the ultimate goal of the Cuban onslaught.

He said although South Africa was striving for

peace for the sub-continent, it could not allow the export of terrorism from Angola to SWA/Namibia and South Africa.

He described the Cubans as a destructive force living off the Angolan people.

Referring to further peace talks, Malan said South Africa would now have to convert challenges into opportunities and that it would have to do its utmost at the negotiating table. - Sapa

5 3/7/88 C/Pers

Our July Handicap tips - Page 19

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## Cool reception for Savimbi on London visit

LONDON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is due to arrive in London today for a short visit, but there will be no red carpet treatment from the British Government.

This is because Britain has diplomatic links with the MPLA government in Luanda.

The Foreign Office has said Dr Savimbi is free to visit Britain as a private individual, but the government will not have any official contact with him.

However, Whitehall sources said it was possible that government officials might meet the Unita leader "in the margins".

Little is known about Dr Savimbi's itinerary, but it is understood that he will see a number of MPs, representatives of the media and other opinion-makers.

It is believed that he has been invited by the Royal Institute of International Affairs to speak at one of its "talk shops" at Chatham House near London.

Unita maintains a low-key presence in London through its representative, Mr Jardo Muekalia.

There is also an organisation called "The Free Angola Campaign" operating from an address in Reading, England, which supports Unita and wants to see "a negotiated peace, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and free elections for an independent Angolan government".

A leaflet published by the organisation says: "The Foreign Office could afford a less supine approach to Angola. An end to the war will benefit Unita, the MPLA, the Angolan people, the blacks of South Africa, neighbouring African states, and the West. The only likely losers are Havana and opponents of reform in Pretoria." — Sapa.

LISBON. — Cuba's chief negotiator at the four-party Angolan peace talks said yesterday that South Africa was jeopardizing the negotiations by keeping troops in southern Angola.

Mr Jorge Risquet was speaking to reporters on arrival here for talks with Portuguese officials on recent international efforts to end the 13-year-old civil war in Angola, a Portuguese colony until 1975.

"The talks would not be at risk if there was no South African intransigence in Angola and if Pretoria respected UN Resolution 612 on withdrawing its troops from Angolan territory," he said.

Mr Risquet, a Politburo member of the Cuban Communist Party and Havana's top Africa specialist, repeated that Cuba would start pulling out of Angola

# SA 'jeopardizing Angolan negotiations'

as soon as Pretoria agreed to go ahead with a UN plan for Namibian independence.

Cuba, South Africa, Angola and the United States have met three times to discuss the linked issues of Angola and Namibia and are due to meet again this month in Washington.

Meanwhile, right-wing Unita guerillas said on Saturday that they killed 60 soldiers, including three Cubans, and destroyed 11 vehicles in recent attacks near the Angolan capital of Luanda. There was no comment from the Angolan government.

Unita chief Dr Jonas Savimbi

had a meeting last week with US President Ronald Reagan to seek increased aid for Unita.

Dr Savimbi is due to arrive in London today for a short visit, but there will be no red-carpet treatment from the British government, as Britain has diplomatic links with the MPLA government in Luanda.

The British government has been urged to intervene to break the deadlock over an Angolan peace settlement by a report from the Conservative Party's influential Bow Group to be published today. — UPI and Sapa-Reuter

# Cuba claims right to send forces into Namibia

SAUDI 4/11/85



## Barrier at Margate is breached a second time

**Own Correspondent**  
**DURBAN** — A ragged-tooth shark broke through the electrical shark barrier being tested at Margate's North Beach yesterday.

It was the second test in 10 days in which a shark has ignored the electrical barrier and swum out to freedom, probably due to a technical fault in the device, according to Professor Waldo Meester, who heads the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) steering committee concerned with

By James Tomlins,  
The Star's Foreign News Service

**PARIS** — Cuba does not exclude the right-of-pursuit by its troops into Namibia, its Foreign Minister, Mr Jorge Valdes Risquet, said here yesterday. But he added that Cuba did not envisage such a move at this stage.

The Foreign Minister, who headed the Cuban delegation at the four-nation talks in Cairo last month, is in Paris briefing the French government on progress made at the talks.

### 'SADF presence illegal'

He told presidential aide Mr Jean Audbert that "Cuban troops plan to exert pressure all along the Namibian-Angolan border so that negotiations can be started from a position of force". Commenting on the recent loss of 12 white SADF troops at Cunene, he told the French: "After all, the presence of these soldiers was illegal both in Angola and Namibia."

He stressed, however, that "Angolan-Cuban troops are not seeking a military victory over South Africa, but a negotiated and peaceful settlement". Mr Jorge Valdes Risquet would not confirm US Intelligence reports that there were 55 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

"All I will say is that since 1976, a total of 300 000 of our soldiers have been sent in rotating contingents to Angola."

## 25-year armed struggle has failed — Inkatha

**ULUNDI** — The ANC's armed struggle had not succeeded in over 25 years and had no prospects of succeeding, the annual general conference of Inkatha said.

Re-affirming its support yesterday for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelez's policies of non-violence, the conference said violence could only lead to a no-win situation for all parties.

Where change had occurred, it had been because economic realities had been supported by peaceful tactics, the conference said. It called on all Inkatha members not to get side-tracked from the movement's struggle

Inkatha was committed to the principle of black unity in the face of apartheid, the conference said. Blacks responsible for disunity were "doing the Government's dirty work" and "buying time for apartheid".

It called for recognition that black unity could only be achieved through acceptance of a multi-strategy approach, in which every organisation opposed apartheid as it saw fit under its particular circumstances. — Sapa.



# Cuba says hot-pursuit into SWA is possible

ARL 4/7/88 (5)

From JAMES TOMLINS  
The Argus Foreign Service

PARIS. — Cuba does not exclude the right-of-pursuit by its troops into SWA/Namibia, says Cuban Foreign Minister Mr Jorge Valdes Risquet.

But Cuba does not envisage such a move at this stage, he said.

The Minister, who headed the Cuban delegation at the four-nation talks in Cairo last month, is in Paris briefing the French Government on progress made at the talks.

He said: "For the first time in 13 years, that is to say since Angola became independent, we are militarily superior."

He told presidential aide Mr Jean Audibert: "Cuban troops plan to exert pressure all along the Namibian-Angolan border so that negotiations can be started from a position of force."

## Settlement

Commenting on the recent loss of 12 white SADF troops at Cunene, he told the French: "After all, the presence of these soldiers was illegal both in Angola and Namibia."

He emphasised, however, that "Angolan-Cuban troops are not seeking a military victory over South Africa, but a negotiated and peaceful settlement".

Mr Valdes Risquet would not confirm US intelligence reports that there were now 55 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

"All I will say is that since 1976 a total of 300 000 of our soldiers have been sent in rotating contingents to Angola."

# Cuba claims military superiority

BRUSSELS. — Angolan, Cuban and Swapo forces inflicted a heavy defeat on South African troops in southern Angola last week and now enjoy military superiority in the region, a Cuban official said yesterday.

Mr Jorge Risquet Cuba's chief negotiator at the Angolan peace talks, told the Belgian daily *Le Soir* that South Africa had suffered "very heavy losses" in an aerial bombardment near Angola's southern border.

Mr Risquet, a member of Cuba's Communist Party politburo, gave no casualty figures, but said the attack was in retaliation for an earlier South African strike in which 10 people were killed. "We have air, ground and anti-air superiority in the region," said Mr Risquet.

But Cuban forces would not intervene to help Angola dislodge Unita rebels from their base at Jamba near the Namibian border, he said.

"Jamba is the business of the Angolan forces alone . . . The Cubans only intervene if Unita resorts to South African aid. We do not intervene in internal Angolan affairs," he said.

"However, we believe Dr Savimbi has sold his soul to the devil and betrayed his people by allying himself with South Africa. That's why our Angolan allies don't want to talk to him — he's a traitor."

Mr Risquet said South Africa had been forced into peace talks because of the stiff military resistance it had met in the long-running Angolan conflict.

He said he was positive about the talks already held, but said Cuban troops would leave Angola only when South Africa pulled out its soldiers and ended its rule of Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter

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5) 8/day 9/27/88

## Savimbi visit to UK postponed

LONDON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi postponed plans to start a visit to Britain yesterday because he had been called back to Angola, a spokesman for the organisers of the UK trip said.

He said Savimbi now planned to arrive tomorrow.

Savimbi has been in the US, where he met President Ronald Reagan, to drum up support for Unita.

The British government, which

maintains diplomatic relations with the MPLA administration in Luanda, has made it clear it will not grant him an official hearing.

Details of the visit have largely been kept secret for security reasons, but anti-apartheid campaigners have threatened a major protest after discovering that Savimbi is due to address a closed meeting of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London tomorrow evening. — Sapa.

# Angola peace talks back on track after Calueque

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

THE Angola peace talks are back on the tracks after the Cuban and Angolan attacks on Calueque last week, and the next round involving South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States will take place in the US early next week.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said today that the object of the talks would be to try to agree on a set of principles to be embodied in a peace agreement.

Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden, who will lead the South African delegation, said the talks would probably be confined to a statement of broad principles.

They would take place on a "fairly narrow basis". After the Calueque incident a lot of suspicion had to be overcome.

"We shall have to take this small step by small step."

However, he also said that the agenda for the American talks would be that which was agreed to at the last round of talks in Cairo recently.

Although it has been indicated that the talks would take place on Monday and Tuesday, Mr Botha said the talks "would not be confined to a day or two".

They would continue for as long as it took to reach an agreement in principle. "Whether it takes two days or a week, there must be substantial progress," Mr Botha said.

It seems that South Africa has received some sort of assurance after the Calueque incident to persuade it that talks are still worthwhile. After the attack Mr Botha sent messages to the Angolans and Americans asking them if it was still worthwhile talking.

Mr Botha said today that the "nature of the replies" he had received from the two countries had persuaded him that it

was in South Africa's interests to pursue the peace talks.

Diplomatic sources said today that South Africa was pleased with the response but had given an undertaking not to disclose it.

Mr van Heerden said today that it was likely that the Angolans and Cubans would be represented at ministerial level. South Africa would be represented at official level.

Diplomatic sources have indicated that this is because the Cuban and Angolan officials did not have the same authority as South African foreign affairs officials to negotiate on their own.

They emphasised that there was no suggestion that South Africa regarded the talks as any less important than the other side did.

Mr van Heerden said that the negotiating teams at the American talks would concentrate on things they could agree on. These could form the

basis for small working groups to further discuss issues.

Responding to a statement from Cuba's chief negotiator, Mr Jorge Risquet, that if the talks were successful there would be another round during July, Mr van Heerden said it was likely that the talks would be resumed soon if basic agreement was reached.

## Military

It was likely that the next few rounds of talks would also be conducted at official level.

The Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, will head the South African military presence at the talks.

The most likely venue is New York although the South African Department of Foreign Affairs has not confirmed this venue. A department statement said that the venue would be either Washington or New York.

# Visit to Africa delays Savimbi

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — A mystery visit to "somewhere in Africa" has delayed Dr Jonas Savimbi's trip to Britain.

Dr Savimbi, leader of Angola's Unita rebel movement, was due to arrive in London from the United States yesterday. However, a spokesman at the Unita office in London said the visit had been "rescheduled for mid-week".

The spokesman would not give reasons for the change in plans and was only prepared to disclose that Dr Savimbi was in Africa and would probably be in London on Thursday.

Dr Savimbi had speaking ap-

pointments in London today and tomorrow. Officials at both the Foreign Press Association and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, where he was due to speak tomorrow, said they had not heard of Dr Savimbi's change of plans.

The Unita spokesman said a statement explaining the sudden change of plan would be released "later this week".

Dr Savimbi's London visit was due to follow the United States trip on which he managed to successfully deflect much of the criticism of his continuing links with South Africa.

Britain has indicated that it

will not give Dr Savimbi the same red carpet treatment he received in the United States, where he met President Ronald Reagan.

British officials will have no formal contacts with the rebel leader. The reason for this frostiness is that Britain does not have dealings with individuals or groups which are fighting to overthrow a government with which Britain has full diplomatic relations.

However, there will almost certainly be "unofficial" contact between Dr Savimbi and Foreign Office officials.

Meanwhile, various anti-apartheid groups have indicat-

ed they will try to make Dr Savimbi's visit as uncomfortable as possible. The Anti-Apartheid Movement announced that it would be picketing the scene of at least one meeting involving the "surrogate for the apartheid regime".

Angolans could well believe that South Africa's main objective in the Cairo talks was not to settle the issues involved in the war, but instead to disrupt the pan-African policy of the country's diplomatic isolation.

# Who's fooling whom in the Angolan peace negotiations?

SPS/STW

The Cuban attack on the Ruacana hydroelectric scheme obviously calls into question the depth of Cuban commitment to a negotiated peace in Southern Angola. But how seriously are the South Africans trying to reach a negotiated settlement?

In the Cairo talks, considerable effort seems to have been devoted to scoring propaganda points off the Egyptian hosts. These included using a South African Airways plane rather than an executive jet, demanding ministerial meetings, laying wreaths at World War 2 cemeteries (of soldiers whom the Egyptians regarded as occupiers), and cawing about on camels.

At the earlier round of talks in Brazzaville, off-the-agenda negotiations with the Congolese for a South African state visit nearly scuttled the prospects for the negotiations' continuation. Similarly, South African diplomatic indiscretions in Cairo can only serve to antagonise the Angolans and their supporters. It would not be unreasonable if the Angolans believed that South Africa's main objective in these talks was not to settle the issues involved in the war, but instead to disrupt the

By TOM LODGE  
Department of Political Studies  
University of the Witwatersrand

pan-African policy of the country's diplomatic isolation.

But quite apart from Foreign Minister Pik Botha's agenda (and is it too uncharitable to suggest that his own personal jockeying in the succession stakes is amongst its contents?) what is going on in the minds of the military? In the past they have not been enthusiastic advocates of dialogue. Soldiers did their very utmost to render the provisions of the Nkomati accord invalid in the years which followed its signature.

General Geidenhuys and military intelligence chief General van Tonder initially opposed the Brazzaville talks. The SABC took great pains to squeeze General Malan alongside Botha in its airseat interview with the Foreign Minister, but despite the business class accommodation neither looked very comfortable. For the time being the soldiers will play along with the process of negotiation because they don't have much choice.

Their massive efforts failed to se-



Foreign Minister Pik Botha — was he trying to score propaganda points off the Egyptian hosts of the Angolan peace talks in Cairo?

cure Cuito Cuanavale and they were inflicted with the closest approximation of a major defeat in conventional warfare that they have endured since World War 2. The soldiers can't go on pretending that Cuito Cuanavale was a South African military triumph. The Cubans on the border just are not behaving sufficiently like a defeated army for that to be true. So, the military men, for the time being, have to submit with varying degrees of grace to the efforts of Foreign Affairs.

They are not in the strategic position to mount another major offensive, and even if they were, General Malan's ministerial colleagues would be reluctant to allow him the customary blank cheque to underwrite it.

Of course the Cuban offensive, if it persists, may help to change their minds. The Cubans can't altogether be blamed for trying to enhance their leverage; they have not got much to gain from these talks unless they can dictate most of the terms. A demilitarised Southern Angola would represent for them a substantial diplomatic and strategic defeat. It would render the MPLA administration very

vulnerable to the onslaught of Unita which is only partially dependent on South African assistance.

The collapse of the MPLA would mean that a decade of Cuban sacrifice (at least in human terms) would be squandered. Angola is a centrepiece in Cuban foreign policy. At the moment the Cubans are winning the war — at least against the South Africans — militarily. What is going to persuade them to give up the prospects of victory? Surely there is only one concession from the South Africans which would be sufficient. That is the decolonisation of Namibia, along the lines of the United Nations plan certainly, but in a fashion and circumstances which would ensure the orderly succession of a Swapo administration.

But that kind of agreement is very unlikely, not least because of the political fury it would provoke on the platteland between now and October. So, the soldiers and the diplomats may just as well go on employing their camel rides. And young men from the Caribbean and South Africa will continue killing each other in a country far away from their homes.

## Angola talks in New York

LISBON — Negotiators from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States will meet in New York next week to try to agree on a peace settlement for the 13-year war in Angola, the chief Cuban negotiator said yesterday.

A Cuban envoy, Mr Jorge Risquet, said representatives of the four countries would continue to meet today to draw up the principles of an accord, securing peace in Angola and independence for Namibia.

Mr Risquet told a news conference in Lisbon that if the New York talks achieved agreement on the principles of a peace settlement, top-level representatives of the four countries would hold a second meeting this month.

5/1/82

## Savimbi on a mystery visit

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A mystery visit to "somewhere in Africa" has delayed Dr Jonas Savimbi's trip to Britain.

Dr Savimbi, leader of Angola's Unita rebel movement, was due to arrive in London from the United States yesterday. However, a spokesman at the Unita office in London said the visit had been "re-scheduled for midweek".

The spokesman would not give reasons for the change in plans and was prepared to reveal only that Dr Savimbi was in Africa and would probably be in London on Thursday.

Dr Savimbi had speaking appointments in London today and tomorrow.

Officials at the Foreign Press Association and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, where he was due to speak tomorrow, said they had not heard of Dr Savimbi's change of plans.

Dr Savimbi's London visit was due to follow the United States trip on which he managed to deflect much of the criticism concerning his links with South Africa.

Britain has indicated that it will not give Dr Savimbi the same red-carpet treatment he received in the United States, where he was received by President Ronald Reagan.

British officials will have no formal contacts with the rebel leader.

# Cuba pins

# hopes on talks

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**BRUCE CAMERON**  
of The Argus Political Staff  
reports from HAVANA

SENIOR Cuban and diplomatic sources here are optimistic that the current series of talks will lead to a solution to the war in Angola.

However, senior Cuban members of government in off-the-record conversations have indicated extreme distrust of South Africa, particularly over the way the Brazzaville talks were handled.

Head of the Cuban delegation Mr Jorge Risquet, who returns to Cuba today, has been widely reported here as severely criticising South Africa for misleading the Angolans at Brazzaville.

He has also been reported as saying that implementation of United Nations resolution 435 is the key to the success of the talks.

Senior diplomats in Havana, however, did not see the Cuban anxiety over South African credibility as an overwhelming factor.

They were optimistic that the talks could succeed and that the Cubans were sincere in their attempts to get a settlement.

They said the main fear of the Cubans was that agreement would be reached on withdrawal of troops, both South African and Cuban, from Angola and South-West Africa/Namibia, but that the South Africans could re-invade after the Cubans had left.

The diplomats indicated that an international peace-keeping force, probably straddling the Angolan border, would be needed to quiet the fears of Angola and Cuba, as well as South African fears that Swapo would attempt to move south.

The senior Cubans said they had been surprised at how they had been able to negotiate rationally with the South Africans. They also expressed admiration for development in South Africa, saying that South Africa had tremendous potential to assist the rest of the continent.

### Strategy

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's sudden trip back to "somewhere in Africa" this week could herald a breakthrough in the peace strategy for Angola.

Dr Savimbi earlier postponed a visit to London after leaving the United States where he met President Ronald Reagan. Unita officials said he had broken off the trip to go "somewhere in Africa".

However, a spokesman for Unita's London office said yesterday that Dr Savimbi had visited Africa in connection with a peace strategy he had put to the United States. He is expected back in London today.

Dr Savimbi claimed in a speech to the National Press Club in Washington that President Reagan had endorsed the plan to bring "peace and reconciliation to my country".

Unita's London spokesman said the trip back to Africa had been in connection with plans

(Turn to page 3, col 2)

## Cubans hopeful

(Continued from page 1)

for the US to work with African heads of state.

● From Munich The Argus Foreign Service reports that Defence Minister General Magnus Malan says South Africa is prepared to help a "government of national unity" rebuild

the Angolan economy, according to an interview in a leading West German newspaper yesterday.

General Malan, interviewed by the Southern Africa correspondent of Die Welt, said: "The situation in Angola has deteriorated so much that economic reconstruction will take decades. For that reason, South Africa believes that the internal disputes over the government of the country must end.

"We favour a government of national unity. We are also prepared to help in the reconstruction of the country."

General Malan said a reduction of the Soviet presence in Angola was a precondition for the formation of such a government.

General Malan said he saw no reason "why the rules that brought the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan should not also apply to Angola".

Municipal Report  
PRECAST concrete  
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This popular, concrete wall should be replaced with a textured report in planner's department

The report, at town planning meeting today, re about "unsightly" increasing number walls on street boundary

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REPORT WRITERS, (C) HIRSHFELD'S



# SA presence in Angola queried by Kerkbode (5)

Staff Reporter

ARGW 6/7/88

THE "more-or-less permanent" presence of South African troops in Angola has been questioned by Die Kerkbode, the official mouthpiece of the Dutch Reformed church, in an editorial.

An article in the latest issue of the publication refers to the death of 12 young South Africans in the south of Angola and asks: "Is it right that South African troops are present in Angola?"

"Without wishing to argue the matter from a political or military point of view, something the church is not authorised to do, we would like to pose the question whether it would not be morally and ethically correct for South Africa to withdraw its troops from Angola completely," Die Kerkbode says.

## FOREIGN COUNTRY

"The fact of the matter is that it is not South African territory. It would seem that the more-or-less permanent presence of South African troops in this foreign country can be questioned on Christian ethical grounds.

"The prospect is that South Africa will be drawn deeper into the battle on foreign territory and will suffer increasing loss of lives."

The article acknowledges the complexity of the Southern African situation.

"Since the seventies, our part of the world has become more and more of a flashpoint. The question of Southern Africa has never been straightforward and has become increasingly difficult with the intervention of foreign powers.

## PERMANENT PRESENCE

"The withdrawal of the Portuguese from Angola and the Marxist government coming to power in the country without proper elections, as well as the Swapo attacks in South West Africa, have led to virtually permanent South African presence in southern Angola. "The massing of Cuban forces near the South West African border has made the situation explosive.

● The moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns, said today: "While the Government may have its reasons for maintaining a military presence in Angola, parents of national servicemen are entitled to ask whether this is necessary."

~~(S)~~ (S) B/day 6/7/88

Many sophisticated Soviet weapons

# Angolan arms outgun SA's, says expert

ANGOLA'S Soviet-backed military supplies outweigh SA's military strength, according to unofficial figures published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

An analysis of its 1987-1988 military balance shows Angola's numerical military superiority with sophisticated Soviet arms, such as the MiG-23 aircraft, Mi-25 attack helicopters, T-62 tanks, radar systems and surface-to-air missiles.

Angola claimed superior air strength after recent MiG-23 attacks on the Calueque water project. It would seem that on a one-to-one basis of sophisticated fighter aircraft, Angola outweighs SA.

The IISS says Angola's 148 combat aircraft include 21 armed helicopters, four fighter ground attack squadrons of 30 MiG-23, 61 MiG-21MF, and eight Su-22s.

Angola also has 46 interceptor and reconnaissance combat planes.

In comparison, SA is said to have 366 combat aircraft, none of which, except the newly-introduced Cheeta, competes in sophistication with the Soviet MiG-21 and MiG-

ELSABÉ WESSELS

23s.

The institute says SA has two squadrons of bombers: one with five Canberra B(1) 12s and the other with five Buccaneer S-50s; four squadrons with 15 Mirages and 80 Impalas. It also has 57 ground attack/interceptor/reconnaissance aircraft.

However, SA Institute for Strategic Studies director Professor Mike Hough believes SA has formidable military potential in the quality and strategic sense.

And in a total war situation, SA could easily mobilise 600 000 troops in a relatively short time.

The combined MPLA/Cuban troop strength in Angola is estimated at 113 000. SA has an estimated 97 000 active armed forces. The number in Angola are not known.

The IISS says SA has 250 Centurion/Olifant tanks. Angola has 540 tanks, including 150 T-34, 300 T-54/-55, 90 T-62 and some 50 PT-76. Angola has 10 surface-to-air missile batteries: 12 SA-2 Guideline, 40 SA-3 Goa, 72 SA-6 Gainful, 48 of other types.

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Putting brake

THE Office for D...

# Savimbi trip 5 seen as a peace breakthrough

The Star's Foreign News Service

LONDON — Dr Jonas Savimbi's sudden return to Africa this week could herald a breakthrough for war-torn Angola, Unita believes.

Dr Savimbi, leader of Angola's Unita rebel movement, earlier postponed a visit to London after leaving the United States and a meeting with President Ronald Reagan. He is expected in London today.

Unita's London office said yesterday that Dr Savimbi had visited Africa in connection with the peace strategy he had put to the United States.

Dr Savimbi claimed in Washington that President Reagan had endorsed his proposals that:

- US aid to Unita should continue only while Russia and Cuba provided military aid to the MPLA.
- The US should maintain contacts with all parties in a concentrated effort to force the withdrawal of all foreign troops.
- The US, supported by key African states, should promote dialogue between Unita and the MPLA to agree on an interim government and free elections.

Unita's London spokesman said the trip back to Africa had been in connection with the plans for the US to work with African heads of state.

Whatever the reason for Dr Savimbi's trip, Unita troops are said to be consolidating their position in the north of Angola.

According to an Independent Television News report yesterday they are using a "scorched earth" policy to keep their enemies on the run.

ITV has screened rare footage of Unita in action and said "tens of thousands" of Unita troops are moving northwards from their headquarters at Jamba along what is now known as the "Savimbi Trail".

The report said Unita soldiers have succeeded in driving a wedge through the centre of the country and are having frequent contacts with MPLA troops.

# Savimbi trip may be breakthrough

The Star Bureau (S)  
LONDON — Dr Jonas Savimbi's sudden trip back to Africa this week could herald a breakthrough in the peace strategy for war-torn Angola, according to Unita.  
Dr Savimbi earlier postponed a visit to London after leaving the United States and a meeting with President Ronald Reagan.  
Unita officials initially

refused to divulge reasons for the postponement, but did say he had broken off the trip to go "somewhere in Africa".

However, a spokesman for Unita's London office said yesterday that Dr Savimbi had visited Africa in connection with the four-point peace strategy he had put to the United States.

He would not elaborate, but hoped the plans

"would take off".

Dr Savimbi claimed President Reagan had endorsed the plan to bring "peace and reconciliation to my country".

Terms of Dr Savimbi's strategy included that the United States and key African states should promote dialogue between Unita and the MPLA to focus on the formation of an interim government, leading to free and fair elections.

Dr Savimbi is expected back in London today.

Britain has already indicated that it would not formally receive Dr Savimbi. However, he is expected to meet with Foreign Office officials on an informal basis.

## Angolan talks still to be at expert level

PRETORIA. — The next round of talks to resolve the Angolan issue would still be held at "expert" level in the US next week, and would not be upgraded to ministerial level because of last week's fighting in southern Angola, a Foreign Affairs spokeswoman said here yesterday.

"As far as we are concerned, we are pressing sincerely for the peace talks to go on," the spokeswoman said. "We are not discouraged and we have no intention to break off negotiations."

It appeared that the talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States would be held in New York — and not Washington — from next Monday onwards.

It was decided at the previous meeting in Cairo that the talks would basically be at the same level as they had been in London.

South Africa will be represented by Mr Neil van Heerden, director general of Foreign Affairs, and the chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, among others.

One of the matters likely to be discussed is last week's fighting in southern Angola, where a move southwards by a large contingent of the estimated 50 000 Cuban soldiers stationed in Angola culminated in a combined Angolan-Cuban attack on the South African-defended Calueque dam near the Namibian border.

The SADF said 12 South African troops and 200 Cubans were killed. Angola denied these figures.

Eleven of the South Africans died in a MiG 23 air raid at the Calueque water project. — Sapa

## Namibian peace hopes look better — expert

WINDHOEK. — Prospects for implementing the UN plan for Namibian independence had improved this year, the chairman of the Namibia Peace Plan Study Group, Mr Bryan O'Linn, said yesterday.

He said the reasons were the link-up between the United States and the Soviet Union for a settlement to the conflicts, and the military checkmate in Angola.

South Africa had apparently lost its vital air superiority, though the Republic still commanded tremendous reserves and military clout.

The costs to South Africa of an escalation in the war, estimated by some analysts at R4bn a year, would become too high, particularly with new sanctions in the pipeline, he said.

The costs of the war were equally crippling to Angola and Cuba, and an escalation of hostilities would be disastrous for Angola. — Sapa

Whole page (S)

**HARARE.** — Some African leaders fear Angolans might abandon the guerillas of the South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo) and the African National Congress (ANC) in an effort to bring peace to their war-ravaged land.

Frontline states are already putting pressure on Angola not to be "duped" by South Africa in any peace accord. Pretoria may demand the closure of ANC and Swapo bases in Angola in return for guarantees that neither South Africa nor Unita would use Namibia as a base from which to attack Angola.

African leaders ask if a South African government which violated every past peace pact with its neighbours can now be trusted.

Most African leaders assume Pretoria's professed willingness to talk about pulling out of Angola is probably a manoeuvre to buy time for regrouping themselves militarily after a southward thrust by Cuban, Angolan and Swapo troops.

Some argue a peace pact with Pretoria "is not worth the paper it's printed on". They note that South Africa in the past violated a 1978 Namibian independence agreement and non-aggression pacts signed with Swaziland in 1982 and Mozambique in 1984.

**Pushing SA to talk**

The on-the-ground reality pushing Pretoria and Luanda to talk is that South Africa is fast losing territory on the Angolan battlefield and Angola, while slowly gaining militarily, suffers the crushing human impact of anti-civilian violence.

African leaders believe new military gains by an alliance of Angolans, Cubans, and Swapo anti-apartheid fighters from Namibia - not Chester Crocker's diplomacy - forced South Africa to the bargaining table.

The combined force has pushed South African invasion troops almost to the Namibian border, and gave them a crushing blow when Angolan aircraft bombed and cut off the vital water supply from Calueque, killing 12 South African national servicemen.

Angolan president Jose Dos Santos says Angola firmly believes that "South Africa is interested in finding a negotiated settlement to the problems it faces in Namibia and Angola." He stressed that the future of Namibia remains "the centrepiece of any meaningful agreement with South Africa".

Dos Santos said the Cuban moves were "in response to the increase in attacks on Angola from South Africa and other countries."

Officially, Luanda refuses to link the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola with the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, which calls for the immediate independence of Namibia from South African occupation.



Dos Santos

**African leaders are concerned that Angola might abandon Swapo and the ANC in an effort to extricate itself from the crippling war that has ravaged the country. On-the-ground realities - and not political pressures - have brought South Africa and Angola to the bargaining table. The most likely peace scenario involves each side withdrawing support from insurgents it now backs against the other. STEVE ASKIN and JACKSON PHILLIPS report.**

# Angola's ANC poser

However, by attending talks in London, Brazzaville and Cairo, Angola has effectively accepted that link. Dos Santos said: "While it is possible to resolve the problems of Angola independently of Namibia, the solution would take a long time and much military and economic effort."

Instead, he preferred to see "Namibia as the main issue because Namibia is the logistical support base for aggression against Angola." He added: "Our main aim is to remove that base."

The key question is whether Angola would accept a separate peace with South Africa which did not include immediate independence for Namibia, a point few people believe Pretoria is ready to concede.

The South West African Peoples Organisation (Swapo), recognised by the UN as the sole representative of the Namibian people, puts on a brave face in public.

Secretary-General Andima Toivo ja Toivo

says he does not believe the Angolans have accepted "linkage".

Diplomats, however, confirm that it is fearful of "having to make political concessions they would prefer not to make."

Toivo ja Toivo categorically rejected the recent call by the South African-backed transitional government to return to Namibia and prepare the way together for independence. "If the call comes from South Africa then we will accept but not from their puppets," he says.

Toivo ja Toivo was muted on the support an independent Namibia would give the ANC: "To what extent we will be able to support the liberation movements depends on our economy and it is tied into that of South Africa."

Points out dos Santos: "It is not us who are insisting on Namibian independence, it is the United Nations."

Yet there are important factors making it increasingly painful for either country to continue fighting

War turned oil-rich Angola, potentially one of Africa's most prosperous nations, into a poverty-stricken wasteland. More than 50 000 Angolan children die from fighting and war-induced hunger each year, UNICEF estimates

Other gruesome statistics indicate that Unita's anti-civilian violence has made Angolans the most amputated people on earth. More than 20 000 Angolan civilians have lost limbs in the war, most by stepping on land mines supplied to Unita by the United States or South Africa, UN officials say

Embattled on the home front, South Africa can't easily bear the escalating political, economic and military cost of a war more than 1 100kms from its northern frontier

In addition to the Angolan front, South Africa maintains 100 000 occupation troops in Namibia, wages intermittent destabilisation wars against most of its neighbours, and faces growing internal resistance from ANC guerillas

The toll on white morale was starkly detailed by the London-based newsletter Southscan which reported in early May that 404 South African Defence Force men attempted suicide in 1987, while up to 25 percent of white conscripts fail to report for duty in some parts of South Africa

**Cut off aid**

Cuba, too, faces growing dissatisfaction at home over the costs of war, and a peace pact would obviously advance efforts by the Soviet Union, Angola's main arms supplier, to reduce the drain on its economy from regional East-West conflicts.

The other reality behind the USA's desire for an agreement is that Reagan's favourite African anti-communist, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, will lose most of his bargaining power when a new president takes office.

Both Democratic contenders have already pledged to cut off Reagan's R30 million a year aid to Savimbi. Even Bush is seen as soft on Savimbi

The most likely settlement scenario involves Luanda abandoning support for the anti-apartheid ANC which maintains military bases in Angola. In exchange, South Africa would pull its own troops out of Angola and join Washington in cutting off aid to Unita. The 50 000 Cuban troops now helping Angola defend against South Africa and its Unita allies would go home

Left unclear in this scenario is the future of Swapo to whose fate the war in Angola has been linked from the beginning

Should Angola accept this scenario, it would reflect the desperation of a war-weary nation which has been fighting almost non stop since the independence war in the early 1960s - PACIFIC NEWS, GEMINI

# Orphans of war

**KUITO.** - The main street of the Angolan town of Kuito could be renamed "Orphanage row". A long line of houses on one side of the wide avenue has been turned into a block of homeless children. More than 500 are now in care.

Each afternoon in a nearby park they ride on the swings and play traditional games as helicopter gunships thunder overhead on their way back from the combat zone at Cuemba, 150 kilometres to the east.

They are testament to one of the uglier sides of the 13-year-old struggle between the MPLA government in Luanda and Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels, supported by South Africa and the US.

While Savimbi visits Washington and London in search of a role in talks on Angola's future, arguing that Unita deserves it for tying up the government's Cuban and Moscow-backed forces, in Kuito they talk of the rebels' taste for civilian "soft targets".

Nights in Kuito are rarely quiet. Small arms fire can usually be heard on the outskirts of town. Sometimes the shooting is much nearer. Sometimes the weapons are not so small.

In April, the maternity and paediatric centre at Cunje, a ten-minute

**While Jonas Savimbi is visiting US and European capitals trying to get a foothold in current talks on Angola, his rebels back home specialise in hitting "soft targets". They are attacking hospitals, killing civilians and leaving hundreds of children orphaned or maimed. His support among the Ovimbundu tribe is also suspect. JEREMY HARDING reports.**

drive from Kuito, was attacked by the rebels. Today it is barely functional: a hole 30 metres square has been blown in the back, the floor is strewn with rubble and all that remains of the upper walls are a few steel reinforcement rods twisted out of shape. The roof is no more.

Mauricio Caveto, chief pharmacist at the clinic, said there were 18 sick children in the building, five women in the maternity unit and a further eight adults in isolation when the night attack began.

**Single mortar**

The operation began with a single mortar round lobbed through the roof. The nurses and cleaners evacuated the patients before the rebels arrived to set dynamite charges. Everyone escaped injury.

Almost two months later Laurinda, a young Angolan girl whose family lives nearby, was still perplexed by the attack. "There were no soldiers in the clinic, only sick people," she said.

She and her family heard the noise of the attack and hid in the fields outside their house, a dangerous strategy as anyone who strays from the main roads must reckon with Unita landmines.

Dr Joaquim Duma, director of the provincial hospital in Kuito, can cite numerous Unita attacks on medical facilities in the region.

Bomba Alta orthopaedic centre, 140 km west in the city of Huambo, was recently bombed and a section rebuilt. Another sizeable hospital with 100 beds, 150 km from Kuito, was destroyed earlier this year.

In Katobola, 30 km from the town centre, Unita rebels sacked the clinic. In Camacupa, 80kms from town, they ordered the patients to get up and marched off with all the beds, blowing up the mortuary for good measure.

Conditions in Kuito raise a further question about Unita: what is the extent and character of its popular

support? Jonas Savimbi has long claimed to represent Angola's Ovimbundu people, estimated in 1960 at 1.7 million in a total population of eight million.

Independence in 1975 brought few benefits to the Ovimbundu. Almost none enjoys a senior position in the government.

**No heroic champ**

But in Kuito the notion that Unita is the heroic champion of a persecuted ethnic group looks highly improbable. A great many of Kuito's inhabitants are Ovimbundu, but there are few signs of support for Unita or its leader.

Dr Duma, himself an Ovimbundu, says of Savimbi: "I feel a terrible fury about this man who comes to Angola to kill and maim in the name of Ovimbundu."

In Duma's hospital, long rows of beds contain Ovimbundu children who have had their legs blown off by landmines paid for by Washington. A young girl no more than 12

years old has a gaping white furrow between her shoulder blades - a bullet wound from a rebel attack. Every day she fights back the tears as the wound is drained and dressed

Teresa, who walks on crutches, is another bullet wound victim. She is ten or 11 and has been discharged from hospital to live in one of Kuito's big orphanages. She was shot in the leg during a Unita raid on her village in which both her parents were killed

At national level, Angola's Secretariat of Social Affairs has devised two schemes for the country's estimated 250 000 orphaned and displaced children. One moves homeless youngsters into new environments. The other tries to reintegrate them into their original communities.

Adoption of individual children by families is not uncommon. While adoptions are generally approved of, community workers report that many families use it to acquire cheap labour.

Unita has waged a tenacious war against Luanda's formidable military machine, but the testimony of Angola's hospitals and orphanages is grim, and the condition of children in the country is Unita's most heinous witness.

GEMINI NEWS

Cap 1mb 7/7/88

# Twin rebuffs for Savimbi

From MIKE ROBERTSON

5

**LONDON.** — Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi suffered twin snubs yesterday as the British Foreign Office stuck by its refusal to meet him, and the Portuguese government blocked a visit to Lisbon.

However, the Foreign Office refused to accede to demands from opposition MPs to deny him a visa to enter Britain.

In meetings here Dr Savimbi has been doing his best to distance himself from the South African government.

He called for a government of national reconciliation in Angola stressing that there was no way he, personally, could be written out of any peace deal.

Dr Savimbi had to brave a 50-strong gauntlet of anti-apartheid demonstrators as he arrived to deliver a lecture to a restricted audience at the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

The demonstrators splashed red paint over the front door of the prestigious institute and using loudhailers chanted "Savimbi and Botha wanted for murder".

Meanwhile, a political row is brewing in Lisbon over a government decision to block a proposed Savimbi visit to Portugal.

Unita officials said Dr Savimbi had applied for a visa to visit Portugal while in Washington where he had had talks with President Ronald Reagan and senior

administration officials.

The Angolan government and a pro-Luanda lobby in Portugal has mounted a major campaign to prevent Dr Savimbi's visit. The Angolan ambassador in Lisbon, Mr Joao Mawete Baptista, warned the Portuguese that Luanda could break diplomatic relations and two-way trade could be affected if the rebel leader set foot in Portugal.

There were suggestions yesterday that despite the block on the visit, Dr Savimbi might make a stop-over in Lisbon giving him access to the international transit lounge and a chance to talk to the Portuguese media.



# US coaxes Angola with economic aid

MGAs 7/7/85

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — United States lawmakers are dangling a multi-million dollar carrot in front of the Angolan Government as it prepares for a third round of peace talks in New York next week.

Senators in charge of doling out billions of dollars in aid to foreign countries suggested they might reverse a ban on funds to Angola, depending on the outcome of negotiations to end that country's civil war.

"National reconciliation and the removal of Cuban, Soviet and South African forces would encourage this committee to consider establishing assistance programmes in Angola," said a newly published report from the Senate's Committee on Appropriations.

The committee granted the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) \$50-million (R116-million) to repair economies and reduce dependence on South Africa in the

current financial year.

It has approved a similar amount for SADCC in the 1989 financial year.

The committee noted that aid was prohibited to Angola, with which the US has no diplomatic relations, and Mozambique. "The committee reiterates its strong support for prohibiting assistance to Angola," the report said. "The committee does, however, believe that Angola holds vast economic potential which has been severely retarded by the ongoing civil war."

## INCENTIVE

"This economic promise could contribute to the long-term development needs of Africa as well as assist in the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa."

"The committee will carefully consider and review results on negotiations between Unita and the MPLA to end this civil war," it said.

The appropriations panel offered the incentive a few days before Angola, Cuba, South Africa

and the US were to meet again after initial settlement talks in London and Cairo in the last two months. They are expected to try to advance the negotiations in New York.

On the funds it has earmarked for the SADCC next year, the appropriations committee said the region faced serious problems. It cited a transport network which had been disrupted by conflict and "too closely tied" to South Africa, an out-of-control population growth, and unemployment.

● The US has set aside \$5-million (R11,6-million) for the treatment of and artificial limbs for those maimed in global conflicts, including Mozambique and Angola.

Citing International Committee for the Red Cross figures, the Senate Committee on Appropriations said 5 000 victims had lost limbs to landmines in Mozambique. Amputees numbered 20 000 in Angola, 66 000 in Vietnam, and 2 000 in El Salvador.

● See Page 6.



Defence spending down — admiral

# Angola 'not bigger strain on taxpayer'

By Claire Robertson  
Pretoria Bureau

South African Defence Force operations in Angola have not caused "an additional burden on the taxpayer" according to Chief of the Navy Vice Admiral Glen Syndercombe.

"Operations in Angola, without additional burden to the taxpayer, are accomplished by making the best possible use of existing resources and by rescheduling activities," he said, writing in the latest edition of the Navy's authorised periodical *Navy News*.

Until the second half of February this year the forces deployed in Angola were all full-time force members, he said, and the "first and only Citizen Force unit serving in Angola (since then) would have been called up" in any event.

A brigade which gained conventional warfare experience in Angola would not have to be called up to do a brigade exercise like Operation Thunder Chariot "in the near future", he said.

The arms and ammunition used made up a "big item of expenditure", but had a certain shelf-life anyway, and "the armaments industry requires a certain minimum order level to survive".

"During the current financial year the cost of unforeseen operations in SWA context is already some R48 million less than last year," he said.

Vice Admiral Syndercombe also states that the Defence share of State expenditure has decreased in the past 10 years.

## Defence allocations

"During the past 10 years defence allocations in real terms averaged R7,173 million a year — that is, slightly below the R7,232 million for 1977/78.

"The 1986/87 defence allocation was 7,6 percent higher than the 1977/78 allocation as against a 37,6 percent increase for the State as a whole."

In real terms, said Vice Admiral Syndercombe, this year's Defence Budget — more than R1 billion up on last year — has actually decreased since last year.

In his calculations he has taken a consumer price index increase into account to convert last year's Defence Budget up to 1988 levels.

Star 7/7/88

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

MUNICH — South Africa is prepared to help a "government of national unity" rebuild the war-shattered economy of Angola, South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan said in an interview with a leading West German newspaper this week.

General Malan, interviewed by the southern Africa correspondent of *Die Welt*, said the situation in Angola had deteriorated so much that economic reconstruction

## Offer to help rebuild a shattered economy

would take decades. "For that reason, South Africa believes that the internal disputes over the government of the country must finally end.

"We favour a government of national unity and we are prepared to help in the reconstruction of the country."

General Malan said a reduction of the Soviet presence in Angola was a precondition.

"Moscow bears the ultimate responsibility for the Cuban troop presence and the increase of offensive arms. Highly developed weapons deployed in southeast Angola are not intended for a guerilla war."

He said he saw no reason why the rules that brought the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan should

not apply to Angola.

"Gorbachev is ready to bring the MPLA government and the Cubans into negotiations. My government would welcome such a development."

Questioned about the Cape Sea route, General Malan said: "Why should we trouble ourselves about the strategic importance of the Cape for the West?"

"A series of Western countries has applied sanctions against South Africa. The Cape route is open not only to the West but to the whole world."

Cape Times 7/7/81

# Kerkbode queries SA in Angola

Staff Reporter

THE death of 12 young South African soldiers in Angola last week again had raised the question whether it was right for South African troops to be in Angola, according to an editorial in the latest issue of the Kerkbode, official mouthpiece of the NG Kerk.

It accepted there were political and military reasons for South Africa to play a role in southern Angola.

It was necessary to prevent

South Africa from being overrun by a foreign power but that argument could lead to this country extending the border further and further north.

"Without wishing to argue the matter from a political or military point of view — something the church cannot do — we would like to pose the question whether it would not be morally and ethically correct for South Africa to withdraw its troops from Angola completely. After all, it is not South African territory.

"It appears that the 'more or

less' permanent presence of South African troops in this foreign country can be questioned on Christian ethical grounds.

"The prospect is that South Africa could be drawn deeper into a battle on foreign soil with increasing loss of life."

Southern Africa had, since the 70s, become more of a flashpoint. The question of Southern Africa had never been straightforward and had become increasingly difficult with the intervention of foreign powers.

# New turn in row over NGK article on Angola

The Argus correspondent in Pretoria reports

THE row over the Ned Gerret Kerk's questioning the presence of South African troops in Angola took a further turn today with a "clarifying" statement by the Moderator of the church, Professor Johan Heyns, through the Department of Defence.

The editorial in the church's journal, the Kerkbode, has caused a stir in government circles. However, the Department of Defence has denied putting any pressure on Professor Heyns to issue a state-ment as suggested by the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on defence, Mr Roger Hulley, MP.

Professor Heyns denied that the statement, which he said was prepared in conjunction with military officials, had repudiated the editorial in the Kerkbode as reported in an Afrikaans morning newspaper, Beeld. He said the report was incorrect.

The Kerkbode's editorial had questioned the presence of South African troops in Angola on "Chris-

tian-ethical" grounds.

Professor Heyns said: "I had discussions with defence officials yesterday. I merely expanded Die Kerkbode's article and placed it in historical context.

"To imply either that I am the 'boss' of the NGK or that I disagree with the article and that there is a split in the church over the matter, as Beeld reported, is entirely incorrect.

"At no stage did I use the word 'repudiate'. I merely agreed to place certain aspects of the editorial in context. The report as it stands in the newspaper is incorrect and does not accurately convey what I said."

He stood by a statement issued yesterday in which he reaffirmed the right of the church to question state actions where they affected the everyday lives of Christians. "Parents of servicemen are cer-

tainly entitled to question whether a South African military presence in southern Angola is necessary. I concede that military action is often necessary to defend a country or its borders, but this does not mean that we have to remain silent over it."

An editorial in Beeld today, which published Professor Heyns's statement, stated that a political solution to the Angola problem would be preferable to a military one.

Beeld also conceded that parents and taxpayers had a right to ask whether "the sacrifices made in the operational area are always justifiable."

It added: "Mr Pik Botha first carefully broached the matter in public last week. Now Die Kerkbode has asked even more clearly whether it would not be advisable to withdraw South African troops from Angola."

A spokesman for the editor of the Kerkbode, Dr Fritz Gaun, said he had gone on holiday and could not be contacted for comment.

Mr Hulley said it was "a most significant development that the NGK has raised the basic question of the morality of South Africa's involvement in Angola.

"Clearly, a significant body of opinion in the church is questioning the SADF involvement in Angola and in spite of the 'clarification statement' the fundamental question raised in the original editorial remains."

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday that "it appears from reports about the Kerkbode editorial that it doesn't take into account the strategic-military considerations and interests of South Africa".

He added: "The doors of the min-

istry and the SADF are always open for questions and replies."

The Department of Defence has denied bringing pressure to bear on the church. Professor Heyns's statement was issued by the department merely because it had better facilities to issue statements, a spokesman said.

The SADF Chaplain-General had approached Professor Heyns after the Kerkbode editorial appeared to seek clarification on the church's viewpoint.

Meanwhile, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, MP, chairman of the National Party's parliamentary defence group and a former NGK minister, said he had problems with the Kerkbode opinion that it could not comment on the Angolan war from a political or military point of view but only from a moral-theological perspective.

"Unfortunately, you can only comment on this war from a political and military perspective," he said.

# US promises aid to Angola if talks succeed

(S)  
STW 7/7/88

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — US lawmakers are dangling a multimillion dollar carrot in front of the Angolan government as it prepares for a third round of peace talks in New York next week.

Senators in charge of doling out billions of dollars in aid to foreign countries annually suggested they may reverse a ban on funds to Angola, depending on the outcome of negotiations to end that country's civil war.

"National reconciliation and the removal of Cuban, Soviet and South African forces would encourage this committee to consider establishing assistance programmes in Angola," said a newly-published report from the senate's committee on appropriations.

## Vast economic potential

The committee noted that aid was prohibited to Angola, with which the US has no diplomatic relations. "The committee reiterates its strong support for prohibiting assistance to Angola," the report said. "The committee does, however, believe that Angola holds vast economic potential which has been severely retarded by the ongoing civil war.

"The committee will carefully consider and review results on negotiations between Unita and the MPLA to end this civil war.

"Resolving the 13-year-old civil war and rebuilding the Angolan economy are mutually admirable goals for African and US geopolitical concerns."

The appropriations panel offered the incentive a few days before Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the US were to meet again after initial settlement talks in London and Cairo in the last two months.

Part three of the talks follow intensive public relations and lobbying blitzes on Washington by Angola's two warring parties — the ruling MPLA and Unita.

# The border shifts



■ The situation in southern Angola is dangerously close to fullscale combat

What most ordinary South Africans find utterly confusing about the latest round of peace talks between SA, Cuba and Angola is that they should be taking place against a background of intermittent skirmishing between troops of the opposing forces.

Typical of the military muscle-flexing was the ground and air attack by Cuban and Angolan forces on Calueque Dam last week which left 12 SA soldiers dead.

The contradictions are obvious. How is it possible for the long-time adversaries in Angola to sit around the table and parley about peace when the respective forces under their command are periodically involved in a hot shooting war? Subtleties such as these are baffling and consign the intricacies of inter-

national relations to those in Foreign Affairs who appear to understand them best.

But what is truly disturbing about the shoot-and-talk tactics is that they have the propensity to escalate into a fully fledged military confrontation which could scuttle the delicate peace talks once and for all.

Already Foreign Minister Pik Botha has warned that it appears pointless to pursue peace while the battle in Angola rages on. That is a dangerous line of thinking. The whole of southern Africa — indeed, the international community — is anticipating a favourable outcome to the current peace process. It would be on SA's head if it should back out of the negotiations now — whatever the provocations.

US State Department spokesman Charles Redman was quick to dismiss such negativism last week when he noted that the US expected all parties to the negotiations to honour their commitment to turn up for the next round of peace talks in Washington on July 11.

We would concur. A military solution in Angola is just not feasible — certainly the cost of even attempting one would be unacceptably high both in terms of manpower and material. Of course, national pride is involved. It is not easy for SA forces to sit back and endure the brazen adventurism of foreign troops encamped a mere 12 km from the Namibian border. But the SADF should at all costs resist the temptation to escalate

the conflict. Peace is far more important than scoring short-term military points. It seems axiomatic that the only way to secure peace of any description is through negotiation.

Indeed, it has been suggested that the Cubans might be being deliberately provocative in order to force a strong retaliation which would damage SA's credibility and brand it as the aggressor bent more on flexing its military muscle than in searching for true peace around the conference table.

That may be so. However, other observers see less sinister undertones in the rapid deployment of Cuban troops in the south of Angola and the recent military clashes near the Namibian border.

André du Pisani of the Institute for Strategic Studies at Wits reckons the developments are "entirely in character" given the current stage of negotiations. He maintains the battlefield manoeuvring is entirely consistent with the peace talks in that it "could be expected that the parties would attempt to enhance their respective positions at the negotiating table."

Professor Mike Hough, director of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, sees the latest Cuban-led assault on Calueque as two-pronged — to move militarily against SADF positions in Angola and to score propaganda points by attempting to assert Cuban military supremacy.

If that is so, the parties involved are playing a dangerous game and full-scale war could indeed be perilously close in Angola. One need only look at the history of the conflict between SA and Angola's surrogate Cuban forces to see just how thin the ice is.

If ever there was a physical embodiment of what the SA government considers unwarranted foreign intervention in the affairs of southern Africa, it is the Cuban presence in Angola. And we know how touchy Pretoria is on that issue.

Invited into the region by the Angolan government in 1975 in the face of what Luanda described as "rampant SA aggression," the Cubans have been a force in the territory ever since. In fact much of the substance of the current negotiations has to do with the removal of the Cuban presence — and that of *all* other foreign forces — from the region.

The upshot has been that the two adversaries and their respective allies have clashed repeatedly on the battlefield with what can only be described as mixed outcomes. There is no question the Cubans took a pasting at the battle of Lomba during which the

SADF's long-range artillery piece, the G5, played a decisive role. Cuito Cuanavale, on the other hand, was, and still is, something of a stalemate.

More recently, aggression on the battlefield has been translated into belligerence in diplomatic circles with SA's minister of defence claiming the Cubans had given a "pathetic" account of themselves, and the Cubans asserting in return that they had finally gained the upper hand in Angola and nipped SA's military adventurism in the bud.

Exacerbating the situation and increasing the frustration of SA's military strategists is the suggestion that SA may finally have lost control over the air in Angola due to the superior firepower and sophistication of An-

as the one on the ground. There is hardly any doubt that the mood of the last meeting in Egypt was far less affable than pictures of cabinet ministers sitting on camels suggested.

For the Cubans — classic exporters of revolution and champion of the socialist cause around the world — as much is at stake. It is imperative that they come away with a victory, either on the battlefield or at the conference table, in order to salvage leader Fidel Castro's reputation for projecting his influence and showing solidarity with those he considers to be downtrodden.

It is, in effect, a classic case of colliding egos and opposing nationalism — to say nothing of diametrically opposed ideologies. As Malan has already remarked, somewhat

prophetically, the Cuban presence in southern Angola could indeed be the "spark that lights the fire." One hopes fervently that it does not come to that. Not least because of what a full-scale military call-up will do to the national economy.

It is worth considering that the instruments which leaders invariably use to project their will or back up their bravado are ultimately driven by real people — infantrymen, tank commanders and artillery men in the field — whose lives are precious.

It is perhaps the prospect of taking heavy losses in what is finally an unpopular war for all the parties concerned that has acted as the biggest single restraining factor on the combatants thus far. Yet given the situation, one cannot afford to be sanguine that a serious shooting war can be avoided in southern Angola. Even the US State Department's Redman observed that having hostile forces ranged against each other in such close proximity does not help tensions in the region.

Peace, rather than war, is of course a far preferable option. But what are the chances of peace — assuming negotiations

are resumed? From what can be gleaned from discussions, it appears the position of the respective parties is as wide as ever over the central issue — the withdrawal of Cuban and SA forces from Angola.

The Angolans see a phased withdrawal of the Cubans over four years while the SA team is apparently insisting on a much speedier exit — a 12-week timetable has been mentioned. Then there are other issues like SA's support for Unita and independence for Namibia still to be dealt with.

With their respective positions so far apart, only an optimist would believe peace is imminent. The fear is that if a peace accord cannot be struck, the parties involved will be drawn inexorably into war.



Malan

Botha

Castro



T54 tanks ... victims of Calueque battle

gola's Cuban-manned MiG 23 fighter aircraft and the extensive radar and air defence system that backs them up. If that is true — and last week's bombing raid on the Calueque Dam indicates it could well be — the cause can be traced back once again to the moves by the international community to isolate SA by denying it the arms it needs for its own defence.

One does not know what goes on behind closed doors in London, Brazzaville and Cairo, where the parties have met in an attempt to thrash out solutions to the problem. But with the pugnacious Pik Botha and hawkish Magnus Malan leading the SA delegation, one can only surmise that the war of words around the conference table is as hot

# Jeering London demos greet Rolls Royce Savimbi

FOUR people were arrested in a scuffle with police on Wednesday night during demonstrations at the start of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's three-day visit to London. One protester was injured.

The four were held for several hours before being released. They face charges of obstructing the police, and the injured man is believed to have been charged with assault.

About 200 demonstrators lined London's affluent St James' Square jeering and chanting slogans as Sa-

By MOIRA LEVY,  
in London

vimbi's entourage of Rolls Royces and Jaguars arrived.

Savimbi was quickly hustled by guards into the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the first speaking engagement on the visit.

The scuffles broke out as the entourage swept away after the speech. Lawyers are preparing affidavits based on eye-witness accounts.

Savimbi's arrival came in the wake

of persistent rumours that the tour might be cancelled because of the pressing military situation in Angola. The rebel leader made a lightning visit to Africa after leaving the United States — where he was received by President Ronald Reagan — last week.

Details of Savimbi's British itinerary are being kept under wraps: nevertheless, it seems likely that protests will dog him in the next three days.

The British government has not received him officially, and anti-

apartheid circles have expressed outrage at the visit, arranged by the "Free Angola Committee".

However, Savimbi was yesterday to meet the Foreign Affairs Select Committee of the ruling Conservative Party.

●Sapa reports that in his speech to the Institute, Savimbi says he was "forced" into links with South Africa because of lack of support from the West. "We cannot fight South Africa at our backs and the Russians and Cubans in front," he said.

~~THE~~

(S)

w/ Mail 8-14/7/88



# Soviet-SA diplomat link?

Star 8/7/88 (S) ~~(S)~~  
WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union may seek direct diplomatic contacts with South Africa on the Angolan conflict and wider problems in southern Africa, according to a senior Soviet government official.

The official, Mr Vladilen Vasev, an Africa specialist in the Soviet Foreign Affairs Ministry, held out the possibility of direct contacts in an interview on the eve of next week's four-party talks in New York on an Angolan settlement.

The prospect of direct Soviet intervention in the Angolan dispute comes as the South African delegation to the talks, led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr

Neil van Heerden, left Jan Smuts Airport for New York last night.

The build-up to the talks includes allegations by an Angolan Minister that South Africa is massing troops on the border with Angola and has demanded the formation of a coalition government in Angola.

Mr Pedro van Dunem, Minister of State for the productive sector, said South Africa had begun to mass its troops on the border between Namibia and the Angolan province of Cuenene in June, the Angolan news agency, Angop, monitored in Maputo, said.

An Angolan delegation has already left for New York to attend the next round of talks.

Gold surges

By Patrick Laurence

The first sign of a deep anxiety in the white community over the presence of South African soldiers in Angola may have filtered out via *Kerkbode*, official journal of the biggest of South Africa's Dutch Reformed Churches, the NGK, military analysts said yesterday.

An editorial in *Kerkbode* expressing disquiet over the "more or less permanent" presence of the SADF in Angola was described as "extremely important" by Mr Andre du Pisani, research director of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

#### QUESTIONS ASKED

Given the centrality of the church in the Afrikaner community, the editorial was "very signifi-

## Experts see sign of <sup>5</sup> worry over Angola

Star 8/7/88

cant" and indicated that questions were being asked in the ranks of the Afrikaner elite about the cost of South African military involvement, Mr du Pisani said.

"It is undoubtedly indicative of a much deeper concern," he added.

Mr du Pisani was surprised that the anxiety had not surfaced sooner. He surmised that it was due to the "tight control" exercised by the SADF over reporting on South African military action in Angola.

The *Kerkbode* editorial declared that the apparent permanence of the SADF in Angola could be questioned on "Christian

ethical grounds", adding: "South Africa could be drawn deeper into a battle on foreign soil with increasing loss of life."

Mr Helmoed-Rohmer Heitman, correspondent for *Jane's Defence Weekly*, thought the editorial might have been a direct response to the death of 12 South Africans in a clash with Cuban and Angolan forces near Calueque Dam, just inside the Angola border.

Since South Africa intervened to assist Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerillas against attack from Angola's Cuban-backed government in September last year, 31 soldiers have been killed

in fighting in the south-east corner of Angola.

About as many South African soldiers have been killed in clashes elsewhere on the border, including 12 late last year during an attack on a Swapo base and the 12 who died last week.

As the death toll mounts, observers keep asking themselves when anxiety over the cost of the war, in human lives, will begin to manifest itself visibly in South Africa.

Some diplomats expect that fatalities will have to run into the hundreds before white public anxiety will emerge unequivocally. If Mr du Pisani and Mr Heitman are right, they may now be witnessing the birth of a new factor in the protracted Angolan conflict: white resistance to South African military involvement.

# Savimbi bids for UK action 5

SKR 3/7/88

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Jonas Savimbi has moved to draw the British government into his new peace strategy for Angola.

In a speech here he insisted that Unita — excluded from on-going four-nation peace talks — had a part to play both in peace negotiations and in a future government of reconciliation in Angola.

Dr Savimbi told the all-party foreign affairs

select committee of the House of Commons that United States assistance and Cuban demoralisation had laid the foundations for a breakthrough in peace talks.

"Freedom appears to be within our grasp," he said.

However, he indicated that Unita was not making any headway in its overtures to Luanda's MPLA government, which says the Unita

rebels are nothing more than "South African surrogates".

Unita, he said, continued to have contacts with the Angolan government and other African countries, "but no one is closer to anything". The Angolan authorities deny such contacts have taken place.

The Unita leader indicated he hoped the British government would actively involve itself in the

peace process and help bridge the divide between the MPLA government and Unita.

He maintained that if the Cubans left Angola — a South African precondition for independence in Namibia — there was "no way the MPLA can remain in power without making a reconciliation with Unita".

## PEACE STRATEGY

Dr Savimbi last week met US President Mr Ronald Reagan and put a peace strategy to him. The rebel leader claimed Mr Reagan had accepted his proposals.

The British government has refused to receive Dr Savimbi formally on his three-day visit to London. However, he has had informal meetings with the foreign affairs select committee and the Conservative parliamentary foreign affairs committee.

● To Page 11.

# Savimbi grooms negotiating stance

LONDON — Without his battle fatigues or familiar pearl-handled revolver on his hip, Dr Jonas Savimbi, head of Unita, cut an unfamiliar figure in London yesterday.

Some who met him could scarcely conceal their surprise at the self-proclaimed socialist's expensive formal suit and the two Rolls Royces which ferried him and his party across the city.

In his suite at the Hilton, one of London's most expensive hotels, he was surrounded by aides who called him president while security men, including a British Special Branch detective, kept guard.

The effect was to remind visitors that Unita is a force with which to reckon.

Although Dr Savimbi did not admit as much, that is believed to be the main purpose of his most ambitious diplomatic foray in seven years. His visit to Britain was part of a swing through Western nations timed to make his presence felt before talks resume in America next week.

Dr Savimbi was careful to say nothing which would offend his sponsors, the United States and South Africa, but he implied that none of the four powers should assume that Unita will accept any agreement reached.

There has been speculation about Dr Savimbi's abrupt departure from Washington last week and his subsequent talks in an unnamed African country. He appeared to be enjoying the mys-

STV 8/7/88  
THE STAR BUREAU

For a self-declared socialist, Dr Jonas Savimbi has been cutting a figure of affluence in expensive suits and staying at the Hilton, one of London's most expensive hotels.

tery, saying: "There is greater interest in talking to us than some people imagine."

The Unita leader said he hoped the British government, until now a sleeping partner in the peace process, would become actively involved and persuade the MPLA to negotiate with Unita.

The British government has refused to receive Dr Savimbi formally on his three-day visit to London, but he has had informal meetings with parliamentary groups.

Dr Savimbi said US assistance and Cuban demoralisation had laid the foundations for a breakthrough in peace talks. "Freedom appears to be within our grasp for the first time in 13 years."

Unita, he said, continued to have contacts with the Angolan government and other African countries, "but no one is closer to anything". The Angolan authorities deny such contacts.

He reiterated his view that if the Cubans left Angola - a South African precondition for independence in Namibia - there was "no way the MPLA can remain in power without making a reconciliation with Unita".

ALGUS 8/7/88 (S) (2)

# Soviet Union may seek direct contact with SA over Angola

## The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The Soviet Union may seek direct diplomatic contacts with South Africa on the Angolan conflict and wider problems in Southern Africa, according to a senior Soviet official.

Mr Vladilen Vasev, an Africa specialist in the Soviet Foreign Affairs Ministry, held out the possibility of direct contacts in an interview on the eve of next week's four-party talks in New York on an Angolan settlement.

American analysts say they are not surprised by Mr Vasev's statement. It fits a pattern of which the appointment of Mr Boris Asoyan as Soviet ambassador to Lesotho is a significant element.

In the interview, Mr Vasev said there did not appear to be "any big need" for direct contacts now.

"But I do not rule out the need for such contacts at some stage," he added, repeating Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's offer to become directly involved in the Angola talks if

asked to do so.

● Mr Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, Angolan Minister of State for the productive sector, said South Africa had begun to mass its troops on the border between Namibia and the Angolan province of Cuenene last month, Argus Africa News Service reports.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said he would be unable to comment without studying an "exact transcript of what Mr Pedro de Castro Van Dunem actually said".

# South Africa and Angola seeking common ground

AKG.S  
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**H**AVING marked out their positions in the earlier negotiating rounds, South Africa and Angola will consider at the next round of talks in New York next week whether the positions cover any common ground.

If they find enough common ground to provide a sufficiently solid base for further negotiations, the next step — probably at a subsequent meeting — will be to try to resolve the remaining points of conflict.

By that stage they would be getting down to the nuts and bolts level of putting together a workable agreement on bringing Angola closer to peace and SWA/Namibia closer to independence.

If, however, there appears to be insufficient common ground, the parties will probably explore the possibilities of altering their positions to achieve the purpose, which is likely

By **GERALD L'ANGE** of the Argus Africa News Service

to be considerably more difficult than working from existing areas of consensus.

Like the first round of talks in London, the New York meeting will be at senior official rather than ministerial level, as was the case in Brazzaville and Cairo.

The participating parties, as at all but the Brazzaville talks, will again be South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States, with the United States probably acting as chairman and with the Soviet Union not directly taking part but watching from the wings.

South Africa's delegation will be headed, as it was in London, by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, who is said to be earning the respect of the other parties for his negotiating skills.

It appears as though efforts are being made to keep the talks low-key and private.

Essentially what the sides will have before them are documents setting out their respective positions with greater precision than before. This, with a willingness to continue seeking negotiated solutions, is about all that has emerged from the previous talks.

In New York the parties will try to define common ground through an agreed set of principles. But even if they succeed in this it is likely that the gaps remaining to be bridged will still be huge.

The New York meeting is unlikely, for instance, to produce a measurable narrowing of the distance between the South African position and the Angolan and Cuban positions on the timing of the withdrawal of the

Cuban troops from Angola. That would probably be tackled substantively in one of the "nuts and bolts" sessions that would follow if the New York meeting succeeds in maintaining the momentum of the negotiations.

Like the Brazzaville and Cairo talks, the New York meeting will again be held under the shadow of the recent southward advance of the Cuban troops close to the SWA/Namibia border.

By changing the military balance in southern Angola, the Cuban deployment has raised the stakes against South Africa in the negotiations but has not stopped Pretoria from continuing with the talks.

South Africa has agreed to continue with the talks despite the recent Cuban bombing raid on the Calueque dam that killed 11 South African soldiers. Cuba claims it was retaliation for South African shelling of its forces farther north.

## Savimbi cautiously optimistic on peace prospects

**U**NITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has expressed cautious optimism about prospects for peace in Angola.

At the same time he served notice that Unita — excluded from four-nation peace talks — would not be denied a role in peace negotiations and in a future government of reconciliation in Angola.

And he sought Britain's help in persuading the MPLA government to negotiate with Unita.

Dr Savimbi told the all-party foreign affairs select committee of the House of Commons that United States assistance and Cuban demoralisation had laid the foundations for a breakthrough in peace talks. "Freedom appears to be within our grasp for the first time in 13 years," he said.

However, he indicated that Unita was not making any headway in its overtures to the MPLA, which insists that the Unita rebels are nothing more than "South African surrogates".

Unita, he said, continued to have contacts with the Angolan government and some African coun-

From **CHRIS WHITFIELD** in London

tries, "but no one is closer to anything". The Angolan authorities deny such contacts have taken place.

The Unita leader hoped the British government would become actively involved and persuade the MPLA to negotiate with Unita.

He reiterated his view that if the Cubans left Angola — a South African condition for independence for SWA/Namibia — there was "no way the MPLA can remain in power without making a reconciliation with Unita".

Dr Savimbi met President Ronald Reagan last week and put a four-point peace strategy to him. He claimed President Reagan had accepted his proposals.

The British government has refused to receive Dr Savimbi formally on his three-day visit to London.

In his address to the select committee, he dismissed criticism of his usual albatross — South African logistical and military support.

"We turned to South Africa for help in 1975 after the Soviets and Cubans invaded our country. By accepting South Africa's help we no more became its pawn than Winston Churchill sacrificed Britain's independence to the Soviet Union when he accepted help from Joseph Stalin in your hour of need."

Some who met Dr Savimbi could scarcely conceal their surprise at the self-proclaimed socialist's expensive formal suit and the two Rolls Royces which ferried him and his party across the city.

In his suite at the Hilton, one of London's most expensive hotels, he was surrounded by aides who called him president while security men, including a British Special Branch detective, kept guard.

Dr Savimbi returns to Angola today. — The Argus Foreign Service.

CAPG Links 8/7/88

# Savimbi: We were forced into SA link

LONDON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, who is on a secrecy-shrouded visit to Britain, said he was forced into links with South Africa because of lack of support from the West when he asked for help to save the electoral process in Angola in 1975.

"We cannot fight South Africa at our backs and the Russians and Cubans in front," he said in a speech to the Royal Institute of International Affairs on Wednesday evening.

Dr Savimbi's visit has sparked political controversy here, with the British government shunning contact with him and the opposition Labour Party and anti-apartheid campaigners protesting against the trip.

Three demonstrators were arrested when about 100 people staged an angry protest outside the Institute. Red paint was thrown across the front door and steps of the building, in London's posh St James Square.

Whitehall has diplomatic relations with the MPLA leadership in Luanda and has stated it will have no official dealings with Dr Savimbi. However, the Foreign Affairs Select Committee was due to receive the Angolan bush-fighter late yesterday.

A group of 30 Tory MPs signed a House of Commons motion urging support for the Unita leader's recently announced peace plan for Angola.

Tory MP Mr Michael Colvin said the motion called on the government to "work actively in support of the goal of national reconciliation within Angola which was endorsed by all governments at the recent Toronto Summit".

Labour MPs have tabled a Commons motion condemning the visit.

Dr Savimbi was to have started his visit on Monday, but this was suddenly called off. The low-key Unita office in London would only say he had been recalled to Angola on urgent business.

Dr Savimbi then arrived unheralded on Wednesday. One of his first appointments was with the Royal Institute that night, but anti-apartheid campaigners got wind of it and mounted the stormy demonstration.

Dr Savimbi addressed an audience of politicians, academics and journalists. The meeting was closed to the press, but some of his comments were reported by the diplomatic correspondent of the Scotsman, Fred Bridgland.

Dr Savimbi said Cuban intervention in Angola on behalf of the MPLA during the time of transition to independence had started a civil war which could only be ended when the MPLA and Unita sat down together and negotiated peace.

"Without peace in Angola it is almost impossible to secure independence for Namibia and reconciliation in South Africa," he said. — Sapa

# Questions on Angola legitimate — NGK head

*Copy Times 8/7/88*  
*5*

Political Staff

THE moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk, Professor Johan Heyns, yesterday rejected reports that he had repudiated the church's mouthpiece, the Kerkbode, for questioning the presence of South African troops in Angola.

"I have not repudiated the Kerkbode. The questions raised in its editorial are perfectly legitimate.

"Those are the questions in the hearts of our people," Professor Heyns said in a statement.

He issued the statement after two Nasionale Pers newspapers, the Burger and Beeld, reported that Professor Heyns had repudiated the Kerkbode for querying the permanent presence of South African troops in Angola.

Both newspapers reported that in an earlier statement, issued to them by the Defence Force on Wednesday, Professor Heyns said no moral or ethical objections could be raised against the presence of South African troops at the Calueque water scheme.

Yesterday Professor Heyns said the SADF's protection of the Calueque water scheme was an agreement between states.

"There can be no ethical or moral objection against the presence of South African troops at Calueque," he said.

But the Kerkbode's editorial and yesterday's statement are clearly related to the broader issues of South Africa's involvement in Angola.

In the editorial, the Kerkbode said: "Without wishing to argue the matter from a political or military point of view — something the church cannot do — we would like to pose the question whether it would not be morally and ethically correct for South Africa to withdraw its troops from Angola completely.

"After all, it is not South African territory.

"It appears that the 'more or less' permanent presence of South African troops in this foreign country can be questioned on Christian ethical grounds.

"The prospect is that South Africa could be drawn deeper into a battle on foreign soil with increasing loss of life," the Kerkbode said.

Far from repudiating these comments, Professor Heyns endorsed them, saying it was perfectly legitimate for them to be raised.



NEWS

# Angolan talks have a long way to go before goal is reached

GERALD L'ANGE

HAVING marked out their positions in the earlier rounds of negotiations, South Africa and Angola will consider at the next round of talks in New York next week whether the positions cover any common ground.

If they find enough common ground to provide a sufficiently solid base for further negotiations the next step — probably at a subsequent meeting — will be to try to resolve the remaining points of conflict.

By that stage they would be getting down to the nuts-and-bolts level of putting together a workable agreement on bringing Angola closer to peace and Namibia closer to independence.

If there appears to be insufficient common ground, the parties will probably explore the possibilities of altering their positions, which is likely to be considerably more difficult than working from existing areas of consensus.

Like the first round of talks in London, the New York talks will be at senior official level rather than ministerial level, as was the case in Brazzaville and Cairo.

The participating parties, as at all but the Brazzaville talks, will again be South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States, with the Americans probably chairing the talks and the Soviet Union not directly participating but watching from the wings.

South Africa's delegation will be headed, as it was in London, by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Neil van Heerden, who is said to be earning the respect of the other parties for his negotiating skills.

It appears efforts are being made to keep the talks low-key and private.

Essentially what the sides will have before them are documents setting out their respective positions with greater precision than before. This, together with a willingness to continue seeking negotiated solutions, is about all that has emerged from the previous talks.

In New York the parties will attempt to define common ground through an agreed set of principles.

But even if they succeed in this it is likely that huge gaps will still have to be bridged.

The New York meeting is unlikely, for instance, to produce a measurable narrowing of the distance between the South African position and the Angolan and Cuban positions on the timing of the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola. That would probably only be tackled substantively in one of the "nuts-and-bolts" sessions that would follow if the New York meeting succeeds.

Like the Brazzaville and Cairo talks, the New York meeting will again be held under the shadow of the recent southward advance of the Cuban troops close to the Namibian border.

By changing the military balance in southern Angola, the Cuban deployment has raised the stakes against South Africa in the negotiations. But it has not stopped Pretoria from continuing with the negotiations.

South Africa has agreed to carry on with the talks despite the recent Cuban bombing raid on the Calueque dam which killed 11 South African soldiers.

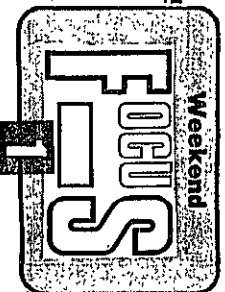
Cuba insists it was only retaliation against South African shelling of its forces further north. The possibility remains, however, that South Africa will pull out of the New York meeting if the Cubans take any further aggressive action within the next few days.

Reached



# CASTRO: My plan for Southern Africa

# TARGET NAMIBIA



CUBA is actively preparing for the possibility of a major escalation in southern Angola which might see Cuban forces crossing the border into Namibia.

Such a move could not have taken place but under the personal command, direction and supervision of Fidel Castro. The developing military activities in Southern Africa clearly indicate that the USSR, Cuba and their allies consider the struggle for the region to be a primary strategic objective the significance of which goes beyond defeating Unita.

The current Cuban policy was defined by Fidel Castro in his closing speech to the third congress of the Cuban Communist Party (CCP) in Havana on February 8 1988.

With the growing significance of Africa to the USSR, Castro anticipated that the Cuban direct military involvement in the region was bound to increase substantially. In a major deviation from established policies, Castro stated that the Cuban forces will be withdrawn from Angola only after "UN resolution 435 is applied and it apartid is suspended."

In essence, Castro has committed Cuba to assisting Angola and the other Frontline states and revolutionary movements in their campaign for the total destruction of South Africa. This commitment remains the stated policy of the CCP, and hence, the objective of the Cuban internationalist troops in Southern Africa.

**STAGE 1**  
CUBA considers the fighting in south-east Angola a major milestone in the liberation war for entire Southern Africa.

The defenders of Cuito-Cuanavale "have left a lasting historical mark in the struggle against racism and apartheid", stated the Cuban ambassador to Angola. Both Cuba and Angola issued new campaign orders - the Medal for the Defence of Cuito-Cuanavale - to be awarded to all the participants in the "glorious armed struggle against the racist South African invaders."

Although the Cubans emphasise the military aspects of the recent fighting, their main impact is on the regional grand strategy. Cuba interpreted South Africa's decision not to besiege or occupy Cuito-Cuanavale to be a reflection of Pretoria's tacit recognition of the legitimacy of the MPLA regime in Luanda and of the Cuban presence and activities in Southern Africa.

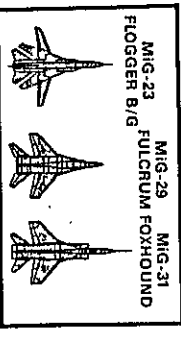
Indeed, South Africa's willingness to negotiate with a single "Cuban-Angolan delegation" in London seems to confirm Havana's assessment.

MAG-26      SU-15      SU-27

tions. The mere fact that the SADF did not attempt to capture Cuito-Cuanavale is considered by the Cubans to be a victory.

**D**ESPITE the political manoeuvres, Cuba anticipates a continuation and even escalation of the fighting.

Some 6 000 additional Cuban troops arrived in Luanda in late-April 1988. The weapon supplies continue to increase. "Bascon", the official organ of the Cuban Ministry of Defence, emphasised that the Cuito-Cuanavale fighting was a turning point in on-going struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa.



It wrote: "The new military situation means that the racist troops will no longer be able to act with impunity in Southern Africa as they had been doing in recent years with an absolute disregard for international law. At the same time, this situation confirms that the Cuban soldiers, together with their African brothers, will fulfill the internationalist mission entrusted to them by the party and the revolution to the end."

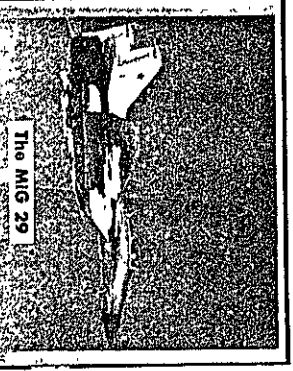
### STAGE 2

**S**INCE early May 1988, Cuban-Angolan forces further escalated the war in Angola, leaving in no doubt their regional objectives (anti-South Africa rather than anti-Unita).

In a major shift from the on-going campaign to crush Unita and repel the South Africans, the Cuban-Angolan forces opened a second strategic thrust in south-western Angola intended to restructure the Swapo infrastructure and revive the terrorist campaign against Namibia and South Africa. The organisation and conduct of the current escalation involved the highest levels of government in both the USSR and Cuba.

The Cuban-Angolan build-up started in early May under the direct orders of Fidel Castro.

Cuba announced that special reinforcements, totalling 8 000, had been sent to Angola in view of the escalation. These troops brought the Cuban deployment in Angola to 48 000. A new strategic headquarters was established in Lobango under the command of General Arnaldo Ochoa, who was transferred from Cuito-Cuanavale. Brigadier-General Paricio De-LaGuardia Font, who had organ-



The MiG 29

**T**HIS report is published with permission from the Washington-based Maldon Institute which will shortly be releasing in the United States a detailed synopsis of Cuba's role in Angola.

The Maldon Institute, formed in 1984, is a non-profit organisation which initiates and conducts research and provides educational services relating to issues of United States foreign policy, national security and the defence of free institutions.

protection of diplomatic dynamics and international negotiations.

Operating in close co-ordination with the USSR and pursuing to a great extent the objectives of the Soviet grand strategy, Fidel Castro is clearly in charge of the activities in Southern Africa, including such major developments as the escalation of the war onto and beyond the South West African (Namibia) border.

The objective of the Cuban-Angolan thrust in Southern Angola is to acquire strategic gains and consolidate their presence along the Namibian border before the southern winter stops the major fighting. Cuba and its allies are determined to be in a position to escalate the fighting in the southern "spring" (September-October) should the need arise.

**H**AVANA leaves no doubt that Fidel Castro has the initiative in, and is in command of, the

degree of independence with which the Cubans are operating in the country.

The Cubans openly contradicted assurances by Dos Santos that Cuban forces would not cross the border into Namibia. Cuban officials stated that Cuban Air Force MiG-23s and Su-22s already fly reconnaissance missions into Namibia.

About May 28, official Cuban sources in Washington said that "Cuba does not rule out the possibility" of Cuban forces operating inside Namibia. They explained that "the (Cuban) soldiers are prepared psychologically to cross into Namibia in pursuit of the South Africans." Such intervention can take place both in support of Swapo and in order to block South African support for Unita or any other form of intervention in Angola, pointed out these Cuban sources.

In order to facilitate the anticipated strategic escalation, a new Southern Front with its own High Command was established under the command of General Arnaldo Ochoa with the central strategic headquarters in Cuito-Cuanavale.

Forward strategic headquarters (command posts) were established in Lobango and near Kavala. The main Cuban-Angolan forces are now deployed some 100km north of the Namibian border (Divisional HQ in Xangongo) with 20 000 units and patrols deployed in Ngiva, the Karanjab Dam and up to some five km from the border. There are no senior Soviet personnel south of the 16th Parallel and General Ochoa is clearly the senior commander in charge of the southern front.

The military build-up continues in Ochoa's southern front. The first round of fresh reinforcements, totalling 8 600 troops, arrived from Cuba between April 17 and May 7 1988. These reinforcements included some 2 000 Cuban "special purpose troops" (Cuban Spetsnaz) and 200 helicopters and fixed-wing pilots organised in a "pilot brigade."

These reinforcements, together with their tactical weapons and equipment, arrived by sea and air through Luanda, Lobito, Namibe and Sauro. From there they were deployed to the south.



New units - a second round of reinforcements - have been arriving since May 10-12. A few thousand (estimates range between 2 000 and 3 000) troops arrived in the first week through Luanda and Lobito. They brought the southern Cuban forces to over a division level. The Cubans describe this force as an infantry unit supported by

that time, clashes between SADF forces and Cuban raiding patrols were reported very near the Namibian border. Swapo also claimed that it conducted several deep raids inside Namibia but there was no independent confirmation of these claims.

### CASTRO'S DECISION AND THREAT

**T**HE military option and its implications for South Africa was highlighted by Fidel Castro in a secret briefing on May 30 in which he said Cuba was actively preparing for the possibility of a major escalation in southern Angola which might see Cuban forces crossing the border into Namibia.

The rate and qualities of the military supplies reaching southern Angola clearly indicate that the USSR supports the Cuban activities and considers the struggle for the region to be a primary strategic objective.

In the May 30 briefing, Castro provided a detailed survey of the situation in southern Angola and outlined the Cuban plans for the future.

He used maps and charts to survey the development of the military situation since late-1987. He emphasised that Cuban troops advanced some 200km from Cuito-Cuanavale towards the Namibian border, and that combined Cuban-Swapo and Cuban-Swapo forces advanced 250km southwards, establishing positions some 50km from the Namibian border. Castro emphasised that "the enemy was defeated by the Angolan and Cuban forces." He compared the current situation in Angola to that of 1975, adding that a major and decisive confrontation with South Africa might be inevitable.

**I**N his briefing, Castro boasted that in case of renewed fighting, the South Africans would be confronted by "a military force like never before."

He said that although Cuba would prefer a diplomatic solution, "we are in a position to take more (military) risks because if the enemy wants a confrontation he can suffer a serious defeat."

He told of a South African request for a guarantee of non-intervention in Namibia. He rejected it because Pretoria is no longer "in a position to request anything south of Angola."

One of the African diplomats attending the briefing concluded that "Castro convinced that he had changed the balance of military forces in the region, in effect maintained the threat of intervention."

Fidel Castro paid special attention to, and discussed in great length, the build-up of Cuban air and air-defence capabilities in southern Angola. He explained that Cuba had used "the best MiG-23 Cuban pilots we have and we achieved air superiority over the enemy."

A new model of...



# Cuban withdrawal likely, says Savimbi

LONDON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday ended his low-key visit to Britain saying that prospects were good for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, in spite of increased clashes between them and South African forces.

He stressed, however, that peace would never come to Angola unless the MPLA government agreed to share power with his rebel movement.

The visit was not an overwhelming publicity success, mainly as a result of a Foreign Office refusal to meet Dr Savimbi, but also because Unita officials restricted his access to selected reporters, which resulted in only limited coverage which focused as much on his sartorial elegance and his residency at the posh Hilton Hotel as on what he had to say.

But he did meet several influential people, including members of the Conservative Party foreign affairs committee, which enabled him to stake his claim to being a true liberation movement and not a puppet of SA.

The visit sparked a number of protests by anti-apartheid activists who splashed red paint over the entrance to Chatham House where Dr Savimbi addressed a closed meeting.

He dismissed the protests, saying no black leader could support apartheid and that all those who had dealings with the SA government did so out of necessity.

In press interviews Dr Savimbi was careful not to be seen as criticizing Pretoria, but in closed meetings he strongly condemned apartheid.

Only the dire situation in Angola had forced him to make a pact with the devil, he said.

## Angola, Cuba meet on talks

HAVANA. — Angolan and Cuban officials held talks yesterday to work out a unified position for upcoming four-party talks in New York on ending the Angolan conflict and winning independence for Namibia, diplomatic sources said.

A seven-member Angolan delegation arrived here on Thursday night on its way to the July 11-13 talks among South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States, the official daily newspaper Granma reported.

Earlier talks took place in May and June in London, Brazzaville and Cairo.

The Angolan delegation, led by Justice Minister Mr Fernando Van-Dunem, was greeted by Mr Jorge Risquet, Cuba's chief negotiator at the talks.

Sapa-Reuter

# Peace talks won't be able to ignore Unita <sup>Stev 9/7/83</sup> (5)

LONDON — The Jonas Savimbi roadshow ended yesterday with the Unita leader apparently having achieved his deceptively simple aim — to make his presence felt.

The timing of his exhausting London visit —

## CHRIS WHITFIELD

which followed a successful sojourn to the United States, a chat with President Ronald Reagan and a "mystery" trip to Africa — will have left him fresh in the mind of friend and foe just as the Angolan peace talks resume in America next week.

Dr Savimbi has not been invited to the negotiations between the United States, South Africa, the Angolan Government and Cuba.

But his swing across America and Britain, which included cleverly arranged interviews with foreign affairs groups and journalists of some influence, will ensure that his role in Angola will not be ignored.

Dr Savimbi was care-

ful to let it be known that he would not necessarily accept any agreement reached by the negotiators.

He told the all-party Foreign Affairs Select Committee of the House of Commons that he was in the United Kingdom to promote his own "four-point strategy for peace in Angola".

He claimed President Reagan had accepted his proposals and his aides hinted that he had engineered something of a breakthrough in the peace process.

The effect was to remind anyone who cared to listen — and a few who did not really want to — that Unita is a force to be reckoned with. Without it, any settlement in Angola would be fraught with problems.

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**MIG29s FOR NEW SOUTHERN FRONT?**

# 'CUBANS POISED TO CROSS BORDER'

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S

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

CUBA is gearing itself for a major escalation in southern Angola which could see Cuban forces crossing the border into SWA/Namibia, according to analysts in the United States.

They say the rate and nature of the new military build-up clearly indicate that Russia supports the Cuban activities and considers the struggle for the region to be a primary strategic-objective.

This conclusion is reached in a report from the Washington-based Maldon Institute, a "think tank" of experts with access to intelligence sources.

The report gives details of large-scale preparations for an anticipated "strategic escalation" and the establishment of Cuba's new "southern front" under the command of General Arnaldo Ochoa.

### **Air-build-up**

As part of a significant air force build-up in the region, the analysts report that the Cuban Air Force is about to be supplied with MiG-29s (Fulcrum) and Su-25s (Frog-foot) and that some of these

■ **SEE: Target Namibia: Castro's plans for Southern Africa, page 15.**

aircraft will be deployed in Angola.

A squadron of the latest model MiG-29 fighters with "significantly improved" performance was sent to southern Angola and has already been used in combat, according to the report.

Meanwhile, Cuban radar systems in southern Angola are being upgraded so they can "control-manage air operations to greater ranges well into South Africa".

A Cuban tank brigade with about 100 new tanks has been assigned to the southern front and the best Angolan units are being moved from northern and central Angola to

augment the Cuban deployment south of the 16th parallel.

Although deployment of the Cuban-controlled forces of the southern front was stabilised in early June, reinforcements are continuing to arrive from Cuba, bringing the total Cuban forces in Angola to 54 000.

Large quantities of weapons and equipment, including modern types new in Angola, are being delivered directly from Russia by air and sea.

However, the report says there are no senior Soviet personnel south of the 16th parallel and General Ochoa is clearly the senior commander in charge of the southern front, with central strategic headquarters in Cuito-Cuanavale.

The main Cuban-Angolan forces are deployed about 100km north of the SWA/Namibian border with advance units and patrols up to 5km from the border.

# Cuba's

pledge

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## Hands-off policy towards Unita after SA pulls out



**BRUCE CAMERON**  
of The Argus  
Political Staff  
reports from HAVANA

CUBA has given a qualified undertaking for the first time not to get involved in the conflict with Unita after a South African withdrawal from the territory and the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of South-West Africa/Namibia.

The undertaking was given by Cuban politburo member, Mr Jorge Risquet, chief Cuban negotiator, in an exclusive interview here on the eve of the fourth round of peace talks beginning in New York today.



**Mr Jorge Risquet**

The qualifications were that Cuba would respond to attacks on her positions or convoys.

He said: "Cuba is there to prevent the aggression against Angola - not to fight Unita."

This was one of a number of points made by Mr Risquet in the two-hour interview.

He is a senior member of the Cuban hierarchy, being one of the 13 members of the politburo, the member of the Communist Party central committee in charge of foreign affairs, as well as having the special prestige of being one of the insurgents in the Cuban revolution 30 years ago.

In the interview, the first given to a South African newspaper, Mr Risquet made the following points:

- Rejected linkage with the implementation of 435 with Cuban troop withdrawal saying that linkage was first mentioned by South Africa and the Reagan Administration when 435 was already three years old.

- Cuba was not seeking a military victory but wanted an honourable agreement which "has to be on the basis of independence in Namibia and the halting of foreign intervention in Angola."

- The increase of Cuban troops and the move south towards Calueque was in direct response to South Africa's "illegal aggressive support of Unita"

The current series of talks had started with United States meeting with Angola last year. South Africa had been active in the entire period since then in South-east Angola. South Africa's aggression had been compounded by State President P W Botha and members of his Cabinet openly visiting troops in Angola.

Mr Risquet put the current Cuban troop level at only "35 000 plus X". He estimated South African forces in Angola at 9 000 equipped with heavy armour and artillery.

- Adhered to a lengthy withdrawal period of about three years and initially only to pulling back to north of the 13th parallel before withdrawing entirely from Angola. He claimed Cuba had no intention of remaining in Angola.

Cuba had already reduced her troop levels once before in Angola, by one third after the initial conflict in 1975.

In 1978 South Africa had attacked Casinga, which he claimed was a refugee camp.

This had put an end to a withdrawal plan and South Africa had then escalated the conflict with new aggression last year by entering the war on the side of Unita.

Angola had asked for Cuban assistance after being defeated at Mavinga.

Because of this, Cuba would not withdraw her troops back across the Atlantic Ocean immediately resolution 435 was implemented because South Africa would rapidly re-invade.

- Claimed South Africa with Unita had launched four major attempts on Cuito Cuanavale without success.

- See Pages 3 and 10

# Cuba's pledge

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**Hands-off policy towards Unita after SA pulls out**



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**Frosty fella: A Boland iceman resists the heart-melting smile of Mrs Lorraine Quinton of Cape Town.**



**An icy gleam shimmers across the Boland after weekend temperatures fall below zero, carpeting the mountains in snow. More pictures page 5.**

## Snow W Cap Natal

SOUTH Africa has had its heaviest snow in the mountain ranges in the West.

Weather forecasters at DEW near Springbok, Sutherland, Friday weekend.

The lowest temperature recorded on Friday night where 7 deg C. Calvina and Springbok.

Heavy snow was reported on the Theronberg and as far as Namagualind, the Swartberg Mountains near George.

SAAF ON 2: A weather office spokesman in the east "at this stage" as the front weekend's snow had moved east.

Natal has borne the brunt of the snow, particularly in the Underberg, Drakensberg, have been cut off, have been cut in many places. Stand by for rescues.

The main Durban Johannesburg at Swinburne only today and a layer of black ice - invisible on roads.

At least two people were killed near Melmoth in Natal. Eight people to hospital at Empangeni.

The Weather Bureau in Pretoria Durbanburg.

A number of hikers is believed to be in the Drakensberg near B.

From Royal Natal National Park weather had cleared and people were seen but over the weekend were 2.

It was not known how many were in the count was 24.

Ceres was today recovering from visitors who flooded to see the snow.

Adults and children frolicked in returning to the Western Cape their bonnets.

For much of the day traffic on the Ceres was reported to have been Cape Town motorists describing it as being "like peak-hour traffic on Rhodes Drive".

In the Malmesbury area a woman was washed away and drowned on Saturday afternoon while trying to cross a farm stream swelled by melting snow.

Police named her as Mrs Rebecca Olifant, 35, of Amoskull Farm.

Reports of bitter weather continued to pour in from the rest of the country.

A Sais spokesman said the railway between Maritzburg and Kokstad had been closed but machinery to clear the lines had been sent.

In the Underberg area, where 15 metres of snow fell yesterday, power and telephone lines were down.

The towns most affected were Underberg, Buxton, Franklin and the town of Matieland.

Snowfalls were lighter in the Natal Midlands, where snow fell in the area stretching from just outside Maritzburg all the way to Hartswater. Also, snow fell in Eton River, 200 km from Durban and only light snow in Bergville.

### EASTERN CAPE

Snow fell on most of the mountain ranges in the eastern and north-eastern Cape and several peaks were still snow-covered today. Heavy falls on...

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# Cuba and Angola in 'undeclared war' with SA

ARGUS  
11/7/88  
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From BRUCE CAMERON, The Argus man in Havana

CUBA and Angola are in a state of "undeclared war" with South Africa, Cuba has said — with the next round of talks due to start in New York today.

The Cuban aerial attack which took 11 South African lives last month was aimed at South African barracks and not the Calueque Dam, Cuba's chief negotiator in the talks, Mr Jorge Risquet, claimed today.

After the attack the South African Defence Force chief of operations in Angola, Brigadier Pieter Gagiano, said the bomb which killed the young soldiers was a stray which had overshot its mark.

"There was no doubt that the target was the dam wall itself," Brigadier Gagiano said.

But Mr Risquet said before the talks today: "We knew the barracks were there. The attack was deliberate because of the earlier South Af-

rican bombardment."

The combined Cuban-Angolan delegation were going into the next round of talks insisting that the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia was the key to the process.

This was spelt out by Mr Risquet, a member of the Cuban politburo, in an interview.

However, it appears that the critical issue in the talks remains agreements on timetables for Cuban withdrawal and international guarantees. An early introduction of a United Nations task force on the SWA/Namibia border to separate the warring sides appears possible, according to diplomatic sources.

Mr Risquet said it was likely that a series of agreements could be reached. Cuba would insist that they be signed before members of the United Nations Security Council as part of the guarantees.

Today's meeting, which is at official level, has been described as "technical" and is expected to lead to another round of ministerial-level talks later this month.

Mr Risquet said Cuba and Angola were prepared to negotiate time scales for a fall-back of Cuban troops, but insisted that the troops remain in Angola for some time after the implementation of resolution 435.

He said the situation was still tense in southern Angola, where the two sides clashed last month. "There is a state of undeclared war."

He added that Cuba and Angola had the political will to reach a resolution for a fair, honourable negotiated solution. "We are not trying for a military defeat."

He would not give any guarantees that water supplies from the Calueque scheme would be maintained if South Africa withdrew. This would have to be negotiated with Angola.

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CNY Times 11/7/88

# US 'hopeful' on the Angolan talks

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The third round of the Angolan peace talks opens in New York today with the objective of producing a signed statement of principles.

There is restrained optimism on the part of the United States that the Calueque fighting which erupted immediately after last month's Cairo round has "brought the sides to their senses".

If all goes to plan the parties will for the first time achieve an agreed framework for an overall settlement which will be fleshed out under pressure of the September 29 deadline earlier agreed by the US and the Soviet Union.

It is hoped that the parties will agree to a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola which will coincide with independence for Namibia.

The intention is to clear the decks of a number of contentious questions — including US support for Unita and South African demands that internal reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA be part of the package.

To this end, the document is likely to include language stressing that all sides agree on the need for Angola to regain "sovereignty" throughout its territory.

"What they are not going to be talking about is as important as what they do say," a US official said, adding that while serious

## US believes SA provoked dam attack

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — United States officials believe the long-range bombardment of the Angolan town of Techipa by South African artillery triggered the fighting at Calueque in which 12 South African soldiers died.

The bombardment, which reportedly took place on the Sunday following the Cairo peace talks, was in turn touched off by a Cuban-led advance towards the Ruacana complex in the face of repeated warnings by the South African army.

"The Cubans appear to have been playing chicken with the SADF," was how one source put it.

differences remained, there was "an amazing amount of common ground".

While the talks have been described as at "technical expert level", the participants are not markedly different from those in the first round in London in May.

The US team includes Dr Chester Crocker, Mr Herman Cohen, the National Security Council director for African Affairs, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence Mr James Woods. The Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, Defence Force chief General Jannie Geldenhuis and National Intelligence Service chief Dr Neil Barnard head the SA side.

The Angolan delegation is headed by Justice Minister Mr

Cuba is understood to have informed US officials of the artillery attack before launching its counter-strike the following Monday, June 27.

US intelligence reports also indicate that the Calueque dam might not have been the target of the Cuban air attack which left 12 South African soldiers dead.

The SADF claimed the soldiers were killed by a "stray" bomb that fell 600 metres from the dam.

There is informed speculation that the SADF may have positioned its artillery near the dam to take advantage of Angola's undertaking not to attack the facility on the humanitarian grounds that it provides water for Ovamboland.

Fernando José Franca van Dunem and Mr Antonio Franca Ndalú, Fapla Chief of Staff. Mr Van Dunem is the MPLA official normally called on to draft agreements and treaty language.

The Cuban representative, Central Committee Secretary Mr Jorge Risquet, is regarded as part of the Angolan delegation.

As of yesterday, the precise site for the talks was being kept secret.

It is understood that New York was chosen, over a possible venue in the countryside outside Washington, in order to allow the Angolans direct access to Luanda through their UN mission but bypassing their UN ambassador, Mr Manuel Pedro Pacavira.

# Cuba gives pledge not to fight Unita

HAVANA — Cuba has given a qualified undertaking for the first time not to get involved in the conflict with Unita after a South African withdrawal from the territory and the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of South West Africa/Namibia.

The undertaking was given by Cuban politburo member, Mr Jorge Risquet, chief Cuban negotiator, in an exclusive interview here on the eve of the fourth round of peace talks beginning in New York today.

The qualifications were that Cuba would respond to attacks on her positions or on convoys.

He said: "Cuba is there to prevent the aggression against Angola - not to fight Unita."

This was one of a number of points made by Mr Risquet in the two-hour interview.

He is a senior member of the Cuban hierarchy, being one of the 13 members of the politburo, the member of the Communist Party central committee in charge of foreign affairs, as well as having the special prestige of being one of the insurgents in the Cuban revolution 30 years ago.

In the interview, the first given to a South African newspaper, Mr Risquet made the following points:

● United Nations resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia was the key to the current peace talks because South Africa was "illegally in Namibia and Angola."

Apart from being in conflict with Resolution 435, South Africa was also in conflict with a UN resolution approved last year, by, among others, the United States, demanding her withdrawal from Angola.

● Rejected linkage of the implementation of Resolution 435 with Cuban troop withdrawal, saying linkage was first mentioned by South Africa and the Reagan Administration when Resolution 435 was already three years old.

● Cuba was not seeking military victory, but wanted an honourable agreement which "has to be on the basis of independent halting of foreign intervention in Angola."

He referred particularly to the assistance given to Unita by South Africa and the United States, while he indirectly criticised Zaire or providing bases for Unita.

● The increase of Cuban troops and the move south towards Caluque in direct response to the "illegal" presence of Unita.

BY BRUCE CAMERON  
Star man in Havana interviews Mr Jorge Risquet the chief Cuban negotiator in the current Angola talks

He claimed South Africa was still firing 30-40 154 mm shells into Cuito Chaneevale every day.

The current series of talks had started with United States meeting Angola last year. South Africa had been active in the entire period since then in South-east Angola. South Africa's aggression had been compounded by President Botha and members of his Cabinet openly visiting troops in Angola.

Cuba had responded to South African aggression only later at Angola's request.

Mr Risquet put the current Cuban troop level at 35 000. He estimated South African forces in Angola at 9 000 equipped with heavy armour and artillery.

● Adhered to a lengthy withdrawal period of about three years and initially only to pulling back to north of the 13th parallel before withdrawing entirely from Angola. He claimed Cuba had no intention of remaining in Angola.

The lengthy withdrawal was required to allow for facilitation to be handed over to Fapla and for the Fapla forces to be properly trained to enable them to maintain control.

Cuba was prepared to make concessions in timing, but not to the principle of the deadlines set by the

joint Angolan-Cuban delegation were not arbitrary, but had been calculated to meet in the requirement of moving back from the 17th to the 13th parallel.

Cuba had already reduced her troop levels once before in Angola, by one third after the initial conflict in 1975.

In 1978 South Africa had attacked Casinga, which he claimed was a refugee camp.

This had put an end to a withdrawal plan and South Africa had then escalated the conflict with new aggression last year by entering the war on the side of Unita.

Angola had asked for Cuban assistance after being defeated at Mavinga.

Because of this, Cuba would not withdraw her troops back across the Atlantic Ocean immediately resolution 435 would be implemented, because South Africa would rapidly re-invade.

● Claimed South Africa with Unita had launched four major attempts on Cuito Cuneevale without success.

● Rejected what he said where South Africa's demands to re-negotiate aspects of resolution 435 on the grounds that the agreement needed to be updated.

● It was up to Angola to resolve the problem of Unita. The MPLA already offered Unita members clemency. This had already happened with the defunct FNLA of Holden Roberto.



Cuba's negotiator Mr Jorge Risquet is seen (left) with Angolan Foreign Minister Alfonso van Dunem, Dr Chester Crocker and SA delegation leader Mr Neil van Heerden at the opening talks in London.

## SA and Angola to talk today

The Star Bureau (S)

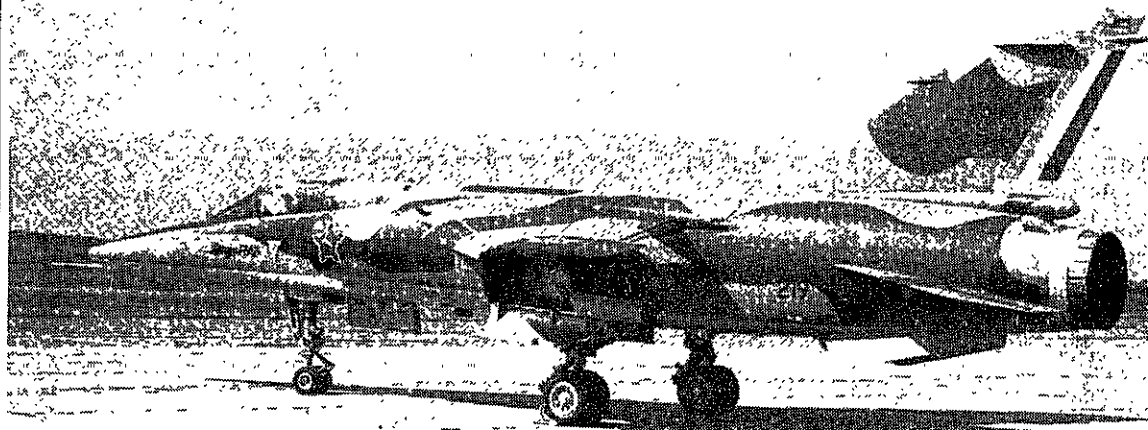
NEW YORK — South African, Angolan, Cuban and American officials are to meet at a secret venue in New York in the third stage of negotiations aimed at ending the Angolan conflict and bringing independence to Namibia. 11/7/84

One of the most difficult problems facing them is agreement on a timetable for withdrawal of Cuban and SA forces, with the Cubans talking in terms of years and the South Africans months.

The renewed talks are at the expert level where the negotiators will try to define or narrow down hard decisions to be taken by the countries' political leaders.

The Americans believe the time has come for firm decisions on a withdrawal schedule and related issues to enable further detailed talks to take place.

The SA team is led by Mr. Neil van Heerden, director-general of Foreign Affairs, and defence chief General Jannie Geldenhuys.



South Africa's Mirage F-1 ... only marginally slower than the MiG 23.

# SA has fallen behind in battle for Angolan skies

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

CONVENTIONAL wisdom among non-military observers is that South Africa has "lost its air superiority" in the operational area and southern Angola.

Two items of evidence quoted are the regular violations of Namibian airspace by Cuban/Angolan fighter aircraft, and the fact that no South African fighters were scrambled when Cuban/Angolan pilots carried out a bombing attack on Calueque soon after the ground action there last week.

However, two swallows do not make a summer, in Angola or anywhere else.

"Air superiority" is a convenient but inaccurate phrase — "a relative term", as an SADF spokesman pointed out last week, because "tactics, pilot capability and surprise are elements which bring about that no air force, no matter how strong, can ever claim total air superiority over an area."

The definition of air superiority varies according to the circumstances; in those prevailing in northern Namibia and southern Angola, it would probably be correct to say that the main elements are aircraft capability, pilot quality, tactics, air defence and ultimate aims.

## ● Aircraft capability.

The much-vaunted MiG-23, while certainly a formidable weapon, is not really all that much ahead of the SAAF's Mirage fighters. Like them it represents heavily updated late 1960s-early 1970s technology.

At 36 000 feet it can attain Mach 2.3, which is only very slightly faster than the Mirage F-1 and the Mirage III, and while it is said to be armed with a very efficient "all-aspect" air-to-air missile, the SAAF is now deploying the V3C Dartler, a further development of its advanced Kukri helmet-sight system.

## ● Pilot quality.

SAAF pilot training is acknowledged to be among the best in the world, and in the past 12 years South African military pilots have accumulated a wealth of priceless operational experience because the offensive air tactics have played an important role in the numerous South African incursions since 1978.

The Angolans/Cubans lag in this aspect because they have traditionally had less use for offensive air tactics in their war against Unita and till recently tended to steer clear of anti-Swapo air operations on their soil.

## ● Tactics.

Needless to say, the SADF is very secretive about this aspect, although it is making much greater use of night operations; the point is that tactics change all the time to accommodate new circumstances, and this process is well advanced in the confrontation area.

## ● Angolan air defence.

The Angolan ground-based air defence set-up is the most critical factor of the present semi-confrontation. The Angolans/Cubans have a comprehensive radar warning system, a variety of mobile and static missiles and at least two fighter bases located nearer the border than ever before.

As a result South Africa has lost the automatic

dominance over southern Angolan airspace which it enjoyed for so many years.

It has become difficult to carry out the aerial reconnaissance which plays such an important part in the planning of ground operations; provide virtual round-the-clock air cover and helicopter evacuation for the ground forces; or carry out pre-emptive air strikes with relative impunity.

There is another aspect to this. The Angolan radar system is said to cover Namibia as far south as Grootfontein; what this means is that the Angolans/Cubans have early warning of any offensive air activity inside Namibia, which makes SAAF operations that much more difficult.

## ● South African air defence.

South Africa definitely lags behind in this aspect. It has radar coverage of the border area and northwards, but as far as is known deploys no anti-aircraft missiles except the ageing but still effective Cactus, which is designed to deal with low-level attacks on airfields and similar installations.

The Armaments Corporation has been working on an air-defence missile programme for at least three years, but till the programme produces results it cannot be taken into consideration when discussing Namibian air defence.

When all these factors are taken together, it appears clear that the further the Angolans/Cubans venture away from their radar and missile umbrella the less favourable are the odds: the mere fact that they are overflying Namibian territory is probably not of major significance in itself.

Scrambling SAAF fighters to intercept them when an overflight lasts for a few minutes only is a problem. In addition, there is obviously an element of provocation; if an F-1 were to shoot down a MiG-23 it could provoke retaliatory action, with South Africa being blamed for obstructing the peace process.

The Calueque incident, too, is not what it seems. The Angolan/Cuban fighters' raid was a perfunctory one: they came in low and fast from a very long way off, aimed their bombs at the barrage wall and returned to base.

This tactic is almost impossible to prevent, unless your fighters are actually airborne at the time; and even if SAAF fighters had gone up it would have meant a stern chase deep into the Angolan defensive airspace, leading to possible needless losses and accusations of violating the peace agreement.

One local military observer believes the MiGs were not told to attack the dam at all — 250kg bombs will not destroy metres of reinforced concrete — but had been tasked to soften up a beleaguered South African defending force.

Somewhere along the line communications broke down: arriving to find the South Africans in fine fettle and their own forces in retreat, they dropped their bombs on the only obvious remaining target — the barrage wall.

The overall conclusion is that air superiority is not a cut-and-dried concept but, in this case at least, a flexible process with fine gradations. The final proof can only be found in an outbreak of extensive hostilities in the area — a situation both sides seem to be at pains to avoid at this stage.

# Captured SA soldier to leave hospital soon

Argus 11/7/88

From BRUCE CAMERON  
The Argus Political Staff

HAVANA. — Captured South African soldier Johan Papenfus is to be released from hospital soon but his future remains uncertain.

During an interview here he appeared in good spirits after more than two months in captivity.

He is no longer in pain and is walking unaided without limping, in spite of three major operations to repair flesh torn from his lower limbs by an RPG7 rocket in southern Angola.

The Cubans are prepared to swap him for three Cuban officers being held by Unita, Mr Jorge Risquet, senior member of the Cuban Politburo, said in an interview, but a final decision was in the hands of the Angolans.

The Cubans are upset that after all they have done for Private Papenfus, including giving him the best medical treatment and allowing his family to visit him, there has been no reciprocity from South Africa.

## UNDER GUARD

They have indicated that they believe South Africa should press Unita at least to allow the Cuban prisoners to write to their relatives, who have not had any contact since they were captured.

Private Papenfus has been moved to a third hospital, this time near Havana's diplomatic residential area. He is under guard and is being treated by seven top Cuban doctors.

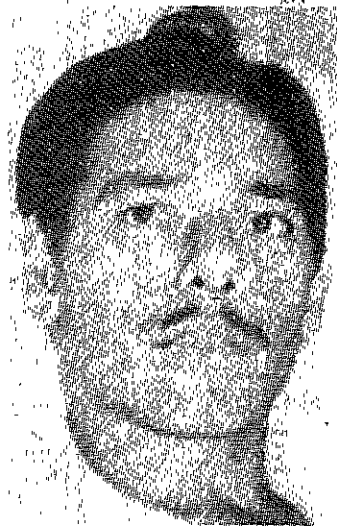
In an interview he said he was lonely and all he wanted was "to go back to South Africa".

He appreciated the care he had received from the Cubans but complained about having to eat too much meat. His doctors say a high meat diet is essential for his recovery.

The young soldier spends all his time in his ward with two Cuban guards and a nurse. He has received South African newspapers regularly, has an Afrikaans Bible, listens to music tapes and watches videos.

His loneliness was made worse because neither he nor his attendants spoke English well, he said. He is now learning a few phrases in Spanish.

He spends most of his day receiving physiotherapy, exercising for up to five hours.



Johan Papenfus

Talking about his capture he said he had been left behind after the vehicle in which he and others was travelling was hit.

He had been in tremendous pain because of the wounds and his Cuban captors had at first treated him roughly.

His legs are a mass of scars from reconstructive surgery and skin grafts.

He said he realised he was to be discharged soon but had no idea what would happen to him.

"They don't tell me much."

However, he expects to be well treated.

Colonel Ernesto Delgado, a member of the Cuban Ministry of Defence, could give no indication of the soldier's future.

He said the doctors had been amazed by Private Papenfus's recovery and the level of exercises he was doing.

His state of mind had improved tremendously after his brother and sister visited him last month.

● Private Papenfus asked me to take a letter back to his relatives in South Africa and the Cubans gave me a videotape of the medical procedures used on him.

● See page 10.

# Cheers and for PW in Cr

AKGAS 26/8/88



By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Staff Reporter

HUNDREDS of cheering, whistling Crossroads residents, who gathered to welcome President Botha on his first visit to the settlement today, broke ranks and ran forward, almost surrounding his car as it swept by.

Detectives and officials at the Topcore Manpower Training and Work Centre, which was officially opened by President Botha, leapt forward and closed the security gates behind the presidential car to halt the rush of excited people, mostly children.

## Aflutter with flags

For nearly an hour before Mr Botha's arrival the road leading to the centre was aflutter with miniature red, black and white flags handed out to children and teachers by the Crossroads council.

Nobody knew what the flags represented ... but it later turned out to be the new "flag of Crossroads".

Guests, including Cabinet Ministers, senior government officials, the Administrator of the Cape Mr Gene Louw and the Mayor of Cape Town Mr Peter Muller, were cheered as they drove in.

Even a taxi driver going about his business and later a cyclist were caught up in the spectacle and earned cheers as hearty as those for the guests.

The crowd — watched by a large police contingent and a circling helicopter — swelled as curious people came to see what all the fuss was about.

## Doubt

Many were not entirely certain who was visiting them.

But doubt seemed to have been dispelled by the time the presidential car arrived because it was greeted with a deafening crescendo of cheering and whistling.

In a brief speech of welcome, the chairman of the interim advisory board of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana said Mr Botha had "paved the way for all peoples of South Africa ... and I am thankful for that."

Mr Botha concluded his opening address by saying he was privileged to be in Crossroads.

Mr Botha and Mrs Elize Botha, who were entertained by singers and dancers after the official opening of the centre, were handed gifts from the people of Crossroads.

• See Page 3



**WAVING THE FLAG:** Crossroads residents bearing miniature replicas of the township's new red, black and white flag line the streets today for the fleet of government vehicles.

## Seven suspects arrested in Hout Bay crime swoop

By STEPHEN WROTTESELEY, Crime Reporter

POLICE believe they have made a major breakthrough in investigations into more than 30 housebreakings in Hout Bay in the past month.

Backed by an air force helicopter yesterday, they swooped on the compound at Hout Bay harbour and arrested a 30-year-old man in connection with at least 10 burglaries involving about R50 000.

They also found two firearms, dagga worth thousands of rands, cameras and a man's gold watch worth R4 000.

A police spokesman said six men aged between 25 and 60 had been arrested in connection with the dagga.

"For some weeks there have been a large number of housebreakings in Hout Bay and in one month 12 business premises and 20 houses were burgled.

ASLEEP IN BED

## Group areas: Nats as Eglin checks

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT and Opposition leaders clashed again today over latest moves to push through the group areas legislation.

The government reaffirmed its determination to push ahead while Opposition leaders accused it of discarding the consensus approach of the tricameral system.

Today there was also talk of moves to challenge the legality of the government moves.

The Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement have announced that they will not take part in parliamentary debates on the group areas legislation and other related Bills.

MORE CUMBERSOME

a C. Bill "ish" Mr pre-what ation Let scrib this kap" The Gover legal Eglin talk until The of the Its said if the white

more cumbersome because possible amendments would have been put before representatives of all three Houses.

Mr Colin Eglin, parliamentary leader of the PFP, said today the NP had "ripped off the masque from the pretence" that the tricameral system was based on consensus.

It had now been shown that consensus, in Nationalist terms, meant agreement with that party. It wanted to impose its "baasskap" on other groups.

Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the House in the Assembly, said today the government



80 AKGAS 26/8/88 30CA

# Savimbi — the motivated man in a Mao suit from Angola

Cape Times 12/7/87 (5)



JONAS SAVIMBI: Still fighting after all these years,

JONAS SAVIMBI, in London pleading for more Western support, began his political career as a trainee guerilla in Maoist China. He might appear to be an unlikely standard bearer for Western interests in southern African but his Unita guerilla movement is supported by the Reagan Administration with decisive military hardware and he is admired by a large section of Britain's ruling Conservatives.

El Presidente, as Savimbi is known to his faithful supporters in "Free Angola" and to his discreet, London-based public relations advisers, controls the south-eastern corner of the country. His motivated and well-disciplined force of guerillas, claimed to number 65 000, wreaks havoc throughout the country. A visitor to rebel or government-held regions is invariably disturbed by the number of limbless Angolans.

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UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has visited America and is now in Britain drumming up support for his rebel movement that has been fighting a 13-year bush war against Frelimo in Angola. STEPHEN ROBINSON of the Daily Telegraph profiles this leader who has been excluded from the four-nation peace talks on Angola.

Unita's headquarters are in the southern Angolan town of Jamba (meaning elephant) close to the Namibian border. During the seasonal phases of high activity in the civil war campaign he flies behind the line to harangue and encourage his troops. He is a brilliant military leader who commands unquestioning loyalty.

Savimbi's justification for pressing on with the ruinous civil war is simply that the Soviet-backed MPLA government hijacked power from the Portuguese and called in the Cuban troops to hold the lines. Now, 13 years after Portugal relinquished her African empire, Angolans are still waiting for the promised election.

Savimbi is a difficult man to pin down ideologically. He insists his enthusiasm for Maoism extends no further than military technique, and — most unusual for the African sub-continent — he has never flirted with Marxism.

Even more unusual, he is entitled to use his designation doctor and his doctoral thesis "The implications of Yalta for the Third World" can be read at Lausanne University in France. If he has any political credo it is that Africa is for Africans. His conversation is punctuated by references to "alien Cubans" and "Soviet colonialism".

He insists that he has no commitment other than to the interests of Angola. To the leaders of the Frontline states he is known

simply as Pretoria's puppet — a charge which seems to hurt him.

But Unita would clearly not survive on such a grand scale without the backing of Pretoria. To questions about his South African sponsorship, Savimbi replies: "No one can sincerely tell us it would be better to be massacred by the Cubans than expect the support of South Africa." He points out that the Shah of Iran was once a Unita benefactor and no one has ever accused him of being a monarchist.

"When you are fighting a war you get support wherever you can get it, not because you are dealing with a system."

Savimbi's demands are simple. The 57 000 Cuban troops must leave, followed swiftly by free elections and a coalition government, including Unita, in Luanda.

He is sufficiently realistic to acknowledge that not all of his continent's problems can be blamed on South Africa. He demands strict discipline in Jamba, he says, because Africa's weakness is "lack of organisation, lack of enthusiasm and lack of precision in administration".

Unita is excluded from the regional peace talks between Luanda, Havana, and Pretoria but is kept informed of developments. Savimbi believes all sides are confused about what they want from the talks; the Angolans are reluctant to allow the Cubans to go, the South Africans are still nervous about the prospect of an independent Namibia.

After 30 years in the Angolan bush El Presidente is expecting a miracle but it only took an unexpected coup d'etat in Europe to bring the MPLA to power 13 years ago. "These things," says Savimbi, "they happen so quickly."



# Angolan talks begin in US

CAP 7:15 12/7/68  
From SIMON BARBER

5

NEW YORK. — The third round of the Angolan peace talks opened near the Statue of Liberty yesterday with the South African delegation appearing chastened by the clash at Calneque two weeks ago.

"After Cairo and what happened afterwards, we are now more convinced than ever of the need for a solution," the director of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said.

Mr Van Heerden spoke as the delegation prepared to board a ferry for Governor's Island, a US Coast Guard base in New York harbour, about a kilometre off the southern tip of Manhattan.

The US, Angolan-Cuban and South African negotiating teams each took separate ferries for the 15-minute ride to the island, where the talks were held in the Coast Guard officers' mess.

# Govt lying to the public <sup>(S)</sup> about Angola — Slabbert

By Inga Molzen

SH 131788  
The South African Government was deliberately lying to the public about the South African Defence Force's involvement in Angola, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said last night, citing examples from his parliamentary career.

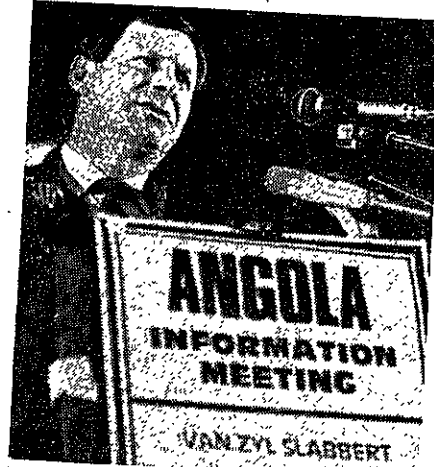
Addressing a public meeting, "Angola — information meeting" held by the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) at the Johannesburg City Hall, the former PFP leader and party spokesman on defence called on the SADF to withdraw from Angola.

"If the majority of South Africans do not accept the legitimacy of the Government, then the problem is here," said Dr Slabbert, now co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Dr Slabbert hoped the US-sponsored negotiations towards ending 13 years of civil war in Angola and granting independence in Namibia between South Africa, Angola and Cuba were successful ... "precisely for the sake of the conscripts who aren't fully informed".

"Young white South Africans", he said, "are entitled to make certain demands on the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan and the State President, Mr P W Botha — to tell them the truth about what is happening there:

- "Why do we have to go to fight and what are we going to do there? Conscripts certainly want to know what most of the world knows in any case.
- "Are we there or are we not there? Are we at war or are we in hot pur-



Dr Slabbert ... deliberately lied to during time in Parliament.

suit? Are we defending a border or are we interfering with the internal affairs of another country?"

Dr Slabbert called upon the Government not to deliberately lie to the South African public. "I do not say this lightly. I realise what a hopeless innocent I was when I went into parliamentary politics in 1974," he said.

Dr Slabbert said that twice during his 12-year parliamentary career he had been lied to. This related to South Africa's presence deep inside Angola from October 1987 and, towards October 1985, the capture of the diaries of a colonel in the forces of the MNR confirmed that South Africa was "heavily involved in supporting them before, during and after the signing of the Nkomati Accord".

## Savimbi: Peace talks take on optimistic mood

BONN. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said yesterday that he had detected a new mood of optimism arising from peace talks between Cuba, Angola, South Africa and the United States.

"There was a lot of tension between the Cubans and South Africa and the fear was that the conference would be wrecked. Now there is a new mood of optimism," Dr Savimbi told a news conference during a visit to Bonn, where he met Chancellor Helmut Kohl's foreign policy adviser Mr Horst Teltchik.

"Now instead of insults, all sides are saying they have a problem to solve," he said.

The US-brokered peace talks in New York, which began on Monday, hinge on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and Namibian independence from South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter

SA to move out while Swapo and Cubans leave a de-militarised zone

# Angola ceasefire agreed

(5) (Handwritten initials) Star 6/8/78

**PFP**  
**chief**  
**plans**  
**to go on**  
**pension**

**DAVID BRAUN**  
**Political**  
**Correspondent**

**CAPE TOWN** — Newly elected leader of the Progressive Federal Party Dr Zac de Beer is to retire completely from his business career at the end of this month.

"I will be a pensioner from September 1," Dr de Beer told his first press conference after



**CAPE TOWN** — A provisional agreement has been reached on a ceasefire between South African and Angolan/Cuban forces.

The agreement was clinched at the Geneva peace talks, but has to be ratified by the respective governments.

Cuban and Swapo forces are to withdraw to more than 100 km north of the international border between Angola and Namibia, and South African forces are to leave Angola.

Hostilities between the two sides are likely to cease from August 10, the date proposed by South Africa in a peace initiative presented at the Geneva talks this week.

There were indications last night that progress had also been made with regard to a tentative date for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for the independence of Namibia.

It is not yet clear what progress has been made on the timing of the Cuban troops' withdrawal from Angola.

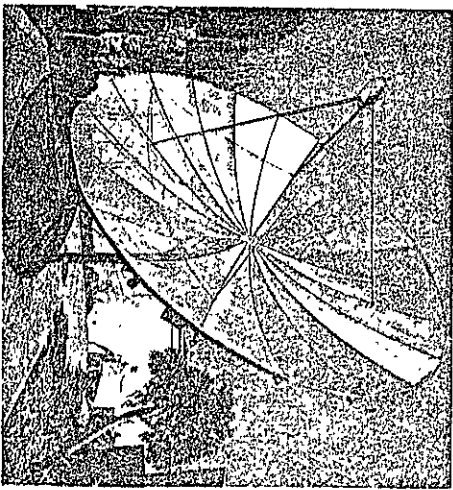
Diplomats were last night jubilant about the breakthrough, which came after talks between four governments (the United States has been chairing the negotiations) over the past three months.

A fifth power in the wings has been the Soviet Union, which has intervened at least twice to influence Cuba and Angola.

There were indications that Moscow had again used its muscle yesterday in Geneva when Cuba, at the last minute, attempted to make impossible demands with regard to fallback lines.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, last night issued a bland statement on the latest developments.

He said: "The deliberations in Geneva reached agreement on a date



## The new eavesdroppers

**LOOMING** film and TV boys. These are to be found tucked behind walls and trees in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, providing their owners with a ne-

# Solid <sup>Star</sup> progress at talks <sup>14/7/88</sup> on Angola

NEW YORK — South Africa, Cuba and Angola made solid progress yesterday towards ending 13 years of civil war in Angola and granting independence to Namibia at US-sponsored talks on Governor's Island in New York harbour.

"We are talking turkey ... we are very deep into the subject matter," a source at the talks told Reuters.

US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Chester Crocker chaired almost 10 hours of talks.

"We are talking. It went well," Angolan delegation leader General Antonio dos Santos Franca told reporters.

Mr Neil van Heerden, leader of the South African delegation, said: "It was a lengthy, solid session which was productive. The mood was good and there was a clear feeling that all parties are here with serious intentions."

Mr van Heerden, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, said all parties were making a sincere effort to reach agreement after more than a decade of false starts.

The New York negotiations are a sequel to talks in Cairo last month.

Military experts are seeking to hammer out a timetable for the withdrawal of up to 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, and for a move towards Namibian independence. — Reuter.

# SA delegation appears 'chastened'

NEW YORK — Round four of the Angolan peace talks opened under the gaze of the Statue of Liberty yesterday with the SA delegation appearing chastened by the clash at Calueque two weeks ago.

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said: "After Cairo and what happened afterwards, we are now more convinced than ever of the need for a solution. We are here in a positive frame of mind."

Van Heerden spoke as the SA delegation prepared to board a ferry for Governor's Island, a US Coast Guard base

SIMON BARBER

in New York harbour about a kilometre off the southern tip of Manhattan.

Ambassador Piet Koornhof gave a thumbs-up from the back of the minibus in which the bulk of the South Africans arrived.

The US, Angola, Cuba and SA negotiating teams each took separate ferries for the 15-minute ride to the island.

All had to jockey with New York truck drivers for space on the boat. One of the Angolan cars came close to being pinned by a dump truck.

There was minimal security ashore at the shabby Victorian ferry terminal because the State Department believed it had managed to keep the location secret and the media was barred from the island.

The talks — expected to last at least seven hours yesterday and due to resume again today — were held in the coast guard officers' mess.

The SA delegation arrived about an hour late after seeking a delay to dis-

(S) today 12/7/88  
● To Page 2

# SA peace delegation appears 'chastened'

discuss issues raised in preliminary bilateral talks with the US on Sunday.

Those talks followed similar bilaterals between the US, the Cubans and Angolans earlier in the day.

Van Heerden confirmed the two sides hoped to agree on a statement of principle which would provide a framework for subsequent negotiations on the details of Cuban and SA troop withdrawals and the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

He said there were some areas on which agreement was unlikely and those would be whittled out of the negotiating framework to be dealt with

← ● From Page 1

separately.

Under pre-agreed ground rules, the other delegations declined to comment. All remained in their limousines to avoid the 32C deg heat.

Informal side contacts cannot be ruled out because the SA and Angolan teams are housed in the same hotel.

In a related development, the Christian Times Monitor yesterday quoted US officials as saying the SADF had inflated Cuban and FAPLA casualty estimates at Calueque by a factor of four or five.

# Business Daily

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13 1988

60c (54c + 6c tax)

TAL and CAPE 80c (71c + 9c tax)

5 B/day 13/7/88

A TIMES

## SA-Cuban troop blueprint in the offing

NEW YORK — SA and Angolan-Cuban negotiators were yesterday said to be closing in on a blueprint for Cuban and SA troop withdrawals in the context of UN Resolution 435.

The plan, co-ordinated by US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence James Woods, was understood to "marry" the pull-back of Cuban forces and the military aspects of 435.

These would include the movement of SA forces into bases inside Namibia and their subsequent departure.

Woods met the SA and Angolan teams

SIMON BARBER

early yesterday morning for consultations before they headed for the second day of talks.

Under a pre-agreed news blackout, the negotiators have declined to comment on the substance of their discussions and the existence of a blueprint could not be officially confirmed.

The SA team returned from the first day's talks, which ran well over schedule to almost eight hours, visibly exhausted but sounding quietly elated.

One member said the session "was like a beehive" as negotiators hammered out issues in intense working groups, established on an often *ad hoc* basis.

Another official, while warning against the dangers of premature optimism, suggested there was almost an "overload" of progress and the delegation might need more time to digest the implications.

Foreign Affairs Director-General

● To Page 2 →

## SA-Cuban troop blueprint in offing

Neil van Heerden, leading the SA delegation, called the opening round "very substantive ... we are rapidly meeting objectives we set ourselves in Cairo".

He was referring to the agreement to draft a set of principles as the skeleton of an overall settlement.

Yesterday, however, the negotiators appeared to be going well beyond a basic framework. There was even discussion of the format of a final settlement and whether it should comprise one overall pact or a series of agreements.

Van Heerden said he expected yesterday's round to be as extended as Monday's and that it might spill over into an unplanned third session today when the

South Africans are booked to fly home.

The teams have remained in constant touch with their governments as the biggest test may be whether the parties' political leadership will accept what their "senior experts" appear to be achieving.

● Our Correspondent reports from Bonn that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said yesterday he had met representatives of the British and West German governments during his European tour.

Officially neither London nor Bonn recognises Unita, nor is Unita directly involved in the latest settlement talks.

● From Page 1 ←

# Cuba takes stock of 'high cost' war

ST-131785

(S)

HAVANA — Diplomats in Cuba believe the ground-work is being laid for a face-saving withdrawal from the war in Angola.

They are also certain that the Cubans are now looking for a way out of the war because of the increasing cost.

The "high cost" has been referred to a number of occasions recently by Cuban spokesmen in newspaper reports here and is thought to reflect the concern about financial costs as well as casualties.

The diplomats say the important point is the recent stepped-up coverage of the Angolan war in the local media.

Until three months ago very little was published about the war. Now there are a welter of stories from the front line of victory in battle, of superior arms, particularly aircraft, of Cuban advances and the "heroic defence of Cuito Cuanavale".

## LANGUAGE BEING USED

The diplomats point out that the language being used by the Cubans both in the media and in private conversations and in their military actions in Angola is very similar to that used by the Americans before they pulled out of Vietnam and more recently by the Soviet Union in pulling out of Afghanistan.

They see the foray south of Caluque more as a Cuban attempt to increase the cards they have to play in the negotiations rather than a deliberately aggressive move.

What is strange is that while the Cubans are also optimistic about a settlement, they are still refusing

## By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

Cuban diplomats say views expressed in their country are similar to American sentiments before the Vietnam pull-out.

to accept that the total withdrawal of their troops should take place simultaneously with the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 on the independence of Namibia.

They side-step questions on why they are so optimistic when the positions between South Africa and Cuba/Angola appear to be so far apart.

Cuba's chief negotiator and Politburo member, Mr Jorge Risquet, and other Cuban spokesmen strongly reject claims that Cuba is in Angola on a long-term basis in a new form of imperialism or that Cuba wants soldiers in the front line.

But its spokesmen claim Cuba has a duty to help Angola protect her own territory.

Director of Information in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr Omar Mendosa, says that the recent Cuban troop build-up and the improvement in weaponry was to stop South Africa from thinking it could launch attacks at will.

The main reasons given for Cuban military involvement are:

- An intolerance of racism.
- Cuba's ties with Angola over the centuries with many of Cuba's blacks originating from slaves captured in Angola.

● What Mr Fidel Castro has called Cuba's internationalism in bringing aid unselfishly to other countries, but what others see as a new form of imperialism.

● To pay a debt to the countries, particularly the Soviet Union, which stood by Cuba when the United States backed "counter-revolutionaries" and introduced an economic blockade in the early years of the revolution.

Cubans concede the war is costing the country a lot, but decline to say how much.

Defence spending is gobbling up about 20 percent of the budget even though the Soviet Union is providing the weaponry free to Angola to fight the war.

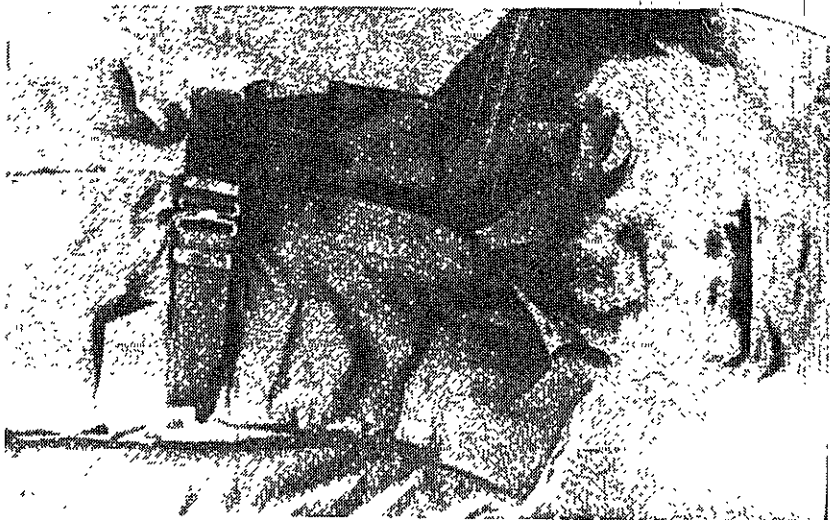
## CASUALTIES HIGH

Soldiers are dying in Angola but figures are not available. Some claim the casualties have been as high as 10 000, while the Cubans have said the 13-year war has cost less than 1 000 lives.

Another point of confusion is the fate of Unita. Diplomats here feel the continued existence of Unita is the main reason why the Cubans are intent on staying on as long as possible after Resolution 435 has been implemented.

After South African forces had withdrawn all the way back to South Africa they would be unable to give Unita any effective backing and this, it is claimed, would open the way for the military defeat of the movement.

Cuba claims it is not in Angola to fight Unita but diplomats feel this could be the only reason for wanting to stay in Angola for three years.



Fidel Castro . . . "We just want a fair solution" he is quoted as saying on Angola.



# Irate NY citizen curses a general

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Delegates attending this week's Angolan peace talks here are well guarded by both the US Secret Service and their own security men.

But the steely-eyed protection was not enough to save an Angolan army general from the abuse of an irate New Yorker.

He told him in unpublishable terms that he did not favour his presence in New York and that he should leave at the first opportunity.

The New Yorker's displeasure was not political. He alleged that the Angolans' long limousine had come close to knocking him down.

Residents of New York have a love-hate relationship with the international representatives and diplomats who crowd their city — and it's mostly hate.

They accuse the foreigners of ignoring traffic signals, parking wherever they wish and generally lording it over the locals.

The New Yorker who cornered the Angolans obviously had a bellyful this week.

As TV cameras recorded the arrival of Angolan military chief General Dlatu outside the plush UN Plaza Hotel, the New Yorker forced his way among newsmen and told the African general where he could get off — and how.

General Dlatu and his fellow Angolans looked at him impassively. It was just another problem with foreigners.

# Cubans may pull out to save face

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political staff — The Argus man in HAVANA

**DIPLOMATS** in Cuba believe the groundwork is being laid for a face-saving withdrawal from the war in Angola.

They are also certain that the Cubans are looking for a way out because of the increasing cost.

The "high cost" is thought to reflect concern about finances as well as casualties.

Diplomats point out that the language being used by the Cubans, both in the media and in private conversations, is similar to that used by the Americans before they pulled out of Vietnam and more recently by the Soviet Union before leaving Afghanistan.

They see the foray south to Caluque more as a Cuban attempt to increase the cards they have to play in the negotiations than a deliberately aggressive move.

What is strange is that while the Cubans are optimistic about a settlement, their public statements do not reflect any give on their position of refusing the simultaneous withdrawal of their troops with the implementation of United Nations resolution 435 on the independence of SWA/Namibia.

They side-step questions on why they are so optimistic when the positions of South Africa and Cuba/Angola appear so far apart.

Cuba's chief negotiator and Politbureau member Mr Jorge Risquet and other spokesmen reject claims that Cuba is in Angola on a long-term basis in a new form of imperialism, or that it wants soldiers in the frontline.

Spokesmen claim Cuba has a duty to help Angola protect her territory.

Director of Information in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mr Omar Mendoza maintains that the recent Cuban troop build-up and the improvement in weaponry was to stop South Africa thinking it could launch attacks at will.

"Fidel said recently we do not want to win, we just want a fair solution," he said.

Cuba protests that it has been given an unjust image, particularly by the United States which, Mr Mendoza said, "cannot tolerate a country it does not control so close to its shores".

The main reasons given for Cuban military involvement are:

● An intolerance of racism, something that is banned on pain of punishment in Cuba.

● Cuba's ties with Angola over the centuries. Many of Cuba's blacks descended from slaves captured in Angola and the initial Cuban involvement in Angola in 1975 was called Operation Carlotta, after a Cuban woman slave of Angolan origin who led an uprising.

● What President Fidel Castro has called Cuba's internationalism in providing aid unselfishly to other countries but what others see as a new form of imperialism. Cuban spokesmen deny it is an attempt to foment revolution, saying their intention is to help others, and they try to justify their revolutionary forays into South America as "a fight against imperialism".

● To pay a debt to the countries, particularly the Soviet Union, which stood by Cuba when the United States backed "counter revolutionaries" and introduced an economic blockade

in the early years of the revolution.

Cubans concede the war is costing the country a lot but decline to say how much.

Defence spending is gobbling up about 20 percent of the budget even though the Soviet Union is providing the weaponry free to Angola.

Soldiers are dying in Angola but figures are not available. Some say as many as 10 000 while the Cubans have said the 13-year war has cost less than 1 000 lives.

One diplomat said: "The figure has been struck on 999 for a long time now."

The deaths are clearly part of the consideration when Cuban spokesmen refer to the "high cost of the war".

Cuban government spokesmen say soldiers volunteer for duty in Angola. However, the reason for volunteering may be aided by the fact that one year of three years' national service is knocked off for fighting in Angola.

Cubans do not speak out against the war and tend to avoid discussing it. The most one gets is the remark "the mothers worry".

Diplomats say they have come across young people concerned about being killed in Angola.

But there is no indication of a groundswell opposition to the war.

Another point of confusion in the fate of Unita. Diplomats here feel the continued existence of Unita is the main reason the Cubans are intent on staying on as long as possible after resolution 435 has been implemented.

When South African forces withdraw they will be unable to give Unita any effective backing, opening the way for the military defeat of the movement.

The Cubans claim they are not in Angola to fight Unita but diplomats here feel this could be the only reason for wanting to stay on.

The Cubans say reconciliation between the MPLA government and Unita is an Angolan affair and it is unclear whether they are putting pressure on Angola to resolve the problem politically.

# 'Blueprint' for peace at talks

CAPE TOWN 13/1/88  
S

From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — South African and Angolan-Cuban negotiators were yesterday said to be closing in on a "blueprint" for Cuban and SA troop withdrawals in the context of UN resolution 435.

The plan, co-ordinated by the US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence Mr James Woods, was understood to "marry" the pull-back of Cuban forces and the military aspects of resolution 435.

These would include the movement of SA forces into bases inside Namibia and their subsequent departure from the territory.

Mr Woods arrived at the UN Plaza Hotel early yesterday morning for last-minute consultations with the parties before they headed for the second day of talks on Governors' Island.

Under a pre-agreed news blackout, the negotiators have declined comment on the substance of their discussions and the existence of the "blueprint" could not be officially confirmed.

The SA team returned from the first day's talks, which ran well over schedule to close to eight hours, sounding quietly elated.

One member said "It was like a beehive in there" as negotiators hammered out issues in intense working groups, established on an often ad hoc basis around the Coast Guard officers' club where the talks are sited.

Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden, leading the SA delegation, called the opening round "very substantive . . . we are rapidly meeting the objectives we set ourselves in Cairo".

State of emergency censorship restrictions a

# Angola talks: 5 Tough decisions needed soon <sup>NRCS</sup> 13/7/88

From NEIL LURSEN  
and BRUCE CAMERON

NEW YORK. — The Angola peace talks have reached an advanced and delicate stage which will require tough political decisions by all sides within the next fortnight if the peace initiative is to go ahead.

This emerged as delegates prepared to leave New York today, taking with them specific proposals.

A source close to the talks said last night: "It is now up to the political leaders of the three warring countries to accept or reject the major advances made by their experts here."

It is understood that a breakthrough has been made in the key issue of the timing and numbers involved in the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola.

Compromise on withdrawal has been a major stumbling block throughout the talks.

## FOURTH ROUND

Details thrashed out in New York on this issue are unknown, with all delegations committed to secrecy.

It is understood that the delegates were in touch with Pretoria, Luanda and Havana last night in preparation for today's final session.

An arrangement has been made for a fourth round of the talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US to be

held in the first week of August at a venue still to be decided.

The next meeting, again at an expert level, would be to discuss any problems and to "advance to the next stage".

A joint communiqué will be issued today after another brief round of meetings spilling over from yesterday.

## NARROWED

South Africa's chief negotiator, Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, said the talks were on track and had continued with the same intensity and duration as the previous day.

Angola's chief negotiator, General Antonio dos Santos Franco, told reporters the talks had progressed well, positions had narrowed and documents were being prepared.

Yesterday's talks were held behind closed doors again in the 176-year-old officers' mess at US Coast Guard headquarters on Governor's Island in New York harbour.

During a break a Cuban delegate presented a Havana cigar to Mr Herbert Beukes, former South African Ambassador to the US and a non-smoker, who accepted it with diplomatic aplomb.

Sapa-Reuter reports that Dr Jonas Savimbi, Unita leader, said he had detected a new mood of optimism arising from the talks. He is in West Germany.

# Angola: Why did it start?

ANGOLA has been with us for so long I am sure the question "Why did it all start in the first place?" would set the average man to scratching his head.

Depending on one's politics, one could go back to the 1948 election, the RSA's "illegal occupation" of Namibia and the 1975/6 Angolan incursion.

But the flip-side argument is that the incursions which have led to the present situation resulted directly from the 1978 border military situation, which in turn resulted from Angolan interference in Namibian affairs.

## ON PARADE

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

This argument turns on counter-insurgency doctrine, namely that although an insurgency often ends by negotiation, the matter of which side wins (or at least is not defeated) in the military stage is of crucial importance.

Up to 1976 the Namibian insurgency was a sputtering, low-level affair.

Then the MPLA regime seized power. At this stage it had two choices. It could adopt what might be called the Botswana option and give its resident Swapo insurgents moral and non-military aid, or it could involve itself in the "armed struggle" by aiding Mr Sam Nujoma.

It opted for the latter. There was some justification — it was morally committed to the "liberation struggle" — and no doubt South Africa's recent support of its enemy, Dr Jonas Savimbi, still rankled.

The immediate result was an artificially inflated Swapo war effort and a deteriorating security situation in Ovamboland during 1977.

That left just three alternatives: Capitulation; a drawn-out defensive attrition struggle, with the insurgents protected by a safe border; and pre-emptive "external" attacks.

The South African military, having analysed the lessons of the Vietnam War, concluded that pre-emptive attacks were the only feasible alternative. The then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, agreed.

That was it. Angola and South Africa became locked into a classic escalation which has cost them much blood and treasure, wrecked Angola's economy, left great areas of once-fertile land lying fallow and let Unita become the major thorn in Luanda's flesh.

And if Angola had chosen the Botswana option? The thesis goes like this:

It is fairly certain that border violations would probably have been simple hot-pursuit actions, while Unita would have been holed up in the south-east, constituting little more than a nuisance and being held in check with the help of, say, 20 000 instead of 57 000 hired Cubans.

Progress towards a Namibian solution would probably have continued, since the dynamics of hearts-and-minds processes such as political development and desegregation operate regardless of the "armed struggle's" intensity.

There might not even have been a border war as such. Makes you think ...

□ □ □ □

THIS Sunday it will be the 72nd anniversary of the Battle of Delville Wood, and as usual the Moths (Cape Western Region) will hold its commemorative service.

Falling-in time is 10.30 for 11 at the Gun Memorial in the Gardens (or the Civic Centre concourse if it rains). Various ex-service organizations will attend, and all veterans are welcome. Usual dress is suit or blazer and gongs.  
*[Willem Steenkamp is a reservist of the Citizen Force.]*

# 'Cuba will hit back'

By **BRUCE CAMERON**  
THE SOWETAN man  
Havana

HAVANA — Cuba has given a qualified undertaking for the first time not to get involved in the conflict with Unita after a South African withdrawal from the territory and the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

The undertaking was given by Cuban Politburo member, Mr Jorge Risquet, chief Cuban negotiator, in an exclusive interview here on the eve of the fourth round of peace talks in New York.

The qualifications were that Cuba would respond to attacks on her positions or convoys.

He said: "Cuba is there to prevent the aggression against Angola — not to fight Unita."

This was one of a number of points made by Mr Risquet in the two-hour interview.

He is a senior member of the Cuban hierarchy, being one of the 13 members of the Politburo, the member of the Communist Party central committee in charge of Foreign Affairs, as well as having the special prestige of being one of the insurgents in the Cuban Revolution 30 years ago.

In the interview, the first given to a South African newspaper, Mr Risquet made the following points:

- United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia was the key to the current peace talks because South Africa was "illegally in Namibia and Angola".

Apart from being in conflict with Resolution 435, South Africa was also in conflict with a UN resolution approved last year, including by the United States, demanding her withdrawal from Angola.

- Rejected linkage with the implementation of 435 with Cuban troop withdrawal saying that linkage was first mentioned by South Africa and the Reagan Administration when 435 was already three years old.

- Cuba was not seeking a military victory, but wanted an honourable agreement which "has to be on the basis of independence in Namibia and the halting of foreign intervention in Angola".

He referred particularly to the assistance given to Unita by South Africa

and the United States while he indirectly criticised Zaïre for providing bases for Unita.

- The increase of Cuban troops and the move south towards Caluque was in direct response to South Africa's "illegal aggressive support of Unita".

He claimed South Africa was still firing 30-40 154mm shells into Cuito Cunevale every day.

The current series of talks had started with United States meeting Angola last year. South Africa had been active in the entire period since then in South-East Angola. South Africa's aggression had been compounded by State President PW Botha and members of his Cabinet openly visiting troops in Angola.

Cuba had responded to South African aggression only later at Angola's request.

Mr Risquet only put the current Cuban troop level at 35 000 plus. He estimated South African forces in Angola at 9 000 equipped with heavy armour and artillery.

- Adhered to a lengthy withdrawal period of about three years and initially only to pulling back to north of the 13th parallel before withdrawing entirely from Angola. He claimed Cuba had no intention of remaining in Angola.

The lengthy withdrawal was required to allow fortification to be handed over to Fapla and for the Fapla forces to be properly trained to enable them to maintain control.

Cuba was prepared to make concessions in timing, but not to the principle to the deadlines set by the joint Angolan-Cuban delegation were not arbitrary, but had been calculated to meet in the requirement of moving back from the 17th to the 13th parallel.

Cuba had already reduced its troop levels once before in Angola, by one third after the initial conflict in 1975.

In 1978 South Africa had attacked Casinga, which he claimed was a refugee camp.

This had put an end to a withdrawal plan and South Africa had then escalated the conflict with new aggression last year by entering the war

on the side of Unita.

Angola had asked for Cuban assistance after being defeated at Mavinga.

Because of this, Cuba would not withdraw her troops back across the Atlantic Ocean immediately Resolution 435 would be implemented, because South Africa would rapidly re-invade.

- Claimed South Africa with Unita had launched four major attempts on Cuito without success.

- Rejected what he said where South Africa's demands to renegotiate aspects of Resolution 435 on the grounds that the

agreement needed to be updated.

- It was up to Angola to resolve the problem of Unita. The MPLA already offered Unita members clemency. This had already happened with the defunct FNLA of Holden Roberto.

He was sure a solution would be found if foreign intervention stopped. He referred to United States support of Unita and the recent visits of Unita Jonas Savimbi to the White House.

- Denied that there was any conflict of interest between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

"It is a totally false rumour."



LEADER Fidel Castro.

Tuesday July 13 1988

## Breakthrough on one key issue

# Angola talks at a 'delicate stage'

Star 13/7/88 (5)

By Neil Lurssen and Bruce Cameron  
NEW YORK — The four-nation Angola/Namibia talks, which have now been extended by half a day, have reached an advanced and delicate stage which will require tough political decisions by all sides within the next fortnight if the peace initiative is to go ahead.

This emerged as delegates prepared to leave New York with a set of specific proposals for their governments.

"It is now up to the political leaders of the three warring countries to accept or reject the major advances made here," a source close to the talks said last night.

### Withdrawal of troops

It is understood that a breakthrough has been made in the key issue of the timing and numbers involved in the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola, which has been a major stumbling block.

Details thrashed out in New York on this issue remain closely guarded.

It is understood that the delegates were in touch with Pretoria, Luanda and Havana last night in preparation for today's session.

An arrangement has been made for a fourth round of the talks between

South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US to be held in the first week of August at a venue still to be decided.

A joint communique will be issued later today.

The chief South African negotiator, Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, said last night that the talks were on track and had continued with intensity.

Angola's chief negotiator, General Antonio dos Santos Franco, told reporters that the talks had progressed well, and that documents were being prepared.

General Franco — known in Angola as "Ndalu" — was due to meet the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Perez de Cuellar, today to discuss the situation.

Yesterday's talks were again held behind closed doors in the 176-year-old historic officers' mess at US Coast Guard headquarters on Governor's Island in New York harbour.

The talks were again characterised by an amicable but businesslike atmosphere, according to one source.

During a break, a Cuban delegate presented a Havana cigar to the non-smoking Mr Herbert Beukes, former SA ambassador to the US, who accepted it with diplomatic aplomb.

# Cuba and SA agree on pull-out

**NEW YORK.** — Angola, Cuba and South Africa have agreed that Cuban troops will withdraw from Angola, and that South Africa will end its 73-year rule over Namibia, the Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, said yesterday.

The parties did not, however, agree on a timetable for the Cuban withdrawal at this week's meeting, Dr Crocker said at a news conference at the US mission to the United Nations.

But a top Angolan official said yesterday that the date for an accord was "very close".

He was speaking after three days of talks between South Africa, the United States, Cuba and Angola that reached an agreement on the framework for a "peaceful settlement" to the 13-year guerilla war in Southern Africa.

The delegations issued a statement describing the three-day US-sponsored discussions that began on Monday as "constructive in spirit, positive and productive".

## Peace principles

The statement said the delegations reached agreement on the "principles for a peaceful settlement in South-Western Africa".

The response of the four governments to the draft document is expected before early August, when another meeting is scheduled.

Lt-Gen Antonio dos Santos Franca, the Fapla chief of staff who led the Angolan delegation, appeared remarkably optimistic after the talks.

The talks had reduced the possibility of new fighting between Angolan and Cuban troops and SA soldiers, he said.

The South Africans were also optimistic about a settlement. Mr Neil van Heerden, the head of South Africa's delegation, said the negotiators were talking seriously and that the peace process was "on track". — UPI and Sapa-AP

# PEACE, VERY

# close,

CHIEF TALKS 14/7/88  
C/S



# Pact closer as Angola peace talks end

AP 14/7/84

From NEIL JURSSSEN  
and BRUCE CAMERON

NEW YORK.— As the Angola peace talks ended, the sides appear to have edged closer to an agreement on a schedule for Cuban troop withdrawal and the linked issue of Namibian independence.

But there is still a long way to go in the US-sponsored negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The delegations have left America with a secret document entitled *Principles for a Peaceful Settlement in South-Western Africa*.

They agreed that if their governments approved the principles spelt out in the document, the sides would meet again in the first week of August to hammer out firm agreements based on the principles.

It is expected that the document will be made public once the three governments have conveyed their approval to Washington. A venue for the next round of talks has not yet been chosen.

It is understood that the Cubans offered to host the meeting — the fourth round of talks — in Havana but South Africa

is unlikely to accept. Similarly, the Cubans are not likely to accept an invitation to meet in Cape Town.

Shortly after the talks ended yesterday afternoon, the leader of the American team, Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, said Cuban withdrawal and implementation of Namibian independence under UN resolution 435 remained crucial to the peace initiative. He said there appeared to have been progress.

At a news conference Dr Crocker suggested there may have been a narrowing of the gap between the opposing sides

on linking Cuban withdrawal with Namibian independence.

South Africa has insisted that the Cubans be withdrawn first but according to Dr Crocker the two actions could now be simultaneous.

He said the clock would start ticking for the implementation of resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal if the talks moved toward a settlement that entailed the movement of South African troops south of the border and the arrival in Namibia of civil and military officials of the United Nations.

The South African and Ango-

lan delegations said the spirit of the New York talks had been "good" and "constructive".

South Africa's delegation leader, Mr Neil van Heerden, said: "I go away from New York with one main impression: that the negotiations have stayed on track through London, Cairo and now here, and we have been able to overcome a number of important problems on the way."

"The road is far we have to travel but, as of now, a momentum has been established and a confidence created which enables us to continue."

# Crocker: agreement on withdrawal nearer

By Neil Lurssen and  
Bruce Cameron

NEW YORK — Delegates to the just-ended Angola peace talks appear closer to agreeing a schedule for Cuban troop withdrawal and the linked issue of SWA/Namibian independence.

But there is still a long way to go in the US-sponsored negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba before these questions are resolved.

One source told reporters it would be wrong to use words like "breakthrough" in describing what happened, and that "steady progression" would be more accurate.

The delegations have returned to their capitals with a secret document entitled "Principles for a Peaceful Settlement in Southwestern Africa".

They agreed that, if their governments approved the principles spelt out in the document, the parties to the talks would meet again in the first week of August to hammer out agreements based on the principles.

Some of the preliminary work on translating the principles into agreements has already been completed.

It is expected that the document will be made public once

(5)  
the three governments have conveyed their approval to Washington. A venue for the next round of talks has not yet been chosen.

It is understood that the Cubans offered to host the meeting, the fourth round, but that South Africa is unlikely to accept the invitation.

Similarly, the Cubans are not likely to accept an invitation to Cape Town.

Shortly after the talks ended yesterday, the leader of the American team, Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, said Cuban withdrawal and implementation of SWA/Namibian independence under UN Security Council resolution 435 remained crucial to the peace initiative, and that there appeared to have been progress.

Dr Crocker told a press conference there may have been a narrowing of positions between the opposing sides on the linkage question, making the start of Cuban withdrawal simultaneous with the implementation of Resolution 435.

Until now, the SA Government has insisted that the Cubans be withdrawn first.

● See Page 2.

# US cautious about peace prospects for Angola, Namibia

SK 157 7/88

(5)

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Senior American officials are sounding a cautious note about the prospects for peace in Angola and independence for Namibia following this week's intensive US-sponsored negotiations in New York.

"We are still months away from buttoning up all the details," Mr John Whitehead, the deputy US Secretary of State, said here.

While they are clearly elated at the agreement in principle reached by delegates from South Africa, Cuba and Angola and are emphasising the absence of rancour at the talks, the Americans warn that there are many obstacles to be overcome before a settlement pact can become a reality.

The first obstacle, they say, is to win approval by the three governments of the principles established in New York — principles

described by the leader of the American team, Dr Chester Crocker, as "the core of the settlement, guideposts for negotiators to produce detailed agreements, a family of agreements, which will be needed to bring a settlement into effect".

After approval in Pretoria, Havana and Luan-da, the negotiators will have to reach agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban and SA troops, and on implementation of UN Resolution 435 which sets out an independence plan for Namibia.

## Details

"As with so many potential agreements, the devil is often in the details, and the details have not yet been achieved," Mr Whitehead said.

The Americans are hoping to create an easier climate for the details to be thrashed out by emphasising that there must be no losers when the final settlement package is signed.

"There is going to have to be a compromise to the satisfaction of everybody," Dr Crocker said.

The US ambassador to the United Nations, Ad-

miral Vernon Walters, said that the hostility built up in 15 years of conflict was yet another obstacle to be overcome.

## Principles

He noted that the talks in New York had gone further than previous meetings.

Asked why so much attention had been given to the agreement on principles when so much had yet to be achieved, Admiral Walters said: "I think one of the principal reasons is that hope springs eternal in the human breast."

He said he was not surprised by indications that South Africa would be willing to pull out of Namibia in terms of Resolution 435. He believed that South Africa would withdraw.

"Most of all, it will bring to an end the war in Angola which has been going on for more than 15 years with tremendous casualties," he said.

"And the independence of Namibia would take away the possibility of clashes between South Africa and Angola by forming a buffer between the military forces of the two countries."

## SA meeting soon on peace talks — Pik

Political Reporter

Senior Government officials will meet soon — possibly early next week — to discuss the results of the fourth round of southern African peace talks, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, says.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, would chair the meeting.

On the agenda will be the statement of principles on a settlement between Cuba, Angola and South Africa which had been drawn up after the peace talks in New York.

South African and Angolan delegations were reported to feel jittery about whether their governments would accept the statement.

Mr Botha said it was too early to interpret the progress made at the talks.

Shortly after the talks ended on Wednesday, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said there appeared to have been progress but Cuban withdrawal and implementation of Namibian independence remained crucial to peace.

# SA troops must leave Angola before Cubans withdraw

WASHINGTON — All SA troops would have to leave southern Angola before Cuban withdrawal could begin, SA and Angolan-Cuban negotiating teams agreed in New York this week.

This ground-breaking agreement, which is implicit in the "statement of principles" now being studied by the parties' political leaders, was confirmed by chief US mediator Chester Crocker. Crocker also confirmed that as SA forces moved out of Angola, the UN

Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) would start deploying in Namibia for the independence process.

Under the framework achieved in the two-and-a-half-day talks, Crocker said it was now "understood" by all sides that the settlement "would clearly entail SA forces being south of the border and that the UN components of the civil and military would be arriving on the ground in Namibia.

"As of that point, the clock starts ticking on SA adherence to the elements of

(UN resolution) 435 and on Cuban withdrawal from Angola."

The key remaining disagreement is over how to marry the seven-month timetable for implementation of the UN plan with the three to four years Cuba has been insisting it must have to bring its forces home.

Crocker said: "The existing gap on the timing of Cuban withdrawal from Angola is a major issue."

SIMON BARBER

<sup>8 Day</sup> The negotiators skirted the problem until the next round of talks in early August, but focused on other closely related matters including "verification" of SA and Cuban withdrawals.

The teams dealt with the problem of Unita and the ongoing Angolan civil war by declaring it an "internal" problem beyond the scope of the "international" settlement plan.

The parties reached a new level of mutual understanding that should significantly reduce the chances of more

SA soldiers being killed before a final settlement was reached.

Crocker said military specialists from the two sides made headway on finding ways to avoid more Caluque-style clashes.

He said: "There was an opportunity for extensive communication between soldiers in these talks. One has to start somewhere to disentangle these forces which are engaged, or nearly engaged,

● To Page 2

## SA troops 'must leave Angola first'

with each other and which from time-to-time are shooting at each other."

That formed the basis of the final communiqué's statement that the parties "discussed ways to create a climate in the region to achieve more progress in the negotiations".

Referring to the risk of more clashes between the SADF and Cuban-led Fapla units along the Namibian border, a senior diplomat at the talks said: "The fuse has been lengthened."

From Page 1

□ The SA government is expected to decide early next week whether or not it accepts the programme of principles agreed in New York.

Sapa reports President Botha will chair a meeting of top government representatives to review the talks and the implications of accepting the principles.

negotiators

SA-ANGOLA TALKS

# Suddenly a timetable



US's Crocker ... chairing the proceedings

As an interesting side-note, the New York round of talks on Angola and Namibia was scheduled not for the vast UN facilities in that city. Instead representatives of SA, Angola and Cuba, along with Dr Chester Crocker's team from the US State Department and a Soviet African affairs specialist identified as Vasev, all gathered at an American government suite in some anonymous location. "Security," as in confidentiality, was cited as the reason.

If any communiqué emerges from the meeting it will be vague enough, but that does not mean that there has not been movement, a lot of movement, towards a settlement that would get the Cubans out of Angola and, it is just possible, SA troops out of Namibia—at least in large numbers.

In the tedious mating dance that passes for diplomatic technique, none of the four powers involved directly in the talks (the Soviets are merely observers) had expected to go beyond reading formal position statements and perhaps shouting at each other a bit when they met last month in Cairo.

But according to senior White House officials, to everyone's surprise, the positions of the Botha and Dos Santos governments were remarkably close in their ultimate objectives — both wanted to avoid the horrendous war that is shaping up between the SA military and the Cubans in southern Angola. Both want the Cubans out of Angola, not to put too fine a point on it.

So the New York meeting is a giant step forward in the process, as diplomats see it. The four will actually agree on the "statement of principles" over which they will then begin to negotiate. In other words, they will agree on the broad subjects over which

agreement is possible.

So what is to be decided? Several points are already pretty well firmly fixed:

□ Swapo is out of the equation altogether. As a political force, the Namibian liberation group is now judged as bankrupt, as it has been militarily for some years;

□ Unita's fate is still to be determined. But despite the warm reception accorded Jonas Savimbi in Washington last month, Unita will probably end up being a client responsibility of the SA taxpayer; and

□ The Cuban troops will leave Angola, if not in their entirety at once, at least to levels that will make them no longer a military force in the region. That has always been one of the keystone wishes of President Ronald Reagan; it is now shared by the Soviets and the Angolans. One of the carrots being dangled in front of the Dos Santos negotiators is immediate membership of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and a flood of hundreds of millions of dollars of development money.

The hard part remains SA's. An SA troop withdrawal at once is less important than achieving a credible SA agreement not to invade southern Angola at will. Only then can the Cubans leave. Pacification of Unita, independence of Namibia and the repatriation of the Swapo cadres are other thorny problems which must be declared issues at the New York meeting if they are to take on any reality.

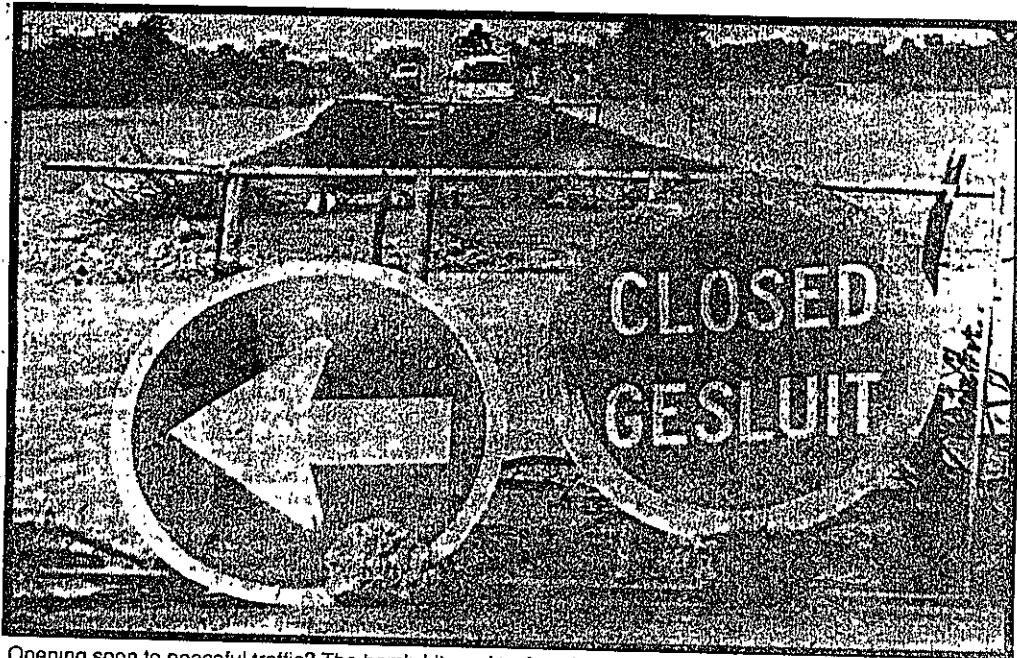
What is different about this meeting from all the others of the Eighties? The answer lies with the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the truce between the warring factions in Nicaragua. A case is being made in Washington and elsewhere that the Soviets have had enough of adventuring abroad. They are willing to seal off Cambodia from

the Vietnamese, they are willing to seal off Afghanistan and Central America and, it is said, southern Africa. It is more important for the Kremlin leadership to get their nation out of the 19th Century and into the 21st before this century ends.

Another difference lies in the view that a quick agreement will be easier to achieve while Reagan is still in office. If, by some chance, the Democrats were to seize the White House, a coherent American foreign policy view might be a year or more in the making. Time is suddenly important on both sides — and that is the biggest difference of all.

Angola: We're almost there,  
say the Cubans. Perhaps, say  
South Africans

# THIS ROAD



Opening soon to peaceful traffic? The bomb-hit road to Angola

Picture: JOHANN LIEBENBERG, Reuter

*W/ mail*

*(5) 15-2-17/85*

# TO PEACE

The easy part was talking to the foe. The hard part will be selling the idea back at home ...

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK in New York and MARK VERBAAN in Windhoek

**T**HE chief Cuban negotiator in this week's talks with South Africa and Angola has expressed optimism about the prospects for reaching a settlement.

"We are at a juncture different to anything we have had in the past. We are on the verge of reaching a real agreement," Alcibia des Hibalgo said in an interview yesterday in New York.

The South African negotiators flew back to Pretoria with a secret two-page document entitled "Principles for a peaceful settlement in South Western Africa."

But now they face their biggest hurdle: convincing their bosses to accept these principles.

The big question now is whether the South African government — and particularly the military-dominated State Security Council — will go along with this process.

Some observers point to signs that South Africa's hawks are putting pressure on the negotiators.

A Swapo official in Windhoek said yesterday that people did not have a lot of faith in the negotiations.

"This latest round of so-called deliberations comes at a time when the 10th anniversary of Resolution 435 is less than three months away. It would be cruel to raise the hopes of Namibi-

ans that independence is at last on its way," he said.

He suspected South Africa would always find an excuse to delay the implementation of the UN settlement plan. "Even if the Cubans withdraw from Angola, there is no guarantee Pretoria will stick to its side of the bargain and pull out of Namibia — both militarily and politically."

Professor Peter Vale, director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University and an international affairs specialist, said the negotiators would probably find it easier to deal with the Angolans and Cubans than with the State Security Council.

"They are going to have to sell the New York package to PW Botha and others — and that is going to be tough," he said.

Vale pointed to recent reports that the SA Air Force had a "new plane" that would restore air superiority in southern Angola and the strong reaction to questions raised by *Die Kerkbode*, the NGK publication which questioned South Africa's presence in Angola.

"These are signs that different people in Pretoria are sending out different signals — and some of them may try to sabotage

•To PAGE 2 P.T.O.

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# Angola: Tough problem of selling peace to the bosses

the talks," he said.

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports from New York that the principles agreed to in this week's talks were an important step towards settling the Angolan war and bringing independence to Namibia — but the parties remain divided over major points such as the timetable for a withdrawal of 20 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

The two key riddles — whether or not the South Africans are negotiating seriously, and whether or not the Cubans are massing in Southern Angola merely as a bargaining ploy — were not answered at the meeting on Governor's Island in New York harbour.

The talks steered clear of the fine points over which the parties are still in disagreement, concentrating instead on the broad principles on which they could find common ground.

If the three governments ratify the two-page document worked out by the delegation, it will be the most important advance in the talks to date, participants said.

"From our point of view we have a structure in place," the US assistant secretary of state for Africa, Chester Crocker, told a news conference at the end of the three-day US-mediated talks.

"I am not predicting that it's going to work, but another important step has been taken".

The details of the statement of principles are not being released until ratification. They are believed to be wide-ranging and to go further than was believed possible among the warring parties a few months ago.

Peace hopes have been reinforced by the active collaboration behind the scenes between Soviet and American officials in this week's talks.

Antonio Franco N'Dala, head of the Angolan delegation to the talks, said the meeting had helped reduce the possibility of new fighting between South Africans and Cubans.

A joint statement by the four governments said the delegations had discussed ways to "create a climate in the region to achieve further progress in the negotiations".

15-21/7/88  
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●From PAGE 1

The next round of talks was scheduled for early August. N'Dala said it was doubtful whether all the governments would have ratified the statement by then.

Crocker said: "There is going to have to be compromise, there have to be no losers and the agreement will have to be verified to the satisfaction of everybody."

According to Crocker, there could be a settlement before the end of the year if people were prepared to take "tough political choices" which were to be made.

"We have a lot of work ahead of us. Large gaps remain, for instance the existing gap on the timing of the withdrawal of the Cuban troops."

In an interview yesterday, Cuban chief negotiator Hibalgo said there was now "much better conditions to achieve a real agreement."

"This is not only a matter of trust, but it is a realistic attitude ... We are on the verge of reaching a real agreement and we expect the South African government will honour this conclusion."

He emphasised the Cuban presence in Angola had been an important factor in Pretoria's attitude towards the negotiations. "In the past few months there has been an accelerated change in the situation, both politically and militarily. The presence of a strong group of Cubans in Southern Angola has been decisively instrumental in the negotiations."

The principles agreed to this week, he said, created the possibility for an "honourable, just and peaceful solution in this very big conflict".

MARK VERBAAN reports from Windhoek that most Namibians are not likely to believe that independence for their country has been brought any nearer.

Many Namibians, having lived through 22 years of war, will remain sceptical of talks that did not include Swapo — and particularly suspicious of any meetings in which South Africa is included.

# Angola: SA to decide next week

Off. Trip 15/7/88

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE South African government is expected to decide next week on whether to accept the statement of principles tentatively agreed to by the warring parties at the latest round of four-power talks on Angola/Namibia in New York.

President P W Botha is expected to chair a top-level meeting, probably in Cape Town, to assess developments at the latest round of talks.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has cautioned that it is too early to make a judgment on what has been achieved.

South Africa, Cuba and Angola are expected to inform the United States government of their respective decisions on the programme of principles within a week.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that in terms of the accord all South African troops will have to leave southern Angola before Cuban withdrawal can begin.

This was confirmed by Dr Chester Crocker, the chief US mediator.

Dr Crocker said that as SA forces moved out of Angola the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) would deploy in Namibia to oversee the independence process.

The key remaining disagreement is over how to marry the seven-month timetable for implementation of the UN plan with the three to four years Cuba has insisted it must have to bring its forces home.

● A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday that reports on US Democratic Party presidential candidate Mr Michael Dukakis's implied threat to use military force against South Africa had given a misleading impression.

An examination of Mr Dukakis's statement, in which he alluded to the possible use of military force against "terrorist base camps" in South Africa, showed that he was referring to Renamo camps in South Africa.

Since there were no Renamo camps in the country, the implied threat effectively fell away.

landed in plane too



## Opinion

THE New York talks, in producing a draft agreement on the principles of a settlement in Angola-Namibia, have presented the South African government with a choice it can no longer avoid.

Are we going to get out of Namibia? Are we going to get out of Angola?

President Botha and his advisers will have to decide within the next week or so whether they are seriously interested in a regional settlement which will allow Namibia to move ahead to independence, an event they have delayed for a decade.

The draft agreement by officials, which is awaiting approval by political leaders, links the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola with the simultaneous implementation of Resolution 435 of the Security Council, which provides for UN-supervised elections and independence for Namibia.

### Invaluable

Although South Africa accepted Resolution 435 in principle when it was adopted in 1978, Pretoria's subsequent strategy has been to spin out the negotiations and hold on in Namibia, more in the interests of South Africa's strategic objectives in the sub-continent than for the sake of Namibia.

For the SADF, the territory has been an excellent proving ground for new weaponry and training in counter-insurgency. In the Caprivi strip, it has included an advance base which has been invaluable in the SADF's military domination of the sub-continent.

### Counter-productive

But the situation is changing rapidly. The more thoughtful elements in the SADF are aware that this country cannot win a proxy fight against two superpowers. Both Moscow and Washington are intent on a settlement in the region. Whatever the signal achievements of Armscor, the SADF will rapidly be out-gunned in high-tech weaponry, as is already beginning to happen.

# Now is the time to quit Angola and settle in Namibia

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Political Survey  
By GERALD SHAW

Whatever the SADF may have achieved by its aggressive pre-emptive strategy in the region in the last decade, which history will have to judge, the military balance has now changed in dramatic fashion with the sudden Cuban dash into south-west Angola, a war-devastated wasteland which was long under Unita and SADF control.

The situation is becoming counter-productive, with the danger of the SADF getting stuck in the mud of central Angola, risking heavy casualties.

Against this background, and an undertow of public opinion in favour of disen-

agement, the probabilities are that the draft agreement will be accepted in principle by Pretoria. Then the haggling over timing and detail will begin, which will again provide opportunities for delay if any of the parties are so minded.

From Angola's point of view, it now makes sense to play the game of delay because bargaining terms will improve considerably for Luanda if Mr Michael Dukakis wins the US presidential election later this year. Mr Dukakis has already undertaken to recognize the MPLA regime and withdraw US support from Unita.

### Blockade

From South Africa's point of view, on the other hand, it makes sense to conclude the deal NOW while the well-disposed Reagan administration and Mr Chester Crocker are still in place.

If this is not done, the consequences could be pretty dreadful. The end of the line could even be an internationally enforced blockade to force a defiant South Africa to its knees. No rational government would deliberately invite such consequences upon itself.

If there is a quick settlement, on the other hand, the gains for South Africa would be substantial. The massive military expenditures in Angola-Namibia would cease. Scarce skills and manpower could be re-directed into productive economic activity — and the SADF could revert to a rather more modest role in defending South Africa's borders.

South Africa has many strong bargaining cards to play. There is Pretoria's ownership of Walvis Bay, for example. In the last stages of the negotiation South Africa could swap its title to Walvis Bay for a mutual security treaty with a newly independent Namibia, securing the use of the harbour for the SA Navy and the exclusion of other navies — and excluding the ANC from operating guerilla bases in the territory. Namibia's position of economic dependence will doubly ensure that South Africa's security interests are protected in watertight fashion.

### Guarantees

What happens to achieve peace between Unita and the MPLA government in Angola is something for those parties themselves to resolve. But South Africa will be wanting guarantees that the new Angola will not allow ANC bases on its soil.

The benefits of a settlement would be incalculable. The consequences of failure do not bear thinking about.

# Peace talks: So far, so good, but . . .

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From NEIL LURSEN

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Senior American officials are cautious about the prospects for peace in Angola and independence for Namibia following this week's intensive US-sponsored negotiations in New York.

"We are still months away from buttoning up all the details," Mr John Whitehead, the deputy US Secretary of State, said here.

While they are clearly elated at the agreement in principle reached by delegates from South Africa, Cuba and Angola and are emphasising the absence of rancour at the talks, the Americans warn that there are many obstacles to be overcome before a settlement can become a reality.

The first obstacle, they say, is to win approval by the three governments of the principles established in New York — principles described by the leader of the American team, Dr Chester Crocker, as ... "the core of the

settlement, guideposts for negotiators to produce detailed agreements which will be needed to bring a settlement into effect."

After approval in Pretoria, Havana and Luanda, the negotiators will have to reach agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban and SA troops, and on implementation of UN Resolution 435 which sets out an independence plan for Namibia.

## Milder climate

"As with so many potential agreements, the devil is often in the details, and the details have not yet been achieved," Mr Whitehead said.

The Americans are hoping to create a milder climate for the negotiations by emphasising that there must be no losers when the final settlement package is signed.

"There is going to have to be a compromise ... to the satisfaction of everybody," Dr Crocker said.

The US ambassador to the United Nations, Admiral Vernon

Walters, said that the hostility built up in 15 years of conflict was yet another obstacle to be overcome but he noted that the talks in New York had gone further than previous meetings.

## Withdrawal

Asked why so much attention had been given to the agreement on principles when so much had yet to be achieved, Admiral Walters said: "I think one of the principal reasons is that hope springs eternal in the human breast."

He said he was not surprised by indications that South Africa would be willing to pull out of Namibia in terms of Resolution 435. He believed that South Africa would withdraw.

"Most of all," he said, "it will bring to an end the war in Angola which has been going on for more than 15 years with tremendous casualties."

And the independence of Namibia would take away the possibility of clashes between South Africa and Angola by forming a buffer between the military forces of the two countries.

# Headings for peace at last

ROBIN DREW

## Cuban negotiator sees end to impasse

HARARE — The top Cuban negotiator in the Angolan peace talks, Mr Jorge Risquet, is satisfied that the parties are at last on the road to a fair and honourable settlement.

Briefing a small party of South African newsmen here yesterday, he said the negotiations were difficult and complex and several agreements had to be put into a package which would include the general principles agreed to this week in New York.

"We can say with satisfaction that progress has been made," he said, adding that the key to the solution lay in the application, without any modification, of Resolution 435 which would lead to Namibia's independence.

If the governments involved approved the general principles on which a peace agreement would be based, the next meeting in August would consider the draft agreements which were being prepared.

Mr Risquet, who attended the London and Cairo meetings, was not present at the New York session as he was attending a meeting here of the joint Cuban-Zimbabwe Commission.

He met the South African newsmen at the Harare home of the Cuban ambassador.

By agreeing to go to the negotiating table, South Africa had been sensible, he said, because the presence of large military concentrations had created an explosive situation with unpredictable consequences.

He disclosed it was he who had first suggested September 10 as a goal for an agreement because of the significance of the 10th anniversary of

the adoption of Resolution 435.

The Americans had liked the idea and had taken it to the summit with Mr Gorbachev.

Mr Risquet said there was "absolutely no question" of Unita taking part in the negotiations. The negotiations were concerned with an end to logistical support for Unita from South Africa and parallel to that Angola and the United States were discussing an end to American backing.

Once external support ceased he was confident the Angolan government "with wisdom, flexibility and a spirit of clemency" would find a solution as it had done with a break-away movement in the north. Cuba would not interfere but he said the Luanda Government

"must not be vengeful".

On the timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops, he said this would start the moment United Nations troops were in place in terms of Resolution 435.

The Angolans would start withdrawing to the north of the 13th parallel and the South Africans to the Orange River.

After D-Day (the arrival of the UN troops) there would be 1 300 km separating the forces.

The withdrawal would take around 17 months from D-Day.

Between month 13 and month 24, Cuba would repatriate 20 000 of its soldiers home and between month 30 and month 48, all would have gone. He said this timetable

was the sovereign decision of the Cuban and Angolan governments.

He denied that the question of ANC bases in Angola was a matter for negotiation, and said this question should be addressed to the Angolan Government.

Asked about the future of the South West Africa Territory Force of 24 000 men, he said this would have to be dissolved.

Mr Risquet said he did not regard the conflict as one between East and West, but as a conflict between South Africa and the other countries in the region.

Asked if it was realistic to think the agreement could be reached before the United States elections in November, Mr Risquet said: "We should not be pessimistic or naively over-optimistic. We have started on a sensible road with the possibility of success, even though there is a lot of work ahead."

### ANC suspects shot in Kruger Park

THE Army and Air Force shot and killed two suspected African National Congress insurgents in a combined operation on Thursday in the Kruger National Park.

An South African Defence Force spokesman confirmed in Pretoria the contact occurred just after 3 pm in a remote part of the reserve, north of the Shingwedzi River.

Weapons, ammunition and other equipment were seized, he said. The shooting resulted from a follow-up operation to a blast in the reserve on Monday, when a National Parks Board (NPB) vehicle detonated an explosive device in the region. There were no injuries.

The NPB chief executive, Dr Tol Pienaar, gave an assurance this week tourists could still safely visit the reserve, and that any hazardous sector would be closed to tourists.

A Swazi police spokesman confirmed two of the four alleged ANC gunmen, arrested after an armed confrontation with Swazi police at Pigg's Peak on Thursday, were wounded in the shootout. Hospital sources in Pigg's Peak confirmed one of the wounded men, Mr Arnold Masimuta (30), was still in hospital in a critical condition after being shot in the buttocks. — Sapa.

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# Angola: Good chance for peace

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

AN Angolan peace plan could be translated into action "very soon" if negotiations keep going according to plan.

This is the assessment of a senior South African diplomat.

And the basic elements of the peace plan could be made known shortly.

This would follow the acceptance of the New York document next week by the governments of South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The basic principles of an agreement were put to paper in New York earlier in the week by experts representing the three parties in the conflict.

A senior South African source spelled out the two basic elements of the agreement: all parties accept that the Cubans must leave Angola; and all parties accept United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

Precisely how these two streams of the agreement will be synchronised and implemented will be the subject of the next round of talks expected to take place next month.

South African diplomats hope the talks will be somewhere in Africa, but Rio de Janeiro and Geneva have also been mentioned.

Sources in London said there was discussion around an undertaking that an independent Namibia would not offer bases to the ANC.

## Confident

A well-placed source in Pretoria said it was too early for agreement on such specific issues.

Senior officials are expected to meet in Cape Town, probably on Wednesday, to discuss the plan that could lead to an end to the Angolan war.

Meanwhile, Cuba's delegate at the talks, Mr Jorge Risquet, met senior Zimbabwean officials on Friday to brief them.

He told newsmen he was confident about peace prospects.

"The South Africans are serious about peace, perhaps because they have to be: the balance of power has changed."

He was asked whether he detected a political schism within the South African hierarchy over Angola, but he said he was not qualified to judge that.

He said, however, that during the peace talks the South Africans would agree to the resolution to an issue one day and then go back on their decision the next day, and so on.

He added that it was perhaps indicative of a lack of unanimity on their part.

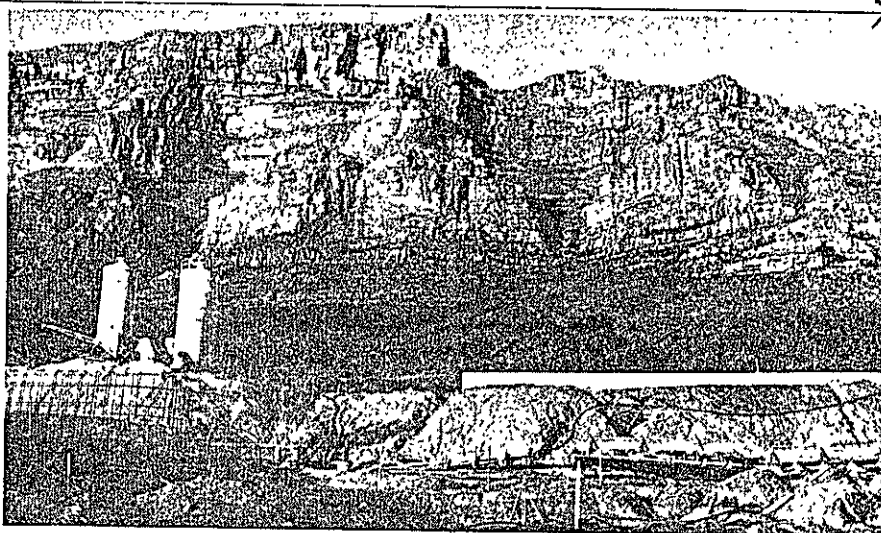
He praised United States Under-Secretary of State Chester Crocker and said, regardless of other differences Cuba might have with Washington, America had played a positive role in the current peace initiative.

And he said it would be morally indefensible to delay the initiative because of the possibility of United States Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis making the White House.



# Angolan peace: Will SA bring the boys home?

ARGUS  
18/7/88



Picture: DANA le ROUX, The Argus.

**DAM WALL:** Residents of Glencoe Road, Oranjezicht, yesterday had to contend with a flood of muddy water from this reservoir dam which is still under construction.

## Oranjezicht homes flooded: Councillors call for report

By ANTHONY DOMAN and ANDREA WEISS  
Staff Reporters

THE city engineer has been asked to submit a full report on the Oranjezicht flooding which damaged houses and gardens.

In a cloudburst yesterday, houses in Glencoe Road were hit by muddy floodwater from a reservoir being built on Table Mountain.

City councillor Mr Louis Kreiner said he asked for the report.

Mr Kreiner said he contacted people affected by the flooding immediately he heard of it.

Council staff cleared up the mess and sandbags were used to contain the water.

"My fellow-ward councillor, Mr Llewellyn van Wyk, and I will be visiting the area later today to see if there is anything we can do to help," Mr Kreiner said.

Asked if there had been problems in the past, Mr Kreiner said: "There have been people who have complained."

However, he understood their complaints had been dealt with.

Contractors Murray and Roberts were obliged to protect properties as part of their contract conditions, he said.

But it was possible their precautions had not taken into account unforeseen heavy rain.

"The way it rained yesterday there was a large amount of run-off from the mountain, but I'm not using that as an excuse," Mr Kreiner said.

### ANKLE-DEEP MUD

Mrs T Heyer, owner of property at 33 Glencoe Road, is away in Germany but the tenant of the downstairs flat, Mrs Jenny Francis, was home when ankle-deep mud and water poured through her home shortly before noon yesterday.

"The water poured in the back windows. I managed to stop it going into the kitchen, bathroom and my bedroom," Mrs Francis said. Three rooms in her flat were flooded.

Dr Frits Gaum of 31 Glencoe Road said it was the second time the area had been flooded. Last week one of his downstairs rooms was flooded.

"Yesterday it was a curtain of water pouring down the paths. Fortunately the rain stopped, but if something is not done there could be an even greater problem," he added.

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

**SOUTH AFRICA** faces a tough decision today on whether to pull troops out of Angola as a first step towards the independence of SWA/Namibia and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The State Security Council meets today to consider the latest proposals for a peace settlement in Angola and Namibia.

A two-page document, spelling out the basic grounds for peace, has to be ratified this week.

A final decision is likely to be taken today by the Government and its response relayed to the United States.

The Security Council is expected to be given a full briefing by the delegation to the meeting in New York last week which negotiated the agreement over three days.

### Senior level

The delegation was led by Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden, accompanied by SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and National Intelligence Service director Mr Neil Barnard.

The close co-operation and agreement between these three wings of the South African administration at such a senior level was seen in New York as an indication that South African approval was likely to be a formality.

But a South African source at the talks warned: "You can never be sure what the politicians will do."

If all parties agree on the document it is likely to be published before the next round of talks, scheduled for the first week of August.

### Progress

Although it appears that South Africa is prepared to accept withdrawal from Angola to start the process, the parties are still a considerable way from reaching agreement on the timed implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

But in Maputo, Angola's Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said a peace agreement on Angola could be signed before the end of the

year, Argus Africa News Service reports.

Mr de Moura, who arrived in Maputo at the weekend to brief President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique on the peace talks with South Africa, said progress now depended on South Africa keeping up the preliminary agreement reached in New York.

Mr de Moura was cautious about the possibility of future progress in the negotiations.

"In negotiations there are always differences. It is not easy to harmonise the different positions especially if you are dealing with South Africa," he said.

But, he added: "Since there is a political will in both countries (for an agreement) everything will be done in order that an honourable peace can be achieved."

"It is necessary that Pretoria conforms with United Nations Resolution 602/87 which calls for an immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola," he said.

"I think this will happen so that the number of principles agreed upon in New York can be implemented," he said.

## Elections in SWA unlikely — Mudge

**WINDHOEK.** — United Nations-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia were unlikely to materialise in the near future, said Mr Dirk Mudge, the Minister of Finance and Governmental Affairs.

Addressing a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance political rally at Waterberg at the weekend, Mr Mudge said he did not foresee an early breakthrough in negotiations to resolve the Angolan conflict and bring recognised independence to SWA/Namibia.

The four negotiating parties — Angola, South Africa, Cuba and the United States — had such wide-ranging and conflicting interests in the issue that agreement did not seem a realistic prospect at this stage.

"The transitional period will therefore still last a considerable time."

Mr Mudge said a more feasible proposition was non-racial municipal elections in the near future. — Sapa.

## Tiger grabs boy's head in its jaws

The Argus Foreign Service

**LONDON.** — A tiger cub grabbed a boy's head in its jaws as it was being led through crowds at a British wildlife park.

People at Sparkwell Wildlife Park near Plymouth were horrified as the tiger leapt at seven-year-old Robert Gardner and pulled him screaming to the ground.

They tried to pull him free of the Labrador-sized cub, a six-month-old Siberian tiger called Zircon, but it held him firmly in its mouth.

A keeper forced his hand into the tiger's jaws and eased Robert's head out. Robert had 30 stitches to his wounds.

# SA Govt chiefs meet today on peace plan

Political Reporter **S**

Senior Government officials meet in Cape Town today to discuss the proposals for peace in southern Africa arising from last week's talks between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and America.

*Star K171/6*

The meeting, to decide on the statement of principles on a settlement in southern Africa drawn up after the fourth round of peace talks held in New York, will be chaired by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, will also be present.

It was reported last week that South African and Angolan delegates felt jittery about whether their governments would accept the statement.

The Star has learnt that the Government's decision on the proposals will be conveyed to the American government this week. America chaired the New York talks last week.

The Angolan and Cuban delegations will also report back to their governments today. Their reaction will also be conveyed to America this week.

If the proposals were acceptable to all the involved governments, details of the document would be released later, it was learnt. The next round of peace talks will be held early in August. The venue has not been announced.

Have peace principles been agreed on?

# Angola: vital statement tomorrow

5/10/88  
19/7/88

SIMON BARBER  
and ELSABÉ WESSELS

SA, Angola, Cuba and the US are expected to make a joint announcement tomorrow on the statement of principles agreed by negotiators in New York last week, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Botha left it unclear whether he had agreed to the principles, which lay out the framework for Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence.

He said SA would convey its "acceptance or rejection" to the other parties today.

The announcement followed a National Security Council meeting, chaired by Botha at Tuynhuys yesterday, at which SA's chief negotiator, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, presented the statement of principles for approval.

Also present at the meeting were National Intelligence Service director

Neil Barnard and army chief Jannie Geldenhuys, key participants at the New York talks.

The negotiators had agreed to report back to their governments which would then signal chief US mediator Chester Crocker, within a week of the talks end-

● See Simon Barber: Page 6

ing last Wednesday, whether or not they accepted what their "experts" had achieved.

That part of the agreement still appeared to be on track, but Botha has yet to say whether the next round will go ahead as scheduled in the first week of

● To Page 2 →

## Angola plan: statement due tomorrow

August.

A US State Department official yesterday said the site for the talks had yet to be settled, but ruled out the US as the venue.

There was speculation the reason Botha did not say whether SA had approved the two-page statement of principles was a formality to avoid preempting the other parties which had yet to be heard from.

US mediators had been nervous about how the council would respond to the statement, which was less enthusiastically endorsed by members of the military contingent at the talks than by the Foreign Affairs team.

The principles, as outlined by Crocker last Wednesday, included a milestone

← ● From Page 1 19/7/88  
"understanding" that all SA troops would have to leave Angola before Cuban withdrawal and the implementation of the UN plan for Namibia could begin.

The major difference still to be resolved was on the timetable for Cuban withdrawal. The parties agreed that it should begin with the arrival of UN contingents under UN resolution 435.

But the Cubans were still insisting they would not take all their soldiers home until more than three years after the UN process in Namibia was complete.

That is expected to be the central issue in the next round of talks.

(5) B/day 19/7/88

**L**AST Tuesday night, after the second day of the Governors Island talks, Neil van Heerden, the leader of the South African negotiating team, received a telephone call from Pik Botha. Tell the SABC man to tone down the optimism, said the Foreign Minister.

This was one of several signs that the two-page "Statement of Principles" initialled at the talks faces tough sledding when it goes before P W Botha and his security advisers for political approval this week.

Even during the talks there were hints of division within the delegation itself. It was said that Van Heerden — a man of whom all SA should be inordinately proud — had had to crack the whip to keep parts of the military component in line.

When it was over, he felt obliged to say for the record that it had been a "good team effort", suggesting that at some points rather the opposite might have been true.

Some outside the South African delegation pointed a finger at General C J van Tonder, an aide to SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, whose commitment to Unita is known to be unusually strong.

**A**t the close of day two, the elation of the first session seemed to be cooling. Van Heerden steered reporters from the words "breakthrough" and "progress", though by any standard he and his fellow experts had achieved just that.

Safe from the baneful interventions of their country's politics, the professionals were laying the foundation for a settlement that might save hundreds, if not thousands, of lives with honour evenly distributed.

The South Africans had agreed, as Van Heerden had long wanted them to, that the SADF should pull unilaterally from southern Angola preliminary to the related process of implementing United Nations Resolution 435 and bringing home the Cubans.

In the view of Dr Chester Crocker, the chief US mediator, they had also agreed that Unita's fate was now an "internal" matter to be resolved by the Angolans themselves, and was no longer to be part of the central negotiations which henceforth would concentrate on the "international" questions of 435 and Cuban departure.

Though with considerably less

# Don't let politics pollute the peace talks on Angola

SIMON BARBER in Washington

precision, it had further been decided that the SADF, Fapla and the Cubans should seek to maintain a *de facto* ceasefire along the border, or as it was called in the communique a "climate . . . to achieve further progress in the negotiations".

Perhaps most important of all, the parties accepted that they were not embarked on a zero sum game of losers and winners. Each would have to find the means and the courage to allow their historic enemies an equally graceful exit.

What remained unresolved was the question of timing.

**C**uba's position, which appears to have changed little since the London talks in early May, is that while it is prepared to withdraw north of the 13th parallel once 435 is in motion — 15 days after Untag arrives in Namibia by one account — repatriating its soldiers is a different matter and could take as long as four years, with less than half to leave within two.

The only apparent concession that has been publicly reported — it was attributed to politburo member Jorge Risquet, who was not in New York — is that Cuban forces would be confined to defensive positions and would not be deployed against Unita. However, this has long been standard Cuban practice.

The South African position, which seems altogether more equitable, even to some Angolans, is that the Cubans should all be out by the time 435 has run its seven-month course



□ VAN HEERDEN . . . cracked whip

and the *vierkleur* comes down in Windhoek.

The Angolans insist that they can deal with Unita once everybody else is out of the picture, but clearly not everyone in the MPLA is equally convinced, and since Unita now has in its possession billions of dollars worth of captured Soviet weaponry, you would have to say they have a point.

**T**his, plus Fidel Castro's own reasons for staying put — which range from vainglory to an understandable desire not to see an ally imperilled — lie behind the timing problem. As does the question of continued US aid to the rebels, another critical issue

that has been hived off from the central package.

Some Angolans, particularly the "dovish" ones who hold that Unita really can be handled on a purely internal basis, tend to believe that once the "family" of agreements on "international" matters are on the table waiting to be signed, Crocker and the Reagan administration will feel disinclined to ruin things by being adamant on aid to Unita.

The trouble with this is that the US Congress, in its utterly quixotic way, may not permit Jonas Savimbi to be so abruptly abandoned.

**C**ongress does not, on the whole, understand the complexities of the negotiations. A bipartisan coalition, the Angola task force (which, incidentally, includes Senator Lloyd Bentsen, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee), has formed around the principle of "democratic" reconciliation and has publicly demanded of President Reagan that he continue arming Unita up to the point that the sides have come to terms.

One reason for this is that the Democrats, for purely political purposes, need a solid anti-communist they can support in order to conceal all their other betrayals. Now that the Afghan Mujahedeens are out of the picture and the Nicaraguan Contras have been dumped, Savimbi is their boy.

Thus while Crocker might dearly love to live up to the expectations of the MPLA's doves, the politicians may prevent him — just as SA's poli-

ticians may unravel Van Heerden's efforts.

Hence Crocker's statement after the talks that "it would be a great mistake if the internal conflict, which is a separate matter to be handled separately by the agreement of everyone, were not addressed in parallel with the progress that is being made here in New York.

"Now is the time for creative thinking on the part of the Angolan government, of Unita, of African states and others to think through how the internal civil conflict in Angola can be brought to an end in a timely manner which would, obviously, strengthen the prospects for finishing the international process."

In a rare jab at one of the parties, Crocker noted in a nice understatement that the MPLA was "not necessarily being very realistic" in demanding that Unita "first get rid of its current leader".

**A**ll of which should put into perspective Van Heerden's warning that "it is a far road that we have to go". An ominous array of political decisions have yet to be made by all sides, many of them within the next 48 hours, which is when the parties are due to signal Crocker that the "statement of principles" has been accepted.

Even bigger decisions will have to be made, if not before the September 29 deadline provisionally agreed by the US, the Soviet Union and Cuba, then soon thereafter.

Should Michael Dukakis win the presidency on November 8, the negotiation will be off indefinitely. It will be years and thousands of dead before the current window of opportunity opens again.

The candidate, a foreign policy novice driven by advisers who wish Crocker ill so that they may have their own chance at glory, has repudiated the entire process in favour of Chapter 7 sanctions against SA, the abrupt betrayal of Unita and the no-cost recognition of Angola.

Even if Vice-President George Bush wins, the window will close awhile as the new team learns the ropes and establishes the mutual trust and respect that have been eight extremely tough years in the making.

The time to act is now. The "senior experts" who gathered in the officers' mess on Governors Island seemed, with a few military exceptions, to recognise this. Will their politicians?



# Angola: announcement tomorrow

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By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Approval by South Africa, Cuba and Angola of the principles for the Angola/Namibia peace plan drawn up in New York last week is expected in a joint announcement by the parties tomorrow.

American officials are said to be in a buoyant mood as evidence grows that the governments in Pretoria, Havana and Luanda have all approved the basic outline hammered out on New York's Governors Island for a settlement of the conflict.

It means that the US-sponsored peace initiative which aims at getting all foreign troops out of Angola and independence for Namibia in terms of a decade-old

United Nations plan will advance to yet another round of hard bargaining sessions.

A venue for the new talks — to be held in the first week of August — has yet to be chosen, though Rio and Geneva have been mentioned as possibilities.

The negotiations between a South African team and a combined Angolan-Cuban delegation are expected to be even tougher in August than the exchanges that have already taken place in London, Cairo and New York.

With the principles of an agreement already in the bag, the negotiators will start to come to terms with the specifics of a peace package and will try to reach a compromise on difficult issues like a timetable for Cuban

and SA troop withdrawal, and guarantees by South Africa that it will not again enter Angola.

The question of American and SA support for the Unita rebel movement is another tricky area that will come up.

The Cubans want an end to support for Unita as a precondition to their withdrawal, but the Reagan Administration has said its aid to the rebels is not negotiable as long as the Soviets continue to supply military hardware to the Angolan Government and the Cubans.

Top American officials have warned that wide gaps still exist between the parties and that the whole initiative could collapse on the details of a settlement. They say the talking could go "for months" before final agreement.

Angola  
Sowetan Africa News

# peace <sup>(S)</sup> by end of 1988?

MAPUTO — A peace agreement on Angola and independence for Namibia could be signed before the end of the year, Angola's deputy Foreign Minister Venancio De Moura has said.

Mr de Moura, who arrived in Maputo on Sunday to brief President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique on the peace talks with South Africa, said progress now depended on South Africa keeping up the agreement it had signed in New York.

He said that in New York, Angola, Cuba and South Africa had signed a document containing 14 points which will not be submitted to those countries' governments for approval.

Mr de Moura said that if the document signed in New York was approved, the countries involved would then start working towards signing several agreements to solve the conflict in the region.

These agreements would probably be signed under the guarantee of the United Nations Security Council or its five permanent members, he said.

Mr de Moura was cautious about the possibility of future progress in the negotiations.

"In negotiations there are always differences. It is not easy to harmonise the different positions specially if you are dealing with South Africa," he said.

But, he added, "since there is a political will in both countries (for an agreement) everything will be done in order that an honourable peace can be achieved."

Sowetan Africa News Service

# Act now, before

LAST Tuesday night, after the second day of the Governor's Island talks, Neil van Heerden, the leader of the SA negotiating team, received a telephone call from Pik Botha. "Tell the SABC man to tone down the optimism," said the foreign minister.

This was one of several signs that the two-page "statement of principles" initialled at the talks faces tough sledding when it goes before P W Botha and his security advisers for political approval.

Even during the talks, there were hints of division within the delegation itself. It was said Van Heerden, a man of whom all SA should be inordinately proud, had had to crack the whip to keep parts of the military component in line. When it was over, he felt obliged to say for the record that it had been a "good team effort", suggesting that at some points rather the opposite might have been true.

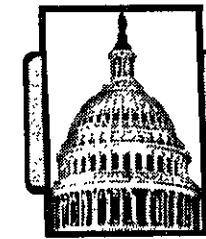
Some outside the SA delegation pointed a finger at General CJ van Tonder, an aide to army chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, whose commitment to Unita is known to be unusually strong.

At the close of day two, the elation of the first session seemed to be cooling and Van Heerden steered reporters from the words "break-through" and "progress".

## Unilateral exit

Safe from the baneful interventions of their country's politics, the professionals were laying the foundation for a settlement that might save hundreds — if not thousands — of lives, with honour evenly distributed.

The South Africans had agreed, as Van Heerden had long wanted them to, that the SADF should pull unilaterally from southern



Washington  
Letter  
by SIMON BARBER

Angola, preliminary to the related process of implementing UN Resolution 435 and bringing home the Cubans.

In the view of Dr Chester Crocker, the chief US mediator, they had also agreed that Unita's fate was now an "internal" matter to be resolved by the Angolans themselves, and was no longer to be part of the central negotiation which henceforth would concentrate on the "international" questions of 435 and Cuban departure.

Though with considerably less precision, it had further been decided that the SADF, Fapla and the Cubans should seek to maintain a de facto ceasefire along the border.

Perhaps most importantly of all, the parties accepted that they were not embarked on a zero sum game of losers and winners. Each would have to find the means and the courage to allow their historic enemies an equally graceful exit.

What remained unresolved was the question of timing.

Cuba's position, which appears to have changed little since the London talks in early May, is that while it is prepared to withdraw north of the 13th parallel once 435 is in motion — 15 days after Untag arrives in Namibia by one account — repatriating its soldiers is a different matter, and could take as long as four years, with less than half to leave within two.

The only apparent concession that has been

publicly reported — it was attributed to Politburo member Jorge Risquet, who was not in New York — is that Cuban forces would be confined to defensive positions and would not be deployed against Unita. However, this has long been standard Cuban practice.

## Staying put

The South African position, which seems altogether more equitable, even to some Angolans, is that the Cubans should all be out by the time 435 has run its seven-month course and the Vierkleur comes down in Windhoek.

The Angolans insist that they can deal with Unita once everybody else is out of the picture, but clearly not everyone in the MPLA is equally convinced, and since Unita now has in its possession billions of dollars worth of captured Soviet weaponry, you would have to say they have a point.

This, plus Fidel Castro's own reasons for staying put — which range from vainglory to an understandable desire not to see an ally imperilled — lie behind the timing problem as does the question of continued US aid to the rebels, another critical issue that has been hived off from the central package.

The negotiators attempted to address the dilemma, tangentially, dealing with questions of verification: how to

ensure that South Africa and Cuba, even after their forces had moved, were really gone in all the ways that count. But clearly this alone will not do the trick.

Some Angolans, particularly the "dovish" ones who hold that Unita really can be handled on a purely internal basis, tend to believe that once the "family" of agreements on "international" matters is on the table waiting to be signed, Crocker and the Reagan administration will feel disinclined to ruin things by being adamant on aid to Unita.

The trouble with this is that the US Congress, in its utterly quixotic way, may not permit Dr

Jonas Savimbi to be abruptly abandoned.

Congress does not, the whole, understand the complexities of the negotiations.

A bi-partisan coalition, the Angola task force (which incidentally includes Senator Lloyd Bentsen, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee), has formed around the principle of "democratic reconciliation and has publicly demanded of President Reagan that he continue arming Unita up to the point that the sides have come to terms.

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CAR TIPS 197/88 (S)

# Nov 8 elections

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Economic Analysis  
of Projects

LYN SQUIRE  
HERMAN G. VAN DER TAK

*Published for the World Bank*

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY  
Baltimore and London

# SOUTH AFRICANS should know tomorrow if SADF troops are to be pulled out of Angola.

President P.W. Botha said after a State Security Council meeting at Tuynhuys yesterday that a "joint announcement" by the governments of South Africa, Angola and Cuba on their responses to the New York proposals for a peace settlement in Angola and Namibia could be expected on Wednesday.

In terms of the tentative agreement reached at the four-power talks in New York, all South African troops will have to leave southern Angola before a Cuban withdrawal can begin.

## Optimistic

Mr Botha indicated that South Africa had reached a decision on the report presented to yesterday's meeting by the South African delegation to the New York talks — but he did not say what the decision was.

However, government sources yesterday appeared optimistic that South Africa — through the State Security Council — had endorsed the document of principles tentatively agreed to by all parties in New York.

And political observers argued that the prospects of a positive response from the State Security Council was strengthened by the fact that two of its leading members — Defence Force chief General Janille Geldenhuys and the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard — agreed to the two-page document spelling out the ground rules for a settlement in New York.

**SIMON BARBER** reports that United States mediators had been nervous about how the State Security Council would respond to the statement, which, they said, was less enthusiastically endorsed by members of the military contingent at the talks than by the Foreign Affairs team.

The principles, as outlined by US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker last Wednesday, also included an agreement that UNITA and the Angolan civil war should not be an issue in the negotiations.

The major difference still to be resolved is on the timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

The Cubans were still insisting that they will not take all their soldiers home until more than three years after the UN process in Namibia is complete.

# Angola

# DAY

CME Traps 19/7/88

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

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**SOUTH Africa is to announce today whether it has accepted in principle a total troop withdrawal from Angola and the early implementation of independence for SWA/Namibia.**

Although Government spokesmen were today keeping quiet on the Government's decision taken at yesterday's State Security Council meeting, it is expected that South Africa will endorse the principles of agreement thrashed out in New York last week.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is to spell out South Africa's reaction to the principles for peace in South West Africa at a Press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria today.

The details of the principles are also expected to be announced.

It is understood that the United States has already been told of South Africa's response.

If all the negotiating countries agree to the principles a start is likely to be made on setting dates for their implementation at the next round of talks, due for the first week in August.

### **Non-aggression pact**

However, a timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal remains the stumbling block for implementation of the principles.

It is understood the principles are based on a non-aggression pact between the warring parties and non-intervention in neighbouring territories.

Apart from withdrawal from Angola it appears the principles could result in a halt in aid from South Africa to Unita with Angola and Cuba stopping aid to Swapo.

It is also apparently accepted in the principles that the United Nations Security Council will be the guarantors.

With the withdrawal from Angola, the United Nations will also be asked to start implementing its resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

However Mr Botha is likely to emphasise that South Africa will not agree to this before a vastly speeded up programme of Cuban withdrawal from Angola is agreed.

### **All agreed?**

But it is virtually certain that South Africa will withdraw from Angola before a start is made on Cuban withdrawal.

The Cubans are still attempting to justify a long-term withdrawal over three years.

South Africa is looking for a period in line with that required for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 — about seven months.

The deadline for response to the principles was tomorrow and the early announcement of South Africa's response appears to indicate that all parties have already signified their agreement.

The Americans have been especially anxious about the South African Government's reaction to the New York agreement on principles.

They were concerned that internal political pressures on President Botha might make it difficult for him to accept the principles.

If it is true that South Africa has already notified its approval, it means that President Botha will score important points as the first political leader to signal his intention to proceed with the peace effort.

Analysts here believe that the significance of South Africa's acceptance will not be lost on the US Congress, which is being asked to impose tougher sanctions that would reduce US influence with the South African Government.

### **Dilemma**

Nor will it be lost on the more thoughtful advisers to the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, who is being pressured by the Rev Jesse Jackson and the black congressional caucus to declare South Africa a terrorist state — a move that would almost certainly cut the US out of all diplomatic initiatives involving South Africa.

The Americans are intrigued, and delighted, by the praise for their chief negotiator, Dr Chester Crocker, that came from Cuba's Mr Jorge Risquet during a news conference in Harare last week.

Mr Risquet appeared optimistic about the negotiations and said the US had played a "positive role". Nobody here can recall a previous occasion when the Cubans have said anything like that about the Americans.

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

# Angolan peace: It's yes or no today

McKus 19/7/88

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### Gremlin delays SA response

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SA 2017/82

A technical communication hitch, not a substantial problem, is believed to have delayed the announcement yesterday of the four-nation basic proposals for a peaceful settlement in southern Africa.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, late yesterday cancelled a press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria at which the Government was to announce its decision on the latest proposals for a settlement.

However, an announcement will be made today.

The secret proposals were agreed by delegates from South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the United States during discussions in New York last week.

Mr Botha said yesterday the announcement had been postponed "to allow for co-ordinating the simultaneous release in the capitals of the countries involved".

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# Angolan breakthrough expected today

A BREAKTHROUGH in the 10-year Angolan peace stalemate is expected today, with SA, Cuba and Angola announcing their acceptance of the New York agreed statement of principles for peace in south-western Africa.

The views of the three negotiating parties are scheduled to be made public late this afternoon. By late yesterday all three countries had informed US peace talks mediator Chester Crocker about their decisions.

The statement of principles agreed upon by senior government officials at

ELSABÉ WESSELS

the latest round of talks in New York last week linked the withdrawal of SA and Cuban troops to Namibian independence in terms of the 1978 UN Resolution 435.

US sources said SA had now agreed to the withdrawal of SA troops preliminary to the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the implementation of Resolution 435.

The far-reaching peace proposals were vetted by President P W Botha and

the State Security Council on Monday.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha will address a news conference in Pretoria this afternoon, with details of the statement of principles and SA's view of them. Details will be released simultaneously in Cuba and Angola.

The acceptance of the peace blueprint will set off the next round of talks, scheduled for August, where negotiations will concentrate on the timing of SA and Cuban withdrawal and independence for Namibia.



# Peace plan: SA replies today

Political Correspondent

THE governments of South Africa, Angola and Cuba are expected to announce their acceptance in principle of an Angola-Namibia peace plan today.

The broad principles of the agreement, thrashed out by the warring parties last week in New York, make provision for the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola and the implementation of the UN plan for Namibian independence.

In terms of the "core of a settlement" reached in New York, all SA troops will have to leave Angola before a Cuban withdrawal can begin — but uncertainty still remains about when the SADF pull-out will begin.

The major stumbling block in

getting the settlement activated, is the wide gap that still exists between the parties over the timing of a Cuban troop withdrawal and the implementation of Namibian independence.

Unless the Cubans are prepared to telescope their proposed three-year withdrawal period into a time span closer to the seven months set aside for the UN independence plan for Namibia, the South Africans are certain to dig in their heels.

Arrangements for the "joint statement" by the four countries involved in the negotiations went awry yesterday, after what was variously described as "a technical hitch" and "communications problems".

The joint announcement, originally scheduled for today, was hastily brought forward to yesterday afternoon, in a bid to preempt the tide of press leaks and speculation surrounding details of the peace plan.

But when problems were encountered with co-ordinating the simultaneous release of the various governments' responses, the announcement time reverted back to this afternoon.

Mr Pik Botha, will spell out the government's reaction at the Union Buildings at 5pm.

Indications are that the programme of principles will include a non-aggression pact between the belligerents and make reference to the "recognition of borders" by the warring parties.

esday July 20 1988

## Angola/Namibia talks on track

# Cubans endorse principles of the peace agreement

*Star 20/7/88* (5)

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Cuban government has endorsed the principles of the Angola/Namibia peace pact worked out in New York last week and is preparing for a new round of talks with South Africa under United States sponsorship.

With South Africa and Angola also expected to give the green light, it means the delicate peace initiative is still on track — and on the point of entering its toughest stage.

The New York agreement on principles, including foreign troop withdrawals from Angola and independence for Namibia under a United Nations plan, is contained in a confidential document expected to be released in Washington today.

While Havana has not yet officially announced its approval, a senior Cuban

government official said: "We are very pleased with this document and we support everything in it."

"We expect that it will be an instrument of peace that can, of course, be improved in the next talks with regard to the dates and so forth."

The official was referring to differences between the South African and combined Cuban/Angolan positions on a timetable for the withdrawal of South African and Cuban forces.

Agreement on a mutually acceptable timetable is certain to be one of the toughest problems to solve in the coming talks.

The Americans are hoping to negotiate a schedule of simultaneous withdrawal from Angola over a relatively short time period, but the Cubans want the South Africans to pull out before they send their own forces home in

concert with implementation of Namibian independence under UN Resolution 435.

These differences and others relating to US and South African support for Unita will result in hard bargaining when the delegates meet early next month.

The Americans are pleased with the progress of their efforts so far.

# Will it really be peace in our time?

Star 21/7/88

5

South Africa, remarked Professor Gerhard Totemeyer of the University of Namibia, is a "past master at delaying tactics".

His statement on eve of Pretoria's acceptance of the peace principles hammered out in four rounds of US-sponsored talks on the Angola and Namibian conflicts, reflects the residual scepticism felt by many observers that South Africa has at last reconciled itself to implementation of the UN's peace plan for Namibia.

Professor John Barratt, of the SA Institute of International Affairs, was similarly doubtful about whether implementation of the peace plan - as detailed in UN resolution 435 of 1978 - was really imminent.

Few political analysts doubt that the plan, with its provision for UN-supervised elections, will bring a Swapo government under Sam Nujoma to power in Windhoek.

It is prospect which South Africa does not relish.

Implementation of 435 is one pillar in the latest peace talks involving South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US, with the Soviet Union as a sympathetic observer.

## CUBAN FORCES

The second pillar is the withdrawal Cuban and South African forces from Angola.

South Africa's acceptance of Dr Crocker's "set of principles" means that Pretoria has agreed to a disengagement of military forces in Angola - which effectively means the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola - and to implementation of resolution 435.

Apart from providing for a UN-supervised elections in Namibia, 435 stipulates that all but 1 500 South African troops must be withdrawn from Namibia within 12 weeks and that all SA soldiers must leave within a year.

But, well-placed government sources in Pretoria insist, there is an important corollary to South Africa's acceptance of 435 - the withdrawal

## By PATRICK LAURENCE

Despite Pretoria's announced acceptance of the peace principles agreed at the multi-lateral talks sponsored by the United States, some usually well-informed sources have expressed doubts that implementation of the peace plan is really imminent.

of South African troops from Namibia must be matched by a withdrawal of Cuban soldiers from Angola.

The Cuba-Angola axis has a different time scale, according to Pretoria. They are thinking of a phased withdrawal of their 40 000 to 50 000 troops over four years. That would leave thousands of Cuban troops in Angola without any counter-balancing presence of South African military forces in neighbouring Namibia.

"There is no way South Africa will accept that", an official close to the South African negotiating team said. "The next round of talks will focus on the timing of the withdrawals."

On that would depend the outcome of the latest bid to resolve the inter-related Namibian and Angola conflicts, he forecast.

Professor Barratt thought South Africa was anxious for an Angolan settlement. One factor prompting South Africa's wish for resolution of the conflict was a shift in the military balance, he reckoned.

Cuba has sent troop reinforcements to Angola in recent months while Angola's MiG-23 fighters and sophisticated radar defence are said to have ended South Africa's air supremacy. It meant that South Africa's generals could no longer intervene in Angola without risking heavy casualties among their white conscripts, Professor Barratt said.

But the professor was less sure about the desire for a settlement in Namibia. He expected South Africa might try to secure a settlement in Angola without surrendering control of Namibia.

# 'Irresistible' factors pushing SA to settle

From DAVID NIDDRIE

HARARE. — Jorge Risquet is an unlikely looking man to achieve what Henry Kissinger, Kurt Waldheim and the combined persuasive powers of the five major Western powers failed to do — persuade South Africa to pull its troops out of Angola and to grant Namibian independence.

But, peering over his bi-focals and speaking in excited Spanish past a foot-long cigar, Risquet expresses supreme confidence in his ability to do just that.

A chubby man who looks as if he could be a distant relative of Fidel Castro (which he isn't), Risquet is head of African affairs for the political bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba.

## Heads team

As such he has overseen Cuban backing - now running at 50 000 troops - for the Angolan MPLA government.

And he heads the Cuban negotiating team in the United States-initiated Angolan-South African-Cuban talks to end the Angolan war, and South African rule of Namibia.

In a brief visit to Harare last week, he outlined the combination of factors which, after 17 years of defying the world on Namibia and seven years of continuous fighting in Angola, he says has made it "irresistibly in South Africa's interest to settle the conflict".



putting real pressure on South Africa - as is the threat of further US sanctions. Pretoria needs a quick settlement under Reagan."

On Unita, the South African-backed guerrilla movement which has fought the Angolan government for 13 years, Risquet says the Cuban position is to urge an end to all foreign support for Unita.

"We believe it would then become a purely domestic matter which could be settled peacefully between Angolans."

## Stumbling block

"But the question of US aid to Jonas Savimbi's movement was not a Cuban issue, and was being handled in separate US-Angolan talks paralleling the main negotiations."

The issue is, however, potentially a major stumbling block. Since the New York talks, Angolan sources have complained that US officials have set up a second "linkage", demanding that the Luanda government begin negotiating with Unita as a pre-condition of implementing the main settlement plan.

And throughout the talks Crocker has said repeatedly that US aid to Unita "is not a negotiating chip". He also rejected as "silly" the major plank in Luanda's negotiating position - that it was willing to consider talking to Unita, if the movement dumped Savimbi.

• South African Air Force fighters losing control of the southern Angolan skies to the MiGs of Cuban and Angolan forces - and the resultant defeat South African-led forces had suffered at Cuito Cuanavale.

### Heavy losses

"Since fighting started there, South Africa has fired 40 000 135 mm shells at Cuito Cuanavale from their G5 and G6 long-range cannons, and launched five separate assaults on our positions. All have been repulsed with heavy losses. These are military facts," Risquet said, adding, with some relish: "As you know, South Africa claimed on January 23 to have taken Cuito Cuanavale. That was military fantasy."

• The recent build-up of Fapla (Angolan government forces) and

### Jorge Risquet leaves a London hotel after attending the first Angolan peace talks

Cuban forces near the Namibian border.

"South Africa is having to take into account the unpredictable possible results of two military forces so close to each other - it is an explosive situation," Risquet said.

De-coded, "unpredictable possible results" means the same as the warning Cuban sources say their negotiators bluntly delivered to SA Defence Force chief Jamie Geldenhuis during the first round of talks

boundaries mean little in the heat of battle; tactical advantage is far more important - and the Cubans could cross into Namibia to achieve it."

• Mounting pressure from Chester Crocker and the Reagan administration for settlement before their term ends early next year.

Risquet acknowledges that Pretoria has backed out of past deals. "Three days before Ronald Reagan took over from Jimmy Carter in 1981, South Africa baulked and an apparently

rock-solid deal collapsed, ending Namibia's chances of independence for the next eight years as Chester Crocker, assistant US Secretary of State, introduced "linkage" - Namibian independence only if Cuban troops pulled out of Angola.

"But in 1981 the South Africans were waiting for Reagan and his constructive engagement to replace Carter. Now whoever wins the US election will be less sympathetic to South Africa than Reagan. And the possibility of a Democratic victory is

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Swapo, excluded from the talks although it is recognised by the United Nations as "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people", would begin playing a role "once 435 is implemented and the independence process is underway", Risquet said.

And on persistent rumours of a secret South African demand for the closure of African National Congress bases in Angola, Risquet flatly denied the issue had been raised either formally or informally at the talks.

He added, however, that it was not a Cuban issue but one for "the sovereign government of Angola" to address.

His careful answer, repeated almost word-for-word to different journalists twice in the space of an afternoon, seems to suggest the bases could have been discussed either in the US-Angolan talks or separately, between Pretoria and Lusaka.

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Final pact 'still a long way off

# Angola-Namibia first steps hailed

Star 21/7/88

(S) (2/3)

The acceptance of a 14-point set of principles on peace in south-western Africa was today welcomed worldwide, although it was cautioned that a final agreement was still a long way off.

Analysts regarded the first joint document on a peace plan as a major step towards the withdrawal of Cuban and South African soldiers from Angola and independence for Namibia.

However, they warned that the principles still allowed much room for manoeuvring by South Africa, Cuba and Angola and details would be thrashed out through tough negotiations starting in Geneva on August 2.

Hard bargaining and hard work would follow the mutual acceptance of the principles, Dr Chester Crocker, the chief American mediator at various rounds of peace talks, said.

The significance of the statement of principles is that it represents the possibility of a catalyst for accelerated negotiation. "It was an important step, but no more than that."

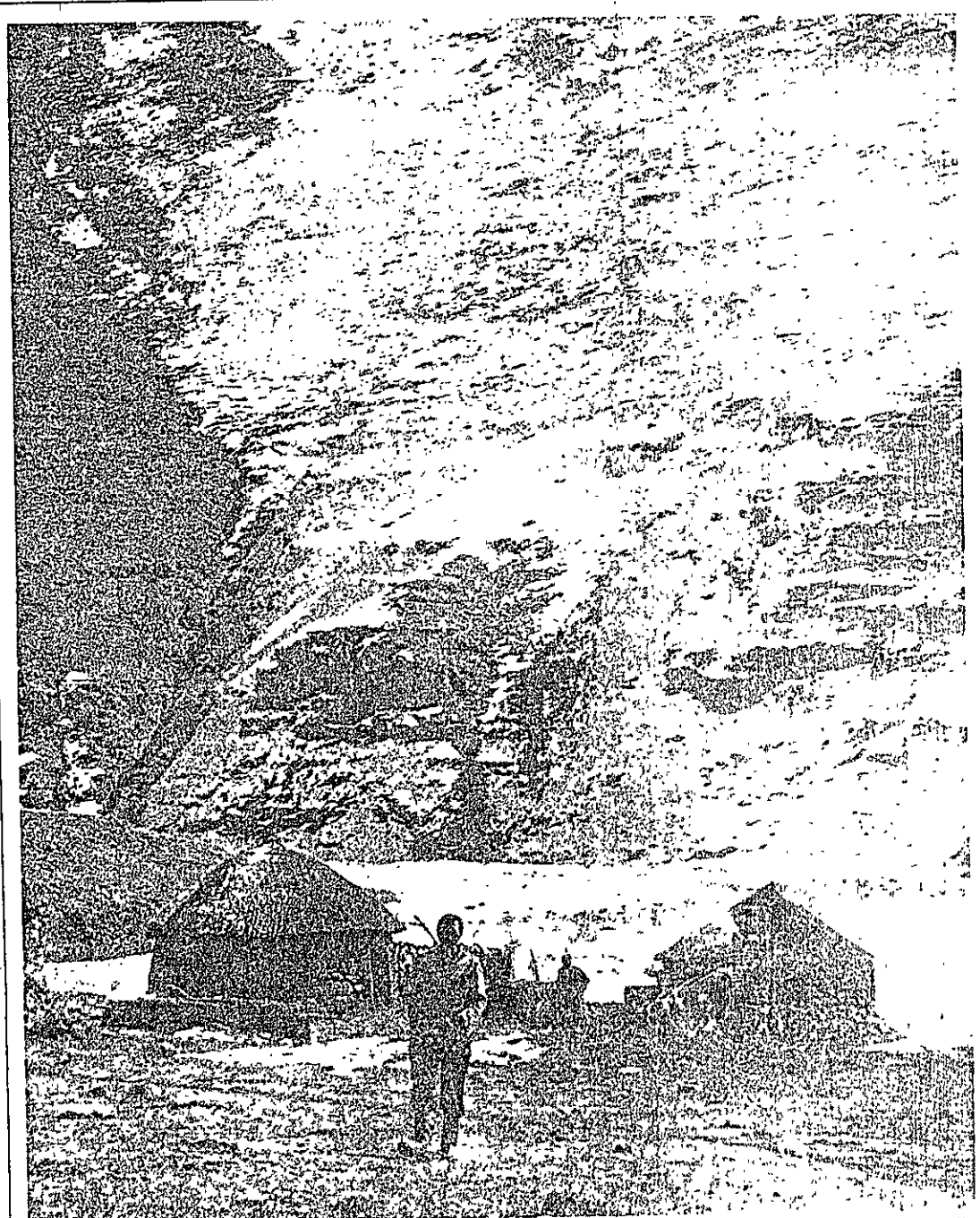
The South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) — not mentioned in the published details — had welcomed the agreement as a sign that the negotiating process was "on the right course". The prospects for peace were now "reasonably brighter".

Information secretary Mr Hideo Hamutenya confirmed Swapo's readiness to enter into direct talks with Pretoria after the next round of talks, during which it was hoped a comprehensive settlement agreement would have been reached.

## 'A big nothing'

In South Africa, the peace agreement met mixed reaction.

Conservative Party chief spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, dismissed the agreement as "a big nothing".



Much of the snow in Lesotho has melted and, if good weather prevails, life in the mountains will be back to normal by the end of the month. © Pictures by Dawn Barkhuizen.

Housing  
'S. 21/7/88',  
gimmick  
alleged

By Kaiser Nyatumba  
Campaigns for the Octo-

Media ruling: 'Never inte  
'S. 21/7/88'  
to register mainstream p

Political Staff  
The Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha said today he had never intended mainstream newspapers to be registered as news

Newspaper Division, Mr P the NPU had been asked to ing with Mr Botha. It was suggested by th

Chester Crocker, the chief American mediator at various rounds of peace talks, said.

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### **'A big nothing'**

In South Africa, the peace agreement met mixed reaction.

Conservative Party chief spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, dismissed the agreement as "a big nothing".

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said the set of principles provided "a sound, sensible and practical basis for bringing peace to the war-torn south-western region and for achieving an internationally recognised independence for Namibia".

Focusing on the implications of the agreement for the ANC, experts said the banned organisation would lose its bases in Angola if the set of principles announced yesterday was translated into practical agreements.

At the same time, if the set of principles was implemented, South Africa would have to stop supporting Unita.

Professor John Barratt of the Institute of International Affairs said there could be no doubt that the wording of some articles in the agreement was remarkably similar to that of the Nkomati Accord.

Under the Nkomati Accord Mozambique expelled ANC members and closed their bases in Mozambique in exchange for an end to South African support to the MNR rebels.

"That principle has very wide implications," said Professor Barratt. "If applied it means an end to South African support for Unita and an end to the ANC bases in Angola," he added.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the University of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies, regarded the negotiated principles as "significant".

However, the principles were very broad and allowed the various parties "much room for manoeuvre". — Political Reporter, The Star's Foreign and Africa News Services.

Road to peace will be full of obstacles — Pik

(S) B/dew 21/7/88

# SA, Angola, Cuba agree on principles

SA, Angola and Cuba last night announced agreement on a set of principles aimed at bringing peace to Angola and independence to Namibia.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha described the agreement as a breakthrough, but warned the road ahead was full of obstacles and that future problems could not be underestimated.

With all three parties accepting the statement of principles formulated in New York last week, "consensus had been reached for the first time in the decade-old dispute of armed conflict in the region.

"The problem is costing a lot of lives and money and disrupts stability in the south-western African region."

The 14-point agreement provides for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on independence for Namibia and a phased but total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

A timetable for implementing the agreement is to be discussed at the next round of peace talks. The Swiss government said last night the talks would be held in Geneva from August 2-4.

Botha said the agreement would "contribute to the lessening of tension in the region".

He described the acceptance by Cuba and Angola of a link between Cuban troop withdrawal and implementation of Resolution 435 as a major step forward for SA.

He emphasised, however, that a date for the implementation of Resolution



● BOTHA

ELSABÉ WESSELS

435 was conditional on agreement being reached on Cuban troop withdrawal. "The principles are absolutely interdependent."

On US claims that SA had agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola — a subject not mentioned in the principles — Botha said he would not comment on a matter of such importance to SA.

Questioned about SA military intervention in Angola, he said SA military

● See Comment Page 6

action there was "always executed in the belief that SA security was at stake".

One of the agreed principles was that all parties would "abstain from the threat and utilisation of force against the territorial integrity and independence of states".

Botha would not expand on specific pledges to guarantee SA regional secur-

ity and said there were no agreements between the parties on the ANC, Swapo or Unita.

However, the principles state the parties' commitment not to allow their territories to be "used for acts of war, aggression, or violence against other states".

On Namibian independence, Botha said SA had never claimed an inch of Namibia but it was SA's duty to give the people of Namibia a chance to decide on their own future.

He said: "From a security point of view, Cuban withdrawal is, therefore, of major importance."

Asked about the massing of Cuban troops on Angola's south-western border, Botha said the statement of principles should result in a "lessening of tension". He would give no more details.

He said, however, a "tacit result"

● To Page 2 →

## SA, Angola, Cuba agree on principles

could be expected and that the general effect of the agreement should lead to a "wait and see" attitude where parties would not attack each other.

He was hesitant to predict a timetable for future negotiations and said the next phase would involve the detailed discussion of the agreement in the statement of principles.

Botha also said SA wished the next round of talks to be in SA.

(S) B/dew



● From Page 1

21/7/88

Although an important phase had been reached in the negotiations, their success depended on the sincerity and trust of the parties involved.

The consensus of the agreement was that "all would be winners" regardless of diverse ideologies.

● See Page 6



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## Accord reached on 14 points

### Political Staff

The Governments of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa have reached agreement on a set of 14 essential principles to establish the basis for peace in the south-western region of Africa. They recognise that each of these principles is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement.

(A) Implementation of Resolution 435/78 of the Security Council of the United Nations. The parties shall agree upon and recommend to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a date for the commencement of the implementation of the UN resolution 435/78.

(B) The Governments of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of South Africa shall, in conformity with the dispositions of Resolution 435/78 of the Security Council of the United Nations, co-operate with the Secretary-General with a view towards ensuring the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections, abstaining from any action that could prevent the execution of the said resolution.

(C) Redeployment toward the north and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola on the basis of an agreement between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba and the decision of both states to solicit the on-site verification of that withdrawal by the Security-Council of the United Nations.

(D) Respect for the sovereignty, sovereign equality, and independence of states and for territorial integrity and inviolability of borders.

(E) Non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

(F) Abstention from the threat and utilisation of force against the territorial integrity and independence of states.

(G) The acceptance of the responsibility of states not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression, or violence against other states.

(H) Reaffirmation of the right of the peoples of the south-western region of Africa to self-determination, independence, and equality of rights.

(I) Verification and monitoring of compliance with the obligations resulting from the agreements that may be established.

(J) Commitment to comply in good faith with the obligations undertaken in the agreements that may be established and to resolve the differences via negotiations.

(K) Recognition of the role of the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations as guarantors for the implementation of agreements that may be established.

(L) The right of each state to peace, development and social progress.

(M) African and international co-operation for the settlement of the problems of the development of the south-western region of Africa.

(N) Recognition of the mediating role of the Government of the United States of America.

# 3 governments agree on principles

(5)

# ANGOLA ACCORD

*Sowetan 21/7/68*

**THE** governments of South Africa, Angola and Cuba have reached agreement on a set of principles to establish peace in Angola.

At a Press conference called by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, a memorandum issued to journalists said the Governments recognised that each of the principles, which included implementation of Resolution 435 of the Security Council of the United Nations, was indispensable to a comprehensive settlement.

"The parties shall agree upon and recommend to the secretary general of the United Nations a date for commencement of implementation of Resolution 435."

The other principles included that the governments of Angola and South Africa would in terms of Resolution 435 co-operate with the secretary general "with a view towards ensuring the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections" abstaining from any action that could prevent the execution of Resolution 435.

The third principle demanded redeployment toward the north and the staged total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola on the basis of an agreement between Angola and Cuba and the decision of both states to solicit verification of the withdrawal by the Security Council of the United Nations.

The remaining principles are:

- Respect for the sovereignty, sovereign equality and independence of states and for territorial integrity and inviolability of borders;
- Non interference in the internal affairs of states;

- Abstention from the threat and utilisation of force against the territorial integrity and independence of states;
- The acceptance of the responsibility of states not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression, or violence against other states;

## Rights

- Reaffirmation of the right of the people's of the south-western region of Africa to self determination, independence and equality of rights;
- Verification and monitoring of compliance with the obligation resulting from the agreement that may be established;
- Commitment to comply in good faith with the obligation
- To page 2



**Chopping our costs**  
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**FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha yesterday.**

# Angola peace move

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Some time 2/11/88

• **From page 1**

undertaken in the agreement that may be established and to resolve the differences via negotiations;

• Recognition of the role of the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations as guarantors for the implementation of agreements that may be established;

• The right of each state to peace, development, and social progress;

• African and international co-operation for the settlement of the problems of the developments of the south-western region of Africa, and

• Recognition of the mediating role of the government of the United States of America.

The memorandum concluded with a copy of the message conveyed to the government of the USA by the South African Government on July 18, which said South Africa had decided to approve the stated principles for peace in Angola.— Sapa.

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# Hard work ahead Crocker

**A**CCEPTANCE of the 14 principles for a peaceful settlement of the Angola and SWA/Namibia conflict has cleared the way for hard bargaining and hard work, says the chief American mediator, Dr Chester Crocker.

"The job ahead is a very major one," Dr Crocker said yesterday shortly after South Africa, Cuba and Angola had announced their approval of the principles worked out in New York a week ago.

Representatives of the three countries are to meet again in Geneva on August 2 to continue their search for compromise and agreement under American sponsorship.

Their goal is to find a formula that

**From NEIL LURSEN**

will lead to the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola and implementation of independence for SWA/Namibia under a 10-year-old United Nations plan.

At a meeting with reporters, Dr Crocker made it clear that he had no illusions about the difficulties that lay ahead. But he appeared pleased with the progress that led to the mutual acceptance of the principles that would underlie future agreements.

"The significance of the statement of principles is that it represents the possibility of a catalyst for accelerated negotiation," he said.

"It represents the first common or

joint document which these parties have produced, the first they have signed as a joint text." It was an important step — but no more than that.

"What it does is to clear the way for the hard bargaining that lies ahead and a number of very specific issues that are going to require hard work."

Dr Crocker said the negotiators in Geneva would have to:

- Draft treaties that would reflect the principles they had agreed on;

- Agree on the timing of withdrawal schedules for Cuban and South African forces;

- Define a "regime" for the verification of their commitments; and

- Decide on a process of disengagement for the forces at present in southern Angola.

## The 14 principles accepted by three states

**T**HE governments of the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of South Africa have reached agreement on a set of essential principles to establish the basis for peace in the south-western region of Africa.

They recognise that each of these principles is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement.

- Implementation of resolution 435/78 of the Security Council of the United Nations. The parties shall agree upon and recommend to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a date for the commencement of the implementation of the UN resolution 435/78.

- The governments of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of South Africa shall, in conformity with the dispositions of resolution 435/78 of the Security Council of the United Nations, co-operate with the Secretary-General with a view towards ensuring the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections, abstaining from any action that could prevent the execution of the said resolution.

### Political Staff

- Redeployment toward the north and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from the territory of the People's Republic of Angola on the basis of an agreement between the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Cuba and the decision of both states to solicit the on-site verification of that withdrawal by the Security Council of the United Nations.

- Respect for the sovereignty, sovereign equality and independence of states and for territorial integrity and inviolability of borders.

- Non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

- Abstention from the threat and utilisation of force against the territorial integrity and independence of states.

- The acceptance of the responsibility of states not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against other states.

- Reaffirmation of the right of the peoples of the south-western region of Africa to self-determination, independence and equality of rights.

- Verification and monitoring of compliance with the obligations resulting from the agreements that may be established.

- Commitment to comply in good faith with the obligations undertaken in the agreements that may be established and to resolve the differences via negotiations.

- Recognition of the role of the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations as guarantors for the implementation of agreements that may be established.

- The right of each state to peace, development and social progress.

- African and international co-operation for the settlement of the problems of the development of the south-western region of Africa.

- Recognition of the mediating role of the government of the United States of America.

# ANGOLA

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## Own Correspondent

### JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa, Angola and Cuba last night announced agreement on a set of principles aimed at bringing peace to Angola and independence to Namibia.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, told a press conference the agreement was a breakthrough, but warned that the road ahead was full of obstacles and that future problems "could not be underestimated."

With all three parties accepting the statement of principles formulated in New York last week, consensus had been reached for the first time in the decade-old dispute of armed conflict in the region, Mr. Botha said.

The 14-point agreement provides for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence through "free and fair elections."

A timetable for implementing the agreements is to be discussed at the next round of peace talks. The Swiss government announced last night that the talks would be held in Geneva from August 2 to 4. The agreements would "contribute to the lessening of tension in the region," Mr. Botha said. He described the acceptance by Cuba and Angola of a link between Cuban troop withdrawal and implementation of Resolution 435 as a major step forward for SA.

He emphasized, however, that a date for the implementation of Resolution 435 was conditional on agreement being reached on Cuban troop withdrawal.

"The principles are absolutely interdependent," Mr. Botha said he would not comment on US claims that SA had agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola — a subject not mentioned in the 14 principles.

Questioned about SA military intervention in Angola, Mr. Botha said that SA military action in Angola was "always executed in the belief that SA security was at stake."

Mr. Botha would not expand on specific pledges to guarantee SA regional security and said there were

no agreements between the parties on the ANC, Swapo or Unita.

However, the principles state the parties' commitment not to allow their territories to be "used for acts of war, aggression, or violence against other states."

The principles of the Angola-Namibia peace plan agreed on by South Africa, Angola and Cuba are as follows:

● The three governments recognize that each of the principles, which include implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on the independence of Namibia, are indispensable to a comprehensive settlement.

● The governments of Angola and SA will, in terms of Resolution 435, co-operate with the UN Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, "with a view towards ensuring the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections" and abstaining from any action that could prevent the implementation of Resolution 435.

● The redeployment toward the north and the staged total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola on the basis of an agreement between Angola and Cuba and the decision of both states to solicit verification of the withdrawal by the UN Security Council:

- Respect for the sovereignty, sovereign equality and independence of states and for territorial integrity and inviolability of borders;
- Non-interference in the internal affairs of states;
- Abstention from the threat and utilization of force against the territorial integrity and independence of states; and
- The acceptance of the responsibility of states not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against other states.

Other principles reaffirm the right of the peoples of the south-western region of Africa to self-determination, independence and equality of rights; verification and monitoring of compliance with any peace agreement reached; a commitment to comply in good faith with obligations undertaken in such an agreement and the resolution of differences through negotiations.

The principles also entrench the permanent members of the UN Security Council as guarantors.

# RD



Mr Pik Botha, with General Magnus Malan, at yesterday's press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

# End to conflict in Namibia is in sight

Star 21/7/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola, and the independence of Namibia, are now in sight.

This was in essence the message of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to a press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday.

He announced the South African Government's acceptance of the principles for a peace settlement in southern Africa which were drawn up by United States, Angolan, Cuban and South African delegations last week in New York.

## OBSTACLES AHEAD

Mr Botha said agreement on a 14-point set of principles by the four countries signified a breakthrough of major importance — but the difficulties and obstacles ahead should not be underestimated.

He said consensus among the warring parties had been reached for the first time in the decade-old dispute.

Asked if the agreement meant an immediate ceasefire in Angola or a non-aggression pact, Mr Botha said he would not speculate on issues which could jeopardise future negotiations, and so he could not speculate on time-tables for the withdrawal from Angola

of Cuban and South African troops.

## INTER-RELATION

Mr Botha warned that the principles, including the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for South African withdrawal from Namibia, withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and abstention of the threat and use of force against independent states, were inter-related.

He said that if Cuba and Angola could not agree on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, they could not expect an agreement on an implementation date for Resolution 435.

Mr Botha said details about a peace settlement would have to be thrashed out at future meetings.

The Swiss Foreign Ministry, announced that the next round of talks would be held in Geneva from August 2 to 4.

## PROSPECTS BRIGHT

Reacting to the proposals, Swapo's secretary of information, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, told the Mozambican news agency AIM that prospects for a comprehensive settlement in Namibia looked "bright".

But South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, made it clear that the status quo would remain unchanged in Namibia for the time being.

# From Russia with love: peace talks with ANC?

ARGUS  
7.17.88

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THE Soviet Union's top South Africa expert, Mr Vladillen Vasev, says the change of attitudes between the two countries is "a sort of small human correction".

And he said he thought peace in Angola would bring in its wake a momentum for other peace talks in the region which could see the South African Government meeting the African National Congress — with help from the Kremlin.

Interviewed in his Moscow office, the avuncular Soviet diplomat conceded some thawing in South African-Soviet relations but discounted ideas of diplomatic contact in the near future.

Mr Vasev, credited by the media and Pretoria's diplomats with getting the peace talks back on line in Cairo (which he denies), says the Kremlin's attitude to Pretoria is now dictated by "what is wise and practical outside of those contacts prohibited by the United Nations boycott of South Africa".

He does not see a softening of the tourist visa policy in spite of South African reports to the contrary. But he admitted there was now a "selective" policy which would allow academics, conference delegates and journalists to visit Moscow.

### NOT OPEN STALWARTS

"In a sense we wanted to contact people who are not openly stalwarts of apartheid," said the head of the Third African Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The department divides Africa into three sections, roughly north, middle and south.

"Sometimes our approach to apartheid is ideological," he said, adding that "we have noticed that even the word apartheid is no longer part of the official government language."

He said the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, had proposed "de-ideologisation" in his book *Perestroika*, but added that South Africa was in a unique position.

"It is the only country in the world in which the internal racist set-up is internationally disputed under the charter of the United Nations." Reforms had not yet touched on the real heart of apartheid.

The Government was out of phase with world thinking by half a century.



PETER SULLIVAN  
of The  
Argus group  
reports from  
Moscow

"They are where the United States was in the '50s or '60s. You may be catching up a bit. Reforms are necessary but it is not for us to judge the solution you must find."

I pointed out that judging South Africa was precisely what he was doing and he said: "Yes, but we must judge only whether racism exists or does not exist. What is to be done to dismantle it is for you to decide."

Mr Vasev was cagey on the subject of the peace talks, but vehemently denied any suggestion that Cuba was reluctant to withdraw its troops or that it was paid for having them in Angola.

Asked how the Soviet Union could put pressure on the Cubans, he said he made a point of "excluding from our lexicon" phrases like "putting pressure, squeezing, twisting the arm of", which were American and used against opponents, not friends.

But Russia's relationship with Cuba and Angola was important and these countries were often asked for advice, which they gave. "We call this a consultative role. And I must disappoint your readers and tell you we have no disagreements with Cuba," he said with a smile.

### CLIMATE FOR TALKS

On the talks themselves, he believed any dispute over a venue was not serious and that the next stage would deal with the guarantors of any agreement, of which the Soviet Union would be one. An SWA/Namibia settlement was pivotal to an agreement, he said.

If a peace agreement could be thrashed out it would create a momentum and a climate for talks and dialogue on all levels.

While he foresaw that President Botha would find it difficult to enter into trilateral talks with the Soviet Union and the African National Congress, this did not mean talks could not take place.

# Forces may pull back soon

ARGUS  
2/17/88

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By PETER FABRICIUS and BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

**PRETORIA.** — A ceasefire with a partial Cuban pull-back and total South Africa withdrawal from Angola could be declared within weeks.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, hinted at this at a Press conference in the Union Buildings last night when he announced South Africa's acceptance of the negotiated principles for a peaceful settlement of the Angolan and SWA/Namibian conflicts.

He repeatedly declined to commit himself on a ceasefire or troop withdrawals but said the agreement could lead to "a tangible lessening of tensions" in the war zone within weeks.

Although the withdrawal of South African troops was not written into the 14-point agreement, diplomatic sources said it was implicit in the acceptance of the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

## First time

For South Africa the major breakthrough in the agreement is the first formal acceptance by Cuba and Angola of the linkage between Cuban withdrawal from Angola and United Nations supervised independence for SWA/Namibia.

Mr Botha was loath to claim the breakthrough as a victory, saying the spirit of agreement was that there should be no winners or losers.

The agreement, released simultaneously in Luanda, Havana, Washington and Pretoria, will set the basis for the next rounds of talks, scheduled for the first week of August, possibly in Geneva.

Neither Unita nor Swapo are mentioned in the agreed principles, but it is inferred that an agreement would be negotiated

(Turn to page 3, col 2)



ANGOLA

# Peace in our time?

22/7/88  
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All the latest signs suggest the peace process in Angola is now underway and that independence for Namibia could follow shortly thereafter.

Though the combatants in Angola have been close to striking deals before, sharp increases in the economic and human cost of the war and a shift in the balance of military power in the region towards the Cuban-Angolan forces have evidently played a more decisive role in the latest peace talks.

Cuba's position in this process was explained at a press conference in Harare on Friday by Jorge Risquet Valdes, member of the politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, secretary for foreign relations and head of the Cuban delegation to the talks.

"The key to a solution in south-western Africa (that is, Angola and Namibia) is the application without modification of UN Resolution 435 and the progress of Namibia towards independence," Risquet told a small group of SA journalists, including a representative from the *FM*, at the Cuban embassy in Harare.

In his view, the SA government had adopted a "sensible approach," opting for a negotiated settlement rather than a military solution. Neil Kinnock, he said, who had addressed a banquet at Harare's Meikles

Hotel the previous night, had correctly identified the reasons for this turnabout. These were:

- Sudden pressure from the US, which was keen to achieve a solution during the current presidential election period. (Though sensitive to any suggestion of Soviet hegemony over Cuba, Risquet added that rapprochement between the US and Russia in the spirit of *glasnost* had also played a role);
- Growing international isolation, which even Margaret Thatcher was now finding difficult to counter; and
- The strengthening of the Cuban-Angolan air force.



Savimbi

Contrary to SA claims of military victories at Cuito Cuanavale earlier this year, the balance of power had shifted in favour of Cuban-Angolan forces, he said. All SADF attacks on the key garrison town 300 km to the north of the Namibian border had been effectively repulsed.

This assessment that the power balance in the region has shifted was unanimously supported in Harare among those politicians, businessmen and government officials to whom the *FM* spoke.

If so, it is reasonably clear that the hawks in the SADF have had their day — possibly because of the unavailing attacks launched on Cuito Cuanavale.

Having been unable to make headway in

exchanges with an obviously committed Cuban-Angolan defence force and facing the chill of total international isolation, a new spirit of pragmatism is thus now abroad in SA — so this argument runs.

This spirit is certainly evident in the agonising over SA's presence in Angola in the latest issue of the Dutch Reformed Church mouthpiece *Die Kerkbode*, the doubts being expressed in National Party supporting newspapers; and, significantly, doubts expressed to the *FM* by a CP MP (The Cuban delegation attached importance to the claim that "even the Conservative Party wants your army out of Angola").

In the circumstances, the SA government may, ironically, have Cuba to thank for extricating it from an indecisive war of attrition which has so far dragged on in Angola for more than 25 years.

Of course, what remains to be done is to put flesh to the "general principles" agreed upon at the Governors' Island talks in New York.

All indications are that SA's approval of these principles will be signalled to Chester Crocker on Wednesday and the four parties to the talks — SA, Cuba, Angola and the US — will then begin thrashing out the practical implications. A meeting has been scheduled at an undisclosed destination for the first week of August.

Given Cuba's enthusiastic endorsement of the progress achieved thus far and its unswerving commitment to UN Resolution 435, it seems likely that the package of agreements now to be worked out will closely follow the timetables contained in that resolution.

Broadly, this suggests that SA will undertake a unilateral withdrawal of troops from southern Angola, followed by a simultaneous retreat from the Angolan-Namibian border — northwards by the Cubans to beyond the 13th parallel and southwards by the SADF to south of the Orange River.

At this point, Risquet hinted, the UN would introduce a peacekeeping presence to begin a process which would lead to Namibian independence seven months later.

The sticking point, it seems, concerns Cuba's view that only once the process of "decolonisation" is irreversibly underway, will it begin a phased withdrawal of its troops from the continent — a process which it says is likely to take four years.

Unita is evidently due to be consigned to the mercies of the Angolan government. In terms of the general principles agreed in New York, all external aid for Unita will come to an end and Risquet believes this would allow the Angolan government and

## CUBA'S INFO SERVICE

**What do the Cubans know that SA voters have yet to find out?**

During Friday's press conference in Harare, Jorge Risquet Valdes hinted broadly that there would be a general election in SA in May 1989. He would not be drawn on the source of his information, but of course he met SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Cairo last month.

The suggestion makes sense.

At this point, should the peace process not be derailed, a settlement to a costly and futile war would presumably be well underway in Angola as would the passage to independence of Namibia. Both would present government with the big theme it requires to avoid a debate on the internal

political situation.

The process would have been secured on the strength of US and Soviet agreements on maintaining peace in the region; the Cubans would have begun withdrawing from Angola; and clear undertakings to respect SA's territorial integrity would allow its forces to withdraw with honour from a looming "Vietnam."

That, in any event, would be the gloss which government could put on events, basking the while in the applause which must follow from the international community. The outmanoeuvred Conservative Party would be left either to join the applause, or call for war — both politically dangerous tactics.

⑤/m 22/1/88

Unita to negotiate a peaceful settlement.

In the present climate of "quiet confidence" expressed by all parties, however, there seems every prospect that this too is no more than a bargaining position.

But barring a repeat of incidents such as that at Calueque, there is now a reasonable prospect of peace in Angola. ■

# The man with the giant cigar manages what Kurt and Henry failed

At the other end of a foot-long cigar was Cuba's chief negotiator. And he was feeling very pleased ...

By DAVID MIDDLE in Harare

If Cuba's Africa expert Jorge Risquet was looking a little smug in Harare last week, it was understandable. He seemed well on the way to achieving what the combined persuasive powers of Kurt Waldheim, Henry Kissinger, Don McHenry and the governments of the US, Britain, Canada, West Germany and France had failed to do: persuade Pretoria to withdraw its troops from southern Angola and grant independence to Namibia.

Risquet, head of the Cuban team to US-brokered negotiations to end "the conflict in south-western Africa", arrived in Harare as South African, Angolan and Cuban "technical teams" met on Governor's Island in New York, finished hammering out principles on which the three countries will base a peace settlement — if the talks get that far.

Smoking a foot-long cigar and speaking in rapid Spanish, Risquet outlined the combination of factors which, he said, had made it "irresistibly in South Africa's interest to settle the conflict".



## Accompanied by a cigar and rum, Jorge Risquet launches forth in rapid-fire Spanish

●The achievement by Angolan and Cuban forces of aerial superiority in southern Angola, and the resultant defeat of South African-led forces had suffered at Cuito Cuanavale.

●The recent concentration of Fapi (Angolan government forces) and Cuban forces near the Namibian border. "South Africa is having to take into account the unpredictable possible results of two military forces so close to each other — it is an explosive situation," Risquet said.

●Mounting pressure from Chester Crocker and the Reagan administration for settlement before their term ends early next year.

●A recognition by all parties that implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 and independence for Namibia — with the resultant withdrawal of South African troops south of the Orange River, ending the military threat to Angola — was "the key to the conflict in south-western Africa".

But in 1981 such an agreement had apparently been achieved — and Namibian independence seemed only weeks away — as the Carter administration came to an end.

After taking a hefty sip of rum, Risquet said: "Then the South Africans were waiting for Reagan to replace Jimmy Carter. This time the possibility of a Democratic victory is putting real pressure on South Africa — as is the threat of further US sanctions. Three days after Risquet had argued the point, Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis backed it up — suggesting that, if elected, he would end the Crocker-initiated "linkage" between Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence, and US backing for Unita.

On Unita, one of several ghosts haunting the talks, Risquet said while

the Cuban position was to urge an end to all foreign support for Unita — "we believe it would then become a purely domestic matter which could be resolved by the US and South Africa", he said repeatedly that US aid to Unita "is not a negotiating chip".

The second ghost, Swapo, would begin playing a role "once 435 is implemented and the independence process is underway", Risquet said.

On the third — the persistent rumour of a secret South African demand for the closure of African National Congress bases in Angola — Risquet denied the issue had been raised either formally or informally at the talks.

However, he added that it was not a Cuban issue but one for "the sovereign government of Angola" to address. His careful answer, repeated almost word-for-word to different journalists twice in the space of an afternoon, seems to suggest the bases could have been discussed either in the US-Angolan talks or separately,

between Pretoria and Luanda.

Cuba enters the next round of negotiations — some time in August at a venue yet to be decided — with a detailed, four-year timetable for the phased withdrawal of Cuban troops, and a similar — although far shorter — timetable for South African troop withdrawals.

On D-Day, the day Unitag (United Nations Transition Assistance Group) troops move into place (in northern Namibia), Cuban troops will begin moving north to the 13th parallel — and South African troops first into camps in Namibia and then southwards "across the Orange River", according to the Cuban plan.

Thirteen months later (a "modest reduction" is possible if all goes well) this first phase should be over, and Cuban troops will begin boarding ships to sail home.

While the process has some way to go, a confident Risquet predicts that if Namibia is not independent by the 10th anniversary of Resolution 435 (September 29 this year), it will be on the 11th anniversary.

# Britain backs Angola peace principles (S)

Star 22/7/88

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain's Foreign Office has endorsed the principles for Angolan peace accepted this week by South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

A spokesman said the Foreign Office indicated, however, that the British saw the principles as merely the first step towards a concrete peace plan.

The British, while not part of the peace negotiations, have been active behind the scenes to ensure the talks continue. The first round of negotiations was held in London.

The Foreign Office has repeatedly stressed its belief that peaceful solutions can only be found around the negotiating table and has condemned hostilities by either side on the ground in southern Angola.

However, *The Times* is cautious today about whether there had been a breakthrough in the

stalemate. "The weakness of the agreement," it says in a leading article, "is that it is a house of cards — it could blow down."

It lists the various ingredients in the drama, from President Reagan's and M. Gorbachev's respective vested interests in a settlement, to South Africa's allegedly failing fire-power.

It then warns that the State President, Mr P W Botha, may be wary of moving too far too fast — thus running the risk of losing ground to the right-wing conservatives.

"On the other hand, he could still find himself having to cope with a President Dukakis in the White House if he procrastinates too long."

*The Times* warns that the other parties "must maintain pressure on South Africa if the hope of regional peace is to be realised".

## Not all Japanese toeing govt line (S)

Star 22/7/88

TOKYO — The Japanese government's policy of arm-twisting businessmen into cutting trade with South Africa is producing results.

But while some companies are toeing the government line, others are not. Toyota, Japan's leading motor vehicle maker, says it is cutting exports. Nissan, the number two, says it is increasing sales because business is so good. ● See Page 16.

## Restricted

In terms of the State of Emergency regulations, The Star is prohibited from publishing certain news items, pictures and comment. In some cases The Star is also prevented from indicating where it has been forced to censor material. But we will continue to point out where reports have been restricted if this is legally permissible.

# Old story with a new look

Star 22/7/81

(5)

South Africans can be forgiven for stifling a yawn or raising a sceptical eyebrow at the news of an agreement on a "set of essential principles" to end the protracted Namibian and Angolan conflicts.

As Foreign Minister Pik Botha remarked at the press conference called to announce South Africa's acceptance of the principles, the history of the agreement goes back a long way.

But impressions can be misleading. There are new and, arguably, significant elements in the latest agreement.

One new point is that Cuba is now a signatory to the agreement. The tripartite agreement is between, in alphabetical order, Angola, Cuba and South Africa. The supposedly anarchistic and unpredictable Communist state is now committed to the search for peace on the basis of the 14 principles.

## Linkage recognised

Another new dimension is that linkage between the Namibian and Angolan problems is now firmly established and recognised. It was first insisted on by South Africa but resisted by most of the rest of the world, including Angola and Cuba.

Now, as Mr Botha pointed out, Angola and Cuba have not only accepted linkage: they have committed themselves to it in writing.



The Ruacana Falls in north-west Namibia, site of a R115 million hydro-electric project which, until peace comes, has to be guarded constantly for fear of sabotage or attack.

By PATRICK LAURENCE

The announcement that Angola, Cuba and South Africa have accepted a set of principles to end the protracted conflicts in Angola and Namibia may cause some scepticism among hardened negotiation watchers. But the agreed principles contain some new and significant elements, not least the fact that, for the first time, the two superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — are acting in concert in the matter.

The first of the 14 principles recognises that implementation of the UN peace plan, contained in resolution 435 of 1978, is indispensable to peace although the date at which implementation will start is a matter for negotiation between the three contracting parties.

The third of the 14 principles provides for a redeployment of Angolan-based Cuban forces towards the north of the country and then for a "staged and total withdrawal" from Angola.

The interdependence of these principles is explicitly stated in the preamble: "They (the three parties) recognise that each of these principles is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement."

But linkage may turn out to South Africa's disadvantage. If South Africa wants an Angolan settlement but is reluctant to surrender control of Namibia — as some observers believe — that is no longer possible.

The price of an Angolan settlement is Namibian independence under 435.

But Namibian independence under 435 would almost certainly see the installation of a Swapo government under Mr Sam Nujoma in Windhoek, a prospect which sets teeth on edge in Pretoria.

All the parties, however, can veto or, more crassly, sabotage the peace process.

South Africa can hold it up by simply refusing to agree to a date for the implementation of 435. The relevant principle states explicitly that the parties have to agree on a date. South African diplomats have acquired the reputation of filibusters par excellence in negotiations on Namibia.

Angola and Cuba can likewise delay the process by failing to agree on the mode and speed of Cuban troop withdrawal.

Any of the parties can, of course, play the rogue elephant by simply renegeing on the agreement and going their own way. But the price of doing that may be high. For the first time in the long history of the Namibian and Angolan disputes the United States and the Soviet Union are acting in concert.

That, too, is a new and highly important element in the latest agreement.

By SHAUN JOHNSON and MARK VERBAAN

IF South Africa is indeed committed to the current peace talks with Angola and Cuba, President PW Botha must be thinking seriously about the possibility of a President Sam' Nujoma in Windhoek.

That possibility seemed so startling yesterday that pro-independence Namibians were not yet popping the champagne corks after the news of an agreed "set of principles" for a sub-continental settlement.

If Botha has accepted the possibility of a President Nujoma, one can begin to think the unthinkable: a majority government in an independent Namibia. If not, there are many ways in which the peace process can be scuppered.

Many of these pitfalls are of a practical, even technocratic nature. But whether they prove a nuisance — or fatal — depends entirely on the political will of the participants.

As far as Namibians are concerned, all this requires is a straight answer to a single question: Is Pretoria seriously countenancing the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, and with it the probable presidency of Nujoma?

If the answer is no, some permutation of the following imponderables can be expected to trouble the peace process:

- The intricacies of withdrawal and arrival. Withdrawal by the South Africans from Angola and Namibia, and by the Cubans from Angola. Arrival by Untag, the United Nations Transition Assistance Group;

- The status of the 24 000-strong South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) during the withdrawals;

- The demobilisation of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo);

- The future of African National Congress bases in Angola;

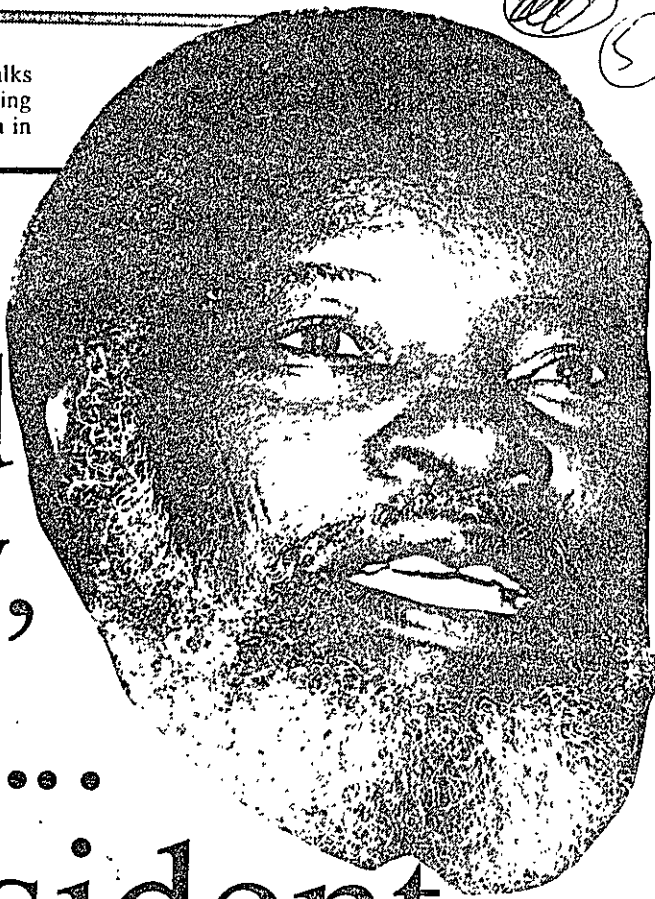
- The actions of Unita's claimed 65 000 troops.

None of these is insurmountable but all are substantial. The current peace process very nearly collapsed because of disputes over *where* talks should be held. It would take only the most spurious of quibbles over any of these issues to prompt cries of "foul".

History suggests Namibians are wise to be hesitant. They have been on the brink of independence before, especially from 1978 to 1981, when Windhoek was filled with journalists and diplomats waiting to witness the

*The toughest question which Pretoria must still answer*

# And now, SA ... President NUJOMA?



transfer of power. For the past two years, Namibia has suffered as never before as the war between nationalist guerrillas and South African-led forces shifted increasingly from the bush to the cities; creating a sullen, inward-looking stalemate punctuated only by the sound of bombs.

Now, suddenly, Namibia is back on the front pages it vacated in favour of the internal South African struggle. It will not stay there if the obstacles standing between this week's

three-nation agreement and the installation of a majority government in Windhoek prove as formidable as before.

The principles which the South Africans, Angolans and Cubans agreed were "indispensable to a comprehensive settlement" were that:

- They agree upon and recommend to the United Nations secretary general a date for commencement of Resolution 435;

- The government of Angola and South Africa, in terms of Resolution

435, co-operate with the secretary general "with a view to ensuring the independence of Namibia through free and fair elections";

- Cuban troops be redeployed towards the north of Angola and totally withdrawn in stages.

They also agreed to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and borders of states; not to interfere in the internal affairs of states; to abstain from the threat and use of force against states, and not to allow their territories to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against others.

However, the remaining problems are significant.

The timing is fraught. Already there is disagreement about how long withdrawals should take, and where they should end. Cuba wants four years for the complete repatriation of its troops. The UN suggests seven months.

South Africa doesn't seem to have much problem with vacating southern

• To PAGE 3 •

Angola, but pulling back as far as Orange River is another question. Will Untag be a fully-fledged force, capable of dealing with transgressions from all sides, symbolic presence reminiscent of British Monitoring Force during Rhodesia/Zimbabwe transition?

And what happens to the SWATF even if this is to ring and to ring off without incident? Members of Namibian interim government referred to it as "our own national army", and SWATF representatives claim "60 percent of (our) troops in the north are Namibians".

By contrast, the Cuban negotiators insist it would "have to be solved". SWATF is reputed to have a larger standing force than boasted by 39 independent countries. In military terms it is no trifle where will it be "parked" after cessation of hostilities?

Similar questions can be asked about Swapo, ANC and Unita guerrillas. Can Swapo's People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) be armed, and controlled into the future?

22-25/7/88



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tion Army of Namibia (Plan) be dis-  
armed, and corralled into assembly

points? Will Pretoria allow the ANC  
to maintain its presence in Angola?  
Will Jonas Savimbi act uncharacteris-  
tically by keeping himself, and his  
troops, out of the way?

These are all only challenges if the  
political will *vis à vis* a fully inde-  
pendent Namibia is there. If not, they  
are death knells, and the war may  
change its shape, but it will continue.

Militating against a South African  
acceptance of an imposition to the  
letter of 435 are major internal con-  
cerns. A right-wing backlash against  
a perceived "sell-out" of white Nam-  
ibians is no chimera.

A second, obvious concern is that a  
free Namibia could bring the ANC's  
armed struggle much closer to home.

But these well-entrenched reserva-  
tions now have to be weighed against  
a markedly changed military balance,  
United States pressure for a deal, and  
the imminent possibility of a less  
cosy relationship with the White  
House.

With all these considerations, it

should hardly be surprising that Nam-  
ibians are reacting circumspectly to  
the prospect of an end to 22 years of  
war.

Swapo's external wing is cautiously  
optimistic. Publicity and Informa-  
tion Secretary Philip Hamutuya  
said in Luanda that "it stands to rea-  
son that progress is being made and  
the prospect for a comprehensive  
settlement of the conflict ... are rea-  
sonably bright".

However, this was not a sudden  
burst of altruism from Pretoria, he  
said.

Swapo's internal representatives  
express even clearer doubts.

If pro independence Namibians are  
looking for more upbeat prognoses,  
they will have to turn to the unlikely  
pairing of Havana and Washington.

But war-weary Namibians may be  
more inclined to go along with a  
much-told — though probably apoc-  
ryphal — story about Nujoma.

Asked, a few years back, when he  
thought he would get independence,  
he is said to have replied "When  
President Mandl leaves office".

22-25/7/88

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# UK welcomes Angola-SA peace plan

CAPE TOWN  
22/7/88

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Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The British government yesterday welcomed the announcement of the agreement in principle for settlement in the south-western region of Africa between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The Foreign Office said: "We have consistently called for the parties to follow the path of negotiation, not conflict. This announcement represents an important step in that direction. It has our full support."

Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe was said to be delighted and would continue to offer all help Britain could give toward a settlement.

The European Commission was equally pleased.

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos welcomed the draft agreement, saying Unita rebels were a stain on the country that had to be wiped clean.

"For the Angolan people Unita stands for division, terrorism, suffering, sorrow, pain and treason... It is a stain that must be wiped clean from the history of Angola," he said.

Mr Dos Santos said he hoped a timetable for the withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola, and independence for Namibia, could be settled this year.

"Never before have we been so close to a negotiated solution," the Angolan leader said in Luanda.

Unita has not been involved in peace talks though many believe its popular support, particularly in the south-east of the country, is such that its participation is necessary for a solution.

In Lisbon, Unita officials praised the accord but said attention would eventually have to turn to Angola's internal problems.

The Japanese government also welcomed the agreement.

"The present agreement marks an important step toward the stabilization of the region," a Japanese statement said.

The Namibia Peace Plan Study and Control Group, NPP 435, has also congratulated the governments of the US, Angola and SA on the agreement.

Mr Brian O'Linn SC, chairman of NPP 435, said in Cape Town that all the principles agreed upon were important and positive.

He said: "It is absolutely clear the parties agree that Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 will be implemented."

"There is no scope whatsoever for renegotiation of an alternative or amendment."

Meanwhile, Angola has condemned three unnamed African governments for affording official status to Unita while maintaining diplomatic links with the country.

It is believed the countries are Zaire, Morocco and the Ivory Coast. — Sapa-AP-Reuter



# ANC loses out on Angola agreement

STW 23/7/88

THE African National Congress would be the big loser if the set of principles agreed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba was ever translated into practical agreements, experts said this week.

The ANC would not only lose its training camps in Angola but an independent Namibia would not be allowed to shelter the ANC, they said.

In exchange South Africa will have to stop supporting the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, and agree to an independent Namibia.

Article E of the set of principles announced this week says that signatories acknowledge the principle of "non-interference in the internal affairs of states", while article G says the signatories accept "the responsibility of states not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression, or vio-

**JOAO SANTA RITA**  
Africa News Service

lence against other states".

Professor John Barratt, of the South African Institute of International Affairs, said there could be no doubt that the wording of this article was remarkably similar to that of the Nkomati Accord.

Under the Nkomati Accord, Mozambique expelled ANC members and closed their bases in Mozambique in exchange for an end of South African support to the MNR.

"That principle has very wide implications," said Professor Barratt.

"If applied it means an end of South African support for Unita and an end to the ANC bases in Angola," he added.

Professor Barratt said South Africa was known to be keen on reaching Nkomati-type security agreements with its neighbours, and this had been included on the agreement of principles now

reached with Angola.

Professor Mike Hough, of the Pretoria-based Institute for Strategic Studies, agreed article G had wide implications for Unita and the ANC.

"Of course now the real difficulties start, because the question of interpretation of what the agreement on principles really means will have to be tackled," he said.

Professor Hough pointed out the agreement announced this week specifically said "each of the principles is indispensable to a comprehensive settlement".

This meant if Namibia became independent, whoever became the government in that country would have to sign similar non-aggression or security treaties.

The ANC would therefore not be allowed to be based in Namibia.

Other analysts point out the provision has also been made for verification that no country is violating the agreements reached, something that was not

included in the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique.

Article I states that the signatories agreed on "verification and monitoring of compliance with the obligations undertaken in the agreement that may be established, and to resolve the differences via negotiations".

The Nkomati Accord provides for a Joint Security Commission to analyse security problems between Mozambique and South Africa, but no provision is made for on-site verification that the clauses of the pact are being obeyed.

Cuba's main African negotiator, Mr Jorge Risquet, said last week in Harare that the question of the ANC bases in Angola had not been raised at the talks.

He added, however, that it was not a Cuban issue but one for the sovereign government of Angola to address.

Some observers believe the question has already been discussed in separate Angola/US and Angola/South Africa talks.

## Current Programmes:

Teaching skills in complaints; Seminars on the Workmen's  
Compensation Act and accidents; Project on unemployment  
insurance; Self-education.

A DECADE ago it took the Info Scandal to convince Pretoria of the follies and failures of unorthodox diplomacy. Today, Angola may do much the same for the South African military's "praetorian diplomacy" in the sub-continent.

The Info debacle shook the establishment as few other events had done since 1948. Personalities, policies and institutions were profoundly affected by the revelations about the clandestine pursuits of the State's propaganda machine.

Now the long saga of South Africa's involvement in the Angolan war — which incidentally marks its 13th anniversary in this year of volkfeeste — could conceivably cause another thorough shake-up in the corridors of power. This could happen regardless of the outcome of the international peace negotiations.

Let us consider some of the possible implications of the Angolan affair and also raise a number of questions about the Government's handling of the conflict.

In the first place, the Angolan issue has severely undermined the Government's credibility among wide segments of white society. There is an increasing realisation that the Government has long abused public trust by keeping the populace in the dark or feeding it misleading information about our military role in Angola.

The crisis of credibility caused by the Info Scandal was far less severe — yet it required a new leader to restore public confidence in the Government. And the new head of Government pledged open, clean and efficient administration....

### System

That brings us to a second possible consequence. None other than General Magnus Malan said in 1980 that South Africa's (initial) involvement in the Angolan war in 1975/6 "focused the attention on the urgent necessity for the State Security Council to play a much fuller role in the national security of the Republic than hitherto".

The Minister of Defence was by implication saying that deficiencies in the decision-making apparatus underlined the need for regularised and formalised procedures that would, presumably, allow for the consideration of all relevant bureaucratic interests.

The upshot was the creation of an elaborate national security management system, with the SSC at its apex.

One is entitled to ask whether the early lessons of involvement have in any way improved the quality of subsequent decisions on Angola.

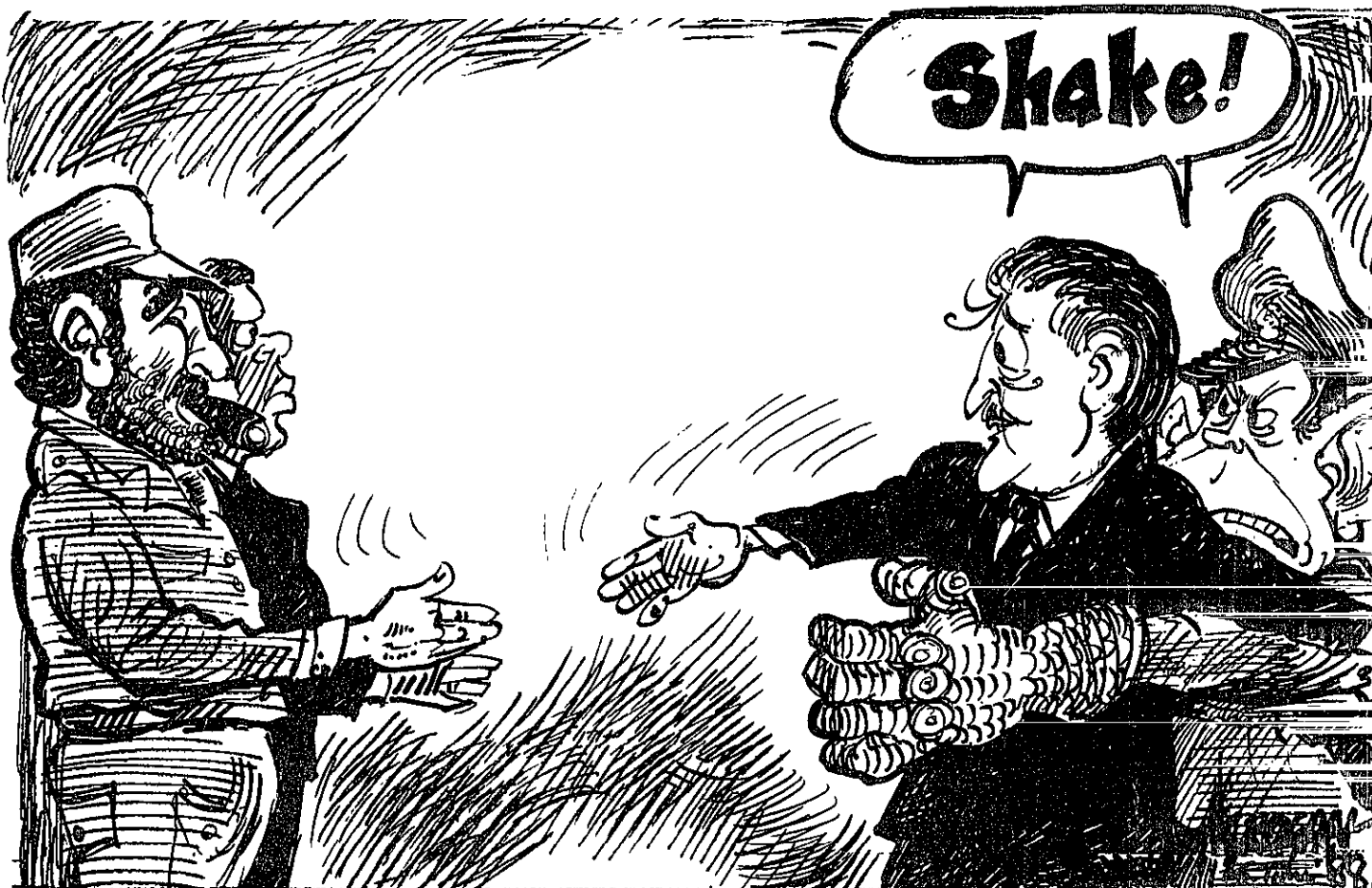
It is, for instance, still not clear what the Government's overriding political objective in Angola has been.

### Control

Following Talleyrand's famous injunction that "war is much too serious a thing to be left to military men", one would have expected the political leaders involved in the security management system to spell out the political objectives to be served by the generals in the field.

Yet the situation still seemed to resemble that of 1975, when South Africa first entered the Angolan war. It was Prime Minister Vorster who conceded to Parliament in January 1976 that "it is rather difficult... when you chase a man away to decide when to stop. Naturally it must be left to the people who are responsible for doing the job to decide."

# ANGOLAN FOLLIES?



by Deon Geldenhuys

RAU professor of political science

In the event, South African soldiers chased the MPLA-Cuban forces all the way to Luanda. Why have the roles been so drastically reversed? Was South Africa outmanoeuvred by the massive southward thrust of its adversaries?

And was it again left to our commanders "doing the job" to decide how far the Cubans and Angolans should be allowed to advance — or how far South African forces should retreat?

In short, did Pretoria have any game plan at all?

Thirdly, the military's praetorian diplomacy in southern Africa is bound to come under renewed pressure within ruling circles. Not only the inconclusive Angolan war but also various other military actions in neighbouring states — with highly dubious results — call into question the effectiveness and appropriateness of this brand of coercive diplomacy.

The delegitimation of praetorianism may, in the fourth instance, provide Foreign Affairs with an opportunity to regain some of the ground lost to the military in regional politics.

This is not to suggest that the military can henceforth be count-

ed out and that conventional diplomacy will be only or always the dominant technique used by South Africa in its regional relations. At best, the military's input will become synchronised with and supportive of the diplomatic approach; theirs will be a measure of final resort.

It is naive to expect that the whole of southern Africa will become a kinder and safer place for South Africa in the wake of a settlement of the Angola/Namibia conflicts.

ANC insurgency is unlikely to disappear. And as long as insurgents continue to operate in or through neighbouring states, Pretoria is bound to employ diplomatic, military and economic instruments of foreign policy.

### Debate

The chances are that orthodox diplomacy will not by itself address all South Africa's regional security concerns. And given the failures of military coercion, economic levers would be the obvious alternative means of tangibly reinforcing diplomatic approaches.

Should economic instruments in future be used to a greater extent as a substitute for military action in dealing with errant neighbouring states, those handling the levers would inevitably gain in influence in policy-making circles — at the expense of the military. This, then, is another possible consequence of the Angolan debacle.

As in the case of Info, the Angolan episode may also have some salutary effects. For these to take

hold, the matter should be kept alive through public debate. For the Government, traditionally unfettered by domestic public opinion on foreign policy issues, this would be a new experience.

And it may go some way toward restoring the heavily eroded principle of public accountability of Government.

A sure way in which the Government can accommodate public disquiet over its handling of the

Angolan affair, would be to have it officially investigated.

The Erasmus Commission, which looked into the Department of Information's irregularities, is admittedly not everyone's idea of an inquiry, but there are other ways of conducting an impartial and credible investigation.

South Africa's involvement in the Angolan war is too serious a matter to be left to the historians to unravel in the fullness of time.

⑤ Sinner 24/7/88

"EVERYONE should come out a winner," said South African Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha.

He was talking of the struggle to find a peace formula for Angola and Namibia. So far so good.

An analysis of the document of peace settlement principles released on Wednesday in Pretoria, Havana and Washington shows that Mr. Botha's yardstick is being met.

And there is promise for the long climb ahead.

Although diplomats remain cautious about predicting success, one of those involved said: "The chemistry is good."

A senior Western negotiator took the wraps off the point of breakthrough in New York which made agreement possible.

over from their talks in Cairo late last month. As the New York talks on Governor's Island picked up momentum, the two sides realised each was prepared to make a critical concession. The Cubans were prepared to accept "linkage" — the concept that Namibia's independence was linked to their withdrawal from Angola.

And the South Africans were prepared to set aside the issue of Unita, the rebel group fighting to wrest control of Angola from the un-lected MPLA government.

One of the men at the U-shaped table described the moment of realisation: "It was like a cold shower." The leaders of the delegations then went off to telephone their respective governments.

The SA group, led by Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr. Neil van Heerden, received a qualified but favourable "green light" response.

Similar messages were relayed from Havana and Luanda. It is understood that reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita will from now be a parallel negotiating subject, running alongside the principal thrust for an overall peace equation.

It is further understood it is because of this turn of events that the document of principles was laid unexpectedly before the SA State Security Council.

# The 'chemistry' looks good for peace in Angola and SWA

It was necessary to assess the full and broad implications to SA security interests before assenting to the document.

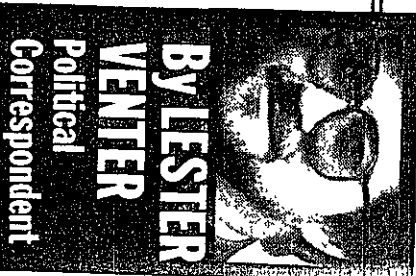
The document sets an even tone, in Mr Botha's terms, for the negotiations on implementation that lie ahead.

Its two basic provisions are that Namibia will become independent according to the United Nations plan, and the Cubans will leave Angola.

The South Africans have said until now the Cubans must leave before the independence process can begin, and the Cubans have said the "decolonisation" of Namibia must be well under way before they will begin leaving.

In this light their behind-the-scenes acceptance of linkage is seen as critical.

One diplomat ventured that what might happen in the end is that SA would symbolically initiate the UN's Resolution 435 a day or two before the Cuban pro-



BY LESTER VENTER Political Correspondent

grammed withdrawal begins.

An illustration of the workability of such a concept is that the Cubans have already suggested that a separation of the forces in southern Angola should be effected to lessen tensions.

Whatever the symbolic implications, the essential element is that the twin processes of independence and withdrawal will take place in tandem — a concept the diplomats have been working on for some time.

The ever-handedness of

states will not let their territories be used for acts of aggression against others, and that "African and international co-operation" be involved in the settlement of the problems of the region.

The central provision there implies an Nkomati Accord-style undertaking that would, in this case, prevent Angola from providing hospitality to Swapo or the ANC.

But diplomats seem to agree that, as in the case of cessation of SA aid to Unita, there is some negotiating distance to go between the principle and the fact.

The provision for the involvement of other states in the region's problems is a manifestation of a SA desire to see a loose cabal of African countries developing to mediate a reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA. This could offset the other disadvantages ostensibly accruing to Unita in the way the settlement is shaping up.

the document is reflected in the supplementary provisions.

They set a written commitment to independence and self-determination for "the peoples of the south-western region of Africa", a binding to Resolution 435 for Namibia's independence, and an undertaking that there will be "non-interference in the internal affairs of states".

The "non-interference" provision seems to imply clearly that SA will have to cease aid to Unita.

Yet there are eyebrow-raising indications that the South Africans do not yet regard this as a cut-and-dried issue.

Particularly from the military side there is a strong feeling that a long and expensive investment has been made in Unita and that this investment begins to mature when Unita is seated in Luanda.

We get an undertaking on Cuban withdrawal, that

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## Secret military talks on Angola held in Cape Verde

LISBON — Angola, SA, Cuba and the US have held high-level, secret military talks in Cape Verde on ending the war in Angola, Cape Verdian government officials said yesterday.

"Conversations between military delegations on the highest level took place on Sal on July 22 and 23," Sal Island government spokesman Fernando Carrilho said.

Last week's meeting was the latest in a string of international efforts to end the 18-year-old civil war in Angola and bring independence to Namibia. Carrilho said the talks were held in

the Cape Verdian presidential residence on Sal Island.

Angola was represented by General Antonio Franer, SA by General Jannie Gedeniuya and Cuba by General Ulyses Rosala Delforo, all chiefs of staffs of their respective armed forces. James Wood of the Pentagon's Africa section was also present and US representatives acted as mediators, Carrilho said.

During the meeting, there was an exchange of viewpoints on the military

situation in southern Africa which will continue in the next four-party meeting in Geneva, Switzerland on August 2."

Cape Verdian government sources said the talks focused mainly on a timetable for the return home of about 50 000 Cuban troops and the withdrawal of Pretoria's forces from southern Angola.

It was reported earlier that Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Nalio Franca and SA Deputy Foreign Minister Kobus

Meiring were also present at the meeting, held amid tight security.

An SA Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday talks had been ongoing.

A Defence Ministry spokesman said "It's possible that meetings could be held to straighten out certain issues, bridge certain obstacles to prepare ground for other talks."

Angolan Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Venancio de Moura said from Har-

are at the weekend the position of the ANC in Angola had not been prejudiced by the recent agreement.

South African attempts to bring the question of the ANC into an agreement and to relate it to Unita rebels in Angola had been rejected at the Cairo meeting between the four countries. The principles agreed on by Angola, Cuba and SA applied to states and not to liberation movements, De Moura said. — Sapa-Reuters-AP

Want to know more about us? Call 011-3874800. Page 4 of 8. 25/7/88 6/10/88

# Border truce discussed at Cape Verde meeting

August 25/78 (5)

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

THE State Security Council meets today to consider ceasefire arrangements in Angola following secret talks among Cuban, Angolan and South African military chiefs in Cape Verde on Friday and Saturday.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has confirmed the Cape Verde talks primarily concerned the military situation in Angola and it is understood an early ceasefire along the border was discussed.

He said the Cape Verde talks would be resumed when the four nations involved in the peace negotiations met again in Geneva from August 2 to 4.

The continued presence of ANC bases in Angola and the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola are likely to be high on the agenda at Geneva.

## ANC presence

A weekend statement by the Angolan deputy chief of staff, Mr Venancio de Moura, that the ANC presence was not covered by the peace principles agreed to last week, has highlighted a serious difference of opinion between Angola and South Africa.

It is understood that South Africa believes the ANC bases in Angola violate principal "G" of the 14-point peace plan which commits each of the signatories "not to allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against other states".

Mr Glen Babb, Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, said today this was one of the issues that would be discussed in further talks to thrash out the detail of the principles agreed to.

## Mediators

US representatives were present as mediators at the Cape Verde talks, Mr Botha said in a short statement issued in Pretoria.

Diplomatic sources said South Africa was represented by the chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys.

Although Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Kobus Meiring was also there, he went on a separate mission to discuss bilateral relations with Cape Verde and to brief the Cape Verde Government on the state of the peace talks.

Meeting held to 'diminish points of rupture'

# SA, Cuba, Angola talk in Cape Verde

SPV 2577/88 (S)

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

A surprise meeting between representatives of South Africa, Cuba and Angola, at which the military situation in Angola was discussed, took place in the Cape Verde islands during the weekend, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed yesterday.

Representatives of the US government were also present as mediators at the meeting on Sal island, he said in a short statement.

"During the meeting there was an exchange of views on the military situation which will continue to be discussed at the four-party meeting to be held in Geneva on August 2," Mr Botha said.

He thanked the government of Cape Verde for hosting the meeting.

The meeting, held on Friday and Saturday, followed an agreement by Angola, South Africa and Cuba last week on a framework of principles for a settlement involving the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola, linked to the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 independence plan for Namibia.

South African officials had earlier refused to confirm or deny the talks.

The first announcement that the talks had taken place came from Cape Verde government officials earlier on Sunday.

"Conversations between military delegations on the highest level took place on Sal on July

22 and 23," Mr Fernando Carrilho, government spokesman for Sal island, said in a telephone call to Lisbon.

The secret meeting was the latest in a series of international efforts to end the 13-year-old civil war in Angola and bring independence to Namibia, and the fifth round of four-party talks in less than three months.

"Political sources" in Cape Verde were reported as saying the talks were held "to diminish the rupture points that still existed between Angola and South Africa". They made no reference to whether progress had been made.

● Angola has cast doubt on the peace talks, asserting that training camps for ANC insurgents will remain on Angolan soil.

SA in  
Angola  
talks

DELEGATIONS from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States have met at Cape Verde off the West African coast for further talks about Namibia and Angola.

The secret talks began a day after the four countries had announced an agreement in principle for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola and for UN-sponsored independence for Namibia.

The holding of the talks was confirmed last night by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha said the military situation in Angola had been discussed by representatives of South Africa, Angola and Cuba in the Cape Verde islands on Friday and Saturday. Representatives of the US government were also present at the meeting in the role of mediators, he said in a statement.

"During the meeting there was an exchange

To page 2

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From page 1

of views on the military situation, which will continue to be discussed at the forthcoming meeting to be held in Geneva from August 2."

It is reported from Lisbon that a Cape Verde spokesman said last night that Angola was represented by General Antonio Franca, the South Africans by General Jannie Geldenhuis and Cuba by General Ulysses Rosala Deltoro.

In Harare, an Angolan deputy minister of foreign affairs said South Africa's sincerity in agreeing to the 14 principles as a basis for peace in Namibia would have to be judged by its future actions.



CHESTER Crocker ...  
represented.

# SECRET TALKS ON ANGOLA HELD

Secretion  
25/7/88 (5)

## Differences are hammered out

LISBON — Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States held secret talks last week in

Cape Verde to hammer out differences on a draft peace accord for Angola, the Portuguese news agency *Lusa* reported yesterday.

In a dispatch from Praia, the capital of Cape Verde, *Lusa* said the four nations ended an unscheduled four-day meeting on Saturday on the island of Sal.

The US-mediated negotiations are aimed at sending Cuban troops home from Angola, where they are backing Government forces against pro-Western rebels, and implementing a UN plan for independence in neighbouring Namibia, ruled by South Africa.

Angola was represented by Deputy Foreign Minister Ndalo Franca while the South African party was led by Deputy Foreign Minister Kobus Meiring.

A Cuban military official and a representative of US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker were also present, it said, without giving names.



# Peace hangs on a slender thread <sup>(5)</sup>

CAPE TOWN — The possibility of a lasting peace in Angola and Namibia hangs on a slender strand.

Although it appears that a resolution to the problems of south-western Africa are now more of a reality than ever before, the truth is that it is still a long way off.

The principles for peace thrashed out in New York two weeks ago and endorsed by the warring parties last week are more mother-love and apple pie than firm agreement.

A Russian official summed up the position when he told the Americans at the recent Moscow Summit that it was one thing to agree on principles but "the devil lies in the detail".

The biggest threat to the entire process still remains the potential for a major battle between South Africa and Cuba in southern Angola.

## PROBLEMS

Apart from this there are two major problems:

- The timed withdrawal of Cuban troops.
- The implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

Cuba claims that it needs three to four years to pull out in toto because of the nearby threat of South Africa and to be able to hand over fortifications to Angola.

South Africa sees these excuses as extremely thin and believes, despite Cuban protestations to the contrary, the main aim is to wipe out Unita.

Angola wants guarantees that South Africa and the US will not continue to support Unita.

South Africa is demanding that Angola stop providing succour for Swapo and the ANC.

However, it appears that South Africa is now starting to accept that Swapo will be a major factor in an independent Namibia.

The current argument is that Na-

BY BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

The possibility of major clashes between South African and Cuban forces remains a serious threat to the Angola peace initiative.

Namibia is so dependent on South Africa that a Swapo government would have to toe the line

South Africa will not agree to the implementation of 435 until the Cuban withdrawal dates are settled.

Then there is the newly created South West African Territorial Force with which Swapo, through the Angolan/Cuban delegation, would have problems.

There is also the cost financially and in terms of manpower.

Most of the costs are incurred because of the guarantees on which South Africa has insisted; she does not in particular trust Cuban motives and would rather deal with Angola alone.

South African negotiators believe that Cuba is attempting to carve out a place in Africa.

Cuba desperately needs money for development at home. Already she spends an admitted 20 percent of her budget on defence.

The war is estimated to be costing South Africa R3 million a day and this cost has spiralled since the Cuban move south. This money is needed for urgently required development in black areas.

Angola's economy is a total mess.

Although neither side wishes to be held responsible for breaking off the talks, South African spokesmen have been at great pains to warn time and again that there is still much ground to be covered.

5) Friday 24/7/88

10-month slog through 14 lands

# The long, hard road to talks on Angolan peace

SOME 30 high-level meetings in 14 different countries over the past 10 months preceded the final acceptance of the Angolan peace draft-document by SA, Angola and Cuba last week.

The chronology of talks was released by the SA Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) in a research document yesterday.

Several of the meetings listed by SAIIA research director André du Pisani were referred to by Foreign Minister Pik Botha last week when he announced SA's acceptance of the 14-point draft agreement.

Botha emphasised the agreements did "not come along overnight" and said the present initiative started in February 1983 when SA and Angolan representatives met in Ilha do Sal.

Although talks continued throughout 1984 and early 1985 momentum picked up in September 1987 when US Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker met the Angolan government in Luanda.

A month later a Moscow meeting followed between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Cuban and Angolan presidents Fidel Castro and José Eduardo dos Santos.

The mediating position of the su-

ELSABÉ WESSELS

perpowers became evident when Angola featured prominently in talks between US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Washington in December 1987.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan's offer in March this year to have direct talks with the Soviet Union on Angola was turned down.

The first meeting of SA, Angola and Cuba took place in London in May when Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden met senior Cuban and Angolan officials.

Talks continued throughout May.

At the Reagan/Gorbachev Moscow summit from May 29 to June 2 the two superpowers committed themselves to a political settlement and to act as joint guarantors to oversee Cuban troop withdrawal, the SAIIA report says.

This set the stage for the first meeting at ministerial level of SA, Angola and Cuba in Cairo on June 23 and the breakthrough New York "meeting of experts" where the basis for future negotiations was agreed.

The next round of talks, once again on "expert level", starts in Geneva on August 2.

# 30 meetings

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Some 30 high-level meetings in 14 countries over the past 10 months preceded the final acceptance of the Angolan peace draft document, accepted by SA, Angola and Cuba last week.

The chronology of talks was released by the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) yesterday.

Several of the meetings listed by SAIIA research director Mr André du Pisani were referred to by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last week when he announced SA's acceptance of the 14-point draft agreement.

Mr Botha emphasized that the agreements did "not come along overnight" and said the present initia-

(5)

(Handwritten scribbles)

Cape Times, Tuesday, July 26, 1988 7

## led to peace draft

tive started in February 1983 when SA and Angolan representatives met in Il de Sol.

Although talks continued throughout 1984 and early 1985, momentum picked up in September 1987 when US Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker met the Angolan government in Luanda.

A month later a Moscow meeting followed between Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze and Cuban and Angolan presidents Mr Fidel Castro and Mr José Eduardo dos Santos.

The mediating position of the superpowers became evident when Angola featured prominently in talks between Mr Ronald Reagan and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev in Washington in December 1987.

According to the SAIIA report Defence Minister

General Magnus Malan offered in March this year to have direct talks with the Soviet Union on Angola. "General Malan's offer was rejected by Soviet spokesman Mr Gennady Gerasimov who said the Soviet did not see a direct parallel between Afghanistan and Angola."

The first meeting between SA, Angola and Cuba took place in London in May this year when Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden met senior Cuban and Angolan officials.

Talks continued throughout May between various security, military and diplomatic delegations representing the main negotiators as well as the US and the Soviet Union.

The next round of talks, once again on "expert level", starts in Geneva on August 2.

SAAF

26/7/88  
(S)  
SAAF  
'hasn't  
become  
helpless'

PRETORIA. — The South African Air Force could still provide support to the SADF's ground forces in the operational area and had not become "helpless" as some people thought, the chief of the SAAF, Lieutenant-General J.P.B. van Loggerenberg said here yesterday.

He told a news conference the SAAF could still support the army. This role only required more planning.

"People should not think that the SAAF has suddenly become helpless," he said.

Some people had been unnerved by the death of 11 SADF members in a recent Angolan air raid at Ruacana.

#### Own fighter

"They are unnerved by what they (the Angolans) can do to us, but we can still do a lot to them."

General Van Loggerenberg, who succeeded General Denis Earp as chief of the SAAF on July 1, was being interviewed on the approach he would adopt as SAAF chief.

He said he believed South Africa was capable of building its own fighter aircraft.

He was "very satisfied" with the SAAF's weapons systems, but the number of fighters had to be increased sooner or later.

Since they could not be bought from abroad, South Africa would have to build its own fighter.

One should, however, "not ask for the moon".

**T**HE possibility of a lasting peace in Angola/Namibia hangs on a slender strand. The problems on what Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, calls the "Steep Hill" ahead are numerous, varied and extremely complicated.

Time and again over the past 20-odd years newspaper headlines have predicted peace only for hopes to be dashed on what had appeared to be unbridgeable differences.

And although it appears that a resolution to the problems of South West Africa are now more of a reality than ever before, the truth is that it is still a far way off.

The principles for peace thrashed out in New York two weeks ago and endorsed by the warring parties last week are more mother-love and apple-pie than firm agreement.

If the principles are finally spelt out in their broadest sense they would result in total peace in the sub-region — a very unlikely situation.

They had hardly been endorsed before there was a difference of opinion on their meaning, with Angola saying that the ANC was excluded from the parameters, and Pretoria seeing it differently.

A Russian official summed up the position when he told the Americans at the recent Moscow Summit that it was one thing to agree on principles but "the devil lies in the detail." It is that detail that now has to be thrashed out.

The biggest threat to the entire process still remains the potential for a major battle between South Africa and Cuba in southern Angola.



EDUARDO dos Santos  
... Angola president



FOREIGN MINISTER  
Botha



vimbi  
ade

# STEEP HILL AHEAD

Lasting peace in Angola/Namibia hangs in a slender strand

Angola meanwhile wants guarantees that South Africa and the United States will not continue to support Unita. South Africa is demanding that Angola stop providing succour for Swapo and the ANC.

However it appears that South Africa is now starting to accept that Swapo will be a major, if not the major factor in an independent Namibia.

The current argument



**SOWETAN Correspondent**

is that Namibia is so dependent on South Africa a Swapo government would have to toe the line or as Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP, interpreted the apparent Government view: "They will be able to stand on the airline supply to the oxygen tent."

The Cuban withdrawal overlaps United Nations Resolution 435.

## Chicken

South Africa will not agree to the implementation of 435 until the Cuban withdrawal dates are settled.

In other words the three to four years the Cubans want for withdrawal has to be reduced to meet the seven-month period for the realisation of an

independent Namibia.

Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs (Namibia and Angola), Mr Andre Jacquet, says it is "one of those chicken and egg situations. We can only hope we have a chicken omelette in the end."

Resolution 435 provides problems of its own.

With the Resolution there is a complex implementation plan which was negotiated 10 years ago. Not only were a number of questions, such as the United Nations military protection, left open but since then conditions have changed.

For example there is the newly-created South West African Territorial Force with which Swapo, through the Angolan/Cuban delegation would have problems.

Then there is the cost

financially and in terms of manpower.

The Budget in current day terms for the plan as it was proposed 10 years ago would be R2000-million — substantially more than the annual Budget of the United Nations

Most of the costs can only be increased by other guarantees now being sought by South Africa on the Cuban presence and vice versa.

The Cuban attitude on this at the recent talks was:

A man, sleepless about his debt, went and told his creditor that he could not pay the full amount and left him to have the sleepless nights about how he would get his money back.

It is accepted that the negotiating parties will be faced with coming up with reasonable proposals to the United Nations for the implementation of any agreements.

Then there is the matter of trust. South Africa does not in particular trust Cuban motives and would rather deal with Angola alone.

South Africa's negotiators have consistently complained about the negotiating tactics of the Cubans and doubt their honesty.

The same distrust about South Africa has been firmly stated by the Cubans.

South African negotiators believe that Cuba is tempting to carve out a place in Africa and does not want to be seen as a loser.

As one of the South African team said recently: "With the Cubans it is a macho thing." This has been exacerbated by Fidel Castro taking a direct hand in the order of battle

## Troop

Against this, however, it appears that all parties now want a peace and the major reason is economics with the looming possibility of high casualties close behind.

Cuba desperately needs money for development at home. Already she spends an admitted 20 percent of her budget on defence.

The way is estimated to be costing South Africa R3-million a day and this cost has spiralled since the Cuban move south. It is possible that the SADF will be asked for a substantial additional appropriation to pay for a troop build up to meet the threat.

*Sowetan 27/6/88*



## Portuguese decision praised (5)

*SAV 27778V*  
LISBON — Angola praised Portugal yesterday for refusing an entry visa to Unita rebel leader Mr Jonas Savimbi.

A Foreign Ministry statement in Luanda called the decision "a gesture of political courage and clear-sightedness", the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said.

The Angop report said the decision

was a welcome change from the "deliberate hostility in some political circles towards the legitimate government of Angola", a reference to countries which have received Mr Savimbi.

A Portuguese Foreign Ministry spokesman said a visit by Mr Savimbi was not considered suitable under the present circumstances. — Sapa-Reuter.

SANTIAGO (Cuba). — President Fidel Castro has told Cubans to prepare for the return of thousands of their countrymen from Angola if a peace agreement is concluded.

"We really are on the threshold of a political solution," he said. He declined to be specific about the negotiations.

"What we want is a global, just and honourable solution that would guarantee the security of Angola and independence for Namibia," he told about 2 000 people on Cuba's national day yesterday.

On that basis, he said, Cuba would gradually withdraw its troops from Angola, estimated by Western observers to number 50 000.

It would not be an abrupt withdrawal, he said, because time was required for the Angolan army to take over Cuban positions.

### Airstrip

Castro disclosed that a second 3 500m airstrip was completed this week near the Namibian border.

He said Cuba sent more troops to Angola last December, 10 000 according to Western estimates, because Angola's independence was at stake as a result of a South African offensive against the town of Cuito Cuanavale.

Castro's annual address to the nation was mainly devoted to domestic issues, with Angola taking up the last half hour of a three-hour speech to celebrate the 35th year of his revolution.

● Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said his movement supported the negotiations aimed at finding a solution in Angola and Namibia.

Speaking at his Jamba headquarters in Angola on his return from a month-long tour of the United States, Europe and Africa, Dr Savimbi said Unita believed the parties to the talks would take positions which should eventually lead to direct negotiations between the MPLA government and Unita.

● Swaziland's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr George Mamba, yesterday praised the US government for its role in bringing together South Africa, Angola and Cuba in peaceful discussions.

Speaking at a farewell luncheon for the outgoing US Ambassador to Swaziland, Mr Harvey Nelson, Mr Mamba said Swaziland fervently hoped an amicable solution would soon be found.

● The Angolan negotiations were discussed at a full Cabinet meeting in Pretoria today. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Lasting peace still a long way off, page 26.

# Get ready! Castro on troops pull-out

AK645 27/7/88 5

# Fidel says Cuba will withdraw

87 Nov 27 7/88

SANTIAGO (Cuba) — President Fidel Castro has pledged Cuba's commitment to withdraw its troops from Angola when a peace agreement for the southwestern region of Africa is signed.

"We are near a political solution," he said yesterday, referring to a recent United States-mediated agreement in principle between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

"What we want is a global, just and honourable solution that would guarantee the security of Angola and independence for Namibia," he told a 2 000-strong crowd on Cuba's National Day.

On that basis, he said, Cuba would gradually withdraw its contingent from Angola, estimated by Western observers at 50 000 soldiers.

## NEW AIRSTRIP

It would not be an abrupt withdrawal, he said, because time was required for the Angolan army to take over Cuban positions.

He disclosed that a second 3 500-metre jungle airstrip was completed this week in southern Angola, near the Namibian border.

Castro said Cuba decided to despatch more troops to Angola last December — 10 000, according to Western estimates — because Angola's independence was at stake as a result of a South African offensive against the town of Cuito Cuanavale.

Diplomats described the address as low-key, saying he refrained from direct attacks on the United States and never mentioned Central America. — Reuter.

**Restricted**

Please remember that this



5

ELSABÉ WESSELS

## '100 000 massed on border'

MORE than 100 000 soldiers were massed along the Namibian/Angolan border, international affairs experts said yesterday.

They said the withdrawal and demobilisation of the 50 000 Cuban-backed MPLA forces in Angola and about 50 000 SA-backed SWATF troops in Namibia were crucial aspects to be decided on at the next round of talks between SA, Angola and Cuba in Geneva on August 2.

The demilitarisation of Swapo's 8 000-strong military wing and the

withdrawal of SADF troops in Namibia are detailed in the implementation procedure of UN Security Council resolution 435 agreed to by the three parties.

Sapa reports that military leaders from the three countries made significant progress toward a peace settlement in the US-mediated talks in Cape Verde last week.

Sources said the talks probably concerned a timetable for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Angola

as well as ways to reduce the proximity of Cuban and SA soldiers in southern Angola.

They said the meeting between the military leaders was "the most technical and concrete" of four rounds of four-nation peace talks held so far.

SA Institute of International Affairs research director André du Pisani said while resolution 435 provided for the staged withdrawal of SADF forces, no mention was made of the SWATF.

*Cape Verde 7/7/88*  
**Meeting  
(30/88)  
was 'most  
concrete'**

LISBON. — Military leaders from Angola, Cuba and South Africa made significant progress toward a peace settlement in south-western Africa at US-mediated talks in Cape Verde last week, according to a report reaching Lisbon yesterday.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted diplomatic sources close to the negotiations as saying the meeting between the armed forces commanders was "the most technical and concrete" of four rounds of four-nation peace talks held so far.

"If everything that was agreed in Cape Verde is ratified at the next round of negotiations in Geneva, peace in Angola and the region (of south-western Africa) will be a lot closer," Lusa quoted the sources as saying.

The military commanders met on Friday and Saturday on the island of Sal in the Cape Verde archipelago off West Africa for talks mediated by a US delegation.

A statement released after the apparently secret talks were disclosed by journalists in Cape Verde, a former Portuguese colony, said only that the session had focused on the military situation and would be continued at talks that begin in Geneva next Tuesday. — Sapa-AP

COPY TIME 2/11/88

## No visa for Savimbi

### Lisbon praised

LISBON. — Angola praised Portugal yesterday for denying Unita rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi an entry visa.

A Foreign Ministry statement in Luanda called the decision "a gesture of political courage and clear-sightedness", the Angolan news agency Angop said.

The Angop report said the Portuguese decision was a welcome change from the "deliberate hostility in some political circles toward the legitimate government of Angola", a reference to countries which have received Dr Savimbi.

A Portuguese Foreign Ministry spokesman confirmed that the government denied the Unita leader a visa last week, saying a visit was not considered suitable. — Sapa-Reuter

# Cuba to prepare for return of troops

SANTIAGO DE CUBA. — President Fidel Castro told Cubans on Tuesday to prepare for the return of thousands of their countrymen from Angola if a peace agreement can be concluded.

In a three-hour speech marking the 35th anniversary of the launching of his revolution, Dr Castro also defended his "rectification" campaign for economic reform and said no Soviet-style reforms are needed in communist Cuba.

Castro confirmed reports that Cuba recently dispatched reinforcements to southern Angola, which he said were needed to create proper conditions for a political solution.

"We really are on the threshold of a political solution," he declared, declining to be specific about the on-going negotiations.

"Our objective was not a military victory, but rather a political (and) just solution to the conflict," he said.

Dr Castro said Cubans would stay in Angola "until the minute" the peace agreement is signed.

He said that the major points of the agreement would guarantee the security of Angola and the independence of Namibia.

On the basis of such an agreement, Dr Castro said, "we will proceed to the total withdrawal of Cuban military contingents from Angola."

Dr Castro said that the withdrawal of some 50 000 Cuban troops could not be abrupt, so that Angolan troops could take over positions "that now we defend".

The governments of Angola, Cuba and South Africa reached agreement earlier this month to remove foreign troops from Angola and grant independence to Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

## Castro defends communist line

SANTIAGO DE CUBA. — Dr Fidel Castro yesterday defended his communist policies, saying capitalist methods were "complete trash".

"We will not weaken the role of plans or development programmes," he said.

He said the same was true for Cuba's one-party political system and declared there was no possibility for opposition parties or splinter movements from the Cuban Communist Party.


"It would be totally incorrect for us to copy mechanically the solutions of other countries," Dr Castro said.

Each nation has its own problems, suggesting that what may be best for the Soviet Union and East Bloc may not work for Cuba, he said.

Diplomats described his address as low-key. — Sapa-Reuter

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5) 8/day 28/7/88

# Cuba completes new airbase in Angola

WASHINGTON — Cuba's southern Angola command completed construction of a second military airbase close to the Namibian border on Monday, President Fidel Castro told his countrymen on Tuesday night.

He said the move was part of an impressive military and political triumph.

He also raised for the first time what Cuba would do with its aircraft and other equipment when it left Angola and said under any withdrawal agreement his forces would need time to transfer their assets to Fapla.

SIMON BARBER

The new 3 500m airbase was designed to take heavy military transports and had protected hangars, Castro said.

He did not name the locations, but Cuban airbases have been officially identified at Cahama and Xangongo, within easy striking distance of Ondangwa and other SA bases in Namibia.

The Cuban leader offered no compromise on the timing of Cuban troop withdrawal, which has become the major

sticking point in the Angolan-Namibian settlement talks.

Even though "the possibility exists for a just solution, honourable for all the parties, that includes Angolan security and Namibian independence", he said total withdrawal would be gradual.

"The withdrawal cannot be swift — there is a minimum of time required for Angolan forces to take over Cuban bases and equipment . . .

"When the time comes when we con-

➔ To Page 2

# Cuba completes new airbase in Angola

sider our mission complete, we will gladly bring home our soldiers . . . so that they may be reintegrated into the mighty battle for the strengthening of the revolution."

Castro was speaking on the 35th anniversary of his failed attack on the Moncada garrison in Santiago, which has come to mark the start of the Cuban revolution.

His three-hour speech hinted strongly at the domestic constraints on the rapid repatriation of Cuba's 50 000-plus expeditionary force.

Santiago was home to 6 000 of the troops in Angola, and the surrounding Oriente province to 24 000, the Cuban leader said. The city already had 40 unhealthy slum areas and too many

➔ From Page 1

workers. New industries would have to be created to accommodate them.

The new Angolan runway was required because the joint Cuban-Angolan advance towards the Namibian border had stretched supply lines to 250km.

"It was necessary to build . . . an air base at top speed and when one strip was not enough, a second was built in a matter of weeks. Southern command has sent a telegram informing us it was completed yesterday in homage to the . . . anniversary."

The objective of the southern buildup was a "political solution", not a "military victory", and there was no intention to disrupt the negotiations.

5) 8/day 28/5/88

SANTIAGO (Cuba) — President Fidel Castro, marking the 35th anniversary of the start of his revolutionary fight, is scheduled to give a speech generally considered his most important of the year.

The speech celebrates the anniversary of his failed effort to take the Moncada Garrison in southeast Cuba on July 26, 1953. He came to power less than six years later, on January 1, 1959. Media in this Caribbean Island nation have been focusing on this historic event in recent days.

The anniversary, coming at a time when the communist government is concentrating on its two-year-old "rectification campaign", could be used to promote the programme intended to eradicate employe absenteeism, low productivity and other inefficiencies.

Domestic commercial production fell by 3.2 percent in 1987 while Cuba's foreign debt grew by 671.8 million dollars to 5.6 billion dollars. The economy is heavily dependent on the sugar industry, which has suffered poor harvests for three consecutive

# Castro set to speak out

Sowetan 28/7/88

5

In marked contrast to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's plans for cautious economic liberalisation, Castro has moved away from economic incentives and loosening controls to focus on moral persuasion in a bid to increase productivity.

Manuel Mendez Diaz, editor of the Cuban Communist Party monthly magazine *El Militante*, said political work was neglected in favour of economic incentives in the decade preceding the rectification campaign.

The government implemented, then abandoned, such experiments as a restricted free market for agricultural goods. Although a possible Cuban agreement with South Africa and An-

## Focus on

## morals in

## a bid to

## increase

## productivity

Young faces of Castro and his companions 35 years ago.

The attack Castro led on the Moncada military barracks in Santiago, Cuba's second largest city after Havana, failed. But the brutality with which it was suppressed by Fulgentio Batista's government triggered popular support for Castro's revolution.

Plans called for pioneer youth groups to recreate each step of the Moncada attack beginning at the historically accurate time of 5am.

### Pioneer

Castro has been in the Santiago area since last week to inaugurate public works projects, including the nation's second oil refinery, built with Soviet help, and a new hotel held up as an example of what can be done to expand

gola that could lead to the withdrawal of nearly 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola has drawn heavy international attention. Cuban officials have been reluctant to discuss the issue. There is little mention of the

talks in the domestic news media. Cuban newspapers instead have focused almost entirely on the anniversary celebrations, including extensive historical recollections of the failed battle and the startlingly



FIDEL Castro marks 35th anniversary.

the tourist industry and attract badly needed foreign exchange. Castro timed the attack on Moncada, now a museum and elementary school, to coincide with the traditional carnival celebration to take government forces by surprise. Carnival still is celebrated these days simultaneously with the Moncada anniversary. — Sapa-AP.

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Sowetan 28/7/88

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# 'He talks of peace while protégés attack'

# SWA raid: Magnus Malan slams Castro

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan today slammed Cuban President Fidel Castro for talking about peace while allowing his "protégés" in Angola to attack SWA/Namibia.

And South Africa has warned the United States that attacks such as that by men in Fapla uniforms near a Namibian border post on Tuesday could set back the peace process.

A strongly worded protest has been sent to the United States following the attack by men, presumed to be Swapo, in Fapla uniforms on a water tower at Oshikango border post.

In a statement today General Malan said it was alarming that Fapla or Swapo forces could be involved "in such a provocative attack while talks are underway.

## Realistic

"I have said before that there is no room in these negotiations for a fight and talk posture."

But he appealed to South Africans to be realistic about the situation and to "retain cool heads".

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed that a communique had been sent to the United States, in which it was pointed out that this type of attack was creating a dangerous situation in the area which could set back the current peace talks.

## Unita takes city, kills 52 government soldiers

LISBON. — Unita has captured a major city in central Angola during a fierce battle in which 52 government troops were killed, a Unita spokesman claimed here.

He said yesterday Bailundo, an important centre in Huambo province, was captured on Monday. Five Unita soldiers died.

"The three Fapla battalions defending the city were routed after a six-hour battle."

There was no independent confirmation.

The spokesman said Unita blew up a key bridge over the Queve River, which links Bailundo to Huambo, the provincial capital at Huambo.

He said a huge quantity of arms was captured, including 40 Soviet-made AK-47 rifles and ammunition, a B-10 anti-tank cannon, an 82mm mortar launcher with 52 bombs and 70 RPG-7 rocket launchers. — Sapa-Reuters.

The attack also indicated how Swapo forces could not be separated from the Fapla forces.

## Misled

Referring directly to the speech made by President Castro on Cuba's national day, General Malan said under "no circumstances should South Africans be misled by statements which do not correspond with reality".

In the speech, President Castro said Cuba must prepare itself for the return of an estimated 50 000 troops from Angola.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, who is currently leading the South African negotiating

team, cautiously described the speech as "of interest.

"We will be looking carefully at what President Castro and other Cubans and Angolans have been saying in the run-up to the talks in Geneva next week."

General Malan said it was incomprehensible that President Castro could make statements about peace "while his protégés commit deeds of aggression and violate borders."

● A spokesman for the Ministry of Defence today declined to reject or confirm claims that South Africa had 100 000 troops massed on the Namibian border following the Cuban build-up of 50 000 troops in Southern Angola.



# Looking for the 'no loser' solution

■ It may be peace — but the process will be a drawn-out one

After a bitter war and one failed diplomatic initiative after another, peace finally came to Rhodesia and Zimbabwe was born in 1980. It took a combination of factors — war-weariness, the toll of sanctions, tireless mediation — to trigger the change. Is a similar combination of factors at work in south-western Africa?

In September, the 10th anniversary of the birth of UN Resolution 435 on independence for Namibia will be very much in the minds of the regional participants in the struggle for control of that land and its northern neighbour.

While the issue is immeasurably more complex than that of Rhodesia-Zimbabwe — as US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker has pointed out, five armies are looked into the fate of south-western Africa — there is a general feeling that the impasse has been dragged out too long; that it has become too costly in terms of men and money; and that the time is propitious for a settlement which includes Angola as well as Africa's last colony to the south.

For the Angolans, the civil war which has racked the country since 1975 is no nearer resolution — despite the presence of up to 50 000 Cubans and a sprinkling of Soviet advisers. Those troops are paid in hard currency by Luanda — seriously depleting its foreign reserves and weakening the prospects for post-war reconstruction. And it must also contend with the serious damage capable of being inflicted by Jonas Savimbi's Unita, which in turn will seize the opportunity of peace as it sees its US and SA backers waver, with the serious prospect of a Democrat in

the White House committed to cutting off aid to the movement.

Unita, of course, wants a "government of national reconciliation" and, as part of that process, wishes to be dealt with by Luanda as an equal partner in all negotiations. The José Eduardo dos Santos government sees matters differently — and so Unita's fate is very much in the balance.

The Americans cannot offer aid beyond the currency of the Reagan administration — it is merely an outside chance that Republican George Bush, if elected, will retain Crocker as his Africa supremo. And, most important of all, the peace talks involve the sovereign states of SA, Angola and Cuba (who operate in concert) — not the US or Soviets and not Unita, which may be relocated to Zaire, or simply thrown to the wolves, as it is well aware. Proximity talks on the fate of Unita have taken place — but it remains a marginal issue.

For Pretoria, the war is proving a huge financial burden — in addition to budgetary subventions to Namibia — and further casualties (particularly whites) could trigger serious reverses at the October local-level polls. Leftwing opposition to conscription and an unpopular war is one thing; rightwing criticism stings far more.

For the US — the main mediator at the current round of talks — a settlement, or the prospect of one, would give Reagan a fine note on which to exit and, coming after Afghanistan and the intermediate-range nuclear missile treaty, might even assure the election of Bush. For their part, the Soviets are afraid of further involvement in Africa,

which has proved a bottomless pit for their military and financial assistance.

The key to a complete resolution of the conflict — as a senior US administration official has noted, "everything is contingent on everything else" — is independence for Namibia in terms of R 435. However, SA attaches two major preconditions for its implementation: staged withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and the scrapping of the UN recognition of Swapo as "the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people." There is also, of course, the question of ANC bases in Angola — which may have to go once there is no common border with an SA satellite.

R 435 forms the absolute basis of the agreements framed around the "Principles For a Peaceful Settlement in South-western Africa" agreed to in New York on July 13. It is worth recalling that it calls for a four-month election process to get underway in Namibia within 13 weeks of a formal agreement by all parties to submit to its conditions (so far we have an agreement in principle). But the problems begin even earlier.

A withdrawal of SA troops from Angola is contingent upon a retreat by Cuban-Swapo forces from the Namibian border at a rate acceptable to SA; and this involves enormous logistical problems. The process must be verified by impartial observers, for a start. The Americans and Soviets could doubtless continue to play a facilitating role, but SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has said the matter demands "an African solution for an African problem."

SA, it is speculated, and quite possibly the



Swapo's Nujoma, Cuba's Castro, SA's Pik Botha ... delicate as dancing on eggs

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would be a mass rail transport system — a perennial subject of investigation. A pre-feasibility study was completed last year but it seems unlikely that the matter will be taken much further in the near future. An estimate of cost at present-day prices is around R1,6bn, which would have to be found by government, as would an ongoing subsidy to meet interest and capital redemption costs, although fares might cover operating expenses.

Meanwhile, the council is also looking at rerouting busways to the periphery of other grids, or traffic to make way for pedestrianisation.

In an example of the former, the Eloff Street busway may go to make way for Sage's "Centre City" project, which involves the redevelopment of eight blocks between Bree and President streets. Plans also provide for off-street loading facilities and cross street flyovers to carry cars.

In the latter case, the council is considering making Plein Street a one-way, or perhaps just a busway, to encourage pedestrianisation. Plans to develop a semi-mall along the street include a first phase between King George and Twist streets and the southern portion of Union Grounds. The second phase should take it right up to the Ster entertainment complex on Claim Street.

At the King George Street end, development would need to proceed just one block south to link up with the Smal Street Mall, which itself is soon to be extended along the block between Jeppe and Bree streets.

Other pedestrian malls or semi-malls on the cards are Kerk, Fraser and Fox streets. Kerk Street would provide a link between First National's "Bank City," the Eloff Street redevelopment and, past the Supreme Court, to Smal Street. Fraser would provide a western link between Bank City and the civic spine and could be extended south to meet Fox Street, running east to link with the Carlton Centre and thus Smal Street. This would give the city a "walking grid" which supported its major retail areas at street level.

It would also link four major development nodes identified by Stan Arenson, a CBDA member and director of brokers Richard Ellis. These are:

□ **The legal node:** this will take in developments around the Supreme Court and the Carlton Centre. Office projects include Sage's refurbishment of North State building, in Market Street; the development by Anglo American Properties (Ampros) of 56 Von Wielligh Street; the Markwell building opposite, which will be refurbished by Masterprop and Liberty Life's Colosseum. Sage, of course, has massive retail plans for Eloff Street.

To the north, Hekro is redeveloping the President and Vic-

toria hotels as office blocks and Sats is conducting a comprehensive transport study of the areas in and around Johannesburg station prior to leasing or selling under-utilised areas for private-sector development. The site is a superblock, bounded by Rissik, Wolmarans, Wanderers and De Villiers streets and containing the old station buildings (which are to be preserved), the concourse, a parking area, the road transport terminus, the vacant land fronting on to Wolmarans Street and the SAA building and Rotunda;

□ **The mining-financial node:** this includes Oakwood Ventures' project on the Marshall Square site; several recently built or refurbished headquarters buildings; and the Standard Bank Centre which is now available for letting due to the bank relocating to its hyperblocks to the south;

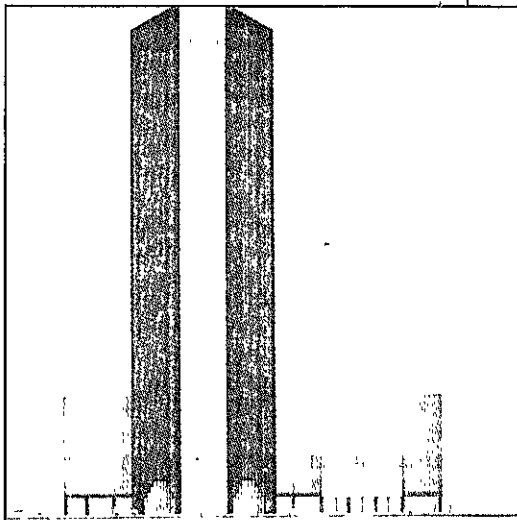
□ **The Bank City node:** this includes FNB's planned R430m development of four blocks and land already purchased to the west to accommodate further development. Old Mutual is also developing two blocks to the east of this on either side of Pritchard Street; and

□ **The Stock Exchange node:** which is the fastest growing. Developments include the new JSE block; Ampros's 32 Diagonal Street; Southern Life's 33 Diagonal Street; and JCI's new building on the Argus site.

Also coming up are the Newgate retail and office complex to be developed by newly-listed Greenfields; Ampros's R17,5m parking garage and retail centre on the old Piels Cold Storage site; and a new post office sorting depot on Pim Street.

And the 10 ha power station site, long eyed by developers as the key area in Newtown, is at last to be released by the council. Management committee chairman Francois Oberholzer said in his budget speech earlier this year that the council envisaged a large retail complex on the site, which would be released in phases. The existing turbine hall is apparently now out to tender and could be retained and redeveloped as a shopping complex rather like the Workshop in Durban.

It is estimated that the development of the whole power station site would require anything between R500m and R1bn, but it would link the developments around the Stock Exchange to the Market Theatre precinct, providing an integrated commercial,



**Project 1069 . . . keeping the old facade**

retail and cultural complex in the western part of the CBD.

Integration of another sort, or the lack of it, is another major problem facing Johannesburg. Section 19 of the Group Areas Act makes it illegal for anyone of colour to live in the CBD, although it is well known that more than half the apartments in the area are occupied by people other than whites.

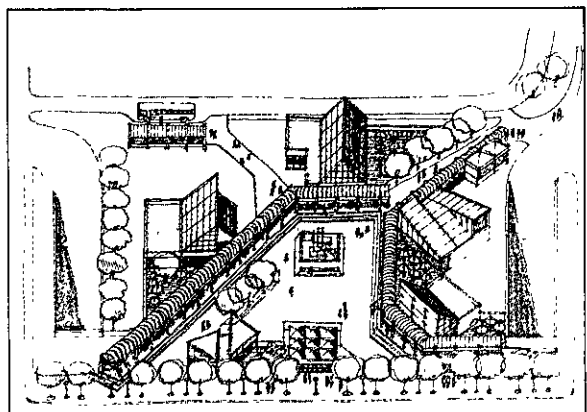
There have been many appeals for government to declare the CBD, as well as adjacent Joubert Park and Hillbrow, multiracial areas so that occupation by blacks could be legitimised and the problems of overcrowding and lack of services tackled on a non-discriminatory basis.

The reaction by government has been to increase the penalties for both landlords and tenants found breaking the law.

However, private-sector planners are still keen to see the areas to the west of Newtown and east of Delvers Street redeveloped specifically as multiracial residential areas. To the east in particular, bad industrial and semi-residential stock, which cannot now be let at R3/m<sup>2</sup>, could be revamped and let at R7/m<sup>2</sup>-R8/m<sup>2</sup>. While even these rentals are unlikely to attract pure development capital, large companies with labour-intensive operations might consider buying up the stock, converting it and letting it to black staff at subsidised rentals.

Developments to the west of the city are likely to include townhouses and cluster complexes, which could fetch rentals of R500-R700 a month plus a company subsidy.

All of which *should* make Johannesburg the kind of living centre the planners believe it deserves to be — given its pivotal economic and political role. Anyone entering the city from the airport can see the existing splendour (of its kind) and its possibilities. Johannesburg has too long played second string to Cape Town's — and even Durban's — situation and colonial remnants. Will such developments bring life to the bleak night? That's hard to tell — but money and glitz should help chase away the shadows.



**Plein Street Mall . . . walking on sunshine**

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[Handwritten scribble]

Cubans and Angolans, have no wish to see a settlement negotiated by the superpowers over their heads — one for which they could then claim no credit.

What will independence for Namibia mean — and how soon could it be expected? The Cubans, apparently, foresee a four-year period for their troop withdrawal and any clashes involving the five armies (the Cubans, MPLA, Unita, SADF and SWATF, as well as Swapo and ANC cadres) could extend the timetable, perhaps indefinitely. Cynics, of course, point to SA's past vacillation on the issue and believe Pretoria is merely playing for time, as usual.

Certainly, R 435, which Foreign Affairs Director General Neil van Heerden is said repeatedly to proffer at the talks as a bottom-line document on which all can agree, will not make pleasant reading for white Namibians or white South Africans. For a start, it reaffirms the UN's responsibility over Namibia; reiterates that SA's occupation is illegal; and calls for a transfer of power through free and fair elections under the supervision of a United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag).

It also endorses a timetable for this transfer, prepared a decade ago by the five members of the Security Council when R 435 was first mooted — the so-called Contact Group comprising Britain, the US, France, West Germany and Canada. The group is defunct,

but some believe the South Africans and Angolans would prefer it to provide mediation rather than the superpowers — but this is not an immediate prospect.

In addition — which is what SA must attempt to sell at home and in Windhoek alike — the schedule of R 435 provides for:

- The repeal in Namibia of all discriminatory laws, the release of all political detainees, the demobilisation of local troops and the safe return of all refugees;
- Under the supervision of a UN Special Representative and Untag, the phased withdrawal southwards of SA troops and the restriction to bases of all Swapo forces;
- That within 12 weeks SA forces should be reduced to 1 500 men and the military section of Untag will reach its maximum deployment; and
- At the start to the 13th week, a four-month election campaign is to begin; then, one week after the result is certified to the satisfaction of the UN, a Constituent Assembly is to be convened to write a new constitution for Namibia.

The likelihood is that such a process would install Sam Nujoma of Swapo in power in Namibia. That must also be "sold" to the white electorate. Here Pretoria's hopes for a different outcome, or a way for it to live with a Swapo government next door, rest upon the "principles" agreed to in New York. They include provisions against cross-border hos-

tilities from whatever source. Hidden away in that, in the view of the Cubans, is an end to all US and SA aid for Unita.

As the FM has noted in the past, there is a great deal — for all the parties — to be gained from a regional settlement. Crocker has said of the principles that they "reflect a balance of interests." He added: "... if there's to be a settlement, there must be no losers."

If this can be *seen* to happen, the chances of peace will be greatly improved. SA will be freed of a colonial liability to turn its attention to its own problems; Fidel Castro's adventures in Africa will end on a note that will strike his Third World audience as triumphant — though it will be anything but, if the involvement continues and intensifies; the Americans and Soviets will be encouraged in the détente exercise they are engaged upon; and Angola and Namibia will be released to develop their economies — with, of course, such incentives as World Bank, IMF and US assistance.

But of course, in the run-up to a ceasefire, peace and settlement, it must be expected that hostilities could in fact intensify. The disposition of the competing armies on the ground is always a factor in such a process.

So, to the question: "is it really peace?" the answer has to be: "possibly . . . but if it is, it will be a long time coming." But, step by step, some progress is at last being made. ■

Argus 29/7/88



NATIONAL

# US, Soviets to meet before Angola talks

**The Argus Foreign Service**

WASHINGTON. — The principal mover behind negotiations for peace in south-western Africa, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, will meet his Soviet counterpart in Geneva on Sunday and Monday.

Dr Crocker's talks with Soviet Deputy-Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin will precede a fifth round of four-way meetings between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US.

The object of the Geneva talks would be "to build on the statement of principles agreed to in New York and to begin a process of translating these principles into actual agreements".

The talks follow sessions in London, Cairo, New York and Cape Verde, where military experts met this week.

● In an unprecedented attack Cuba's President Fidel Castro has blamed Soviet military tactics for causing "a near disaster" to Angolan

troops in fierce fighting around Cuito Cuanavale late last year.

He claimed they were saved only by an infusion of Cuban troops.

Although the main thrust of President Castro's comments on Angola were that the 13-year civil war appeared to be nearing its end, the Cuban leader focused on the siege of Cuito Cuanavale.

The Soviets poured weapons and ammunition into Angola to back a powerful frontal assault last July from Cuito Cuanavale in south-eastern Angola towards a Unita stronghold in the town of Mavinga.

Reports yesterday indicated that Western diplomats were aware that President Castro at that time warned the Russians that such an approach would provoke a strong reaction from South African forces supporting Unita.

The South Africans intervened with 3 000 troops and the Angolans were defeated in September and fell back to Cuito Cuanavale.

## Peace not possible without our consent, Unita warns

**The Argus Foreign Staff**

LONDON. — Unita has welcomed the recent Angolan peace talks, but warned that a settlement in the area would not go smoothly without the rebel movement's consent.

It also claimed it had carried out a successful multi-target attack against the highland capital of Huambo this week and killed 86 soldiers in seizing the village of Chicala in Moxico province.

In the first of two communiqués issued yesterday, Unita's general-secretary Mr Miguel N'Zau Puna said Unita "continues to support the negotiations between Cuba, the MPLA and South Africa as a means of finding political solutions to the civil war in Angola".

"However, Unita exhorts African countries to urgently take a firm and clear position regarding national reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA, without which peace will be impossible."

During the Huambo raid Mr Puna said Unita's "special commando units" destroyed Shell fuel depots and four military vehicles and bombarded the military air base with 122mm rockets.

Unita acknowledged it had casualties of nine dead and 22 wounded in Moxico and Huambo.

● Argus Africa News Service reports from Luanda that the Angolan army has claimed that it killed 72 Unita rebels between July 18 and 24 for the loss of 11 Fapla soldiers killed, two missing and 33 wounded.

# Angola: Crocker<sup>(S)</sup> to talk with his Soviet counterpart

Star 29/7/88

By Alan Dunn,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The principal catalyst behind present negotiations for peace in south-western Africa, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, will meet his Soviet counterpart in Geneva on Sunday and Monday.



Dr Crocker's talks with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin will take place before a fifth round of four-way meetings between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States.

"The situation in the Horn of Africa will also be on the agenda," a State Department official said yesterday of the Crocker-Adamishin meeting.

He said the object of the four-way talks starting in Geneva on Tuesday would be "to build on the Statement of Principles agreed to in New York, and to begin a process of translating these principles into actual agreements".

The talks follow sessions in London, Cairo, New York, and Cape Verde where military experts met this week. Now starts the tough part, the nitty-gritty of how actually to achieve peace in Angola and independence in Namibia.

Comments from officials involved suggest that Geneva will see the start of intricate, and certainly more difficult and painstaking negotiations where delegates will try to pin down details of a peace process such as timetables for force withdrawals and so on.

Dr Crocker said last week the Statement of Principles "clear the way for the hard bargaining that lies ahead on a number of very specific issues which are going to require hard work."

He said the four countries must: draft treaties reflecting the agreed principles, agree on timing of foreign force withdrawals, define how the withdrawals can be verified, and decide how the forces presently facing each other in Angola can disengage.

"There are a great many difficult compromises to be achieved," Dr Crocker said, "and so I think everybody concerned knows that and knows what lies ahead."

## Bishops will give wealthy their blessings for money

Wealthy South Africans who help pay for the Pope's visit to Lesotho will be rewarded for their generosity.

The Lesotho Catholic Bishops' Conference has promised preferential seating and an opportunity to meet Pope John Paul to 30 people who contribute to the costs of the pontiff's visit to their country. In addition, the 30 VIPs will be treated to lunch by the bishops.

This is just one of the projects suggested by the Papal Visit Office in its bid to find R5 million to pay for the papal tour in September.

Further details are available from Miss Lize

# Angry SA ready to make sparks fly

Political Staff

1965 27/7/88

SOUTH Africa is to object strongly to Cuban/Angolan actions in the past two weeks when peace talks resume in Geneva next week.

Sources predicted today that sparks would fly but that the talks would continue after a major hiccup.

South Africa has been angered by:

- An attack on a water tower at the Oshikango border post by men wearing Fapla uniforms;

- Continued claims made by Cuban President Fidel Castro about victories at Cuito Cuana-vale and Calueque;

- Angolan statements that the African National Congress was excluded as a subject of the talks and would continue to be given succour by Angola; and,

- Statements by Angolans and Cubans on details of the

talks, which were supposed to be confidential.

The South African delegation will seek assurances that cross-border attacks will cease.

A Government source pointed out that Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, said recently that the parties should not attempt to "rub each other's noses in the dirt", score debating points or gain military or diplomatic advantage.

Indications today were that the military situation would be raised at a pre-talks meeting, also in Geneva, between the United States and the Soviet Union.

South Africa has already objected to the United States about the attack at Oshikango to have pressure brought on the Cubans and Angolans to stop further military action.

The attack sparked strong reaction yesterday from Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan. ● See page 2.

(5)

# Castro accuses Soviets of 'major blunder' in Angola

WASHINGTON — In a thinly veiled swipe at the Soviet Union, Cuban President Fidel Castro has publicly called last year's Soviet-led assault on Unita, which was thrown back at Mayinga, a major blunder.

He said the defeat had weakened Fapa, threatened Cuban lives and forced Cuba to send reinforcements. He hinted that but for the setback Cuba and Angola would not now be

SIMON BARBER

obliged to negotiate on equal terms with SA and that without Cuba the MPLA would be forced to accept far harder terms.

"I have to be careful because we are now in the midst of a negotiating process, but it has to be admitted that a difficult situation arose last year.

History, but not I, will say what the mistakes were and why they were committed. But I can assure you Cuba had no responsibility whatsoever for those mistakes."

As a result of the errors, he said, "there was a South African escalation against the Angolan government forces fighting Unita, in an area far from Cuban forces."

As the Soviet-led offensive was

thrown back on Cuito Cuanavale, Castro continued, the MPLA urgently sought Cuban help.

The possible annihilation of Angolan forces had created a critical situation for Cuba, which had decided to send reinforcements.

US mediator Chester Crocker has long maintained the Soviets urged last year's offensive on the MPLA, in spite of opposition from Castro.

GMK *tw/ks* 29/7/88 (5) *[scribble]*

# Castro's swipe at Soviet 'blunder'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — In a thinly-veiled swipe at the Soviet Union, Cuban President Fidel Castro has publicly called last year's Soviet-led assault on Unita, which was thrown back at Mavinga, a major blunder.

The defeat, he told his countrymen in a major policy speech on Tuesday night, had weakened Fapla, threatened Cuban lives and forced Cuba to send major reinforcements.

He hinted that but for the setback, Cuba and Angola would not now be obliged to negotiate on equal terms with SA and that without Cuba, the MPLA would be forced to accept far harder terms.

"I have to be careful because we are now in the midst of negotiating process but it has to be ad-

mitted that a difficult situation arose last year. History, but not I myself, will say what the mistakes were and why they were committed.

"But I can assure you that Cuba had no responsibility whatsoever for those mistakes."

As a result of the "errors", as Dr Castro called them, "there was a South African escalation against the Angolan government forces fighting Unita, in an area far from Cuban forces."

As the Soviet-led offensive was thrown back on Cuito Cuanavale, the MPLA urgently sought Cuban help.

"That assistance was essential if all our assistance over the years was not to be wasted. Moreover, it was needed not only to save Angola but for the safety of Cuba's soldiers."

The possible "annihilation" of Angolan forces created "a criti-

cal situation" for Cuba which had then decided to send reinforcements because there were no longer enough men to "guard the long strategic line at Cuito Cuanavale".

Dr Chester Crocker, the US mediator, has long maintained that the Soviets urged last year's offensive on the MPLA in spite of strong opposition from Dr Castro.

Dr Castro boasted about the successes scored once Cuba had taken over the direction of the fighting.

"As at Cuito Cuanavale, so on the southern front, Cuban soldiers advanced inexorably... for more than 250 kilometres."

In the same address, which marked the 35th anniversary of the start of the Cuban revolution, Dr Castro scorned Soviet Premier Mr Mikhael Gorbachev's flirtation with capitalism, calling it a threat to socialism.



SA Times 29/7/84  
Malan warns

## on Cuba's aims

PRETORIA — South Africans should be realistic and not be taken in by Cuban President Fidel Castro's statements of imminent peace in Angola and Namibia, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Reacting to President Castro's statement that "we are really on the threshold of a political solution", General Malan said here that this "does not rhyme with reality".

Referring to the attack by either Swapo or the Angolan army's Fapla forces on a water tower in the Namibia border town of Oshikango on Tuesday, he said "there is no place for a fighting/talking approach to the Angolan and SWA-Namibian situation". — Sapa

# Angola ceasefire on cards

**SOUTH AFRICA and its Angolan and Cuban adversaries could thrash out a ceasefire when they meet in Geneva on Tuesday.**

But indications are that there are tough negotiations ahead on the question of a complete Cuban troop pullout which could seriously affect Cuba's economy.

Agreement on a ceasefire has now become critical. Rising tension in the border region between reinforced Cuban and South African troops this week saw a reported attack on a water installation in northern Namibia by men dressed in Angolan army uniforms.

The three antagonists are understood to be already considerably advanced in talks about a ceasefire while a formula for a permanent settlement is sought.

While all parties are cautious about the outcome of the three days of talks — and the atmosphere between them is less than at its best — there are some signs of possible advances.

The main point is that US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, is meeting his Soviet counterpart, Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamushin, before the warring parties face one another.

## Signal

Dr Crocker and Mr Adamushin are expected to review progress so far and outline strategic options for further steps to a peace formula.

A ceasefire while the talks go on is being prized as a weighty signal that all sides are serious about peace.

The prospects for such an arrangement emerged in the

## Helicopter

A REPORT in the Sunday Times of July 24 claimed that a helicopter was used to transport Mrs Thelma Jane Ndlovu, fourth bride of King Zwelithini Zulu, following rumours of a kidnapping attempt. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has pointed out no such helicopter was used.

## Rightwing party plan for Namibia

By LESTER VENTER  
in Pretoria and  
KEN POTTINGER  
in Lisbon

Caro talks last month when the Cubans mooted what they called "a separation of forces" during negotiations.

Last weekend the military components of the negotiating teams met at the Cape Verde islands.

Great significance is attached to the fact that those talks were followed by a meeting of the SA State Security Council on Wednesday.

## Concern

Both sides have become concerned that military flare-ups can endanger the peace talks.

In Lisbon, sources close to the Cuban negotiating team have indicated that President Castro could make a statement on Tuesday which would seriously jeopardise the peace talks.

It is understood Mr Castro might announce he is prepared to withdraw his troops to the 16th Parallel, but no further. Weighing heavily on this

mind, it is reported, is concern at the economic implications of the pullout.

Angola is Cuba's main source of foreign currency earnings, with Havana receiving \$300-million a year for its soldiers, and a further \$200-million from sales of Angolan products.

## Ties

Meanwhile, rightwing SA and SWA leaders are meeting in Windhoek today to plan the formation of a new, ultra-conservative party in the territory.

AVB leader Eugene Terre Blanche was due to lead the meeting and an AVB official said an announcement could be made tomorrow.

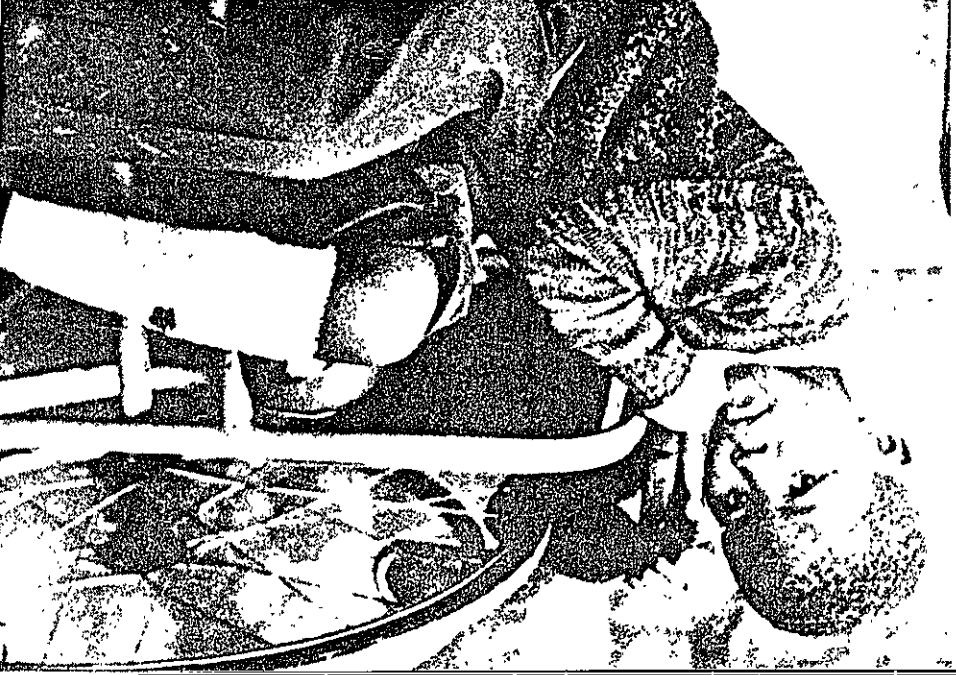
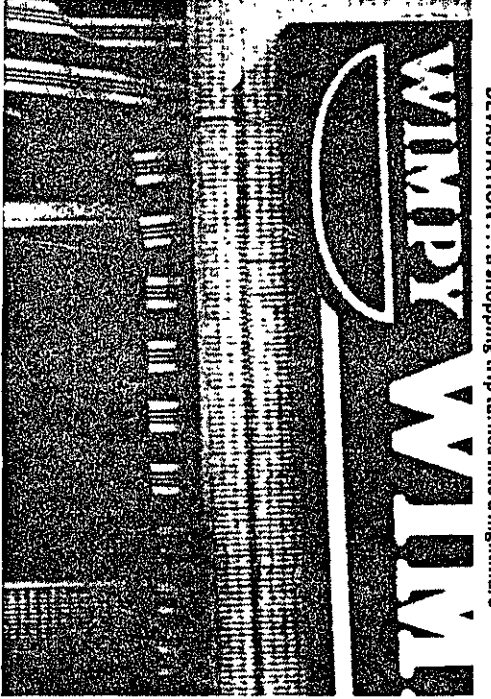
Today's meeting follows another two weeks ago in which Mr Terre Blanche and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht met rightwing Namibian whites.

After that meeting, Mr Terre Blanche said a new party would be formed with close ties to the CP. CP officials in Pretoria were treating the affair cautiously, but a party head committee would discuss the matter at a later stage.

## AFTERMATH OF THE BOMB BLAST OUTRAGE



DEVASTATION... a shopping trip turned into a nightmare



*Shimmering*

# THE PRICE OF PEACE

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

**T**HE price of the Angolan war has been high in terms of lives lost, devastation and human misery. But the hidden cost of a peace settlement and independence for SWA/Namibia could be astronomical.

If peace should be restored, a multi-billion-rand additional payout would be needed to bring life back to normal in the region, according to analysts.

This is one of the hard realities facing the peace negotiators when they resume their talks in Geneva next week.

Among immediate advantages for South Africa will be the prospect of an improved economy through scaling down State spending — now estimated to run at R10-million a day for the SADF and the war effort.

There is also the prospect of relaxing military service requirements if lasting peace can be achieved, and making more manpower available for the country's internal needs.

□□□

**H**OWEVER, opposition spokesmen have warned that a Swapo takeover in SWA/Namibia could mean South Africans might, in future, find themselves fighting on the Orange River border. In that event, defence expenditure may have to continue at a high level.

Another advantage for South Africa in a peace settlement is a possible phasing out of the country's R1-billion-a-year expenditure to keep SWA/Namibia going.

On the other hand, however, peace would bring in its wake huge costs for restoring the disruption caused by the war.

Even before this expense, there will be the cost of implementing UN Security Council Resolution 435 for SWA/Namibian independence.

Some of the latest estimates put the cost of the plan at R1.6-billion — more than the entire annual budget of the UN. And there are indications that the total cost could rise even higher.

The eventual cost, which has already trebled since the peace plan was first accepted by all parties in 1978, could be as high as R2-billion, according to South Africa's administrator-general in SWA, Mr Louis Pienaar.

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**A**T this stage, there is uncertainty over who will foot this astronomical bill when the plan is implemented.

The bill will include the cost of maintaining a UN peace-keeping and monitoring force of about 7 500 in the northern reaches of SWA and in southern Angola.

Their main task will be to maintain a 50km demilitarised zone on either side of the border, and to monitor the withdrawal of foreign troops.

In addition, the plan calls for 300 UN policemen and a civilian staff of about 1000 election organisers and support personnel.

The main objective of Resolution 435 is the withdrawal of South Africa's "illegal" administration of SWA/Namibia and the transference of power to the people of the country.

This goal is to be achieved through:

- THE establishment of a UN transitional assistance group (Untag) to assist the UN secretary-general's special representative in Namibia in ensuring the early independence of the territory;

- THE cessation of all hostile acts by all parties and the withdrawal, restriction or demobilisation of all armed forces;

- THE conduct of free and fair elections to the constituent assembly, under the supervision and control of the UN; and

- THE formulation and adoption of a constitu-



W/E ARGUS  
30/11/88 (5)

## Biltongboere settle down to Uhuru wait

by BRENDAN SEERY, Argus Africa  
News Service in WINDHOEK

**W**HEN the world caught "Namibian independence fever" last week, most of the people in this vast, arid Territory remained immune or caught only a mild dose.

For conservative whites, the talks in popular watering holes around Windhoek this week was more "SWA15" than "UN 435", following Northern Transvaal's narrow 18-16 escape from a total rugby onslaught by the "Biltongboere" at Loftus Versveld.

Radical blacks, for whom 435 has become an anti-apartheid mantra over the last decade, did not rush into the streets and cry with joy for impending "Uhuru".

To be sure, the agreement on "principles for a peaceful settlement in southwestern Africa" — signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba — came like a late-winter wind to Windhoek, stirring up the dust of uncertainty for a brief spell.

A question on many lips was: "Do you really think it will happen this time?"

Few believed it would. After all, they have seen this all before, and it will take more than the publication of details of the New York agreement to launch them into the rarified heights of expectation.

The hoopla of the 1978 — Ahtisaari, UNTAG — ceasefire has seemingly been followed by an endless cycle of talks, stalemate, more talks and further stalemate. Flotsam in the water which has flowed under the 435 bridge since 1978 has included the questions of UN impartiality, Bills of Fundamental Rights, the conduct of the en-

visaged Constituent Assembly, methods of voting, the demobilisation and withdrawal of South African forces and, of course, Cuban "linkage".

**C**ONSERVATIVE whites (and that is the bulk of the community in Namibia) have yet to be panicked into headlong flight over the imminent hoisting of the Swapo flag over the Tintenpalast government building. Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar may have reassured many whites in his remarks after the publication of details of the triangular agreement, when he said the road to independence would be a "very very long" one. Nervous whites here also paid some attention to Pik Botha's comment that the summit of the 435 mountain was still some way off.

Dirk Mudge — who is too liberal by far for a good percentage of whites — yet is respected as a man who "knows what is happening" — made further soothing noises when he stated baldly that Resolution 435 and independence would not come in the "foreseeable future".

The small group of liberal whites believes, though, that things are looking better now for 435 than they have at any time since 1978. Veteran liberal politician Bryan O'Linn, who is chairman of the Namibia Peace Plan 435 study and contact group, told some of his organisation's supporters this week that he believed South Africa had no option but to keep moving in the current process, and that there was no way out for Pretoria which would not cost dearly.

tion for SWA/Namibia by the elected assembly, to be followed by the achievement of independence.

**P**RESIDENT P W Botha told Parliament on May 2 this year that South Africa was contributing about R1-billion a year to keep SWA/Namibia going.

South Africa was subsidising the territory's budget, contributing to its security and economy. To the best of his knowledge the people of SWA/Namibia were "the most subsidised community in Africa and perhaps in the world."

Mr Botha also said South Africa had no claims against SWA and would like to see it progress until it had independence.

He had told African leaders who consulted him that "the moment the Cubans go it will be a new ball game in Southern Africa." The whole situation would then take a turn for the better, he said.

"The moment the Cubans leave and SWA is out of danger, South African forces will return to their

bases. We want our forces to come back to their primary responsibility, and that is to protect the borders of our country."

□□□

**M**R Andre du Pisani, a researcher of the SA Institute of International Affairs, told me this week that in addition to the cost of implementing Resolution 435, there would be a huge cost in terms of social reconstruction after the withdrawal of troops.

For this task, foreign aid would be needed on a large scale to restore services and to relocate population, especially in the northern region of SWA/Namibia.

This would be urgently needed as an estimated 400 000 people in the northern area were now dependent on the military forces for jobs, income, social services, medical care and other needs.

As a result of war conditions in the northern region, where 60 percent of the population lived, the

people were almost totally dependent on a cash economy, propped up by second-tier bureaucracies, the military establishment and a small informal business sector.

An added burden was a large population of war refugees, many from Angola.

Population groups like the Bushmen were totally dependent on the military for their existence.

SWA/Namibia, with its limited revenue base, would not be able to afford the cost of social and economic reconstruction. The territory's annual budget already had a shortfall of something like R700-million a year.

Once the military forces withdrew, the only way in which the vacuum could be filled would be by means of significant foreign aid.

In a recent study on the role of the SADF and the SWA territorial forces in the region, Mr Du Pisani warned that the socio-economic and political implications, in the event of withdrawal by the SADF, would be far-reaching in a post-independent Namibia.

Even bigger problems of re-construction face Angola in a post-war situation.

An EEC mission to Angola estimated war damage caused by the SADF and Unita to exceed R20-billion, but Mr Du Pisani says the actual cost to the Angolan economy is considerably higher.

To rebuild the Benguela railway line alone is conservatively estimated at more than R600-million.

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**T**HE Progressive Federal Party's defence spokesman, Professor Nic Olivier, said this week that withdrawal of South Africa from the region could mean that fewer men would in future need to be called up for military service and that there could be a considerable reduction in South Africa's financial support for SWA/Namibia.

But he did not foresee any large saving on expenditure for arms.

Some economists have estimated that the Angolan war has been costing South Africa a crippling R4-billion a year. And the nation's economy would have to bear an intolerable additional burden should the war escalate.

Dr Azar Jammine, director of Econometrix, predicts that if the Government were to continue spending billions a year fighting in Angola, the spectre of increasing taxation, higher interest rates, hyper-inflation and an ever-weakening economy will loom large.

The warnings from economists contradicted claims by SADF Chief of Staff (Finance) Vice-Admiral Bert Bekker that defence expenditure was not causing an increase in inflation. He also claimed that South Africa's military involvement in Angola was "absolutely not" placing any extra burden on the taxpayer.

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**A**NALYSTS believe an Angolan peace settlement and SWA independence will considerably reduce tensions in Southern Africa and cut the enormous cost of South African attacks and "destabilisation" of neighbour states.

It has been estimated by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) that South African "aggression and destabilisation" has cost its neighbours more than R20-billion in five years.

A major portion of this cost is related to direct war damage such as that in Angola, extra defence expenditure, and lost economic growth.

The SADCC reported that much of the damage was caused not by single large explosions, but by the destruction of hundreds of houses, schools, lorries, transport systems and other infra-structure.

Fears of South African attacks made the SADCC states spend more and more on defence, and the armies have to be fed, clothed, housed and transported.

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ANGOLA - GENERAL 1988

AUGUST — ~~SEPTEMBER~~ OCTOBER

# SA, Cuba set to drive some hard bargains

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Delegations from South Africa, Cuba and Angola are scheduled to arrive in Geneva today and tomorrow for talks expected to be marked by hard bargaining as they attempt to add detail to the agreed set of principles aimed at bringing peace to Angola and independence to Namibia.

The 13-member South African delegation will be led by the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden. Other senior members of the delegation will be the chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys and Dr Neil Barnard, director-general of the National Intelligence Service.

The Cuban delegation will be led by Mr Carlos Aldana Escalante, secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party. He will be accompanied by General Ulises Rosales del Toro, the chief of staff of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, Mr Alarcon de Questada, the deputy minister of the Department of Foreign Relations as well as a large back-up team.

## Withdrawal timetables

As usual the meeting will be chaired by the US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, who held talks with his Soviet counterpart Mr Anatoly Adamishin at the weekend.

No details of the agenda have been released, but Dr Crocker has said the four issues on which tough negotiations can be expected are:

- The drafting of treaties to reflect the 14 principles which the parties agreed to last week;
- The agreement on the timetables for the withdrawal schedules of Cuban and SA forces. This is expected to be the main focus of the discussions;
- The definition of a verification mechanism for the withdrawals;
- And, agreement on a disengagement process for the five armies in contact with each other — the SADF, the Cubans, Fapla, Unita and Swapo.

Officials who have attended previous meetings say they expect this round to be dominated by the South Africans and Cubans. The Cubans, they say, have in past meetings tended to dominate and take a much stronger line than the Angolans.

# UK shields SA woman 'spy'

9th Time  
11/8/88  
5

## WP win, but lose key man



### Freddie Ferreira out for 6 weeks

By LOUIS VAN WYK  
THE Western Province rugby team has paid a heavy price for victory in the Lion Cup final. Scrumhalf Freddie Ferreira will be out of action for about six weeks after an operation for a broken jaw suffered against Northern Transvaal at Loftus Versfeld on Saturday.

When the WP team arrived back in Cape Town yesterday, Ferreira was taken from the airport to a clinic. X-rays showed his jaw was broken just below the right ear and an operation was performed immediately. He was back home last night.

The WP scrumhalf, who turned in one of his best performances for some time, took several hard knocks to the face during the match.

It is possible the worst damage was caused by his own halfback partner, Michael du Plessis.

Bad timing

By CHRIS STEYN, Own Correspondent and Sapa

THE South African woman who escaped from an ANC "hell camp" in Angola and took refuge in Britain's Angolan embassy could pose a huge diplomatic problem for Mrs Margaret Thatcher.



Ms Olivia Forsyth

Ms Olivia Forsyth, 27, who disappeared more than two years ago, turned up in the Luanda embassy early in May, according to a British Foreign Office spokesman in London.

The spokesman said Mrs Thatcher, who is on visit to the Far East, was being kept informed of the incident.

British press reports say that the affair could jeopardize delicate relations with the frontline states. But the spokesman dismissed claims that Britain was on the brink of a major row over granting Ms Forsyth's sanctuary at the embassy.

### 'No diplomatic row'

He denied the incident had led to a diplomatic row which threatened to bring Britain into a major confrontation with the government of Angola.

He said that because Ms Forsyth held dual British-South African nationality she was entitled to seek aid from the embassy.

The spokesman said he did not know how she escaped from a camp near the ANC's military headquarters at Lubango in southern Angola.

"We have, in accordance with usual procedure, applied for

an exit-visa to enable her to return to Britain."

Meanwhile, South African authorities last night disclaimed all knowledge of the activities of Ms Forsyth, a prominent student activist who disappeared mysteriously more than two years ago amid rumours that she had fallen foul of the ANC.

Ms Forsyth is a former member of the Rhodes University SRC and the local committee of the National Union of South African Students.

She now claims she was detained and severely tortured by the ANC for 22 months after she was accused of being a spy.

The Cape Times has established that Ms Forsyth is the sister-in-law of security police Major Derek Brune - who was an associate of former super spy Major Craig Williamson now of the President's Council.

Major Brune was exposed as a police spy in left-wing circles while he was active in student politics on Wits campus in the 1970s.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said yesterday that Ms Forsyth had not been recruited by - or worked for - the security branch of the SA police.

# GENEVA CONFERENCE

## Forces avoid contact, but it's not formal — SA

From MIKE ROBERTSON

**GENEVA.** — South Africa, Cuba and Angola have agreed to ceasefire terms, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, said here yesterday.

He was addressing a press conference after two days of talks with the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr. Chester Crocker.

South African officials in Geneva for the next round of talks, which start today, said Mr. Adamishin's statement was not strictly true.

Ground forces were refraining from contact, but whether this agreement was made formal, depended on this week's talks.

The Soviet minister was asked if Dr Crocker had asked him to put pressure on Angola to agree to a ceasefire.

He replied: "If I am not mistaken there is agreement between Cuba and Angola on the one side and South Africa on the other for a ceasefire."

The South African delegation was tied up in meetings late last night and not available to confirm or deny Mr Adamishin's statement.

CAR 7/15 2/8/88

Mr Adamishin said South Africa posed the main obstacle to peace in Angola and to independence for Namibia, but there were now grounds to believe it (South Africa) was prepared to be reasonable and sensible.

While the Soviet Union is not represented at the talks the head of the Southern African section of its Foreign Ministry, Mr Vasilien Vasev, will be present in Geneva for the duration.

Mr Adamishin said the Soviet Union was prepared to use its prestige and influence to keep the momentum for peace going.

The Soviet Union would be satisfied with any outcome of the talks that was acceptable to Angola, Cuba and Swapo.

He added: "I think there are chances of success for these negotiations. It appears that all the sides

are very serious about securing a political settlement.

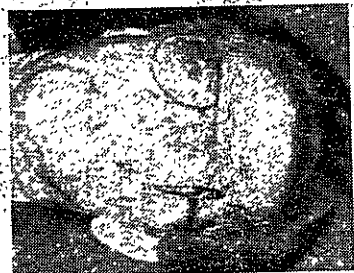
"We can be quite sure about the intentions of Cuba and Angola because we are in constant contact with them and they are genuine in their search.

"The position of South Africa on the main points is unknown, but we have grounds to believe they may be prepared to be reasonable and sensible."

Pressed on whether it was important that negotiations be concluded before President Reagan's term of office expired, Mr Adamishin said he did not wish to interfere in internal US affairs but hoped peace could be achieved as soon as possible.

"Tell that to the South Africans," he said. "It is they who may delay. Not the Cubans or Angolans."

Mr. Anatoly Adamishin



From page 1  
Ceasfire  
CAR 7/15 2/8/88  
5  
Asked if the principles agreed to in New York would mean the ANC having to withdraw its bases from Angola, Mr Adamishin said that as far as he understood the ANC had no objections to the talks and the agreements so far.  
On some issues, in particular Cuban troop withdrawal, Mr Adamishin adopted a particularly hard stance.  
"If South Africa pulls out of Namibia and gives Namibia independence, if South Africa stops interfering in Angola and helping Unita guerrillas then Angola and Cuba will settle it between themselves and fix a timetable.  
"It is a matter for negotiation when they will be withdrawn to northern Angola and when pulled out altogether. This issue will be dealt with in strict conjunction with the others."  
On many issues regarding Angola, he said, the Soviet Union and the USA had reached agreement. But US aid to Unita was unlawful, illegitimate and had to be stopped.  
This, however, was a bilateral matter to be settled between the US and Angola. He denied Fortuenge reports that the Soviet Union had had contacts with Unita.



# The mysterious career of Olivia Forsyth

From PAT CANDIDO of The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth

RHODES University campus is buzzing at the news that former journalism student and alleged "spy" Miss Olivia Forsyth is the centre of diplomatic problems between Britain and Angola.

At Rhodes she was deeply involved in left-wing politics. In 1984 she was elected to the Student's Representative Council and was editor of the student newspaper Rhodéo.

She was elected to the SRC again the following year on a left-wing card.

At the end of 1985 she left Grahamstown, telling friends she had a job with a British research company called Jon Fitzgerald and Associates.

She said her job would entail a great deal of travelling and she often sent friends postcards from Harare, Tanzania and Zambia.

A woman who knew her well said today she often tried telephone her at the number Miss Forsyth gave for company but never managed to reach her.

She was always told by a woman that Miss Forsyth was out or not available.

At this stage she started losing contact with friends in Grahamstown.

The woman described her as fairly bright and well-liked by a wide spectrum of students.

She never mentioned her brother-in-law, Major Derek Brune of the security police.

"But then she wouldn't have, would she?" said the woman.

Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the Rhodes journal-



A classroom photograph showing Olivia Forsyth when she was still a student at Rhodes University

ism department described her as a bright student who was deeply involved in student politics.

Meanwhile, The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Tory MP John Carlisle is taking up the case of Miss Forsyth.

He said yesterday that he was writing to Foreign Secre-

tary Sir Geoffrey Howe asking for full details of her case and urging the British Government to press the Angolan authorities to give her an exit visa.

"The poor girl has been stuck there for 10 or 11 weeks, and it would be a nice gesture to let her go," he said yesterday. "After all, the An-

golans owe us a favour or two."

The Foreign Office, meanwhile, says it is continuing to intercede for Miss Forsyth with the Angolans, but has so far had no success.

From Pretoria it is reported that the South African Government is prepared to do whatever it can to help Miss Forsyth, who reportedly refuses to leave the British embassy in Luanda for fear of being handed back to the ANC.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said, however, that the South African Government had not been officially approached to help and until it was it did not want to interfere.

Miss Forsyth has dual South African-British nationality.

Reports claim that the ANC suspect her of spying for South Africa. Law and Order spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, denied today that Miss Forsyth had any links with the South African Police.

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"Yet when the guilty parties are black terrorists and communists, there is no complaint from the Foreign Office.

"What an odd silence."

ARGUS  
2/10/88  
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# Angola peace plan could be ready soon, say Soviets

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(5)

From SUE LEEMAN  
and TOS WENTZEL  
The Argus Correspondents

GENEVA. — The fifth round of the Angola/Namibia peace talks, the "nuts and bolts" phase, gets under way here this afternoon in the wake of strong Soviet optimism that a peace plan could be on the table soon.

The South Africans are also optimistic that concrete agreements can be made during the talks with delegations from Angola, Cuba and the United States.

A tacit agreement on a ceasefire in Angola, considered at earlier talks in Cape Verde, may be taken further.

All the parties are keen to exploit the current break in hostilities.

Other issues on the table here today will be ANC bases in southern Angola, the position of Unita, the withdrawal of South African troops from southern Angola and mutual respect for borders.

A flurry of preliminary talks preceded today's gathering, which will try to "flesh out" the 14-point peace principles endorsed recently by South Africa, Cuba and Angola, and which make provision for a Cuban withdrawal linked to independence for Namibia.

On Sunday and yesterday Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister

Anatoly Adamishin met his American counterpart, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker.

Afterwards, Mr Adamishin said he believed a settlement could be achieved "in the near future".

Dr Crocker, who as the US's chief representative has been the leading peace broker throughout various stages of the talks, also met members of the South African delegation, headed by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

Dr Crocker held similar meetings with the Angolan and Cuban delegations yesterday.

## Momentum

Heading the Angolan delegation is Lieutenant-General Antonio de Santos Franca, First Deputy Minister of Defence. The 11-man Cuban contingent is led by Mr Carlos Aldana Escalante, secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr Adamishin stressed that the momentum gained by the earlier talks must be maintained. If the opportunity was now lost, it would be a long time before it came again, he said.

He made it clear that the Soviet Union was happy to underwrite any peace plan agreed to by the Cubans and Angola.

# The mysterious career of Olivia Forsyth

From PAT CANDIDO of The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth

**R**HODES University campus is buzzing at the news that former journalism student and alleged "spy" Miss Olivia Forsyth is the centre of diplomatic problems between Britain and Angola.

At Rhodes she was deeply involved in left-wing politics. In 1984 she was elected to the Student's Representative Council and was editor of the student newspaper Rhodeo.

She was elected to the SRC again the following year on a left-wing card.

At the end of 1985 she left Grahamstown, telling friends she had a job with a British research company called Jon Fitzgerald and Associates.

She said her job would entail a great deal of travelling and she often sent friends postcards from Harare, Tanzania and Zambia.

A woman who knew her well said today she often tried telephone her at the number Miss Forsyth gave for company but never managed to reach her.

She was always told by a woman that Miss Forsyth was out or not available.

At this stage she started losing contact with friends in Grahamstown.

The woman described her as fairly bright and well-liked by a wide spectrum of students.

She never mentioned her brother-in-law, Major Derek Brune of the security police.

"But then she wouldn't have, would she?" said the woman.

Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the Rhodes journal-



A classroom photograph showing Olivia Forsyth when she was still a student at Rhodes University

ism department described her as a bright student who was deeply involved in student politics.

Meanwhile, The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Tory MP John Carlisle is taking up the case of Miss Forsyth.

He said yesterday that he was writing to Foreign Secre-

tary Sir Geoffrey Howe asking for full details of her case and urging the British Government to press the Angolan authorities to give her an exit visa.

"The poor girl has been stuck there for 10 or 11 weeks, and it would be a nice gesture to let her go," he said yesterday. "After all, the An-

golans owe us a favour or two."

The Foreign Office, meanwhile, says it is continuing to intercede for Miss Forsyth with the Angolans, but has so far had no success.

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"What an odd silence."

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# Angola ceasefire terms agreed <sup>(S)</sup> Soviets

GENEVA — SA, Cuba and Angola have agreed to ceasefire terms, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamyshin said yesterday.

He was addressing a Press conference after holding two days of talks with US Under-Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker.

The Soviet Minister was asked if in the talks Crocker had asked him to put pressure on Angola to agree to a ceasefire.

He replied: "If I am not mistaken there is agreement between Cuba and Angola on the one side and SA on the oth-

MIKE ROBERTSON

er for a ceasefire."

The SA delegation to the next round of talks, which start here today, was tied up in bilateral meetings late last night and was not available to comment on Adamyshin's statement.

Adamyshin said SA posed the main obstacle to peace in Angola and to independence for Namibia, but there were now grounds to believe it (SA) was prepared to be "reasonable and sensible".

The SA delegation is led by Foreign

Affairs director general Neil van Heerden, who is accompanied by SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and National Intelligence Service (NIS) director-general Neil Barnard.

The Cuban delegation is led by Communist Party Central Committee secretary Carlos Aldana Escalante, while the head of the Angolan delegation is First Deputy Minister of Defence Lieutenant-General Antonio dos Santos Franca.

While the Soviet Union is not repre-

● To Page 2 →

## Angola ceasefire agreed, say Soviets

mented at the talks, as in Cairo and New York, the head of the southern African section of its Foreign Ministry, Vasillen Vasev, will be in Geneva for the duration.

Adamyshin said the Soviet Union would be satisfied with any outcome of the talks that was acceptable to Angola, Cuba and Swapo.

He added: "I think there are chances of success for these negotiations. It appears that all the sides are very serious about securing a political settlement."

"We can be quite sure about the inten-

<sup>(S)</sup> ← ● From Page 2  
tions of Cuba and Angola because we are in constant contact with them and they are genuine in their search. The position is such that a settlement could be found in the very near future.

"But it will depend on the progress of the negotiations and the position of SA."

"The position of SA on the main points is unknown but we have grounds to believe they may be prepared to be reasonable and sensible."

# COUNTD

## SA wants Namibian election

Own Correspondent

**PRETORIA.** — South Africa last night brought Namibian independence dramatically closer with a set of proposals which includes a ceasefire from August 10 and an election within 10 months.

In a surprise development the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in the presence of the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, revealed the comprehensive proposals in Pretoria, as these were presented to Angola and Cuba by the SA delegation in Geneva yesterday.

The proposals also include the implementation — which will cost an estimated R1,5 billion — of UN resolution 435 from November 1.

Asked about the date, Mr Botha said it was a month later than the date proposed by Mr Reagan and Soviet president Mr Gorbachev. "Who am I to quarrel with those two world leaders?" he added.

The countdown towards peace as given by Mr Botha was as follows:

- 10 August 1988: Effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities.
- 1 September 1988: Completion of SA troop withdrawal from Angola.
- 1 November 1988: Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435.
- 1 June 1989: Completion of phased and total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.
- 1 June 1989: Elections in Namibia.

### Precede the withdrawal

The timetable would allow for a period of three months for the UN secretary-general to prepare for implementation of 435 in accordance with the New York Statement of Principles, Mr Botha said.

The implementation of 435 would therefore precede the phased and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, which should be completed by 1 June 1989, in accordance with the New York principles.

He said the practical implications of SA's proposal was a reaffirmation of commitment to an effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities from August 10 this year.

He said that on that date the process of withdrawal and redeployment of SA and Cuban troops from Angola and restrictions on Swapo to prevent further incidents of hostilities would commence.

This would result in the completion of SA troop withdrawal from Angola by 1 September 1988.

Mr Botha said a UN liaison and monitoring committee, which should be finalized in Geneva this week, had to be established not later than next Tuesday. This would lead to the commencement of effective monitoring procedures by August 20, 1988.

Further details of the withdrawal procedures were to be determined in accordance with principles A and C of the New York agreement, Mr Botha said.

Principle A, concerning the implementation of Resolution 435, determines that the three parties would agree upon and recommend a date for the commencement of implementation of Resolution 435.

Principle C determines "the redeployment to-



**NAMIBIA TALKS . . .** The United States Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Edward Perkins, arrives yesterday at the crucial round of peace talks in Geneva.

ward the North and the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola on the basis of an agreement between the Angola and Cuba and their decision to solicit on-site verification of that withdrawal by the UN Security Council".

Mr Botha said the SA delegation, however, yesterday raised the question about how the cost of 435's implementation would be met. He estimated the cost at R1,5 billion. "We want to know who will pay," he said.

SA had indicated it wished to know whether its contribution to the Namibian budget would be taken over by the five permanent members of the Security Council and whether they would be prepared to take over from SA the guarantee of Namibian bank loans amounting to R750m, Mr Botha said.

He said SA's contribution towards administration costs in Namibia, excluding security, from 1969 to the present, amounted to R4,5 billion.

# OWN

in 10 months



**SURPRISE ANNOUNCEMENT** The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, who last night disclosed South Africa's dramatic proposals for peace in Namibia. Picture: REUTERS

He said the delegation strongly objected to the presence of seven ANC camps and bases in Angola. "Our delegation indicated that in terms of New York principles it was unacceptable that ANC camps and bases be allowed in Angola from where terrorists are trained to commit violence in SA."

Mr Botha reiterated that the acceptance of SA's proposals would be to the benefit of all the parties involved.

In conclusion, he said the proposals were a major and decisive

step forward. The SA government believed that it had taken an important initiative with the proposals and trusted that it would lead to a speedy resolve of the conflict situation and to peaceful independence in Namibia.

"The time has come for the world to accept SA's stabilizing role in Southern Africa," Mr Botha said, and added that the picture of SA seeking conflict was wrong.

He said he could not comment on Angola and Cuba's reaction on the proposals but said that a "moderate" style and tone prevailed.

AKG 3/8/80 (5)

# SWA stunned by target date

The Argus Foreign Service

WINDHOEK. — There was an air of stunned confusion here when it was learnt that South Africa had announced November 1 as the target date for the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace plan.

A stunned-looking SWABC-TV political reporter Deon van der Merwe closed off the service's 8pm news bulletin last night by relaying a report of Mr Pik Botha's announcement in Pretoria.

Van der Merwe said the Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar, had confirmed the South African proposal just before the news team went on the air.

As he passed on the unexpected news, Van der Merwe advised viewers to stay tuned for the full SABC-TV news version of the Press conference given by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, which was

broadcast soon after 10pm here.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said the "two different, and opposing" standpoints adopted by South Africa in the latest developments on SWA/Namibia "left a person feeling as though he is living in two different worlds".

Mr Mudge, the chairman of the Cabinet in Windhoek's Transitional Government, said Mr Botha's announcement clashed with earlier remarks by Mr Pienaar about the possibility of internal elections leading to the implementation of a locally-drafted "interim" constitution.

Mr Pienaar was reported as referring to a draft constitution presented to him last month as a "considerable" advance, particularly in the area of protection of minority and group rights, and that they were close to implementation.

Move 'designed to silence critics'

Key timetable dates

# SA peace plan causes stir, raises doubts

The Star's Foreign News Service and Political Staff

South Africa's bold move to call the bluff of international critics who doubt its sincerity about a peace plan for Angola/Namibia is being considered today at the resumption of peace talks in Geneva.

The Americans appeared to be taken aback by the peace package laid on the table by the South Africans as the latest round of peace talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba got under way yesterday.

It is reported from London that Whitehall has interpreted South Africa's willingness to leave Namibia as a move to seize the initiative in the Geneva talks. The peace offer was given wide media coverage in Britain, but some doubts were expressed about South Africa's sincerity in making them.

The Times of London described Mr Botha's offer as "by far the most convincing evidence to date that Pretoria is serious about wanting a settlement in Namibia".

At a press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria last night, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said although he did not want to comment on the possibility of an acceptance of the proposals by Angola and Cuba, the talks were taking place in "the same style of moderation and reasonableness" that had prevailed in New York.

Mr Botha said the South African delegation in Geneva yesterday requested the other parties to ask the secretary-general of the UN to indicate how the cost of implementing Resolution 435 — estimated at R1,5 billion — would be met.

The UN should also indicate whether South Africa's contribution to the budget of Namibia would be taken over by, for example, the UN's Security Council.

## Impartial elections

It should indicate who would take over bank guarantees for loans, totalling R750 million, taken up by the Namibian government.

Mr Botha said that if the UN-supervised elections were not objective, strict and impartial, "everything will come to a standstill and we will be back to square one".

In Geneva, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, leading the South African delegation, said the announcement of the plan must be seen against the background of international doubts about the sincerity of the Government and its political will to advance Namibia to independence.

"(The critics) said the proof of those doubts lay in the fact that we were not prepared to propose a fixed date (for Namibian independence). Now it has been confirmed in public by a member of the South African Cabinet."

One of the main problems is expected to be the June 1 1989 deadline set by the South Africans for a total Cuban withdrawal.

The Cubans are believed to be willing to reduce their four-year withdrawal plan to two years, but neither they nor the Angolans seem likely to accept the South African deadline.

Officially, the American response has been muted. A brief statement from the US mission in Geneva on Tuesday night said the South African proposals were subject to agreement on the remaining outstanding issues.

A Swapo spokesman said: "We are ready for elections any time."

- The timetable for South Africa's peace proposals, as put to the four-nation talks yesterday, is:
  - The reaffirmation of the commitment to an effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities with effect from August 10.
  - An immediate start to the process for the withdrawal and redeployment of South African and Cuban troops from Angola, and restrictions on Swapo to prevent further incidents jeopardising the cessation of hostilities.
  - The establishment of a liaison committee to decide on mechanisms to effect the withdrawal to be set up and functioning not later than August 9.
  - The commencement of an effective verification and monitoring procedure, to be reached by August 20.
  - The completion of a South African withdrawal from Angola by September 1 this year.
  - Further details of withdrawal schedules determined in accordance with the principles accepted in New York. No deadline was mentioned for this proposal.
  - Implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia to begin on November 1.
  - Free and fair elections to be held in Namibia on June 1 1989.
  - The gradual and complete withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola on an agreed basis between Angola and Cuba by June 1 1989.



# Unita 'destroyed 3 Angolan planes'

*Argus 3/3/88*

The Argus Foreign Service 5

LISBON. — Unita claims to have destroyed three aircraft, including a Boeing transport plane on the ground, and killed nearly 50 Angolan soldiers in four attacks last week.

There was no independent confirmation or comment from the Luanda Government.

In a statement distributed here yesterday, Unita said its troops had "destroyed" an unspecified Boeing transport plane, shot down two PC-7 reconnaissance-combat aircraft and killed 47 soldiers in four widely-scattered operations last Wednesday and Friday.

Unita said it had lost five dead and 11 wounded in the attacks.

# Troops out of

# Angola in Nov Peace talks



PIK BOTHA

**SA Press Association**  
**THE** delegation representing South Africa in the Angola peace talks in Geneva yesterday proposed November 1 this year as the date for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

In terms of this proposal the elections in South West Africa would take place on June 1 next year.

Mr Botha said this would allow for a period of three months for the secretary-general of the United Nations to prepare for the implementation of Resolution 435 in the spirit of the principles agreed on by all parties in New York.

"It follows that the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will be completed by June 1, 1989".

Mr Botha said the full implications of the proposal would be: "Reaffirmation of the commitment to an effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities with effect from August 10 this year.

"Commencement of the process of withdrawal and redeployment of South African and Cuban troops from Angola and restrictions on Swapo to prevent further incidents jeopardising the cessation of hostilities.

### Withdrawal

"Thirdly, completion of the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola by September this year.

"The establishment of liaison and monitor committees, already to be finalised in Geneva, if possible, to decide, not later than August 9 on mechanisms to effect this (the withdrawal).

"Commencement of effective verification and monitoring procedures by August 10 this year

"Further details of withdrawal schedules in accordance with Principles A and C agreed to in New York".

Principle A concerns the recommendation by all parties concerned to the UN secretary-general for a commencement date of the implementation of UN Resolution 435 and Principle C demands the redeployment to the north and the staged total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola

### The ANC

Mr Botha said he could not comment on the reaction to the proposals by the Cuban and Angolan delegations, but hinted that the "tentative" reaction had been "in character" and of the same style of moderation of the New York talks.

The South African delegation yesterday also objected to the presence of African National Congress camps and bases in Angola, Mr Botha said

"We indicated that, in terms of the principles for peace in the region (agreed on in New York), the continued existence of ANC bases was unacceptable to the South African Government"

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4. No postal entries will be accepted.
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8. Prizes may not be converted into cash, or exchanged for any other alternative.
9. The competition closes on August 31st 1988 and winners will be notified personally and announced in the press.

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WHERE QUALITY IS ALWAYS IN FASHION

# SA's bottom line for peace

Pik names 7 'unacceptable' ANC camps

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

SOUTH Africa has virtually reached a bottom line with its bombshell unilateral announcement of an immediate start to a 10-month peace package for SWA/Namibia.

This was inferred in an interview today with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

"This is the closest to an agreement we can get," he said, adding: "If this doesn't work, what will work?"

However, the major outstanding difference remains the Cuban troop withdrawal, while the Cubans and Angolans have decided for total withdrawal, while the Cubans and Angolans have demanded a 10-month period for total withdrawal.

ANC camps in Angola on that day.

Mr Botha said today that Unta was not mentioned in the principles for peace already agreed to, and repeated that the answer lay in Angolan national reconciliation.

But he said "there would be no need for Unta to be mentioned if the Cubans were withdrawn".

The principles for peace could be interpreted as meaning that South Africa would stop supporting Unta.

SA's bottom line for peace (Continued from page 1.)

He rejected reports that the United States had been caught unaware by the South African initiative, saying United States chairman of the talks, Dr Chester Crocker, was told before.

He also rejected accusations that South Africa had compromised the agreement that details of the talks should be kept a secret.

From Geneva, Tos Wentzel and Sue Leeman report that South Africa's bold move to call the bluff of international critics who doubt its sincerity is being considered today at the resumption of peace talks.

Nobody here doubts that a lot of hard bargaining lies ahead, but chief US mediator Dr Chester Crocker is known to consider the South African move a major step.

South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, who is leading the South African delegation, stressed, however, that the cost of implementing Resolution 435, estimated at \$600 million some years ago, as well as the huge South African subsidies granted to Namibia, would have to be addressed.

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

Although he avoided using the term "bottom line" and he indicated last night that the negotiations on details could still take place, Mr Botha said: "It is a line followed completely."

Mr Botha said the plan he had spelt out for the implementation of a peace plan over the next 10 months had shown South Africa was "prepared to bite the bullet".

Political Staff SOUTH AFRICA has named seven African National Congress camps in Angola which it says are "unacceptable" under the peace proposals agreed in New York last month.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said South Africa's delegation to the latest peace talks in Geneva had been told to object strongly to the bases.

He said the camps violated one of the principle agreed in New York: that states should not "allow their territory to be used for acts of war, aggression or violence against other states".

Mr Botha said it was unacceptable that Angola should allow the ANC to maintain bases "where terrorists are trained to commit violence and murder within South Africa."

He said the signalries to the New York proposals had accepted that the principles were inter-dependent and that one could not be implemented unless all were.

Mr Botha said the seven camps were Viana, about 11km from Luanda, Caculama, about 50km north of Caculama town, Quibaxe, Pango, Malanje, Quatro and Quela Farm in north-east Angola.



Mr Pik Botha

On... damage on the Angolan pipeline near Calueque Dam in June this year

Mr Biggs said... strictions would be applied if necessary.

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

UNITA is one of the oldest political groups in Angola and to a certain extent represents the Ovimbundu who form a large part of the country, a top Soviet Africanist, Dr Boris Asojan, has acknowledged.

He also said the Angolan government was, in terms of international law, entitled to ask for weapons from the Soviet Union and had the right to request Cuban troops to be in the country.

Dr Asojan, a former assistant director of the Africa Institute in Moscow and current Soviet ambassador in Lesotho, added that South Africa had been the aggressor in Angola for the past 13 years by supporting a movement which was waging war against a government which was recognized by about 166 states.

He said in an interview in Insig, the monthly magazine, that "to a certain extent" Unita represented the Ovimbundu, which is the predominantly Ovambo-speaking community of Angola.

The MPLA had never said that Unita was not a factor but that over the past 15 years it had played the role of a rebel movement which had been armed by foreign groups.

"At present, according to international law, any movement which is armed by foreign groups and wages war against the legal and internationally-recognized government is a rebel movement."

According to the UN Charter, any country could ask another state to send in aid against a threat. "By supplying weapons, we have merely complied with a request by the Angolan government for military support."

# Angola allowed to ask USSR for guns

*CAC News 3/8/78*

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# SA attacked over SWA 'peace plan'

Own Correspondent

GENEVA. — South Africa's resort to "megaphone diplomacy" by going public with an offer to hold United Nations-supervised elections in Namibia by June 1, 1989, yesterday drew angry condemnation from the Cuban and Angolan delegations.

And while South Africa came under attack for its surprise "peace schedule" yesterday, a delegation from the Namibian transitional cabinet prepared to fly to Pretoria for urgent consultations with President P W Botha today.

This latest development follows criticisms from the Minister of Finance in the multi-party government, Mr Dirk Mudge, who said it was "upsetting" to see South African cabinet ministers pronouncing on the future of Namibia without Namibians being consulted.

US officials had earlier joined the Angolans and Cubans in stressing that under the "ground rules" of the talks, all sides had agreed to state their views "at the conference table, not in the media".

At the time of going to press, all four parties were locked in negotiations after the South Africans had spent most of the morning with the US mediators. The Angolans and Cubans had since tabled a proposal of their own.

Perhaps anticipating the angry reaction, the South African delegation leader, Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of Foreign Affairs, earlier

explained that it had been decided to propose a firm date for Namibian independence in public to show the seriousness of the government's political will.

Those in the international community who doubted the political will of the South African

To page 3

From page 1

## Angola

government had argued that their reservations were confirmed by the fact that South Africa had not been willing to name a specific date for Namibian independence. It was significant that a member of the South African cabinet had now proposed a date, Mr Van Heerden said.

In implied criticism of the public disclosure of the offer, which is conditional on total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, the US Under-Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, called on all parties to observe the ground rules of "talking at the table and not in public" and said the South African proposal was "no one's last words".

A terse statement issued by State Department spokeswoman Ms Phyllis Oakley pointedly referred to the "ground rules" of the talks and added that the SA offer was "clearly not the position of the US".

"The South African proposal represents the position of one of the parties present in Geneva."

US administration sources said privately that President Fidel Castro was dragging his feet on the question of the timing of Cuban withdrawal and was continuing to ship new equipment into Angola.

However, officials also felt that an open challenge by SA was not the best means to a compromise.

And the Cuban delegation, whose reaction was by far the angriest, said: "Similar promises were

made and then ignored by Pretoria when it stated that independence would be offered to Namibia on December 31, 1978, or when in March 1985 it affirmed that by August 1 of that same year — after giving a seven-month lapse for the withdrawing of Cuban troops from Angola — South Africa would finally accept the will of the international community to cease its colonial domination over Namibia."

In a four-page statement the Cubans said the South African proposal was unacceptable, and the setting of compulsory dates for the withdrawing of their troops was "preposterous and unrealistic".

Reaffirming their willingness to continue the negotiation, the statement adds that Angola and Cuba "have their own proposals regarding the dates for the various measures that are to be adopted in the process of ceasing hostilities and establishing a definitive peace" but out of respect to the negotiating process they would not proclaim the date publicly.

The Angolan Deputy Minister of External Relations, Mr Venancio de Silva Moura, said that by going public the South Africans had not only violated the arrangements for the negotiations but had shown bad faith and a lack of seriousness.

Swapo's Information Secretary, Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, said that if South Africa had wanted to present a bargaining position, it should not have been orchestrated in the way it had been.

# Peace plan is 'capitulation' by govt — CP

Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION parties differed sharply on the implications of the Namibia-Angola peace proposals unveiled by the South African government this week. The Conservative Party dismissed what it labelled the "so-called freedom plan" as "nothing other than a dishonourable capitulation of the South African government".

However, the PFP was broadly supportive of the proposals, saying they appeared to reflect a new urgency and seriousness on the part of government to disengage from Angola and allow for Namibian independence.

CP foreign affairs spokesman Mr Frank le Roux said the plan was preparing the way for Marxist rule in Windhoek as early as next year.

"With the announcement of the plan, the government has abandoned its undertaking that Resolution 435 will not be implemented before the Cubans have withdrawn from Angola.

"The CP considers the government's surrender in South West Africa as an inexorable step in the direction of black majority rule, also for South Africa."

The party's strategy with regard to Namibia would be discussed at meeting of the CP council called for August 12 in Bloemfontein.

## Govt seemed serious

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said it appeared that South Africa was finally becoming serious about disengaging from Angola and independence for Namibia.

"Both of these have been overdue and we will support any moves in this direction.

"While it may be difficult to meet the timetable Mr Botha suggested, at least his proposals have a ring of urgency about them and this is to be welcomed."

Mr Eglin said a "rationalization" of the future of Namibia could be an important element both in improving South Africa's international relationships and in adding to the prospects of peace in the Southern African region.

"As far as the future of Namibia is concerned, that is something for the people of the region. But I see no reason why an independent Namibia could not only prosper but find a reasonable working relationship with its South African neighbour."

Mr Eglin said the cost factor — both in terms of money and lives — appeared to be important for all sides involved in the war. "But irrespective of the cost factor, this is the course we should be following."

# FOCUS 4

# Tutu becomes Archbishop

In November 1985, when Philip Russell announced that he intended to retire as Archbishop of Cape Town the following August, speculation as to who his successor would be began to mount.

Tutu, nominated when elections were last held in 1981, was an obvious front-runner for the post, but there were objections.

The months preceding the Selective Assembly had seen Tutu polarising opinion even more than he had for the past decade. He was constantly in the eye of the storm, reviled and loved, buffeted from every direction. Should so controversial a man occupy the highest position in the Anglican Church in South Africa? There were plenty of people who thought he should not.

Among blacks he was, as ever, loved as a man and honored both as a religious leader and as a symbol of black achievement, but some of his actions — his meetings with the President, his threats to leave the country if the black-on-black violence did not stop, the confusion over his call for a day of prayer and his doomed effort to negotiate with the Government on behalf of the people of Alandara — had lessened his influence, particularly over the young people, and dimmed his credibility.

But this was not something to be decided by the country at large; it was a matter for the Anglican Church. Whatever his political standing, whether the grasp of his credibility was waning or growing, there was no question in the minds of most of the clergy and lay people concerned that when they met to make their choice, Bishop Tutu's name should be included among the nominees.

Against his will and in spite of his wife's strong aspirations, he was asked to stand if it were God's will that he should stay in Johannesburg, he argued (as he had done a decade earlier) because Bishop of Lesotho, then he would not be elected. So, on April 14, the Adviso-

This is the last of five instalments on the career of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. They have been edited from a biography of the archbishop, Tutu: Voice of the Voiceless, by Shirley du Boulay and published by Hodder and Stoughton.

He received so much flak for this remark that he did concede that his anger was unnecessary, because he should have known not to expect any better from President Reagan; and, yes, perhaps he could have used "less salty language". But, for the most part, he was unapologetic. It was good for people to know how deeply blacks felt, he claimed, good for them to be reminded that South Africans were not just angry in academic discussions.

At the end of July, Tutu made his formal farewell to the Diocese of Johannesburg. The farewell ceremony was an emotional occasion, as 2,000 members of the community gathered at the Ellis Park tennis stadium in a service for unity and peace. Tutu took the Christian family and the importance of sharing as his themes.

Using one of his favourite sayings "A person is a person through other persons", he reminded his audience that Christians could not find salvation in isolation and that freedom was not something any person or group of people could have on their own.

"Freedom has to be shared, otherwise those who have it have no time to enjoy their separate freedom — they are too busy guarding it with guns and guard dogs and states of emergency. We all share in each other's glory — and equally in each other's shame."

DEPRIVING the Government's ban on naming people in detention and warning once again that all that was legal was not necessarily moral, he urged people not to be intimidated, but to pray regularly for detainees by name.

He also suggested that they devote one day a week to prayer and fasting for justice and peace and that they ring the church bells every day at noon until the state of emergency was lifted. By using the

ernment, even as a slap in the face for Pretoria, was published well in advance of the endorsement. The 165 invitations were issued to churchmen from all over the world, to politicians including Senator Edward Kennedy, Gary Hart and Congressman William Gray and to entertainers such as Harry Belafonte, Lionel Ritchie and Stevie Wonder.

Tutu asked the Government for an assurance that his guests — who were, in fact, all personally known to him — would be granted visas, a request they refused. The normal demands on the time of busy people saved them some embarrassment, as did the unwillingness of some of the more controversial figures to give the Government the gratification of refusing them entry.

Nevertheless, the sixty requests for visas that were received placed the authorities in an awkward predicament. Could they refuse visas to such distinguished guests? On the other hand, how could they give their blessing to a major gathering of anti-apartheid campaigners?

Political observers forecast that visas for churchmen and less controversial figures would be approved, while action on most requests would be delayed until after the ceremony. In fact, even some churchmen had difficulty obtaining entry.



Archbishop Tutu kneels before former Archbishop of Cape Town Bill Burnett during the ceremony at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg at which he was consecrated Bishop of Lesotho.

The key points of the ancient ritual. From the three knocks on the door to the presentation of the diamond-studded Kimberley Cross and a glass of orange juice and the Lord's were firmly in the Anglican tradition, but an Anglican church has seldom resounded to such an emblematic shout of "Viva Tutu".

No music could echo Anglican sentiments more fittingly than Sir Hubert Parry's "I was glad when they said unto me" the hymn "Praise to the heights" or, by mentioned literally scores of people by name, ending with thanking his mother-in-law for providing Leah for him.

The Archbishop of Canterbury gave a brave and impressive sermon, setting the tone of his call for peace with the sombre words, "as I stand here, on the tip of Africa, I cannot escape the sense of history — the sense that here on what was once the Dark Continent, there is the threat of greater darkness still."

Tutu has never forgotten the way his election as Bishop of Johannesburg was ignored by that city. The evening celebrations, then, when the Mayor of Cape Town bestowed a

# Talks go on despite row over SA plan

By Sue Leeman and Tos Wentzel

GENEVA — The latest round of Angola/Namibia peace talks entered its third and possibly final day today with both the latest South African offer and a new set of Angolan/Cuban counter-proposals on the table.

The talks were expected to forge ahead in spite of strong criticism from the Cubans and Angolans that the South African proposal was not only "unacceptable" but "preposterous and unrealistic".

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden said a "long, complicated road" lay ahead. In negotiations one side was not expected to accept proposals from the other side "as is".

However, he said the fact that the negotiating teams were still in Geneva "shows that we are still in business".

Nevertheless, at one stage yesterday it looked as if the talks could falter over South Africa's decision to go public with its plan.

While the understanding up to now has been that details would be thrashed out in confidence behind closed doors, South Africa's move led to Angola and Cuba also making statements.

So when the parties finally drifted back to the conference table late yesterday afternoon, there were a lot of new issues to be raised.

The Cubans and Angolans were clear in their denunciation of the South African plan.

For one thing, they said, the South Africans had no right to stipulate a date for a Cuban withdrawal. The South Africans want the Cubans out of Angola by June 1 next year, the date South Africa has proposed for Namibian elections.

The Cubans and Angolans also made it clear that they rejected any attempt to link Cuban withdrawal with Namibian independence.

And Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Silva Moura indicated the Angolans were set to oppose South Africa's demand for the closure of ANC and Swapo bases in Angola. Angola, he said, "will not betray liberation movements recognised by the international community".

Swapo representatives in Geneva to monitor the talks said they were still optimistic that new understanding could be reached in Geneva.

● See Page 10.



# Cuba and Angola pour scorn on the peace plan

From RICHARD DOWDEN  
in Geneva

**T**HE US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Chester Crocker, who is chairing the peace talks here, now has the task of stretching and squeezing the two sets of proposals until there is agreement.

He had hoped that the current round of talks would achieve enough to make the next meeting a ministerial one at which documents could be signed, but it now seems unlikely that agreement can be reached before the talks end today.

Mr Crocker had no warning of South Africa's public announcement and is understood to have expressed his irritation when he met the South African delegation alone yesterday morning. "We are going to stick to the ground rules of talking at the table rather than in public and would urge others to do the same," he said.

The is follows the Cuban and Angolan statements yesterday which were dripping with rage over South Africa's proposed 10-month timetable for withdrawal from Namibia and denounced Pretoria for announcing the plan publicly.

The announcement of the South African initiative by Mr Pik Botha, on Tuesday evening as talks were ending for the day, was likened to someone at the back of the

crowd stealing the story-teller's punchline.

This session was supposed to put flesh on the bones on the 14 Principles for Peace which Angola, Cuba and South Africa agreed in New York and announced on 20 July. In particular, the Cubans and Angolans were expected to reduce their offer on the departure time for Cuban troops from Angola from four years to about two years.

One of the pieces still not fitted into the puzzle is Unita, the Angolan rebel movement, which stands to lose its main backer if South Africa pulls out of Namibia.

One of the points agreed in New York is that the signatories will not allow their territories to be used by groups attacking other countries and although this has not yet been spelled out, this could mean the ending of South African support for the movement.

Another factor in the Cuban withdrawal is that they will be withdrawing thousands of kilometres cross the sea whereas South Africa will only be withdrawing a few hundred kilometres by land. It will be much easier for the South Africans to return.

But doubts about South Africa's basic intention to withdraw from Namibia or even from Southern Angola grew again yesterday when a Swapo representative who is in Geneva to observe the talks said that huge South Af-



Neil van Heerden, director general for foreign affairs at the peace talks in Geneva.

rican army convoys had been seen travelling north through Namibia during the past week. — The Independent.

## 'Bad faith' plans rejected, but . . .

By TOS WENTZEL and SUE  
LEEMAN in Geneva

**B**OTH the Cubans and Angolans say they are prepared to go on with the talks here, in spite of their rejection of the South African peace offer which they say was made in "bad faith."

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancia de Silva Moura said the public announcement of the package violated the principles of the negotiations, which were to keep such offers confidential.

"This shows bad faith and lack of seriousness on the part of the South Africans." He added that South Africa's attitude could disturb the climate of understanding established during earlier rounds

of talks. However, for now the talks would proceed.

In a reference to Swapo and the ANC, he said Angola "would not betray the struggle of liberation movements recognised by the international community". As part of its package, South Africa has demanded the closure of ANC and Swapo bases in Angola.

Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya also criticised the way in which the South African offer was unveiled, saying it seemed to be an attempt to upstage the talks.

However, he said Swapo was "ready for a ceasefire" and looked forward to the conclusion of this round of talks with some optimism.

In Washington American officials are saying nothing in

public about South Africa's newest proposals — but they are doing little to disguise their irritation at the timing and venue of Mr Botha's announcement.

State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley told reporters here: "In keeping with our usual practice and the ground rules of the negotiations, the US delegation will state its views at the conference table and not in the media."

Noting that the proposals were only one of many sets of proposals already tabled in the negotiations, Mrs Oakley said: "There will be more. If we are to achieve a settlement, there must be real give-and-take in negotiations leading to compromises acceptable to all parties."

# SA plans rejected — but talks expected to forge ahead

From TOS WENTZEL  
and SUE LEEMAN

GENEVA. — The latest round of Angola/Namibia peace talks entered its third and possibly final day here today with both the latest South African offer and a new set of Angolan/Cuban counter-proposals on the table.

The talks were expected to forge ahead in spite of strong criticism from the Cubans and Angolans that the South African proposal was not only "unacceptable" but "preposterous and unrealistic".

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden said a "long, complicated road" lay ahead. Each side was not expected to accept proposals from the other side "as they stood".

However, the fact that the negotiating teams were still in Geneva "shows that we are still in business", he said.

At one stage yesterday it looked as if the talks would falter over South Africa's decision to go public with its plan.

While it was understood that details would be thrashed out in confidence behind closed doors, South Africa's move led to Angola and Cuba also making statements outside the deliberations.

The Cubans and Angolans have rejected the South African plan, saying South Africa has no right to stipulate a date for a Cuban withdrawal. South Africa wants the Cubans out of Angola by June 1 next year.

The Cubans and Angolans have rejected any attempt to link Cuban withdrawal with Namibian independence.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Silva Moura said Angolans opposed South Africa's demand for the closure of ANC and Swapo bases in Angola. "Angola will not betray liberation movements recognised by the international community."

The South African plan also stipulates a ceasefire on August 10 this year and the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence on November 1.

● Further reports on page 15.

# SOLIDARITY WITH NELSON MANDELA

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Mr Nelson Mandela  
Pollsmoor Prison  
Cape Town  
Republic of South Africa

Dear Mr Mandela,  
on behalf of the 920 000 members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, I would like to declare my solidarity with you and to send you friendly greetings on the occasion of your 70th birthday.

Dr Hans-Jochen Vogel  
Chairman  
Social Democratic Party of Germany  
10th July, 1988

We know that we are at one with the freedom-loving and just people of the world hoping that you regain your freedom and are able to crown your life-work with the creation of a democratic, non-racist South Africa. We German Social Democrats are fully aware that the freedom of your people is not served by good wishes alone. We are prepared to do all that is in our power to move the present unjust government of South Africa to give up its inhuman policy of apartheid. We know that pressure from outside 'one will not suffice to bring about the necessary fundamental change in South Africa. However, we do see our efforts to bring about the necessary support for the resistance of your people against oppression and injustice. Above all we conceive our responsibility as to move all foreign support for the regime in South Africa.

You, my dear Mr Mandela, during the 25 years of your imprisonment, have become the impressive symbol of the determination in South Africa to achieve freedom. Though rather little, there is some comfort to be gained from the fact that neither the isolation on Robben Island nor the thick walls of Pollsmoor have managed to silence your voice. We are deeply impressed by the manner in which you, despite the suffering which you have been forced to endure over the past quarter of a century, have unerringly maintained your belief in the opportunity of all people in South Africa to live together in peace, regardless of the colour of skin.

I wish you all the strength you need in order to hold to this belief. German Social Democracy in Germany, which is now 125 years old, knows full well what political persecution and lack of freedom mean.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you that the Social Democratic Party of Germany supports:

- the complete and unconditional abolition of all racial discrimination in South Africa;
- the free, equal and general right to vote for all the people living in South Africa;
- the annulment of all the current bans on political organisations and
- the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

We are trying to influence the foreign policy of our country in such a way that it serves these aims. You, my dear Mr Mandela, with the force of your personality, have become an example for many people in our country.

May God protect you  
With greetings of solidarity,  
Yours  
Hans-Jochen Vogel

# SDP

Social Democratic Party of  
Germany

# SA army base bombed

CAT 70015  
5/18/88  
S. J. [Signature]

Defence Correspondent

A SOUTH AFRICAN army base was bombed for an hour yesterday from Angolan soil, according to the SWA Territory Force. The base at Okalongo is 8km from the border.

The base came under fire from shells of between 70 and 90mm, rockets from 122mm Red-eye launchers and D-30 122mm artillery pieces, in spite of reports earlier this week of an informal ceasefire in the operational area.

Last night the South African forces remained on alert.

According to a high-placed Defence Force source, the military would be careful not to take "an aggressive or provocative attitude".

The bombardment stopped after security forces "had taken counter-action", the report said. Minor damage was caused.

# Ceasefire hint in peace talks

GENEVA — The Angolan peace talks seem to be inching towards agreement on some issues, including a possible ceasefire, with all parties saying yesterday they were satisfied.

Angolan delegation leader General Franco dos Santos Ndalu said good progress had been made.

Topics included the wide-ranging SA plan to hold elections in Namibia next year, if all Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola, and a joint Cuban-Angolan counter-proposal.

The Cubans and Angolans rejected the overall SA proposal as unacceptable, and the timetable for Cuban troop with-

MIKE ROBERTSON

drawals as preposterous and unrealistic, but they appeared willing to negotiate other aspects such as setting August 10 as the date for a ceasefire.

Both Ndalu and the SA delegation leader, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, said there was a strong likelihood the talks would continue today.

Van Heerden added: "We are in the same situation we were in on Wednes-

● To Page 2

# Ceasefire date mooted in Angola talks

day night. We are engaged in very serious and concrete discussions."

He declined to say the talks were making progress but added: "There are various aspects we are putting together. The fact that the negotiating process is actually on the go is encouraging."

● Sapa reports that a delegation of the SWA/Namibia transitional government was told in Pretoria yesterday by President P W Botha that no agreement had been reached on the Cuban withdrawal

from Angola nor implementation of UN resolution 435.

"It is not possible to speculate about the chances of reaching an agreement," he said.

The SWA delegation — chairman Dirk Mudge and ministers M Katjiongo, A Shipanga and K Pretorius — a statement said, was given first-hand information on the Geneva talks.

● From Page 1

SA to move out while Swapo and Cubans leave a de-militarised zone

# Angola ceasefire agreed

(5) (Handwritten initials) Star 6/8/78

**PFP**  
**chief**  
**plans**  
**to go on**  
**pension**

**DAVID BRAUN**  
**Political**  
**Correspondent**

**CAPE TOWN** — Newly elected leader of the Progressive Federal Party Dr Zac de Beer is to retire completely from his business career at the end of this month.



**CAPE TOWN** — A provisional agreement has been reached on a ceasefire between South African and Angolan/Cuban forces. The agreement was clinched at the Geneva peace talks, but has to be ratified by the respective governments.

Cuban and Swapo forces are to withdraw to more than 100 km north of the international border between Angola and Namibia, and South African forces are to leave Angola. Hostilities between the two sides are likely to cease from August 10, the date proposed by South Africa in a peace initiative presented at the Geneva talks this week.

There were indications last night that progress had also been made with regard to a tentative date for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for the independence of Namibia.

It is not yet clear what progress has been made on the timing of the Cuban troops' withdrawal from Angola.

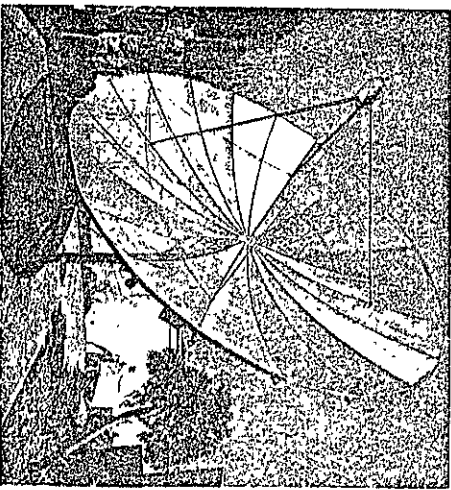
Diplomats were last night jubilant about the breakthrough, which came after talks between four governments (the United States has been chairing the negotiations) over the past three months.

A fifth power in the wings has been the Soviet Union, which has intervened at least twice to influence Cuba and Angola.

There were indications that Moscow had again used its muscle yesterday in Geneva when Cuba, at the last minute, attempted to make impossible demands with regard to fallback lines.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr P.W. Botha, last night issued a bland statement on the latest developments.

He said: "The deliberations in Geneva reached agreement on a date



## The new eavesdroppers

**LOOMING** film and TV boys. These are to be found tucked behind walls and trees in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, providing their owners with a ne...

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South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last night issued a bland statement on the latest developments.

He said: "The delegations in Geneva reached agreement on steps considered necessary to further the search for peace in southern Africa. The South African delegation, which is returning to South Africa to report fully to the South African Government, will relay its decision within four days to the other governments after consultations with the leaders in South West Africa."

"The Administrator General in Windhoek (Mr Louis Pienaar) has been requested to arrange for the leaders in SWA to meet President Botha in Pretoria on Monday."

In a TV interview last night Mr Botha declined to comment on whether or not a ceasefire had been agreed to, saying that any further comments would violate an agreement between the parties.

The negotiations have taken place in London, Zaire, Cairo, New York, Cape Verde and, this week, Geneva.

The next round, at a venue still to be disclosed, is likely to be at ministerial level.

In terms of the South African proposal handed in at the Geneva round earlier this week, a ceasefire would be agreed to from August 10.

South Africa would withdraw its forces between August 20 and September 1.

Resolution 435 would be implemented from November 1, with elections in Namibia being held on June 1 1989.

By that time, according to the South African proposal, Cuba would have withdrawn all its forces from Angola.

Sources last night indicated it was now up to Cuba and Angola to agree to the timescale of the withdrawal of Cuban forces, but that this would have to be approved by South Africa.

● The Saturday Star Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that two Frontline leaders have come out in support of the peace negotiations.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said his country would automatically support Angola on every stand it took in settling regional problems.

He was speaking after meeting Angola's Transport Minister Carlos Fernandes, who handed him a message from Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

President Kaunda said Angola had been defending Africa's honour and had shouldered a heavy load on behalf of Africa.

In Maputo President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique also expressed his support for the negotiations.

Speaking in Maputo during a dinner in honour of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, Mr Chissano said the negotiations offered a tenuous hope, reported the Mozambique news agency AIM.

Mr Chissano had praised Angola's efforts, courage and determination at the talks, AIM said.

# INHUMAN

Sowetan

11/7/88

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# JAIL

33/1

## 5 prisoners claim in Supreme Court acti-



ORLANDO Pirates' striker Lawrence Maake in a mid-air battle for the ball with Farook Nkuna of Magic Curt Celtic. This was in their thrilling Castle League match played at Orlando Stadium yesterday. The game ended in a goalless draw. Pic: JOE MOLEFE

FIVE prisoners, including a 64-year-old man, who are serving terms ranging between three and 20 years, have alleged in affidavits that conditions inside the Wellington Prison in Umtata, Transkei, were inhuman.

In papers lodged with the Transkei Supreme Court last week the men sought the improvement of the conditions inside the prison, that prison officials refrain from assaulting them, that they be allowed reading material and study facilities, given proper food and that they be allowed to participate in sporting activities.

### Jail

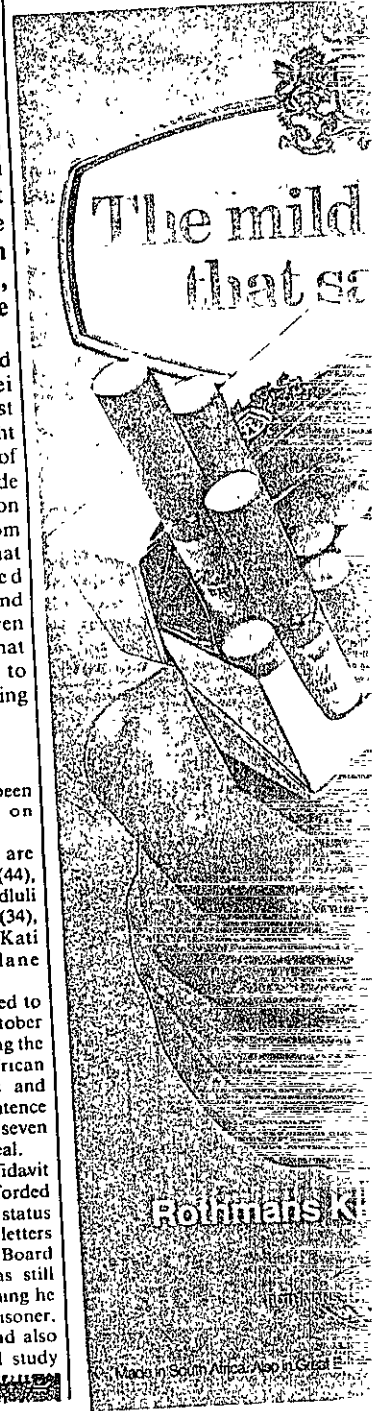
The matter has been set for hearing on September 1.

The applicants are Shadrack Nongoma (44), Victor Cassim Mdluli (35), Joseph Jongile (34), James "Castro" Kati (66) and Marclane Kopman (39).

Kati was sentenced to 13 years' jail on October 6, 1982 for furthering the aims of the African National Congress and terrorism. The sentence was reduced to seven years after an appeal.

He said in his affidavit that he was not afforded political prisoner status and despite several letters to the Prisons Board since 1985 he was still graded "B", meaning he was a common prisoner.

Kati said he had also not been allowed study



Rothmans Ki

Made in South Africa. Also in Great B...

## MANDELA CONCERT NOW IN BALANCE

Sowetan 11/7/88

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329

THE staging of the Mandela Concert for Peace hung in the balance at the weekend following the detention in Cape Town of activists connected with the venture.

Weekend reports linked the nine detainees with the concert being planned as a birthday party for jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela. The nine, who include a journalist, a teacher, a photo journalist and various office bearers of the restricted United Democratic Front, were detained on Friday.

Relatives were quoted as saying the nine were being held under emergency regulations. Their detention, which came after the

release last week of other UDF leaders, was widely seen as a prelude to the banning of the concert. Release Mandela Committee spokesman, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, said at the launch of the concert that he did not "think" that the Government would ban the concert.

The nine detainees are Mr Jonathan Shapiro, a cartoonist; Mr Bulefani Ngcuka, a lawyer; journalist Rehana Rossouw; Mrs Veronica Simmers; Mr Omar Badsha, a photo journalist; Mr Saleem Mowzer, a high school teacher; Mr Zolile Malindi, UDF Western Cape president; Mr Nabs Wessels, of the Dependants Conference and Monde Belfour of the KTC peace committee.



...announced that he  
will seek re-election to the City Council for  
another term.

*one time 6/18/88*

### 133 Unita deaths claimed <sup>5)</sup>

LISBON. — The Angolan government's armed forces have claimed that 133 Unita guerillas were killed in battles in the country during the last week of July.

Reports by Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent, Saps-Reuters-AP and UPI.

# UN workers in Angola hit at Swapo's human rights record

PARIS — Fear is rampant among 40 000 Namibian refugees at a Swapo-run camp in Angola, the French daily *Liberation* reported yesterday.

For, they say, Swapo officials "are far from respecting human rights".

United Nations and Scandinavian aides at the unnamed camp 350 km from Luanda admitted privately that they faced a "real problem" of oppression.

One young Swedish health assistant said bitterly:

"I spend half my time aiding Swapo, and the other half in helping people in this camp fleeing from them."

He said Swapo seized many children against their parents' wishes to train them as insurgents.

*Liberation* is in the forefront of all campaigns against South Africa, so there is no

## JAMES TOMLINS

question of bias against Swapo. The newspaper sent special correspondent Jackson Phillips to Angola.

He wrote that the best known case of Swapo's breach of human rights centred around 100 prisoners described by Swapo Secretary-General Toivo

Ya Toivo as spies or prisoners of war.

The correspondent commented: "The fact is that Swapo has never given their names, and the Red Cross has never been allowed to visit any of them, although they have been held for nearly three years.

"If Swapo has every chance, as most people

believe, of winning elections in Namibia, then it must lift all doubts over its democratic intentions.

"For an independent Namibia will serve, for better or worse, as an example to South Africa."

Many refugees live in prefabricated houses provided free by Sweden, which funds the Namibian Education and Health Centre.

# Talks: Govts agree on peace steps

APR 7 1988  
6/8/88

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2001

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — The talks aimed at ending the Angolan war and bringing independence to Namibia ended yesterday with the four delegations saying they had agreed on "a sequence of steps to achieve peace".

Officials were silent on what the steps were, but the likelihood is that a ceasefire agreement is included.

The agreements will be put to the South African, Angolan and Cuban governments for approval before a joint statement is issued in the respective capitals on Monday.

South African officials had expected the talks to end at midday yesterday, but instead they continued into the early evening, forcing the delegates to reschedule their flights home. A press conference by US Under-Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker was cancelled.

Dr Crocker yesterday said the ceasefire question would be spelt out in the press communique. "We have to go in and negotiate on the communique."

He added that there was a

good chance of reaching an agreement.

After Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was accused of breaching the ground rules of the conference by going public in Pretoria with the South Africa proposal for Namibian independence next June earlier in the week, the SA delegation in particular refused to disclose details.

All the South African delegation leader, the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, would say was: "It was an interesting and quite exhausting round, but the time was well spent."

The SA delegation will meet the State Security Council on Monday, when a decision will be taken to accept or reject the agreed steps.

The next round of talks will take place during the week of August 22, but the venue has not been decided.

However, it could be significant that the Senegalese Ambassador to Switzerland yesterday paid a visit to the venue at which the talks were taking place.

# KILLING FIELDS CLAIM 3 A DAY

By S'BU MNGABI

SINCE Monday, up to three people have been killed every day in Natal's renewed political violence.

The past weekend alone claimed 11 lives in two days, police said in their unrest report.

The flashpoints are townships at Maritzburg, Durban and Pinetown.

Places such as Gezibuso, Sweetwaters, Mpumalanga, Dindi, Molweni, Ndengezi, and Mpumalanga are also being turned into ghost towns as hundreds of panic-stricken residents flee in the wake of fierce street clashes.

According to statistics released by Natal University's Centre for Adult Education, the number of people who died in January was 160, while in February - after the effective banning of 17 organisations - the number of dead dropped to about 14.

In April the death toll rose to 19, and in May to 26, then dropped in June to 23 and rose again in July to 29.

Last year about 300 people died in the violence.

With this week's three-a-day rate, the death toll could go to 100 this month, unless a miracle occurs.

Residents attributed the latest wave of intense fighting to "justice being taken onto the streets" following the recent acquittal of several "warlords" on murder and other serious charges.

Peter Kerchhoff of the Maritzburg Agency for Social Awareness, said the latest killings had to be seen against the background of recent stayaways in which Natal was the hardest hit province - attributed to the high level of political consciousness in the wake of the "evil war".

"This had a bad reflection on the influence of rival groups, and they are now trying to regain lost ground at the expense of the tense community."

Kerchhoff agreed that "instant justice" was now being taken onto the streets after the acquittal of "warlords" in court cases in the past three months.

"This street or jungle justice is frightening," he said.

Observers have warned that unless peace talks between the warring Inkatha and UDF/Cosatu factions resume immediately, Natal could be plunged into an even worse disaster.

Leaders of the warring factions have warned that restrictions on their organisations and themselves have made it impossible for them to control the situation.

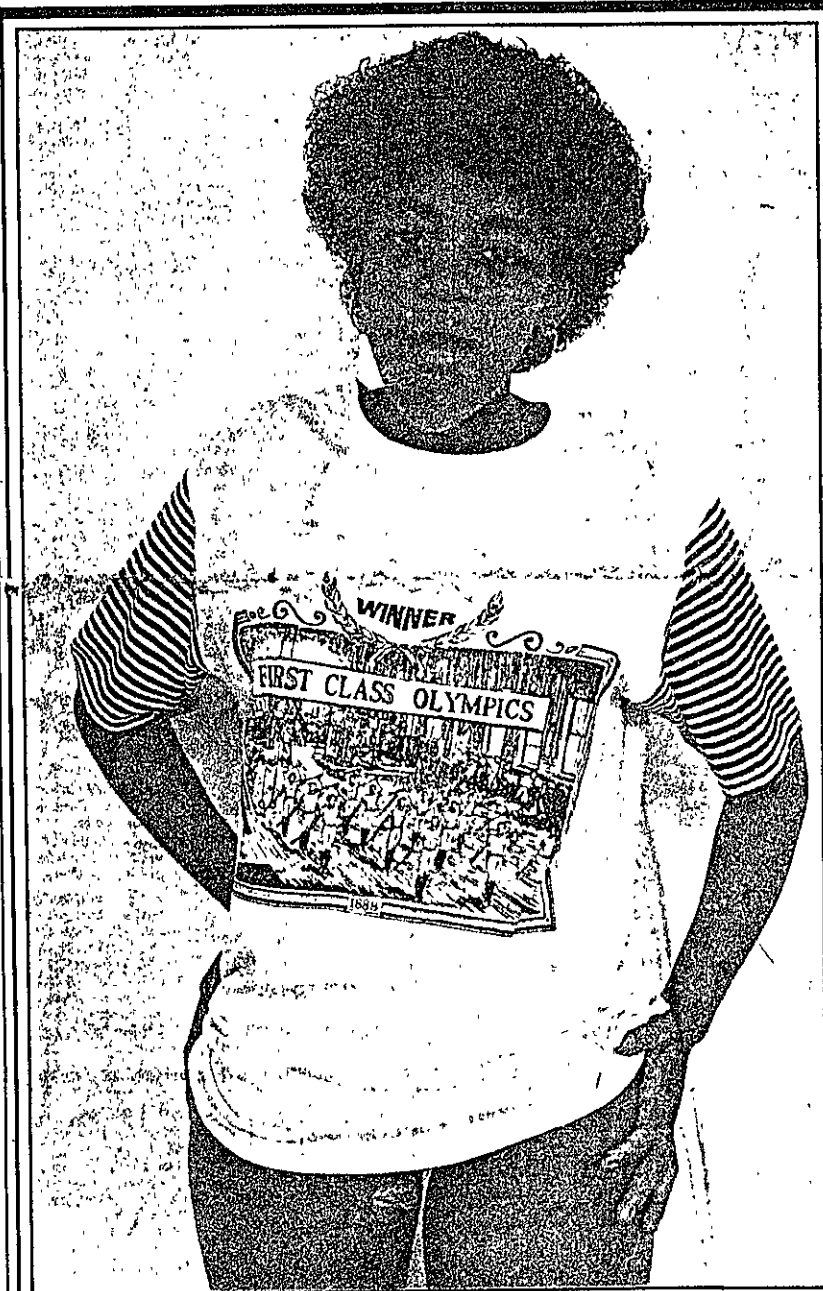
Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman, Musa Zondi, a key figure in the peace talks, said Inkatha wanted conciliation.

"As for peace talks, we are looking forward to reconciliation between the warring factions. We still extend our hand of friendship and hope the other side does too," Zondi said.

The peace talks were scuttled by the effective banning of 17 organisations, and restrictions on Cosatu and these organisations' leaders.

The government action came a few days before a historic "peace conference" was to be attended by the leadership of Inkatha, Cosatu and UDF convened by the Natal clergy at the initiative of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

A letter to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok from UDF executive chairman, Curneek Ndlovu, asking him to allow the peace



Potite Buyiswa Fihlele seems to feign surprise at the young, bold and beautiful tag entrants in the Miss Nivea Teenage competition will have to put up with, but the 16-year-old KwaMashu lass seems to possess all the qualities needed to make her a serious contender in this popular annual pageant.

## t Klerksdorp mass murder trial

By DAN DHLAMINI

THE crowd which packed the Klerksdorp Magistrate's Court this week to siew an alleged rapist and mass murderer was kept guessing for the better part of the day.

David Moshokgwa, 45, who was arrested last month in connection with the murder of 12 women whose decomposed bodies were discovered on a koppie in Klerksdorp, did not appear in court until after lunch.

Magistrate CW Steyn referred him to the Sterkfontein Hospital for 30 days' mental observation.

Prosecutor R de Beer asked that the case be postponed indefinitely pending the

posed.

The packed gallery, which became noisily impatient as time went by, was threatened with ejection.

Many of those attending the case were domestic workers who had asked for the day off. Some said they simply stayed away "because the case was important".

When Moshokgwa finally appeared, he looked ill and talked softly to himself, with his eyes closed.

When he turned to the gallery, people craned their necks to see who he looked like, but retreated when he pointed a reprimanding finger at them.

He was dressed in a simple



Justice  
on streets  
as courts  
free the  
'warlords'

London's  
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The peace talks were scuttled by the effective banning of 17 organisations and restrictions on Cosatu and these organisations' leaders.

The government action came a few days before a historic "peace conference" was to be attended by the leadership of Inkatha, Cosatu and UDF, convened by the Natal clergy at the initiation of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

A letter to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok from UDF executive chairman, Curnick Ndlovu, asking him to allow the peace talks to continue by lifting the restrictions and releasing the detainees had not elicited any government response.

● The SAP unrest report yesterday morning said one man was killed and four seriously wounded in incidents of violence in Natal on Wednesday night.

● A home in Inanda was damaged by arsonists.

# Justice on streets as courts free the 'warlords'

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MADE IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE DIRECTION OF BOTHA...

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# Annegarn alive, dad says after contact with ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The father of Paul Annegarn, the 22-year-old suspected of being the fifth member of the white ANC Broederstroom cell, said he believed his son was alive.

It was reported recently that Mr Joe Annegarn accused the ANC of executing his son at their Quatro detention centre in Angola. He thought his son had been executed because he disagreed with the ANC.

But Mr Annegarn said later: "I think Paul is alive. The ANC claimed he is on a mission. I have hope."

In another development, Mr Annegarn said he spoke to Ms Olivia Forsyth, the South African woman who sought asylum at the British embassy in Luanda. Ms Forsyth told him she had not seen Paul at Quatro. — Sapa

B/D ay 8/8/88 (5)

# SA ceasefire decision expected today

THE SA government's announcement on a proposed ceasefire agreement in Angola and Namibia can be expected today, Pretoria's chief negotiator in the peace talks, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said yesterday.

At the same time an informal ceasefire is already in place and announcements by the Cuban and Angolan governments on the ceasefire could come by tomorrow.

Van Heerden confirmed informal ar-

ROGER SMITH

rangements for the cessation of hostilities were already in operation and this meant troops have been avoiding confrontation on the battlefield.

Van Heerden said he had discussions with Cabinet Ministers on the ceasefire proposals and the whole Angolan/Namibian situation yesterday.

He would not confirm, however, that it would be a State Security Council meeting today which would decide on

the proposals. He said the announcement would come from government.

Van Heerden would also not say how optimistic conditions were for approval of the ceasefire proposals, or what steps might be taken on wider issues such as the involvement of Unita and the Namibian transitional government.

"I report to government and it is up to government to decide," he said.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from

● To Page 2 →

# SA ceasefire decision expected today

London that when the announcement is made on a ceasefire agreement, it can be expected to include a date for the cessation of hostilities. The SA delegation has suggested August 14.

However, a ceasefire would only be the beginning, as the delegations are still a long way off from an accord.

It is likely that the next meeting in the week of August 22, at a venue still to be chosen, will be at an official rather than ministerial level.

Troops have been avoiding a confrontation on the battlefield, but if formalised, this will definitely signify that the peace process is on track.

The Cubans and Angolans have rejected a seven-month timetable for the total withdrawal of Cuban troops. The Angolans have added that they will not abdicate their support for Swapo and the ANC.

However there were indications in Geneva that the joint Cuban/Angolan delegations were prepared to reduce their four-year timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal to two years. That still

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From Page 1

leaves a 17-month difference but it bears out Van Heerden's observation that there has been some narrowing of ground.

As to the issue of support for what they term "liberation movements", there are indications that the Angolans are not as inflexible as their public pronouncements would have them appear. There are degrees of support and, particularly with regard to the ANC, the possibility exists of negotiating a compromise with the South Africans.

Swapo officials were in the vicinity of the talks and on at least one occasion were seen having intensive discussions with US Undersecretary of State, Chester Crocker.

Van Heerden also said that at Geneva the delegations had come gradually closer to grappling with the crucial issues. Whether this means that the question of Unita has finally arisen is not known.

Namibia closer to independence

# Ceasefire ends SA's Angola war

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9/8/88  
(S)

PRETORIA — SA's war in Angola stopped officially at 5pm yesterday and Namibian independence moved another step closer.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, in announcing the ceasefire in terms of the Geneva agreement, also said SA troops would be out of Angola by September 1 and that implementation of UN resolution 435 would begin on November 1.

Now, a timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal is the next and, possibly, the last major stumbling block to be negotiated.

A question mark still remains over Swapo's role in the settlement plans and there appears to be rising concern in government about who will pay for the implementation of 435 and who will replace SA's contribution to balancing Namibia's budget.

But, aiming at a speedy settlement, SA also urged UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to visit Pretoria as soon as possible for detailed talks on those and other matters with President P W Botha.



● BOTHA

### Political Staff

Pik Botha was cagey about how the ceasefire would be policed to avoid violations. He sidestepped whether there would be a "no go area" or whether Swapo would be monitored or prevented by Angola from continuing its bush war.

Up to now, the Angolans had argued they, and not Swapo, were bound by the terms of the agreement.

All Botha would say was that "certain agreements had been reached on this matter".

The issue of Cuban troop withdrawal could possibly be settled by September 1 but up to now there appears to be no change in the target dates of either side — SA calling for a seven-month withdrawal and the Cubans for two years.

Cuba and Angola have, however, agreed to settle their differences by September 1.

SA, Cuba, Angola and the US said yesterday at the co-ordinated official announcement of the ceasefire that the Geneva conference had been "detailed positive and productive".

"The delegations of Angola, Cuba and SA agreed on a sequence of steps neces-

● To Page 2 →

# Ceasefire ends SA's war in Angola

sary to prepare the way for the independence of Namibia in accordance with resolution 435 and to achieve peace in south-western Africa."

They had agreed to recommend to the secretary-general that November 1 be the start of implementing 435.

"The parties approved the text of a tripartite agreement that embodies, in binding treaty form, the principles negotiated in New York and formally approved by governments on July 20.

"On their side, Angola and Cuba reiterate their decision to subscribe to a bilateral accord which will include a timetable acceptable to all parties for the staged and total withdrawal of

Cuban troops from Angola.

"The parties have undertaken to reach agreement on this by September 1.

"The parties approved a comprehensive series of practical steps that will enhance mutual confidence, reduce the risk of military confrontation and create the conditions in the region necessary to conclude the negotiations."

Botha said the difference between this series of negotiations and previous ones was that a step-by-step approach had been adopted.

● See Page 3

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● From Page 1

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INVITED ... The secretary general of the UN, Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar

# AMGOLATRA UN chief to SA

## PW Botha invites UN chief to SA

PRETORIA. — President P W Botha has invited the UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar to visit South Africa "in the very near future" in a bid to pave the way for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

Announcing this last night, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said Mr Perez de Cuellar had been sent a message inviting him to visit Pretoria "as soon as possible" for detailed talks with President Botha.

Mr Perez de Cuellar had been told that after discussions with Namibian leaders, SA had accepted the provisions of agreements reached in Geneva on condition that it received a satisfactory response to its concerns about the funding of the 435 operation, continued financial assistance to the territory after independence and the finding of new guarantors for the territory's international loans.

"It is of great importance to the government that we should be assured as to who and how the money will be made available for the implementation of this Security Council resolution," the Foreign Minister said.

"We would like to know how our contributions to the administration of the territory can be reduced and eventually replaced."

President Botha had accordingly invited Mr Perez de Cuellar to discuss preparations for implementing Resolution 435 and related matters.

"We have informed the secretary-general that we anticipated his visit would expedite the steps envisaged in the discussion in Geneva," said Mr Botha, flanked during the press conference by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden. — Political Correspondent with Sapa-Reuter

Principles for peace  
in 100 years of conflict  
— PAGE 6

## Ceasefire in Gulf 100

NEW YORK. — Iran and Iraq will begin a ceasefire on August 20 in the nearly 8-year-old Gulf war, UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar announced yesterday.

He made the announcement to the Security Council, ending several days of intense diplomacy.

He said he would invite Iran and Iraq to send their representatives to Geneva on August 25 for direct talks under his auspices.

"I have been assured by the two parties to the conflict that they will observe this ceasefire in the context of the full implementation of resolution 598," he added, referring to a Council resolution adopted over a year ago.

"The governments of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Iraq have also agreed to the deployment of UN observers as of the time and date of the ceasefire," he said.

He concluded: "The restoration of peace will bring to the peoples of both countries victories far greater than those of war." — Sapa-AP



ANNOUNCEMENT ... The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, announces the ceasefire. On the left is General Jannie Geldenhuys and General Magnus Malan (centre).

## SA troops pull out tomorrow

From ORMANDE POLLOK  
PRETORIA. — South Africa's war in Angola stopped officially at 5pm yesterday and Namibian independence moved a step closer.

Announcing the ceasefire in terms of the Geneva agreement, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said last night the final disengagement of South African troops from southern Angola would begin tomorrow and would be completed by September 1. And in a late night statement, Swapo announced that it would stick to the ceasefire — but only as long as South Africa also honoured it.

It had been agreed by all parties that implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibian independence would begin from November 1, he said.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba had "already made the necessary arrangements and taken the necessary steps to see to it that the cessation of hostilities are now, as of this hour, in effect and that there will be no violation of this a reminder" — Political Correspondent with Sapa-Reuter

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South Africa, Angola and Cuba had "already made the necessary arrangements and taken the necessary steps to see to it that the cessation of hostilities are now, as of this hour, in effect and

that there will be no violation of this agreement," said Mr Botha.

A mutually agreed time-table for Cuban troop withdrawal is the next — and possibly the last — major stumbling block in the way of peace and stability in the region which has to be negotiated.

But a question mark still remains over the role of Unita in the settlement plans — and there is concern in the government about who will pay for the implementation of 435 and who will replace South Africa's massive contribution to balancing Namibia's budget.

A senior Unita spokesman said last night that the rebel movement would continue fighting and that the ceasefire did not apply to Unita.

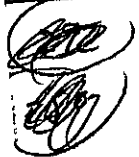
Mr Botha was cagey about how the ceasefire would be policed to avoid violations.

He sidestepped questions on whether there would be a "no-go area" or whether Swapo would be monitored or prevented by Angola from continuing its protracted bush war.

All Mr Botha would say was that "certain agreements had been reached on this matter".

The vital issue of Cuban troop withdrawal could possibly be settled by September 1 but up to now there appears to be no change in the target dates of either side — South Africa calling for a seven-month withdrawal and the Cubans for two years.

The joint statement by South Africa, Cuba, Angola and America — released last night in a co-ordinated official announcement of the ceasefire in all four countries — said that the delegations had agreed



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From page 1

"on a sequence of steps necessary to prepare the way for the independence of Namibia in accordance with Resolution 435 and to achieve peace in south-western Africa".

"On their side, Angola and Cuba reiterate their decision to subscribe to a bilateral accord which will include a timetable acceptable to all parties for the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola," the statement said.

"The parties approved a comprehensive series of practical steps that will enhance mutual confidence, reduce the risk of military confrontation and create the conditions in the region necessary to conclude the negotiations."

In Lisbon, the chief European spokesman for Unita, Mr Alcides Sakala, said the ceasefire did not apply to his organization.

In agreeing to a September 1 ceasefire, Swapo said the peace would only last as long as "SA is prepared to honour its words ... by not mounting military operations ... in the period leading to a formal ceasefire in October".

Earlier, leaders of Namibia's transitional government indicated their support for the ceasefire after 90 minutes' of talks with President P W Botha.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leading figure in the DTA and chairman of the transitional cabinet, said he felt "reassured" that there would be peace.

A White House spokesman said the US government welcomed the ceasefire, but said it was "imperative that the parties involved approach the next round of meetings seriously and constructively in order to resolve the one major area of disagreement — a mutually acceptable timetable for total Cuban troop withdrawal".

# Tough talks ahead



Mr Pik Botha

ARGUS 9/8/88  
(52) (S)

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

TOUGH negotiations lie ahead following the first step to agreement on a peace plan for south-western Africa.

The ceasefire agreement announced last night by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was the first move towards a peace pact.

This pact will include provisions for the independence of Namibia.

Among the major problems to be resolved are:

- African National Congress bases in Angola;

- The cost of implementing UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence, including huge subsidies to the territory; and

- Establishing a direct link between the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola and the independence plan.

The principle of linkage has been established. South Africa wants all Cuban troops out of Angola before Namibian elections organised under Resolution 435.

## AGGRESSION

Total withdrawal of Cubans is likely to be one of the main items on the agenda at the next round of talks in the week beginning August 22.

The question of ANC bases will also be discussed. In New York all parties promised to respect territorial integrity and not to allow acts of aggression against each other from their territories.

But in Geneva an Angolan spokesman said his government would not betray liberation movements which had international recognition.

The enormous costs of a Namibian independence plan will be raised with the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, who has been invited to South Africa by President Botha.

According to Mr Pik Botha such a plan could cost R1½-billion.

South Africa also wants to know who will continue the contributions to the Namibian budget and who will take up guarantees for loans of about R750-million to Namibia in the past few years.

Mr Botha said that from 1969 to 1984 the South African contribution to the administration costs of the territory was about R2,3-billion.

Since 1984 South Africa has injected R2,2-billion into the Namibian budget.

## HIGH LEVEL

According to military sources South Africa now has fewer than 1 000 troops in Angola compared to 3 000 a few months ago. They will start withdrawing from tomorrow and must all be out by September 1.

The high level of South African and South West African forces south of the border will be maintained until a number of other problems have been resolved.

Opposition spokesmen welcomed the ceasefire.

The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Ray Swart, said it was only a first, tentative step.

The ceasefire was long overdue and he hoped neither side would drag their feet on the path to a Namibian independence.

Mr Frank le Roux of the Conservative Party welcomed the prospect of negotiations against a peaceful background. But he said the Conservatives opposed the implementation of Resolution 435.

- The Argus Foreign Service reports from London that Unita has rejected the ceasefire in Angola. A spokesman said the ceasefire did not apply to Unita.

- Ceasefire agreement page 14.

## Swapo agrees to ceasefire from Sept 1

LONDON. — Swapo has announced that its forces and those of South Africa will "cease acts of military hostility" in Namibia from September 1.

But in a statement issued in Luanda, it warned that "Swapo combat operations against the South African troops and their local auxiliary units in Namibia will only hold if South Africa is prepared to honour its word that it will reciprocate Swapo's gesture of goodwill by not mounting military operations against combatants of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan), Swapo's military wing, in the period leading to a formal ceasefire in October 1988."

The statement, released here by the Swapo news agency, Nampa, said Swapo "has pledged to do its best to help make the peace process in the South Western African region irreversible and successful, provided Pretoria also shows the political will to do the same."

## NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

The Namibian transitional government was "encouraged" by the Geneva agreement but was concerned that UN-elections would take place before national reconciliation had been achieved with Swapo, said Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the transitional government cabinet.

He said progress had been made in Geneva and it would now be much easier to achieve peace in the region. It would be possible to discuss the future without the pressure of hostilities.

"We have made it clear before that we want UN 435. That is what we are aiming at."

Mr Mudge said the government had expressed no new reservations at yesterday's meeting with President Botha, when it was briefed on the latest developments. However

(Turn to page 3, col 8)

P.T.U.

First political reaction to the ceasefire in Angola and the withdrawal of South African troops from the country was positive.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, has invited United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar to visit South Africa to discuss preparations for the implementation of the UN independence plan for Namibia, which is to start on November 1.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba have agreed to the starting date. It may mean UN-supervised one-man, one-vote elections by June 1 next year.

The three countries have also agreed that South African troops will begin withdrawing from Angola tomorrow — and complete their pull-out by September 1.

### 'Political enemies'

In Luanda, President Eduardo dos Santos reportedly told a one-day summit meeting of African Frontline states leaders that there were now signs that peace in Angola was becoming a reality.

The Namibian transitional government chairman, Mr Dirk Mudge, said yesterday his Cabinet was encouraged by the Geneva agreement.

But he was concerned that UN-supervised elections would take place before national reconciliation with the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

"I think the parties should get together and talk so that we go to the elections as political enemies and not military enemies," he said after a briefing in Pretoria.

Swapo has announced that its forces and those of South Africa will "cease acts of military hostility" in Namibia from September 1.

The official British government view was given yesterday by a Foreign Office spokesman who said: "We welcome any moves towards a lasting peace in the region."

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last night said the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had been invited to come to Pretoria as as soon as possible to discuss the long list of items involved in the implementation of Resolution 435.

## Swapo also pledges to stop fighting

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Swapo has announced that its forces and those of South Africa will "cease acts of military hostility" in Namibia from September 1.

In a statement issued in Luanda yesterday, it warned that the ceasefire depended on South African forces doing likewise.

The statement, released here by the Swapo news agency, Nampa, said that Swapo "has pledged to do its best to help make the peace process in the south-western African region irreversible and successful, provided Pretoria also shows the political will to do the same".

It added that "from August 10, guns will fall silent between the South African and Angolan/Cuban forces on the Angola side of the south-western Africa battlefield.

"On that date, the remaining pockets of the South African Army that are still inside Angola will be allowed to withdraw peacefully into Namibia. This withdrawal process is to be completed by September 1."

Among these was the question of who would foot the estimated R1.5 billion bill for the implementation of Resolution 435, who would replace South Africa's annual budgetary assistance to Namibia and who would take over its guarantees for Namibia's loans of about R750 million.

A second stumbling block was the question of the neutrality of the international peacekeeping and monitoring force.

Thirdly, and probably the biggest single hurdle to be cleared, is the question of the time-scale of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

A fourth hurdle is the matter of ANC bases in Angola. South Africa is demanding the curtailing of ANC activities and bases in Angola.

American officials are said to be anxious to head off any tensions or last-minute flare-ups that could interfere with the agreements hammered out in Geneva last week between South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

Informed sources say a no-go area for South African, Cuban and possibly Swapo troops, has been declared from the Namibian border to a line running east-west about 150 km inside Angola.

● See Page 15.

Relief and joy have greeted the news of the ceasefire — from 5 pm yesterday — and the follow-up withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, but observers say that a long haul lies ahead in finding a lasting solution.

Political Correspondent  
and The Star's Foreign News Service

# Angolan peace breakthrough

Cuban troop withdrawal still a major stumbling block

11 1

# 'Freedom' comes at a very high price

Independence for Namibia is going to be expensive, says **ANTHONY ROBINSON**, who reports after a visit to the area that peace will bring formidable cash problems to the already-strained economy.

**LONDON** — The 13-year civil war in Angola and the lengthy guerrilla war that has been waged against South Africa inside Namibia by Swapo have been hugely expensive for all involved.

But bringing peace to Angola and independence to Namibia in terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 is not going to be cheap either.

This is the unpalatable message in the little-noticed economic and financial section of the peace plan put on the negotiating table by South Africa — and immediately rejected — at the recent Geneva peace talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

To counter the widespread belief that South Africa has ruthlessly exploited the resources of Namibia, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha claimed that Pretoria had subsidised the Namibian Budget by R4 500 million since 1966 — half of that over the past four years.

## Whose tab?

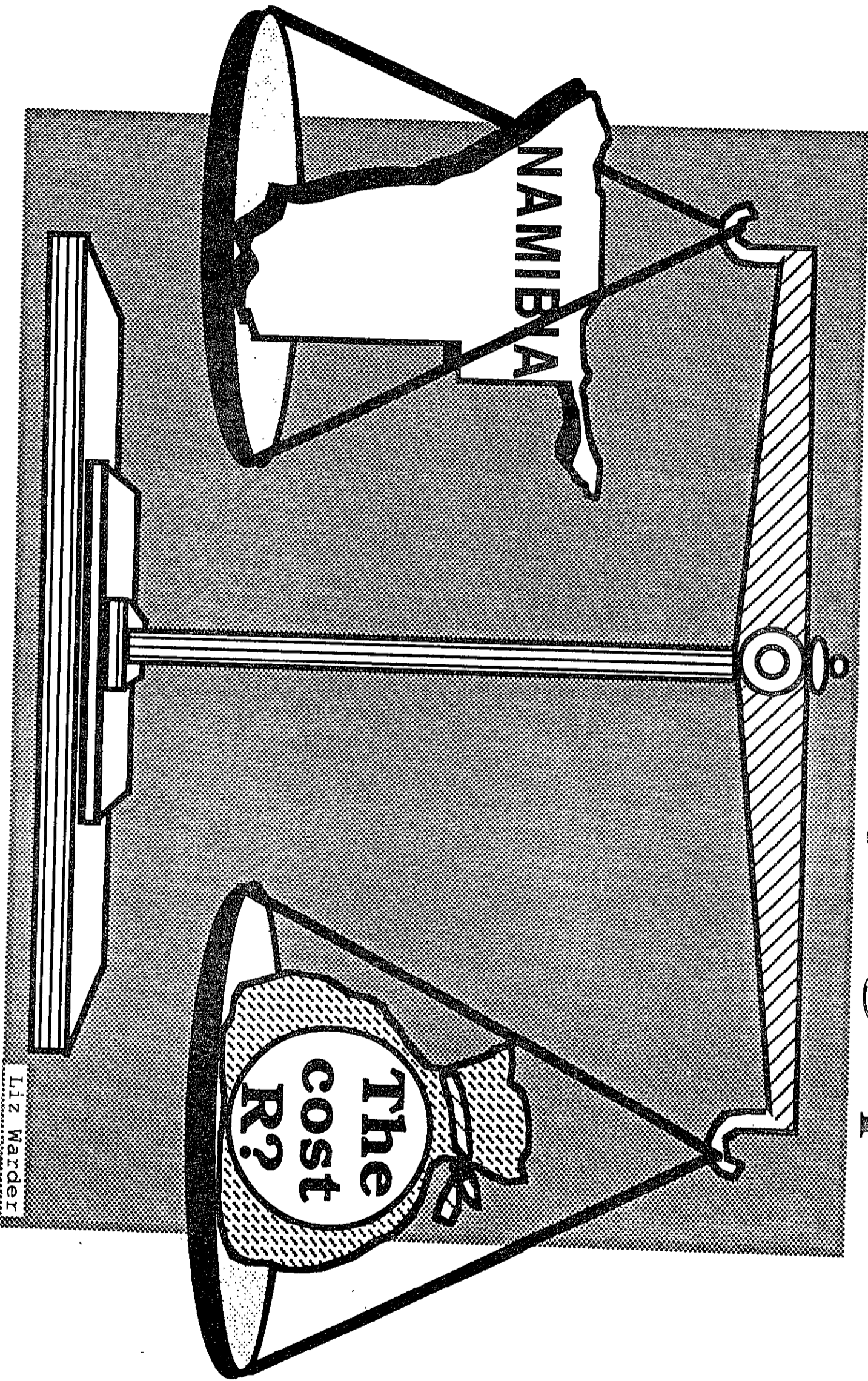
Who, he asked, is going to pick up that tab in future? His question was directed at the permanent members of the Security Council, who will guarantee any eventual settlement.

South Africa also acts as guarantor for R750 million of Namibia's bank debt. Who, he wanted to know, will guarantee that after independence?

The proposed South African timetable sets November 1 as the starting point for the seven-month implementation process under Resolution 435. This will give the UN a mere three months to raise, train and dispatch a 7 500-strong task force to monitor elections.

In 1978, when Resolution 435 was passed, the estimated cost of independence for Namibia was about R950 million. This year the already financially hard-pressed world body would be lucky to get away with a bill of less than R2 500 million. It could be a big test of the UN's commitment.

Rumours of peace have re-



### The cost R?

Liz Warder

surrected old fears, as well as fresh hopes, inside Namibia. Ten years ago, when independence fever last hit Namibia, more than 25 000 people, a quarter of the white population, sold their farms and property and transferred themselves, their skills and their bank accounts to South Africa.

The exodus was a factor behind Pretoria's decision to backtrack on its original commitment to honour Resolution 435.

What scared many Namibian whites then still worries them now: the prospect of independence under a black majority

government headed by Mr Sam Nujoma, exiled leader of Marxist-oriented Swapo.

White businessmen who recently met Mr Nujoma and senior Swapo cadres in Europe came away deeply worried by the economic naivety of Swapo leaders who for years have fought the independence struggle from first-class hotels and venues such as the UN.

They have become used to being funded by Sweden and other Scandinavian governments, world church bodies, the UN — which deems Swapo the sole legitimate representative

of the Namibian people — and Moscow.

When they get to power they think that they'll be able to hold out the begging bowl and people will queue up to contribute.

They don't have a clue about the realities of Namibia's fragile economy, or its virtual total dependence on South Africa, one businessman said on his return.

To calm white fears in 1979, Mr P W Botha, then Prime Minister, sent Dr Gerrit Viljoen, former leader of the secret Broederbond, to persuade whites to stay. He succeeded by

entrenching ethnic rights and guaranteeing that white income taxes would be spent on maintaining white services and standards.

The complex system of 11 ethnic second-tier authorities which stemmed from that decision led to a massive proliferation of bureaucracy, an explosion of public debt, and rocketing government expenditure.

This is now a crippling legacy for any future government. With severe budgetary constraints of its own, the world from Pretoria even before the latest peace proposals was that Namibia must stand on its own

feet. Over the two years Pretoria's contribution to the Namibian budget has halved from 35 percent to 17 percent.

This year about R700 million of the R1 890 million Namibian Budget is allocated to security, including the 35 000-strong territorial force.

Military sources say Pretoria spends about R1 000 million in a normal year. This includes the costs of anti-insurgency operations against Swapo, patrolling and fighting in the operational zone on both sides of the border, and support for Unita forces in Angola.

Thanks to heavy South African-funded infrastructure development, Namibia boasts nearly 42 000 km of roads, 2 350 km of railways, and an electricity grid integrated into that of South Africa.

Whatever form independence takes, it will not change the fact that Namibia will remain economically dependent on South Africa.

Whether or not Namibia becomes another African basket case will depend on how quickly Swapo can be persuaded that Namibia actually has a rather fragile economy. — The Financial Times, London.

## Pullout by Cuba could be speedy

By SAM SOLE

If Cuba wanted to, it could withdraw its troops from Angola "in weeks".

A leading military analyst says it is logistically possible for Cuba to withdraw all its estimated 50 000 troops in Angola by the middle of next year.

But the withdrawal of equipment could be much slower and present difficulties.

Mr Heimoed Heitman, a correspondent for *Jane's Defence Weekly*, says the greatest difficulty for the Cubans would be the effective transfer of responsibilities to Angola's Fapla forces.

"There is no problem with the 'bodies' themselves — 50 000 soldiers fit into a relatively small number of ships and aircraft," he said.

"We would be talking of a matter of weeks rather than months."

"Taking equipment was another matter. 'There is the matter of the bad roads, many mined by Unita, and poor communications. So, getting the stuff to the ports could be a problem."

Mr Heitman said the biggest headache would be the effective handing over to Fapla.

"It is the Cubans who have been keeping Unita out of large parts of Angola. Fapla is simply not equipped to take over that role effectively, and it will require a crash programme of Cuban training not to leave a very big hole when they leave."

On the question of where the Cubans might go, Mr Heitman said it was "not impossible" that they might be redeployed in Mozambique.

"They might also be sent to Ethiopia — but it is likely that most of them would be sent home."

This would put a strain on the Cuban economy as there were no jobs.

"However, a proportion of them are national servicemen, who would have had to be absorbed anyway."

Mr Heitman said he was still not convinced of a Cuban commitment to a peace settlement.

## The fight continues for Unita's troops

9/18/88  
Business Day Reporter

THE withdrawal of SA troops from Angola will start tomorrow and be completed by September 1, according to Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

The withdrawal has clear implications for Unita which has been supported by SA in its 13-year-old civil war against the Angolan government.

Sapa-Reuter reported a Unita spokesman in Lisbon as saying the ceasefire did not apply to his organisation.

"As far as we're concerned, the fighting goes on until the MPLA at least accepts the principle of negotiations with Unita," chief European Unita spokesman Alcidés Sakala said.

Yesterday's announcement said withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops would be part of the agreement.



At the Pretoria Press conference yesterday. From left: SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Picture: PHILIP LITTLETON

## Text of ceasefire announcement

PRETORIA — Following is the text of the statement issued in Pretoria yesterday on a ceasefire in Angola and Namibia:

The delegations of Angola, Cuba, SA and the US met August 2 to 5 in Geneva, Switzerland, to continue their efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in south-western Africa.

Building on the progress made at London, Cairo and New York, the negotiations in Geneva were detailed, positive and productive.

The delegations of Angola, Cuba and SA agreed on a sequence of steps necessary to prepare the way for the independence of Namibia in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435 and to achieve peace in southwestern Africa.

They agreed to recommend to the Secretary General of the UN the date of November 1 1988 for the beginning of implementation of 435. The parties approved *ab referendum* to their respective governments the text of a tripartite agreement that embodies in binding treaty form the principles negotiated at Governor's Island in New York, and formally approved

by governments on July 20 1988.

On their side, Angola and Cuba reiterated their decision to subscribe to a bilateral accord which will include a timetable acceptable to all parties for the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The parties have undertaken to reach agreement on this timetable by September 1 1988.

The parties approved a comprehensive series of practical steps that will enhance mutual confidence, reduce the risk of military confrontation and create the conditions in the region necessary to conclude the negotiations.

With the approval of these measures a *de facto* cessation of hostilities is now in effect. The full effects of these measures will become apparent in the weeks ahead.

The next round of negotiations at the level of senior officials will take place during the week of August 22 with the exact date and venue to be established. All the delegations expressed their appreciation for the superb facilities and support extended by the government of Switzerland. — Sapa-Reuters.

B/Deay

9/8/88



# Cuban troop withdrawal part of deal

# CEASEFIRE

SOUTH Africa and opposing Cuban and Angolan forces declared a ceasefire from yesterday pending more talks on ending the interlocked conflicts in Angola and Namibia.

The three countries also invited the United Nations to start implementing on November 1, its long-delayed plans for the independence of Namibia, a former German colony ruled by South Africa since World War One.

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

Withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola will be part of the deal and the three countries have pledged to agree by September 1, on a timetable for the Cuban pullout, the joint announcement said.

"The agreement . . . provided for a ceasefire, or cessation of hostilities, from the moment of the release of this statement," Foreign Minister Mr P.W. Botha told a news conference.

"The ceasefire is now in effect."

The Foreign Minister said President P.W. Botha sent a message yesterday inviting United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar to South Africa urgently to discuss implementation of a UN blueprint for the independence of Namibia.

The announcement followed US-mediated negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba in Geneva last week.

## Rebels

The Foreign Minister said South Africa would begin pulling out its forces from Angola tomorrow and the withdrawal would be completed by September 1.

South African troops have been supporting pro-Western Unita rebels under Jonas Savimbi fighting a 13-year-old civil war against the Angolan Government.

In Lisbon, the chief European spokesman for Unita said the ceasefire did not apply to his organisation.

"As far as we're concerned, the fighting goes on until the MPLA (Angola's ruling party), at least accepts the principle of negotiations with Unita," rebel spokesman, Mr Alcides Sakala, said.

Mr Botha said South Africa was recommending to the United Nations that implementing resolution 435 on Namibian independence should begin on November 1.

But this would depend on a satisfactory timetable for the withdrawal of an estimated 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola, he said.

"This is the first step on a very, very long and arduous road to the establishment of stability in this important region of Africa."

## De Cuellar invited to SA for talks



INVITED . . . De Cuellar.

Mr Botha said further details would have to be agreed at another round of four-sided negotiations to be held in the week of August 22.

"It is up to us, the governments concerned, to reach agreement on the practical implementation of the sequence of steps agreed in Geneva," he said.

"The date November 1 is, of course, linked very clearly and categorically to the staged and total withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola," Mr Botha said.

The war, virtually static for long periods, has been particularly fierce during the past 10 months with South African forces pushing hundreds of kilometres into southern Angola and

• To Page 2

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## Bucs boss on car theft charge

ORLANDO Pirates' boss, Mr Sipho "Sixty" Mall (65), appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday in connection with two cars he allegedly stole in January this year.

Mr Mall, Orlando Pirates' chairman and a taxi owner, appeared before Mr H. van Heerden and pleaded not guilty to two counts of car theft.

One of the cars allegedly belonged to a Mr H. Michaels who testified that his car, a blue BMW, was stolen in January this year.

In a statement read in court, Mr Mall said:

To Page 3 >

No soldiers trapped in Angola, says SADF

# SA troops begin big withdrawal

10/8/78 Star (5)

By Craig Kotze

South African troops began withdrawing today from their forward bases in southern Angola, scene of fierce battles which claimed the lives of dozens of South Africans, in accordance with the ceasefire plan announced this week.

The withdrawal, across a 300 km front of dense bush, is expected to be completed by September 1.

South African troops have reportedly already mopped up the wreckage of past battles in the area and soldiers in the region of Cuito Cuanavale have started dismantling their forward base.

It is estimated that about 2 000 South African soldiers are still in southern Angola.

A Defence Force spokesman said today he was not prepared to comment on the withdrawal, saying he had nothing to add to the statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

But he dismissed as "ludicrous" reports that several hundred South African troops were trapped inside Angola by Cuban-Angolan forces.

"It is not SADF policy to comment on troop movements but it is ludicrous to say that South African troops are trapped in Angola," said the spokesman.

*The Independent* in London reported that several hundred South African troops were trapped and heavily outnumbered by a Cuban and Angolan force deep inside Angola.

Defence expert Mr Helmoed-Romer Heitman, southern African correspondent for *Jane's Defence Weekly* magazine, also dismissed the claim that South African troops were cut off.

"If they had been cut off there would have been fighting. In any case, there is probably a combat group deployed to prevent this situation from arising," said Mr Heitman.

He believed about 1 500 troops were still in the Cuito region and about another 1 000 near Caluque to the west.

He said the biggest concern of the SADF in Cuito would be to get the less mobile G5 guns out of the area.

Mr Heitman said he believed the withdrawal process would take up to a week from the Cuito area because of tactical considerations.

"It will probably be conducted in stages. The one thing that might delay it is the possibility of a Cuban or Angolan attack, so the withdrawal will be conducted with this in mind," said Mr Heitman.

## SA rugby is urged to turn professional

By Barry Glasspool

Renewed calls have come for South Africa to go it alone and turn professional, following the forced cancellation yesterday of the World XV rugby tour.

The Transvaal president, Dr Louis Luyt, who has the support of most leading players, is pressing for the International Rugby Board to say exactly where South Africa stands and he insists this must be done now, not next year.

Reliable sources believe Transvaal will spearhead the initiatives in any breakaway towards professionalism.

After another tour disappointment, South African Rugby Board president Dr Danie Craven announced plans today to send a South African team overseas soon. The team would not be an official Springbok squad but would probably comprise players on the fringes of Test selection and would embrace all race groups.

Accounts of harassment of individual players and behind-the-scenes skulduggery emerged in the wake of the aborted rugby tour.

Strong political pressure by the French Minister of Sport and the Argentine Rugby Union's decision to warn their players of the drastic consequences of touring South Africa were the final death blows for the tour.

Entry free under Digger Joe



Little people take note. If you can stand under life's stretched hand like Gerry the Clown, you are entitled to Reef City. Digger Joe is a main feature in the new e allows easier flow and greater control, and eliminates c of children. © P

# SA troops mop up wreckage of past Angolan battles

SAs frontline troops mopped up the wreckage of past battles yesterday for a withdrawal from southern Angola across 300km of sandy bush to Namibia.

SA officials at Oshakati said their forces in Angola — estimated at more than 2 000 — were already dismantling their main forward base near Cuito Chanavale.

Under Monday's ceasefire plan, the withdrawal starts today and will be completed by September 1.

The officials said troops were col-

wrecked tanks and blasted trucks. "They are almost ready to move."

In Pretoria, a Defence Ministry official said troops would be moving south today but added it could be a slow operation assuring cover for the pullback.

He said: "It is not like a rugby game where the whistle goes and everybody just packs up and goes home. There is a ceasefire, but one knows what the record of ceasefires is."

The withdrawal is part of an accord

tween SA, Angola and Cuba.

It could be the first step towards Namibian independence after 70 years of SA rule and to peace in the region after more than 21 years of guerrilla war and civil conflict.

At times, SA penetrated more than 1 000km to the outskirts of Luanda, in more than a decade of conflict in the region.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan said last week his forces had killed 10 000 men in Angola since last September for

Military analyst Helmut-Romer Heltnan, a Jane's Defence Weekly correspondent who has special access to the army, said about 1 500 men were still based near Cuito Chanavale.

He said: "There is probably another combat unit of maybe 1 000 men positioned to the southwest to protect their line of retreat."

"I think they gave up the idea of taking Cuito late last year and they have just been making sure no one else gets in to use the air field there," Penton

## NEXT PEACE TALKS 'WILL BE TOUGH'

ELSABÉ WESSELS

SA OFFICIALS believe the next round of Angolan/Namibian peace talks on August 22 will be the toughest yet.

Still to be resolved is the difference between the seven-month period specified in UN resolution 435 for a SA withdrawal from Namibia and the two-to-four years Cuba wants to pull its troops out of Angola.

Sources said an agreement on a Cuban withdrawal would be a watershed in the talks.

# US pledges to continue supporting Unita

WASHINGTON — Despite promising moves towards a southern Africa peace settlement, the United States will not consider ending aid to Unita rebels unless the Soviet Union stops assisting Angola, Assistant US Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker said yesterday.

"Our position is that we're not going to unilaterally disengage", he said.

Asked if the US would restrain its support if Moscow did likewise, he replied: "They will have to address this issue to us. If they have something to tell us on that point, we are ready to hear it."

"There is a potential not only to end the war but also to build a lasting peace," he said.

## POLITICAL WILL

Dr Crocker said the "path to a settlement has been cleared" but acknowledged that what remained to be seen was whether the concerned parties had the political will to resolve the remaining issues.

"It would be tragic if this moment were not seized to reach an agreement after 13 years of war," he said.

While expressing optimism, Dr Crocker said the civil war "could hamper and postpone" efforts to

reach a troop withdrawal agreement.

The Unita issue has not formally been included in the agenda for the talks that began in May between South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the United States.

But rebel leaders have said Dr Crocker and other US officials have kept them informed about the talks.

The parties next will attempt to reach agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops. South Africa has linked its withdrawal to early pull-out of Cuban troops.

Dr Crocker said the absence of progress toward an internal settlement in Angola would have a "direct bearing" on the willingness of Cuba and South Africa to compromise on the troop withdrawal question.

Dr Crocker said he has made it clear to the parties that the United States does not look on its support for Unita as "something to be traded as a bargaining chip" in the negotiations on Cuban withdrawal.

The United States has been providing the Unita rebels with about R30 million in assistance annually. Dr Crocker said the Soviets have been sending about R2 billion a year in military aid to their Angolan ally. — Sapa-AP, Reuter.

# SA troops mop up in Angola

CRK Tru'S 10/18/88

SOUTH AFRICAN frontline troops in Angola were mopping up the wreckage of recent battles yesterday as they prepared to withdraw 300km into Namibia.

SADF officials in Oshakati said SA forces in Angola — estimated at more than 2 000 — were already dismantling their main forward base near Cuito Cuanavale, where SA and Angolan troops have fought fierce battles, Sapa-Reuter reports.

Under a ceasefire plan announced on Monday, the troop withdrawal starts today and should be completed by September 1.

Officials in Oshakati said the troops were collecting garbage and picking up bits of wrecked tanks and blasted trucks — they are almost ready to move.

Cuito Cuanavale, a key government garrison, faced heavy bombardment by the SADF's long-range G-5 guns earlier this year. Several times the town was reported to be on the verge of capture but Angolan and Cuban forces vowed they would not allow it to fall into SA hands.

In Pretoria, a senior defence ministry official said SA troops would be moving south from today but indicated that it could be a slow operation assuring cover for the pullback.

"It is not like a rugby game where the whistle goes and everybody just packs up and goes home," he said. "There is a ceasefire, but one knows what the record of ceasefires is."

WILLEM STEENKAMP reports that local military observers believe SA's troops in Angola could be back over the border in less than a week if ordered to leave in a hurry.

A SADF spokesman dismissed rumours that 6 000 SA troops were trapped by the Cubans and could not get out of Angola.

It was "ludicrous to suggest that South African troops are trapped in Angola", he said.

BARRY STREEK reports that while UN efforts to monitor the implementation of UN resolution 435 on Namibian independence have yet to get into gear, SA's offer to UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar is "under consideration".

However, with Mr Perez de Cuellar and his officials heavily involved in the Iran-Iraq peace negotiations, it was unlikely that much serious attention would be given to the Namibian situation in the immediate future.

● The costs of implementing resolution 435 and supervising "free and fair" elections in Namibia were clearly the responsibility of the UN, PFP finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz said yesterday.

● It was imperative that all Namibia's parties, including Swapo, worked out a constitution for the territory if a healthy economy was to be maintained, the chairman of the transitional government, Mr Dirk Mudge, said in Windhoek last night.

# SA firm on Cuban troops

SA WILL insist that the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola must be completed within seven months to coincide with implementation of UN resolution 435 on independence for Namibia, government sources said yesterday.

SA troops began their withdrawal from Angola yesterday. It will be completed by September 1.

In Geneva last week SA threw down the gauntlet when it proposed the Cuban troop withdrawal should be completed within seven months of implementation of UN resolution 435, which would pre-

11/8/88 B/Oay  
ELSABÉ WESSELS

pare Namibia for UN-monitored elections.

Agreement on a date for Cuban withdrawal was the major item on the agenda for the next round of tripartite talks scheduled for August 22.

SA recognised that it would demand a major compromise on the part of Angola and Cuba who favour a staged withdrawal to be completed over four years.

Continuation of the peace process de-

5 ● To Page 2

# SA firm on Cuban pull-out timetable

pending on SA, Cuba and Angola reaching an agreement on a withdrawal timetable.

According to the SA proposal, put forward in Geneva last week, phased and total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, should be completed on June.

SA has identified November 1 for implementation of UN resolution 435 and the holding of Namibian elections seven months later.

Sapa reports from Namibia that army trucks, troop carriers and tank transporters plied back and forth between Ruacana on the Angolan border and the main SA garrison at nearby Oshakati.

Convoys also moved back and forth to the railhead at Grootfontein, about 500km to the south-east. Reporters saw no sign of troops crossing the border.

B/Oay ● From Page 5  
11/8/88  
Asked about numbers and the stages of the withdrawal, an SADF spokesman said it was policy not to provide such information.

Although the exact number of SA soldiers in Angola is not known there have been reports putting it as high as 6 000 earlier this year.

Reuters reports SA officials at Oshakati as saying there are more than 2 000 SA forces in Angola.

An SADF spokesman denied a report in The Independent newspaper in London that 300 to 400 SA troops had been surrounded by Cuban and Angolan forces near Cuito Cuanavale.

# Troops begin 'orderly' pullout

CME TMS 1/1988 (S)

**JOHANNESBURG.** — South African troops yesterday began their withdrawal from Angola.

The withdrawal, due to be completed by September 1, is part of the peace agreement between S.A., Angola and Cuba.

An SADF spokesman yesterday confirmed that an "orderly withdrawal" was in progress.

In Pretoria, a spokesman dismissed a report in London's Independent newspaper claiming the ceasefire would save up to 400 South African soldiers besieged near the Angolan town of Cuito Cuanavale, 320km north of Namibia's border.

"It is not SADF policy to comment on troop movements. It is, in any case, ludicrous to allege that South African troops are trapped in Angola," the spokesman said.

The Independent newspaper said the trapped soldiers had been surrounded by Cuban and Angolan forces near Cuito Cuanavale.

They said the trapped soldiers had faced surrender or certain death until last week's Geneva agreement which brought about the troop withdrawal.

In May this year, Africa Confidential reported that 3 000 SA troops were massed south of Cuito Cuanavale, while another 3 000 were stationed between the Unita base at Mavinga and Cuito Cuanavale, the Angolans' most forward airbase.

US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker, who mediated a series of peace talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, said Washington would continue supplying the rebels as long as the Luanda government received Soviet support.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe labelled the move as "absolutely stupid".

He said he could not understand the US decision to continue supporting Unita rebels in the wake of the recent four-nation agreement to halt the war.

He welcomed South Africa's pledge to withdraw its troops from Angola but said the departure of Cuban troops was unlikely to begin for several months.

Mr Mugabe doubted South Africa's commitment to peace in Southern Africa and warned that Pretoria might intensify attacks on its neighbours after Namibia's independence.

"I do not trust the South Africans," he said. "They still have to prove they are genuinely committed to the peace process."

He said that after Namibia's independence, South Africa might

feel besieged by black-ruled states and intensify a campaign to sabotage them militarily and economically.

Sapa reports that army trucks, troop carriers and tank transports piled back and forth between Ruacana on the Angolan border and the SA garrison at Oshakati.

Convoys also moved back and forth to the railroad at Grootfontein, about 500km to the south-east. But reporters saw no sign of troops crossing the border.

Asked about numbers and the stages of the withdrawal, the spokesman said it was policy for the SADF not to provide such information.

Although the exact number of SA soldiers in Angola was not known, SA troop strength in Angola was reported to have been as high as 6 000 earlier this year. Reuters reported SA officials at

Oshakati as saying that SA forces in Angola exceeded 2 000 at present.

Observers said the withdrawal would strengthen SA's troop presence in Namibia, where an estimated 50 000 SA-backed SWATF troops are massed along the border.

SA will insist that Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola be completed within seven months to coincide with the implementation of UN resolution 435 on independence for Namibia, government sources said yesterday.

The agreement on a date for Cuban withdrawal is the major item on the agenda for the next round of tri-party talks scheduled for August 22.

SA recognized that it would demand a major compromise on the part of Angola and Cuba, who favour a staged withdrawal to be

completed over four years.

Sources said failure on the side of Cuba and Angola to come to a satisfactory agreement on a time-frame for Cuban troops withdrawal could force a deadlock when talks resume later this month.

According to the SA proposal, put forward in Geneva last week, phased and total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola should be completed on June 1, 1989.

Cuba said yesterday that the start of efforts to withdraw South African troops from Angola marked the beginning of the end for Pretoria's "aggression" against its black neighbours.

"This is the beginning of the end of one of the most aggressive chapters of Pretoria's hostile policy against neighbouring states," the official Prensa Latina news agency said. — Own Correspondents, Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI.

# The quiet man who makes his mark on Africa

WASHINGTON — If the ceasefire in Angola becomes a permanent peace, much of the credit will belong to a slightly-built, middle-aged, bespectacled American professor with a penchant for favourite clichés and a mind like a razor.

He is 46-year-old Dr Chester Arthur Crocker, who has pursued with single-minded determination the twin goals of Cuban withdrawal from Angola and independence for Namibia since the day in 1981 he became President Reagan's Assistant Secretary of State for Africa over the protests of a handful of US rightwingers.

He has pursued other policy goals — some of them as out of reach as they ever were, such as the end of apartheid and the emergence of an economically strong African continent — but, for the moment, a successful end is in sight for his Angola/Namibia efforts.

Dr Crocker, the longest serving assistant secretary in the Reagan State Department, has been forced to deal with vicious criticism at home and abroad on the road to this point where he stands to notch up his greatest success — with less than six months left in office.

At home, liberals accused him of a shopping list of sins ranging from lending moral support to the wicked SA Government to forging a *de facto* military partnership with the South Africans by supplying weapons to the terrorist Unita rebels.

## DOUBLE DEALING CHARGE

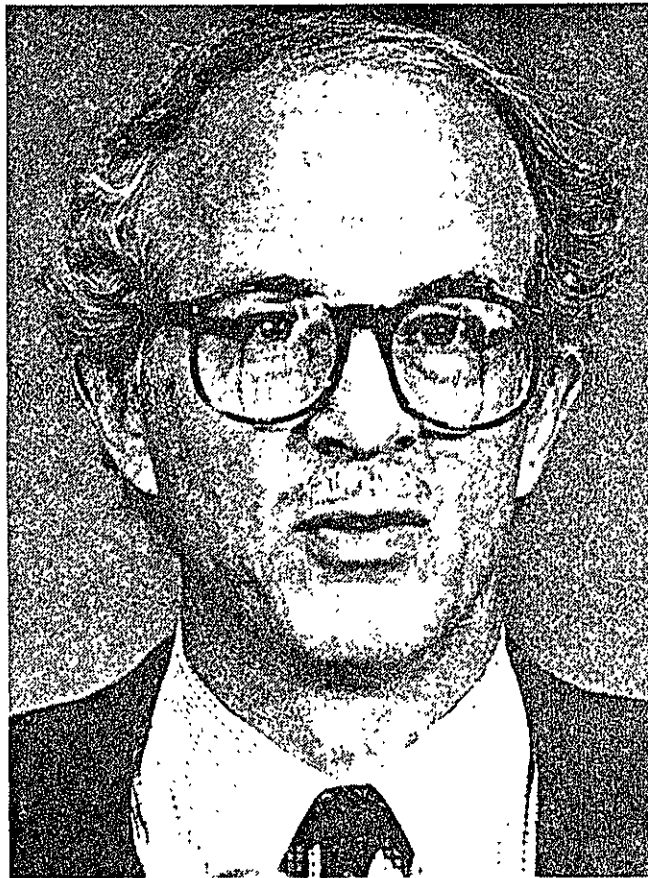
The conservatives accused him of playing footsie with the Angolan government by permitting American businessmen to trade there and of aiding and abetting the Commies in Mozambique.

Internationally, Dr Crocker took public abuse from every tinpot Third World leader and semi-informed journalist who somehow came to believe that the United States was capable of controlling events within South Africa.

Throughout it all, he stuck quietly to his policies, making adjustments every so often — such as dumping the name "constructive engagement" but not the basic structure — and arguing his case on Capitol Hill.

He fought a losing battle against American sanctions, saying they would reduce US influence in South Africa just when it was most needed, and that it made no sense to weaken the SA economy at a time it appeared to be the most effective "engine for change".

In an interview here, Dr Crocker insisted that history was already proving him right.



Dr Chester Crocker . . . single-mindedly worked for Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence.

By NEIL LURSEN,  
Argus Foreign Service

Whatever happens in Angola, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, has made his mark on millions of lives on this continent.

Usually, favourite phrases such as "windows of opportunity" and "cycle of violence" would emerge in his arguments with critics, but there was nothing clichéd about his basic themes.

These were that Africans must solve their own problems, that American could help them to do that, that conflict would not be settled by military means, that if peace were to last there must be no losers, and that the realities of power had to be taken into account.

For Dr Crocker, South Africa's regional power is a reality, and he recognises the country's security needs as well as the forces of nationalism and pride that exist and play a role in

Southern Africa.

He tried to devise and implement policies that would take all of these factors into account and he pursued them with the confidence of a man who feels he is right.

He also had the full confidence of President Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz, and — perhaps significantly — Vice President George Bush.

Dr Crocker is said to be especially close to Mr Bush and this raises the intriguing possibility that he will be asked to stay at the State Department, probably in a more senior position, should Mr Bush win the presidential election against the odds in November.

A successful end to the Angola/Namibia initiative would work in Mr Bush's favour — an example of the foreign policy sophistication of the Reagan/Bush era.

The Democratic candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, and some of his advisers have been negative about US efforts in Angola and have promised to change the policy — especially aid to Unita — should Mr Dukakis become president.

If the winds of war finally die away in south-western Africa because of the Reagan Administration's mediation, Mr Bush will lose no opportunity to point out Mr Dukakis's spoiling tactics in debates before the American people.

Thus, to a degree, the delicately-posed situation in the region could have an effect on the US presidential election — ranking with the Soviet withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and the relatively bloodless transition of power in the Philippines as examples of successful diplomacy.

## FUTURE IS UNCLEAR

Whether Dr Crocker would want to continue in public-office is not clear at this stage. There must be something in him that would like to be there when all the jigsaw puzzle pieces start to come together at last.

But some say that he is looking forward to a return to a quieter life for a while away from the pressures and with time to write and to analyse events at his leisure.

Certainly, his writings would be awaited with eager anticipation by even those who quarrel with his policies. He has had a lifetime of analysis and study, both as a government officer (he served on the National Security Council staff in the 70s) and as an academic (he was director of African Studies at the Centre for Strategic and International Studies at Washington's Georgetown University).

Born in New York City, Dr Crocker received his advanced education at Ohio State University and at Baltimore's Johns Hopkins University where he was awarded his PhD in 1969.

A quiet, unassuming man who likes to relax by fishing for trout in mountain streams, Dr Crocker has dominated events in Africa like no other international figure before him.

If he does retire from public life when the Reagan term winds up at the end of this year, he will have made his stamp on millions of lives in one of the world's most impoverished and turbulent regions.



# Unita attacks as SA pulls out of Angola

Staff Reporters

South African troops today continued to withdraw from Angola to bases in northern Namibia, while the Unita rebel movement said it went on the offensive against Cuban and Angolan troops, killing 50 and capturing the town of Chamutete.

A Unita statement said the offensive was ordered by leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, saying it was an attempt to show that his movement could not be ignored in the peace talks.

The South African withdrawal, which started yesterday, is being made in accordance with a ceasefire agreement with Angola and Cuba.

South African troops are to move south into Namibia by September 1.

Journalists who reached Oshakati, a major military base on the border, said defence systems in the area had been heavily strengthened, with new anti-aircraft rocket launchers and guns placed around the camps and the all-night firing of artillery into the bush to discourage attacks from guerillas.

They saw a bustle of military vehicles, including armoured troop carriers and supply trucks heading north, and propeller-driven reconnaissance planes taking off.

The South African Defence Force today confirmed that all its troops, estimated to be about 2 000, will be out of Angola by September 1, but declined to comment on the progress of the withdrawal.

The Defence Force would not say whether troops had already evacuated forward bases at Cuito Cuanavale and other sectors, but news agencies reported that the forward-most South African units, 300 km north of the border, were busy gathering up "wrecked tanks and blasted trucks" from the area of Cuito Cuanavale where fierce battles were fought last year.

Unita said it killed 35 Angolans and 15 Cubans on Tuesday in an attack which captured the army supply base in the second most important town in Huila province, according to an Associated Press report from Lisbon.

Five Unita soldiers were killed and another 13 wounded in the pre-dawn attack, which was supported by heavy artillery and lasted three hours.

Unita claimed to have destroyed a hydro-electric power plant that supplied water and electricity to the city, took over a mining complex and fuel supplies, and captured large amounts of Soviet-made weapons, including several SAM-16 and SAM-7 missiles.

Officials from Angola, Cuba and South Africa are to meet in two weeks to continue negotiations on the pull-out of Cuban troops.

● The Star's Africa News Service reports that Portuguese diplomatic sources have said from Lisbon that Portugal has received an official request to supply troops to a United Nations force to be sent to Namibia. Top level South African officials are expected in Lisbon next week to discuss the issue.

The sources said although the Portuguese government was keen to send troops to the Namibian/Angolan border there was still some division among the leadership of the armed forces about the matter.

X

UDF, big business POW-WOW

TOP businessmen who met members of progressive organisations at the weekend have agreed to "take another look" at the controversial Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

The businessmen were urged at the Magaliesberg meeting to stop the Bill becoming law, and not to use its provisions. Also on the agenda were the State of Emergency and the October municipal elections.

About 40 businessmen and academics met about 40 people associated with organisations like the United Democratic Front, Congress of SA Trade Unions and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers.

### No mandate

The meeting is believed to have been initiated by business consultant Christo Nel.

Those from organisations had no mandate because the meeting had been hurriedly convened, said one of the participants, who did not want to be named.

"We merely listened and tried to put concrete issues on the agenda.

"We had no illusions about the meeting. We were dealing with businessmen and not progressive organisations.

"These businessmen are not necessarily representative of big business. They are merely a group who called themselves en-

• TURN TO PAGE 3

Sanja 11-17/8/88

FROM PAGE 1

## UDF

lightened and opposed to apartheid.

"It was clear that their interest is to save capitalism, but we wanted to discuss concrete matters, like the state of emergency, labour legislation, conscription and the October elections.

"No further meetings have been planned but we will be observing with keen interest the kind of activity they will be engaged in."

No participants were named in a brief statement issued after the two-day meeting, but it is believed they included First National Bank managing director Chris Ball, Gencor chief executive Naas Steenkamp, Tradegro chief executive Mervyn King, Professor Sampie Terrblanche of Stellenbosch University, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of Idesa, and advocate David de Villiers, a former Nasionale Pers managing director.

11-17/8/88

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Sanja

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG. - The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) has adopted the Freedom Charter and committed itself to implementing it.

The 360 delegates from eight branches throughout South Africa also resolved to campaign against the transportation of military equipment to neighbouring countries. Instead, they pledged to support the struggle for self-determination in the neighbouring states.

These were among several resolutions adopted at its second annual national congress, at Johannesburg City Hall at the weekend.

**Not affiliated**

The union also resolved to develop a working class understanding of the demands of the Freedom Charter but to remain unaffiliated to any political grouping.

The TGWU is the seventh Cosatu affiliate to adopt the Freedom Charter, including the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union, the Construction and Allied Workers Union (Cawu) and the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU).

The union also intends exposing racism in the workplace.

Other resolutions adopted call for the formation of women's structures within

# Union 'yes' to Charter

TGWU at local, regional and national level, and to encourage women to build confidence through education and fight for equal pay.

Another resolution calls

for discouragement of nightshifts for women.

The union has committed itself to fight for one straight shift for bus drivers; for a say in the design of buses; an end to

dismissals of drivers found guilty of accidents; and for better health conditions in workshops.

The congress wants higher wages for cleaners, a nightshift allowance for transport to and from

work, and restplaces. The TGWU is to campaign for an eight-hour day for security guards, a living wage and job security for security guards, and protection against on-job dangers.

11A

~~TOP~~

# Angola admits downing Masire plane

*4th Times 11/8/88*

GABORONE. — The Angolan government yesterday admitted shooting down the executive jet in which President Quett Masire was traveling while flying over Cuito Bie on Sunday, it was reported in Botswana yesterday.

The Angolan government officially informed the Botswana government that the jet was mistaken for an enemy aircraft and was shot by an Angolan jet fighter, the office of the president announced yesterday afternoon.

The statement said investigations were being held in both countries.

The jet carrying President Masire and other officials had to be diverted for emergency landing after one of its engines exploded in mid-air, causing fragments to penetrate the cabin. Dr Masire and the Chief of Protocol, Mr Bashi Ikitsing, were slightly hurt.

● Twenty-six Cuban soldiers stationed in Angola were killed when their plane was shot down by their own anti-aircraft batteries by mistake on April 27 this year. — Sapa

● Troops begin orderly pullout. — Page 3

## SANCTIONS

International Chamber of Commerce representing organized trade and commerce in 59 countries "strongly urged" the US not to pass sanctions legislation which would affect trade with South Africa and the rest of the world. — SULL REPORT, PAGE 12

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# Angola admits downing Masire plane

*4th Times 11/18/88*

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Twenty-six Cuban soldiers stationed in Angola were killed when their plane was shot down by their own anti-aircraft batteries by mistake on April 27 this year. — Sapa

● Troops begin orderly pullout. — Page 3



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Argus Africa News Service  
JOHANNESBURG. — Portugal has received an official request to supply troops for a United Nations force to be sent to Namibia, diplomatic sources in Lisbon said today.

Top South African officials are expected in Lisbon next week to discuss the issue.

The sources said although the Portuguese government was keen to send troops to the Namibian-Angolan border, the armed forces were divided on the issue.

South Africa's Defence Force chief, General Janne Geldenhuys, visited Lisbon a few weeks ago after talks with Angola and Cuba in London.

General Geldenhuys has many personal friends among officers of the Portuguese armed forces since the times of Portugal's colonial war in Angola. He was stationed for a number of years in Luanda.

### 14-year war

Since the negotiations between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the US started there have a number of top level diplomatic contacts in Lisbon involving Cuban, American, South African and Soviet officials.

Portugal fought a 14-year war in Angola before granting the territory independence in 1975.

Meanwhile as South African troops continued to withdraw from Angola to bases in northern Namibia today, Unita said it went on the offensive against Cuban and Angolan troops, killing 50 and capturing the town of Chamutete.

The Unita statement said the offensive, ordered by leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, was aimed at showing that his movement could not be ignored in the peace talks.

Unita said it killed 35 Angolans and 15 Cubans on Tuesday in an attack which captured the army supply base Chamutete, the second most important town in Huila province.

Five Unita soldiers were killed and 13 wounded in the attack, which was supported by heavy artillery and lasted three hours, according to the rebels.

Unita claimed to have destroyed a hydro-electric power plant supplying water and elec-

(Turn to page 3, col 5)

UN asks Portugal to send troops

Argus 11/8/88 (5)

# Operation Namibia

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Argus 11/8/88  
**Troop withdrawal under way**

(Continued from page 1.)

tricity to the city, and to have captured a mining complex, fuel supplies and large amounts of Soviet-made weapons, including surface-to-air missiles.

The South African withdrawal, which started yesterday, is being made in accordance with the cease-fire agreement with Angola and Cuba.

South African troops are to pull back to Namibia by September 1.

The Defence Force would not say whether troops had already evacuated forward bases at Cuito Cuanavale and other sectors.

In Harare, President Robert Mugabe welcomed South Africa's "pledge" to withdraw its troops from Angola but said the departure of Cuban troops was unlikely to begin for several months.

Mr Mugabe said Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos told the leaders of black nations at a summit in Luanda this week that a timetable for the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops had still to be worked out.

He said: "It is not going to start now. It will start much later, perhaps after six to eight months."

Sapa-Reuter reports from

Ruacana in Namibia that the operation to withdraw South African troops from Angola is under way.

An official in Pretoria told reporters: "The process has started. The planning is being done right now."

**LANDMINES**

A security source in Pretoria said South African troops had been instructed to leave Angola within 15 days and details of the operation were being relayed to Angolan military authorities by air messages.

"You have to think about things like landmines," he said. "Everything will be discussed with the Angolans. We will tell them every move we make."

**Amnesty promise**

SEOUL. — The South Korean Justice Ministry says it will release more than 20 political prisoners on August 15 to mark the anniversary of the liberation of the Korean peninsula from Japan. — Sapa-AP.

**Rebel attack**

MAPUTO. — At least 21 people were killed when a group of rebels attacked the sugar centre of Maragra, about 75km north of Maputo. — Argus Africa News Service.

...mibia. He was captured by the South African Defence Force after suffering a broken thigh and shrapnel in the

launched in support of a four-month-old strike by pupils against the siting of military bases close to schools in

## Angola won't talk to Unita

THE Angolan government has ruled out direct negotiations with the Unita rebel movement. now desire to honestly work for reconstruction."

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, yesterday released a statement in Lisbon dismissing Unita as "puppets".

Angop reiterated Luanda's position that "reintegration and clemency" was the most Unita could expect. This would "permit the reinsertion into Angolan society of those who were fooled by the propaganda of the enemy but

Yesterday's announcement comes in the immediate wake of United States Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker's statement that the US would not stop support for Unita "unilaterally". Unita was "ready to deal", he said, and if the group was not accommodated this could "hamper and postpone" a comprehensive solution.

*w/meal*

⑤

12-18/8/88



'They're just SA puppets'

W/boy

# Angola rejects direct talks with Unita

LISBON — Direct negotiations demanded by Unita were rejected by Angola yesterday — three days after the announcement of a ceasefire in the 13-year-old Angolan war.

Angola described Unita as "puppets" controlled by SA.

It said Unita's exclusion from regional peace talks "was logical, normal and necessary for the establishment of peace".

On Monday, SA, Angola and Cuba announced an immediate ceasefire in the Angolan war.

A Unita spokesman said earlier this week it was prepared to fight "for many years" if Angola's leaders failed to accept negotiations leading to a power-sharing arrangement.

But Angola said it had frustrated military efforts by SA and Unita and had "forced SA to sit down at peace talks to discuss a peaceful solution for south-western Africa".

Unita's exclusion from peace talks did not rule out a programme of armistice and reinsertion in Angolan society for "hundreds of Angolans who were unwittingly used to serve foreign interests and personal ambitions".

Angola also called on African coun-

tries who had expressed support for Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to "reconsider their unfriendly stance".

Angola also said its armed forces had killed 71 Unita "bandits" and taken nine others as prisoners in military operations in several Angolan provinces between August 1-7. Unita, in the same clashes, had killed 26 government troops and captured 17 others.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports from London that Jane's Defence Weekly said the Cuban and Angolan air forces were set to receive their first MiG-29 aircraft.

Jane's said sales to the Cuban-Angolan air forces were part of an overall effort to restore Soviet dominance over Third World fighter arsenals, upgrade the quality of aircraft available to its allies and expand the number of Soviet clients.

In Lisbon, it was reported that Unita said it had killed 50 soldiers in a clash in the southern province of Huila.

A Unita spokesman said: "Fourteen hours after the ceasefire our forces, supported by heavy artillery, attacked the town of Chamutete, killing 35 government soldiers and 15 Cubans." — Sapa-AP-Reuters.



SA troops near the Namibian border take a break during the pull-out operation from Angolan territory.

# Strange bedfellows

## SADF, Cuban troops to rub shoulders

SOUTH African Defence Force officers will be rubbing shoulders with their Cuban and Angolan counterparts within the next few days to monitor the ceasefire in Angola, it has been disclosed here.

South African troops stationed in southeastern Angola started to withdraw from the territory yesterday under an agreement signed last week in Geneva with Angola and Cuba.

At the same time Cuban troops started moving northwards from their positions near the Namibia border to positions believed to be behind the 16th parallel, about 200 km from the border.

The Unita rebel movement yesterday said it went on the offensive against Cuban and Angolan troops, killing 50 and capturing the town of Chamutete.

### Unita statement

A Unita statement said the offensive was ordered by leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, saying it was an attempt to show that his movement could not be ignored in the peace talks.

A Swapo spokesman disclosed here that under the ceasefire agreement, Angola, Cuba and South Africa had agreed to set up a monitoring commission to oversee the ceasefire, the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, the move northwards from the Namibian border of Cuban troops and prevent incidents of military nature.

The spokesman said he did not know who would be part of the commission. It is understood that the



FLASHBACK: Cuban troops disembark at Kuito.

United States will have one observer in the commission, but it is not known if he will be a civilian or a US army officer.

News of the formation of the monitoring commission had so far not been released.

The joint statement issued on Monday said merely that the full effects of the cessation of hostilities would "become apparent in the weeks ahead" and at a Press conference in Pretoria South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha had refused to disclose how the ceasefire would be controlled.

It will be the first time that South African and Cuban military officers will be co-operating to ensure that their men do not get involved in any shooting battle.

In 1984 South African and Angolan Government territory against Swapo units violating the Lusaka Accord signed between the two countries, under which a ceasefire had also been agreed.

*By Savimbi*

ONE TRAILS 12/8/88

# Soviets beef up Angolan air force

From MIKE ROBERTSON

**LONDON** — The Cuban and Angolan air forces are set to receive their first highly-sophisticated MiG-29 planes, Jane's Defence Weekly says in its latest issue.

South Africa, meanwhile, unveiled its newest development in fighter aircraft technology, the Chee-tah-E, a modernized version of the old Mirage 111, in Pretoria yesterday.

According to reports the Chee-tah-E has already been deployed for operational duty at the Northern Transvaal Air Force base near Louis Trichard. It is described as a single-seat craft with "ultra-modern navigational and weapon systems".

The MiG-29 was introduced to the Soviet air force in 1985 and until now has been exported only to India, North Korea, Syria and Iraq.

Jane's said the sales to the Cuban-Angolan air forces were part of an overall effort to restore Soviet dominance over Third World fighter arsenals, upgrade the

quality of aircraft available to its allies and expand the number of Soviet clients.

The Soviets aimed to demonstrate to the rest of the world that they were capable of providing "first-line" aircraft. "The availability of Soviet quality exports on a timely basis is a major requirement in Third World countries," Jane's said.

The arrival of MiG-29s in Angola comes at a time when military analysts are saying South Africa has lost control of the air.

Analysts at London's Institute of Strategic Studies say this has been achieved by the use of sophisticated radar equipment, although the Angolans are still flying relatively old MiG-19, MiG-21, MiG-23 or SU-22 aircraft.

The MiG-29 is fitted with a pulse Doppler lookdown-shoot-down radar which gives it day and night all-weather operating capability against low-flying targets.

Jane's Fighting Aircraft says of the plane: "From the start it was plain it represented a concerted

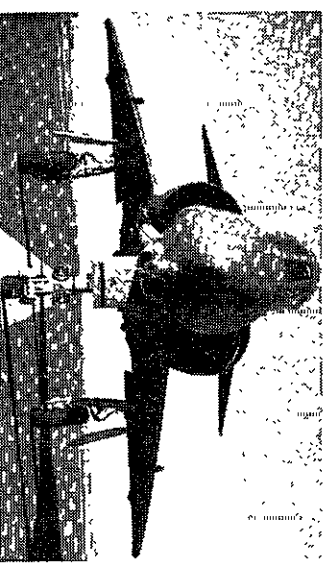
effort by the Soviet Union to close the technology gap with the West. Combat ratios and sustained turn rate are much improved over earlier Soviet fighters, and thrust-to-weight is better than 1. Although intended primarily as a counter-air fighter, it is likely to have a full dual-role air combat/attack capability."

The Chee-tah-E, meanwhile, is claimed by military authorities to be capable of protecting South Africa's air space "against the sophisticated weaponry being amassed by the country's enemies on our borders".

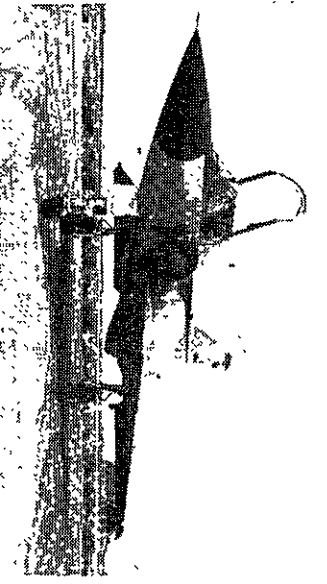
According to the authorities, it handles better and is more stable than the Mirage 111.

Improved performance offers its pilot considerable advantage in any air fight and its striking range compares favourably with the best fighter aircraft in the world.

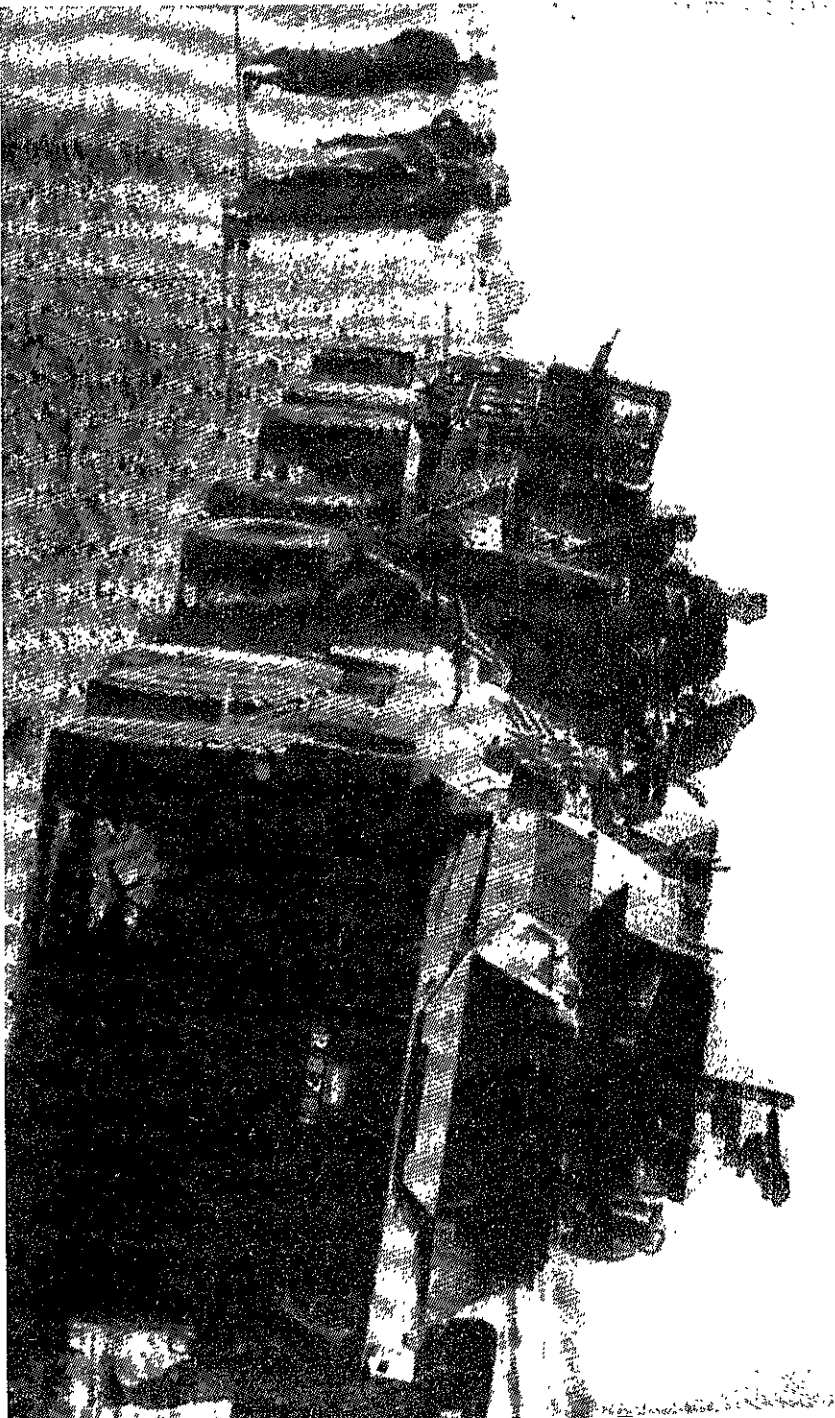
The Chee-tah-E is "equally at home" in ground attacks and air fights. "The time needed to change from one role to the other is as fast as it takes to push a button."



**CHEE-TAH** ... The first SAAF Chee-tah, converted from the earlier models of the Mirage.



**BEFORE** ... A Mirage 111 which has been converted to a Chee-tah-E for the SAAF.



Cape Times, Friday

**TAKING A BREAK** ... South African troops near the Namibian border with Angola at Ruacana take a break. This week South African troops started to withdraw from Angola after talks with Angola and Cuba led to a ceasefire.

Picture: REUTERS

## Lost sons — parents reflect on Angolan truce

By CHRIS BATEMAN

**WITH** one son lost in a MiG attack on Caluque Dam in Angola in June this year and another poised to be called up for "special services" at any moment, Mr Evert Philippus Koorits refuses to agonize over the Angolan-South African truce.

Like many South African parents bereaved by the on-off Angolan war since 1975, he doesn't question South Africa's involvement and accepts his son's fate as God's will.

"One thing is certain, we have to save our land. If our boys didn't save us who will do it?" Mr Koorits asked.

His son and namesake was among 12 South African soldiers killed when a bomb dropped from one of a dozen MiG-23s

missed the dam by 600 metres and landed between two armoured vehicles on June 26 this year.

Mr Koorits senior, a mechanic for a large preservative company in Tullbagh, said his son died when his "fime came, whether it was on the road or on the border".

Aged 19, his son had died for his "own land", which Mr Koorits defined as including Namibia.

"We'll fight for South Africa to the death. All I think of is to put the weapon on the shoulder and shoot the bastards away," he added.

Although his surviving son had completed his national service, he had recently been put on standby at home and would be called up if "things get dangerous".

Mr Koorits said that if South African forces entered Angola again, "it must just be — I lost my son and that's all".

Mrs Priscilla Thom of Epping, the mother of Rifleman Adrian Murray Thom, 19, one of five South African soldiers killed in November last year when the troops reportedly routed a Soviet-Cuban-Angolan column along the Cuito River, hoped the truce would last.

Her most devout wish was that "all this Angolan and Russian stuff comes to an end now".

"I just know how I feel and how other parents must feel." She was "hoping and praying it (the truce) will stay that way — it's not only my son".

Cape Times 13/8/88

# PW warns of threat to peace

5 2017 Political Staff

**PRESIDENT P W BOTHA** has warned that the Angolan-Namibian peace initiative would be "impossible" if the tough new United States sanctions bill against South Africa goes ahead.

In an outspoken statement only four days after the ceasefire in the region was implemented, Mr Botha spoke of "astounding" American "recklessness".

The bill was approved by the US House of Representatives in spite of intervention by the Reagan administration, which also warned that the peace talks could be wrecked.

Similar legislation has still to be debated by the US Senate and Mr Botha has said he would watch the outcome with interest.

But he left little doubt that the implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibian independence, and therefore the Angolan peace initiative to which it is linked, would be in serious jeopardy if the anti-South African measures are approved.

Reports from the US have suggested that President Reagan might be forced to veto them.

Mr Botha said it was "obvious" that the debate on the total trade boycott against South Africa was being used purely for "internal political aims".

Members of Congress were fully aware by now that prominent black leaders in South Africa as well as the governments of certain neighbouring states strongly opposed the legislation.

"The recklessness of members of Congress who do not care in the least whether their actions adversely affect the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of Southern Africa as a whole is astounding," said Mr Botha.

"It would be ironic if Resolution 435 should reach the point of implementation only to be obstructed or made impossible as a result of provisions in the legislation which impose extensive restrictions, including those that would cover financial transactions that would be necessitated by the implementation of Resolution 435."

State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment and pictures in the Cape Times

CAP: Tim's 13/8/88

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# Soviets hint at steering Cubans to a compromise

Own Correspondent

MOSCOW. — In its first public response to this week's announcement of a ceasefire in Angola, the Soviet Union has indicated that it is trying to steer its Cuban allies towards a compromise with South Africa.

The deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, said yesterday he had remained in close touch with the United States mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, throughout the talks and in many respects agreed with him.

He emphasized that while he remained opposed to South Africa and its policy of apartheid, the Soviet Union did not disregard all suggestions from the South African side.

South Africa and the joint An-

JOHANNESBURG. — The Defence Force said yesterday a withdrawal of troops from southern Angola remained in the "planning stages" and that none of the troops had begun moving back across the border to Namibia. — UPI

golan-Cuban delegations disagree on a timetable for the withdrawal of 45 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

South Africa has insisted it wants the Cuban troops out by June 1 next year if it is to go ahead with its proposal to grant Namibia independence by then.

The Angolans want the Cubans to remain longer to help in the war against Unita.

Mr Adamishin said the Soviet Union now accepted the need for

"partial solutions" in Southern Africa.

He added that the resolving of the Namibian issue could alleviate apartheid.

"If no more aid is given to Unita then perhaps the Angolans could control the situation themselves."

However, the Soviet Union would not stop aid to the ANC or to frontline states, he said.

The Soviet Union was willing to stand as a guarantor to a settlement — but before doing so it had to be assured that such a settlement was fair.

Meanwhile Sapa-AP reports from Lisbon that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Cuban diplomat Mr Jorge Risquet met to discuss the ceasefire accord with South Africa.

Angolan reports said the meeting in Luanda covered several other bilateral issues.

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(11A) C Press 14/8/88

# Women make theirs a day to remember

## Even the boys in blue made an enjoyable good day of it

By **KERRY CULLINAN**

AS Women's Day comes only once a year, women's organisations throughout the country usually try their best to make it an event to be remembered for the rest of the year.

The Federation of Transvaal Women certainly succeeded in this regard with their cultural day in Johannesburg on Sunday.

For over 12 hours, some

3 000 people were treated to poetry, music, dancing and speeches.

For those whose attention wandered outside the Flower Hall, where the event was held, there were stalls selling food, clothing and books.

The day was opened at about 10.30am by Fedtraw's president, Sister Bernard Ncube, who welcomed those present and reminded

them of those like Albertina Sisulu, who are restricted and cannot attend such gatherings. A chair with Sisulu's name on it was kept on stage throughout the day as a reminder.

Several women who participated in the famous march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria then gave a brief account of what happened on that August 9, 32 years ago.

Most of the day was taken up by cultural contributions from a variety of people and organisations, ranging from professional musicians to youth and women's organisations and trade unions.

Bayete, Sakhile and the Jazz Pioneers gave polished performances which roused almost the entire hall full of people to leap to their feet and dance.

Fedtraw affiliates from as far afield as Moutse and KwaNdebele danced and sang in traditional clothing, receiving as good a welcome as the professionals.

Women from the Progressive Arts Project, including well-known actress Joanna Weinberg, read poetry written by women around the world.

Fedtraw's Amanda Kwadi, who acted as chairperson for most of the day, brought a sober note to proceedings by reading out a list of just some of the women in detention at present, including Fedtraw executive member Jessie Duarte.

Educationist Curtis Nkondo also reminded people that the struggle "was not a dinner party".

"There is no comfort in the struggle," said Nkondo.

By 10pm, people started to make their way home after a full day of celebrations.

Even the "observers"

**WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA UNITE AGAINST CLASS AND RACE AND SEXUAL OPPRESSION**





An empty chair with the name of banned UDF co-president Albertina Sisulu stood as a constant reminder.

as the professionals.

Women from the Progressive Arts Project, including well-known actress Joanna Weinberg, read poetry written by women around the world.

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By 10pm, people started to make their way home after a full day of celebrations.

Even the "observers" parked in yellow vans on the side of a hill not far from the venue seemed to have had an enjoyable day.

Their wives and girlfriends had arrived armed with cake tins and had had a picnic with them while they watched others toy-toying and dancing to some of the country's top bands.

## Tension mars Women's Day

By VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU

TRADITIONALLY a day of songs about peace and strength, National Women's Day this year was a far cry from the peaceful march to Pretoria by thousands of women 32 years ago.

Heavy police presence marked the commemora-

tion at Durban's Alan Taylor Residence at the weekend, but this did not deter the 1000-strong crowd.

A magistrate's order produced by police prior to the meeting empowered a search of the premises.

The chanting of slogans, displaying of banners and singing of freedom songs

were also prohibited.

Durban police spokesmen told *City Press* the police were at the commemoration to monitor the situation.

A Natal Organisation of Women spokesperson said the programme had to be reorganised because of restrictions placed on the gathering.

Certain speakers were also restricted. These included speakers on the municipal elections, the Natal violence and speakers from Cosatu and Now.

However, a rousing talk on the rent struggle went ahead and the crowd cheered when the speaker welcomed the "men at the back".

The Chesterville Youth Choir were ordered off the stage and told to remove their T-shirts, but they later returned to join the Mighty Living Voice choir.

The spokesperson said it appeared the authorities were concerned that speeches would be delivered criticising the October municipal election.

She said the organisation had been ordered to hand over a copy of the programme, which had not yet been finalised.

## Bomb hoax disrupts women's gathering

CP Correspondent

A BOMB hoax and other forms of harassment disrupted a National Women's Day supper celebration organised by the Natal Coastal Black Sash in the Durban Ecumenical Centre on Tuesday evening.

An Afrikaans-speaking man telephoned the Broad Street Police Station to say a bomb would go off at 8.30 pm.

A show by the Natal Organisation of Women, a UDF affiliate, was halted and the bomb squad members arrived an hour later.

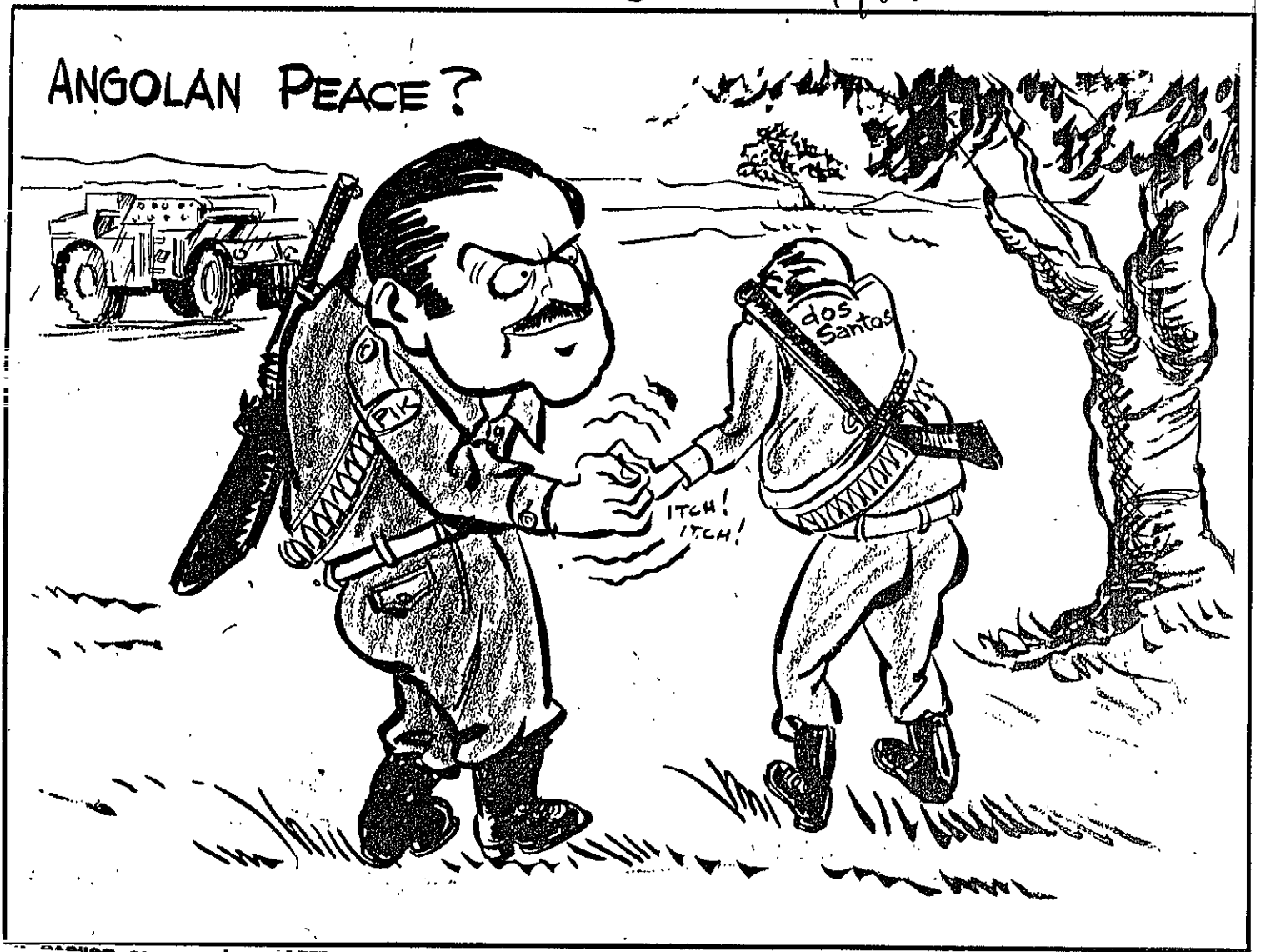
Black Sash women had to turn away an unsolicited delivery of two portable toilets before the evening began.

In addition, false orders were placed for 200 knives, spoons, desert bowls and champagne glasses, and cheese, wine and snacks for 200 people.

● Meanwhile, 14 people, 10 of them Black Sash women, will appear in the Durban Regional Court next Friday to hear judgment on illegal gathering charges. The charges arise from a silent protest staged on February 26 in opposition to the banning of 17 organisations.

⑤ C/Pres 14/8/88

# ANGOLAN PEACE?



intensified attack from a...

...um on board. It was an un...





Pres Quett Masire ... miraculous escape.

# Masire attack blamed on war

CP Correspondent

TENSION arising from the 13-year-old war situation in Angola led to the accidental shooting down of Botswana President Quett Masire's executive jet by an Angolan jet fighter.

The incident occurred on Sunday over the Angolan town of Kuito, one of the areas most affected by the war and situated on the strategic Benguela railway line, a prime target of Unita rebels.

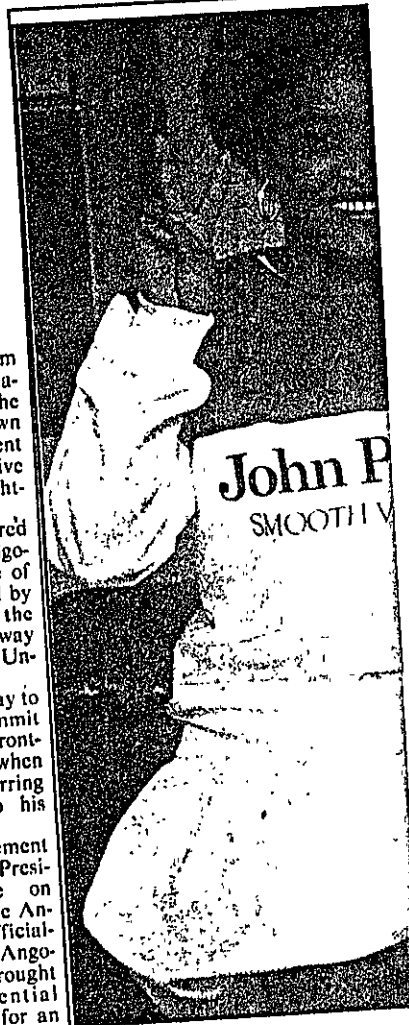
Masire was on his way to attend a one-day summit meeting of the six Frontline states in Luanda when he was injured, incurring minor lacerations to his back.

In a startling statement by the Office of the President in Gaborone on Wednesday night, the Angolan government officially admitted that an Angolan jet fighter brought down the presidential plane, mistaking it for an enemy aircraft.

The starboard engine of the 10-seater, twin-engined jet exploded and fragments tore through the plane's fuselage, some hitting the President and his chief of protocol.

The plane was at an altitude of about 12 000m and about 600km south of the Angolan capital, Luanda, when the right engine "exploded and fell off".

The pilot, a British national, managed to safely land the badly damaged plane at Kuito and Masire and his chief of protocol, Bashi Ikitsing, were airlifted in the personal plane of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to a hospital in Luanda.



With the John Player Cup second, Chlefs, her favourite team, wh

# Black Princ

By MESHACK MOTLOUNG

JOMO Sono faces one of the biggest challenges of his illustrious career at Ellis Park Johannesburg tomorrow.

Stung by criticism that he was a passenger in the second half of last S first leg JPS Series final, Sono is determined to shine and give his critics a kick in the

"Tomorrow is a big day for me," the Prince of Soweto said yesterday.

"I don't mind criticism, but I don't mind criticism that is uninformed and does not have any basis.

"I've been wronged before and I've come back. I'll do it again tomorrow."

14/8/87 CP Press

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# Angola airspace 'too dangerous'

(5)

TRIGGER-happy fighter pilots in the skies over Angola have put southern Africa high on the list of international hot spots for flyers.

This week's attack by an Angolan fighter on a private jet carrying Botswana's President Masire from Gaborone to Luanda confirms an unenviable ranking for the region.

"War zones" in sub-Saharan and southern Africa

By DAVID JACKSON and RYAN CRESSWELL

now join Lebanon, Syria, the Persian gulf and the Iraq-Iran border as among areas to be avoided if possible by civil aircraft.

The editor of World Air News, Mr Tom Chalmers, who on several occasions flew through ground-fire in Zambia in the '60s, said:

"Anybody who flies into Angolan airspace at the moment needs his head read."

South African skies remain among the world's safest — because of strictly applied safety regulations and procedures which the Republic implements as a member of the International Civil Aviation Organisation.

Strategic analysts say low-flying aircraft are especially at risk in Angola, Mozam-

bique, Ethiopia and the southern Sudan.

The Botswana president, injured when his executive jet was attacked by mistake, will fly to London for further medical checks.

He suffered lacerations and shock, and has been ordered to rest for up to four weeks, said a Gaborone spokesman, who confirmed that a board of inquiry is being convened.

14/8/81

STimes

# Masire jet was in war zone: Angola

W/C 42645 20/8/88

MULUNGUSHI ROCK, (Zambia).— Angola said today that Botswana President Quett Masire's executive jet was overflying the country's war zone without clearance when it was shot down by an Angolan fighter earlier this month.

Botswana has said Masire's BAE 125-800 was following an international route duly cleared with Angolan authorities when it was attacked, losing one of its two engines at 35 000 feet (10 700 meters) on August 7.

"That is not true," Angola's ambassador to Zambia, Mr

Luis Neto Kiambata, told reporters here. "They did not wait for an answer from us permitting passage because that is one of the routes in the war zone."

President Masire, who was on his way to a meeting in Luanda, suffered back injuries officially described as minor and is now in Britain for treatment. A government official was also injured.

The damaged plane made an emergency landing at Cuito Bie, 600km from Luanda. — Sapa-Reuters

is our case in Still Bay. We pay annu-  
 cence but only get TVI. Therefore we  
 ally only pay R20 instead. The SABC is  
 money to pay 'Kudu' Esksteen for his  
 ndshake but we are not getting the

paper, Brooklyn: "I find the increase  
 nces highly disgusting especially con-  
 ie rubbish we get on TV. All we get is  
 ow about a housewives programme  
 day?"

esa, Goodwood: "I agree with Brand  
 it R80 a year for TV licenses isn't a lot  
 n argue that if licenses go up because  
 n then salaries should go up, such as  
 the Civil Service which haven't in-  
 or nearly two years."

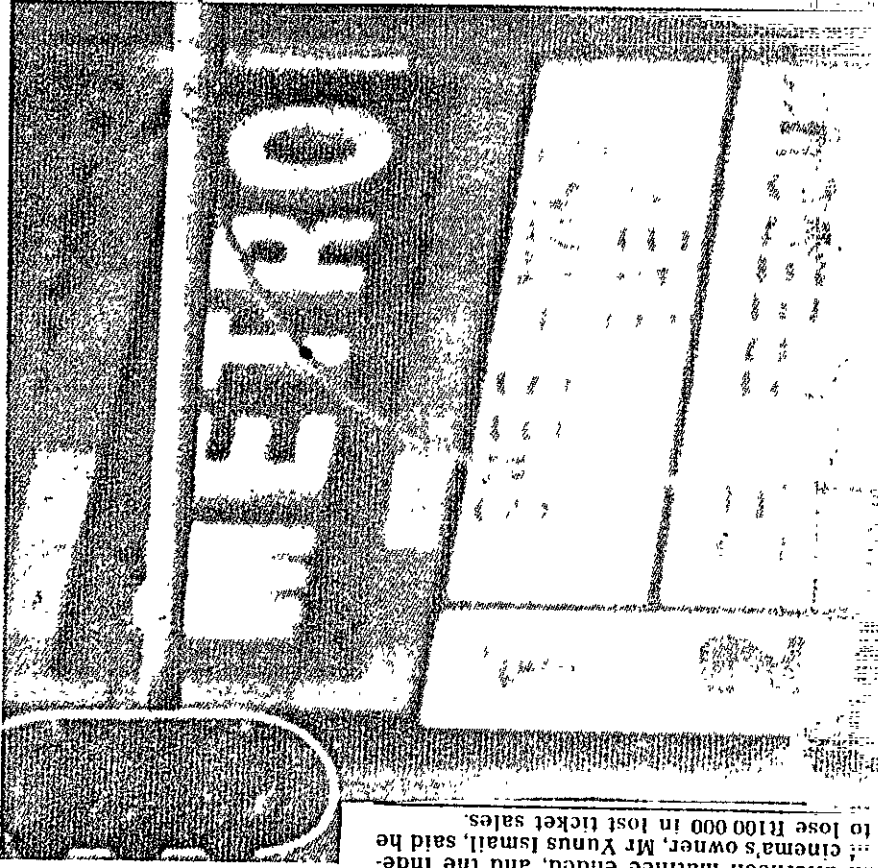
ittle, Ladysmith: "I support Mr Ritch-  
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# Films Seized

## Freedom' cinemas across SA

CAPE TIMES 30/7/88



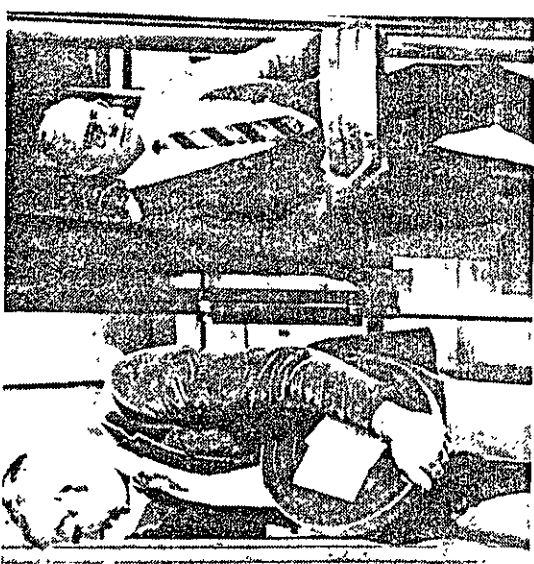
**Staff Reporters, Political Staff and UPI**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — Police swooped on cinemas across  
 South Africa yesterday, seizing copies of the film "Cry  
 Freedom" within hours of its morning premiere.

And as the news of the  
 ban dominated all news  
 broadcasts in Britain  
 yesterday, the Minister  
 of Information, Dr Stof-  
 fel van der Merwe,  
 lashed out at the film,  
 saying it had been in-  
 tended as an anti-South  
 African propaganda  
 instrument.

"We do not need that  
 sort of internal distur-  
 bance and excitement  
 from people like Rich-  
 ard Attenborough, or  
 that sort of company.  
 How many people have  
 to die before Richard At-  
 tenborough is satisfied."

Bombs exploded in  
 two cinemas and several  
 other cinemas were  
 evacuated after anony-  
 mous bomb threats. No  
 one was injured.

Police said a bomb ex-  
 ploded on an exit ramp inside the Metro 1 Theatre  
 in Durban moments after hundreds of people were  
 evacuated and another suspected bomb turned out



**CONFISCATED** ... Two plainclothes policemen  
 remove reels of the film "Cry Freedom" from the  
 Luxurama cinema in Wynberg yesterday.

shown was criticized by Sir Richard Atten-  
 borough, the wife of Mr Woods,  
 Michael Williams-Jones, the president of UIP  
 the Progressive Federal Party and the  
 African Council of Churches.  
 Richard said told the Cape Times last night:  
 proves they (the SA government) cannot face  
 up to it."  
 Woods said from London: "I never really  
 and they would allow it to go on because it is  
 and the truth hurts."  
 police statement said General De Witt had  
 cognisance of the Publications Appeal  
 's approval of the film, but the police func-  
 within the milieu of the state of emergency.  
 Cape Town, two plainclothes police seized  
 of the film at the Luxurama theatre soon  
 an afternoon matinee ended, and the inde-  
 cinema's owner, Mr Yunus Ismail, said he  
 to lose R100 000 in lost ticket sales.

KO film

# Rajbansi ripped file, probe told

W/E ARGUS 20/1/88 (11A)

Weekend Argus Correspondent

**DURBAN.** — A civil servant told the James Commission investigating allegations of irregularities in the House of Delegates that Mr Amichand Rajbansi ripped 14 pages from a file on allocations of service-station sites.

Mr Victor George Hunt, director of local government and development in the House of Delegates, said he was discussing allocation of sites to six applicants who had previously been turned down.

He said Mr Rajbansi, suspended chairman of the Ministers' Council, had made representations and supported the six applicants.

Mr Hunt said he was so shocked by Mr Rajbansi's action that he reported him to his superiors. Only intervention by the State Attorney led to the pages being returned.

Mr Hunt said Mr Rajbansi bypassed Mr Baldeo Dookie, then Minister of Housing.

"Without Mr Dookie knowing a special committee was

formed in 1987 and was made up of the director-general, the chief director and myself."

In October last year Mr Rajbansi phoned him and told him to complete the sale of the service-station sites.

When questions were asked in Parliament Mr Dookie was surprised and expressed concern.

Mr Rajbansi made the decision to set up the special committee.

The inquiry continues on Monday.

FM 5/8/88

# MESSAGE OF HOPE

5

A ceasefire in Angola and the cessation of all hostilities from next Monday are what all South Africans will be holding thumbs for over the weekend. As the *FM* went to press Foreign Minister Pik Botha announced that the delegation led by Foreign Affairs Director General Neil van Heerden, representing SA in the Angola peace talks in Geneva, has proposed:

- November 1 this year as the date for the implementation of UN Resolution 435;
- Elections in Namibia to take place on June 1 next year; and
- The total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola by June 1 next year.

Botha said this would allow for a period of three months for the UN Secretary General to prepare for the implementation of R 435 in the spirit of the principles agreed on by all parties in New York.

"It follows that the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will be completed by June 1 1989," Botha announced.

The further implications of the proposal would be: "Reaffirmation of the commitment to an effective ceasefire and cessation of hostilities with effect from August 10 this year.

"Commencement of the process of withdrawal and redeployment of SA and Cuban troops from Angola, and restrictions on Swapo to prevent further incidents jeopardising the cessation of hostilities."

Thirdly: "Completion of the withdrawal of SA troops from Angola by September 1 this year."

It now looks as if the slow process of peace in the battle-ridden region may be bearing fruit. But a word of caution comes from strategic studies expert Mike Hough who points to the absence of clarification on matters like the future of Walvis Bay and the future of Unita.

"At this stage it still looks like only a proposal from SA's side which is in line with what they have been saying until now," says Hough.

By Brendan Seery,  
The Star's Africa News Service  
RUNDU (eastern Namibia) —  
An air of sultry boredom hangs  
over the tented military police  
checkpoint at the army-erected  
pontoon bridge across the Ka-  
vango River here.

Over the river, the road goes  
into southern Angola and the  
land of Savimbi. The bridge,  
though, is quiet now, but, when  
South Africa's troop withdrawal  
from Angola begins in earnest in  
about a week's time, it will rum-  
ble with sounds of "Olfant" tank  
tracks and the tyres of G-5 and  
G-6 artillery pieces.

As when the SADF last with-  
drew from Angola — back in  
1984, after the signing of the Lu-  
saka agreement — the military

# Rundu: doubts, fears amid the calm

will probably again parade into  
this dusty border settlement in  
columns of tanks, trucks and ar-  
mour personnel carriers.

The last vehicle across the  
Kavango into Namibia will  
probably troop the South Afri-  
can flag.

At the moment, though,  
Rundu seems almost unnatural-  
ly quiet, with remarkably little  
military activity for a centre  
which is one of the biggest South  
African military bases in Nam-  
bia. The Rundu Onstpannings  
Klub still does a roaring bar  
trade at night, and the SWA Po-  
lice's feared Koevoet counter-in-  
surgency unit held a fishing

tournament on the Kavango  
River this weekend.

Across the river, town  
dwellers can clearly see the  
skeletal wreck of the Angolan  
border town of Calais, its roof-  
less houses and bullet-pocked  
walls bearing mute testimony to  
the ravages of a 13-year war  
which still looks a long way  
from being over, despite the air  
of "peace in our time" at inter-  
national conference tables.

Rundu has been the main con-  
duit through which South Afri-  
ca's massive military and other  
aid has flowed to Unita, whose  
Jamba bush headquarters is less  
than an hour's flying time from

here. Supply columns, and, dur-  
ing the recent battles around  
Cuito Chanavale, troops and  
tanks, have crossed the engi-  
neers' bridge over the Kavango.  
Still other units have gone into  
Angola from the Caprivi Strip.

About 150 km along the main  
rutted dust road from Rundu to  
the Caprivi, is the base of the  
SADF's 32 Battalion, a unit of  
Angolan former fighters from  
Holden Roberto's FNLA, who  
have been involved in the thick  
of fighting against Swapo and  
alongside Unita against the  
MPLA and Cubans.

What will become of them,  
when Resolution 435 is imple-

mented and South Africa with-  
draws from Namibia itself?

At the Koevoet base at  
Arend's Nes, about 20 km from  
Rundu, the question is similar.  
What will happen to the tough —  
some say ruthless — black and  
white policemen, whose unique  
brand of highly-mobile counter-  
insurgency gets them the big-  
gest percentage of the "body  
count" in the fight against  
Swapo, and the biggest percent-  
age of "flak" from opponents of  
the South African presence in  
Namibia.

Also, what lies ahead for  
those Koevoet members who  
once belonged to Swapo's mili-

tary wing. The People's Libera-  
tion Army of Namibia, who  
have been "turned" and now kill  
their former comrades?

In the dug-out bomb shelter  
that serves as an "ops room", a  
young Koevoet duty officer  
looks at the large-scale map of  
northern Owambo and Kavango.  
Two Koevoet teams in Casspurs  
are on the spur of a Swapo  
group in eastern Owambo.

At Arend's Nes, few of the  
veterans believe Swapo will ad-  
here to the ceasefire.  
Things will be tougher now,  
because the insurgents will  
know they can go back into An-  
gola and "that we won't be able  
to follow them because of all  
this ceasefire and withdrawal  
stuff" grumbles a huge, bearded  
sergeant.

SA still wary on I.A.F.A. in

# Unita claims big raid on Angola stronghold

LISBON — Unita rebels claim they entered an army barracks in Angola's second largest city, Huambo, destroying fuel and arms depots and killing nine Cuban soldiers.

In a statement yesterday, Unita said it destroyed an oil well in northern Zaire province and killed 21 Angolan soldiers in operations last week.

Unita, which has not accepted the ceasefire agreement between Angola and South Africa, said a commando unit entered the Che Guevara army barracks used by Cuban troops, planting explosives in underground fuel depots.

The fire which followed the explosions destroyed arms depots and four military transport vehicles, the state-

ment said.

"Nine Cubans who tried to put out the blaze were killed by the flames," it said.

Unita said another commando unit destroyed an oil well in the Quinguila oil complex, 30 km south-west of Soyo in northern Zaire province, and damaged three oil pipelines in an operation carried out by other commandos on August 8.

In attacks against military columns in the Uige and Kuanza Norte provinces on August 10, the Angolan forces suffered 21 dead and lost large amounts of arms and ammunitions, the statement said.

Unita said it lost 5 men dead and 15 injured in the operations.

## 'Sanctions working' — Hawke

TOWNSVILLE — The Australian Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, said yesterday sanctions against South Africa were beginning to have an effect.

Mr Hawke told a press conference in this Queensland city: "The re-

gime in South Africa is being affected by what is being done now."

His comments followed a call from the Opposition foreign affairs spokesman, Mr John Spender, to end sanctions and re-establish air links

with South Africa.

Mr Hawke said Mr Spender's remarks came just as leading South African business figures were calling on the Pretoria government to end apartheid because of sanctions. — Associated Press.



B/Pay  
16/8/88

# SA pullout could mark Unita's end

HUAMBO — Angolan officials believe a South African withdrawal from Angola and Namibia would mark the beginning of the end for Unita.

They expect the agreement which SA reached this month with Angola and Cuba to close rear bases and vital supply routes which Unita has enjoyed for years.

Unita, led by Jonas Savimbi, has said it will not abandon its war until government agrees to direct negotiations.

"Annihilation or surrender" is government's current answer to Unita, although statements made by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and other Angolan leaders about a "solution between Angolans" suggest they may have some ideas for an internal peace, once foreign troops have gone. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Top ANC man removed

LONDON — The ANC yesterday confirmed that new national executive committee (NEC) member Steve Tshwete had been removed from his position as political commissar of its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

But it dismissed suggestions that this was linked to a split in the organisation over taking the military struggle into white areas and stepping up attacks on soft targets.

The political commissar is supposed to ensure that military policy remains subservient to the political line of the ANC and it is being suggested that Tshwete, in aligning himself closely with the more militant line favoured by Umkhonto chief-of-staff Chris Hani, had failed to do this.

Tshwete was one of four Umkhonto members who were recently appointed

16/8/88  
b Day  
TIA  
MIKE ROBERTSON  
to the NEC.

The appointments were seen as strengthening the hands of militants who have been advocating stepping up attacks on soft targets.

The "old guard", however, claim there has been no change in the policy of avoiding civilian casualties.

Despite these denials, bomb attacks against civilian targets have been stepped up, fuelling suggestions that not only is there a deep split in the organisation but that the old guard had lost control.

In its latest issue, the journal Africa Confidential (AC) says that following the NEC appointments Hani is "now argu-

● To Page 2 →

## Tshwete no longer political commissar

ably the most powerful person in the ANC".

AC quotes sources close to the ANC as saying Hani's aim in publicly challenging the leadership was not only to force a change of military policy but to stake a claim for the eventual presidency of the movement.

With the appointment of Tshwete and Umkhonto military intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils to the NEC, he has gained two key allies, AC says.

While Hani's position on the NEC has been strengthened, steps have also been taken to curb the influence of the younger militants.

These include the sacking of Tshwete from his post of Umkhonto political commissar as well as appointing known

8/8/88  
TIA  
● From Page 1 ←  
Joe Modise (a member of the Old Guard) supporters like Umkhonto head of communications, Jacqueline Molefe, to the NEC.

Asked to comment on the AC article, a senior NEC member confirmed Tshwete had been relieved of his post, but denied he had been sacked.

"He has been moved to the equally important area of mass mobilisation, looking after the political development of all members of the organisation and not just the military. The AC article ignores that political development is what the role of political commissar involves. He is playing the same role now, but in the broader movement."

# Border meeting on SA pullout

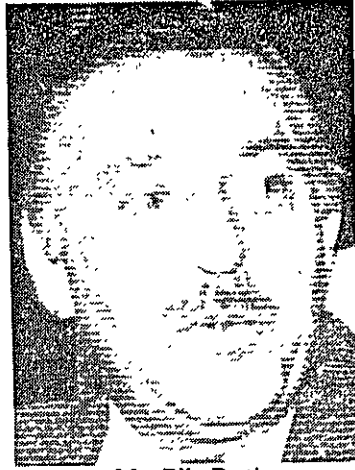
PRETORIA. — A joint military committee representing South Africa, Angola and Cuba will meet on the Namibian-Angolan border today to oversee the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Some 2 000 to 2 500 South African soldiers are to leave the country by September 1 in terms of the peace talks.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said at the weekend the committee would help implement the ceasefire.

He said United States representatives would also participate in the committee's work.

Another important item expected on today's agenda is the Calueque water scheme that supplies Ovamboland's water. South African sources said Angola is to take over the operation of the scheme,



Mr Pik Botha

which is on the Angolan side of the border.

Eleven SADF troops, who guarded and operated the scheme in terms of a "gentle-

man's agreement" with Angola, died in a recent "surprise" air attack on them by Angola, before the current ceasefire came into operation last week.

The peace negotiations proper, at "senior official" level, will resume next week when the question of the withdrawal of Cuba's estimated 50 000 troops from Angola will come under discussion. The parties are to agree on a calendar for this by September 1.

The US peace talk mediators may also be reminded next week of President P W Botha's warning that a new US

sanctions package against South Africa could sink the peace initiatives.

The parties agreed at their last meeting in Geneva earlier this month to recommend to the UN Secretary General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, the date of November 1 this year for the beginning of the implementation of Resolution 435.

Dr Perez de Cuellar's office is yet to announce his response to an invitation by Mr Botha to visit South Africa to discuss such issues as UN impartiality and the R1,5 billion bill for implementing the Resolution. — Sapa

## Unita 'will be sunk without SA'

HUAMBO, Angola. — Angolan officials believe a South African withdrawal from Angola and Namibia would mark the beginning of the end for Unita rebels.

They expect the agreement which South Africa reached this month with Angola and Cuba to shut down rear bases and vital supply routes which Unita has enjoyed for years.

"A South African withdrawal and independence for Namibia will mean Unita will no longer be able to attack villages and economic targets as easily as before," Mr Marcolino Moco, commissar of the central province of Huambo, said.

Huambo has been the scene of intense Unita activity for almost eight years. — Sapa-Reuter

⑤ Secretary 6/8/88

LISBON — Angolan Unita rebels claim they entered an army barracks in Angola's second largest city, Huambo, destroying fuel and arms depots and killing nine Cuban soldiers.

In a statement issued in Lisbon on Sunday, the National Union for the total Independence of Angola also said it destroyed an oil well in northern Zaire province and killed 21 Angolan soldiers in operations on August 8—10.

Unita, which has not accepted an US mediated cease-fire agreement between Angola and South Africa, said a

# Unita rebels on rampage

commando unit entered the "Che Guevara" army barracks, used by Cuban troops, planting explosives in underground fuel depots.

UNITA

Secretary

# Parties debate peace

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha is to speak on the peace initiative in South-Western Africa at a joint sitting of all three houses of Parliament on Wednesday next week.

In a statement last night, President Botha said he had called a joint sitting in terms of Regulation 126 of the Standing Rules and Orders of Parliament, and would propose that the latest negotiations over peace in South-Western Africa be discussed.

The president will participate in the debate at the start of the joint sitting.

All parties represented in Parliament have welcomed the peace initiative in Angola and this issue is unlikely to be contentious.

But the Conservative Party has strongly criticized the move towards implementing Resolution 435 in Namibia and has accused the government of paving the way for a takeover by Swapo, which it claims is communist-controlled.

This is likely to result in a clash over the future of Namibia, which the CP hopes to exploit during the municipal elections on October 26.

## Angolan security

Meanwhile, a senior Swapo member said yesterday that Cuba would withdraw its troops from Angola only after South African forces had quit Namibia and Angola's future security was guaranteed.

Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya said in Luanda that the withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola would not be simultaneous with a South African pullback from Namibia.

Swapo has so far not taken any direct part in the peace talks but has been kept closely informed by Cuba and Angola.

Diplomats in Luanda said the peace negotiations, which are due to resume in the week beginning August 22, would possibly be held in Rio de Janeiro.

The main blank spaces in the peace agreement are target dates for the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and for completion of Namibia's transition to independence. Participants are pledged to settle these questions by the end of August.

● Security forces in northern Namibia shot dead 14 Swapo insurgents in various skirmishes in the past seven days, the SWA Territory Force said yesterday.

# Angola getting ready <sup>(5)</sup> to restructure economy <sup>CAH & Tink 7/8/88</sup>

LUANDA. — Angola's central bank governor Antonio Inacio said in an interview that the country's negotiations to join the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were going well.

An IMF team was expected in Angola at the end of August to discuss proposals for Angola's IMF quota contribution,

he said in the second part of an interview in the state-owned daily, *Jornal de Angola*, published yesterday.

Membership of the IMF is a condition laid down by Angola's Western creditors for them to discuss restructuring the country's more than \$3bn foreign debt.

"We're on the right

track and I think the whole international climate is in favour of us joining," Inacio said.

"I think that at the moment there are no strong reasons to believe that our negotiations with the IMF will be unsuccessful," he added.

The plan to accede to the IMF forms part of Angola's efforts to improve its foreign debt conditions under an economic recovery plan launched by the government earlier this year.

"Without this accession to the IMF it will not be possible for us to regularize the servicing of our external debt," Inacio said.

Angola is seeking to restructure its debt because of a heavy bunching of short and long-term debt falling due in the late 1980s.

The country's ability to service its debt has also been affected by the costs of the bush war and lower world oil prices.

In the first part of the interview published on Sunday, Inacio said new economic reforms allow for the future establishment of national and foreign commercial banks in Angola.

But he added the possible licensing of foreign banks still had to be studied and would not take place in the near future. — Reuter

17/8/88

# Joint military group to monitor SWA border

## The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A joint military monitoring commission made up of officers from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and SWA/Namibia has been agreed to by all parties during talks here.

A joint statement announcing this was issued yesterday by the SA Defence Force's director of public relations.

Based on the US-mediated agreement reached in Geneva on August 5 between delegations from Angola, Cuba and South Africa, military experts of these countries met on Monday and yesterday at Ruacana on the border between Angola and SWA/Namibia, the statement said.

The meeting was held "in a climate of respect and responsibility".

The latest negotiations for peace in Southern Africa are to be discussed at a joint session of Parliament starting next Wednesday, reports The Argus Political Correspondent.

President Botha will speak at the beginning of the debate, according to an announcement by his office.

The joint sitting will be in a short session of Parliament which starts on Monday and which will mainly discuss amendments to the Group Areas Act.

Meanwhile, a Sapa-Reuter report from Luanda quotes a senior member of Swapo as saying on Tuesday that Cuba will withdraw its troops from Angola only after South African forces have quit SWA/Namibia and Angola's future security is guaranteed.

# Angolans still unsure of action over 'spy'

By Clare Harper

The Angolan government has not yet decided whether to grant an exit visa to British passport holder Miss Olivia Forsyth, whom it suspects of being a spy.

This was confirmed yesterday by Mr Glynn Davies, the First Secretary at the British Embassy in Luanda.

Asked whether the Angolan government had indicated if Miss Forsyth was wanted to face possible charges, Mr Davies said: "We have had no indication of that. The Angolan government have

only said they are considering the exit visa."

Mr Davies said Miss Forsyth was "still okay, although her morale has its ups and downs".

Miss Forsyth sought refuge at the embassy in May, telling officials she had been imprisoned and tortured by the ANC, who had accused her of spying for South Africa.

International law and human rights expert Professor John Dugard says that as the ANC is regarded as a friendly party by Angola, spying on the ANC is presumably an offence.

28/8/78/5



...ment of the Society. — Sapa.

It showed that in 1985/86 only 3,1% of building society lending for homes went to

It hopes to release its research and recommendations on the lack of land for housing next year. — Sapa.

Cosatu, which was due to meet to discuss the issue today, could not be reached for comment.

# Savimbi expects big government attack

LONDON — Angola's rebel Unita leader Jonas Savimbi says Cuban and Angolan government forces are preparing to launch a major offensive against his forces.

In an interview published in the latest issue of Jane's Defence Weekly, he says: "Preparations for a Fapla/Cuban offensive have been going on for several months and they are now ready to launch an offensive from Cuito Cuanavale to Mavinga.

"That is not the only axis where we expect them to attack the minute the South Africans leave.

"They have also been gathering momentum for an offensive in Cuemba, in order to take Munhango, along the railway from the west, and also they are now transferring some units from Lucusse to Chicapa in order to make a second axis from the east to the west, to retake Munhango.

"We are expecting this to happen

in the next weeks — not months. Maybe by the end of this month, or the beginning of September."

Jane's says that the Savimbi interview is his first since the ceasefire agreement was announced between SA, Cuba and Angola.

The magazine says the Unita leader is angered at not being part of the negotiations.

"We want to be part of the deal, not only to be part of the problem," Savimbi is quoted as saying. — Sapa.

## Call us



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⑤ B/Day 18/88

THE GUARDIAN



Winnie Mandela, outside Tygerberg Hospital this week, thronged by hundreds of nurses, patients and hospital workers after visiting her husband

# Now is <sup>South</sup> 18-24/8/88 the (11A) time

THE time to release Nelson Mandela is NOW — and without any pre-conditions.

No amount of "special" treatment will compensate for the continued incarceration of the gravely ill ANC leader, said to be suffering from tuberculosis.

We know P W Botha has no option but to release Mandela sooner or later. He has languished in prison for far too long.

And the world's response to his 70th birthday has made it impossible for Mandela to be kept in Pollsmoor for another year. It is now a question of timing.

Essential for Mandela's speedy recovery is that he be reunited with his family and the millions who see him as their leader — and thereafter be allowed to give this nation the leadership and unifying vision it so desperately needs.

Our pray now is for Mandela's speedy recovery — and his speedy release. God help this country should his health deteriorate!

SMEN **South NEWS**

...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...

# Five years later, and

THE United Democratic Front has not had an easy first five years.

Since its launch at Rocklands Civic Centre in Mitchells Plain on August 20, 1983, it has been hit by bannings, arrests, detentions and restrictions.

Twenty of its most prominent figures have been on trial for treason initially in Delmas and, more recently, in Pretoria since 1985.

Included in the Delmas treason trial are UDF national general secretary, Popo Molefo, national publicity secretary, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, and former Transvaal executive member Moss Chikane.

Sixteen others, including co-presidents Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede, were accused in the Maritzburg treason trial.

The UDF spent most of its first year opposing the government's reforms, particularly the new constitution and the tricameral parliament.

The UDF's first broadside against the constitution came through the Million Signature Campaign.

In the end the target of one million proved too much for the young movement. But the campaign's major aims were met. Communities were made aware of the UDF and what it stood for. Activists had learnt to listen to the masses, to understand their problems and feel their moods.

And so it was on to the August elections, and one of the biggest campaigns in South African history.

When voting for the House of Representatives closed on August 22, 1984, less than five percent of potential voters in Cape Town had cast ballots. Robbed of its

legitimacy, the government reform programme lay in tatters.

On September 3 1984, townships on the Vaal Triangle erupted. A peaceful protest by 2 000 Lekoa township residents against rent hikes had degenerated into a running battle with police. A wave of protests followed. By the end of the first week official figures listed 31 dead.

From the Vaal the protests spread - to the East and West Rand and down to the Eastern Cape. By the end of 1985 the conflict had scorched its way to the Western Cape.

But there were problems. Most UDF affiliates were not well organised.

On April 6, 1985, the UDF held its second national general council.

"The key solution," read the secretarial report, "is the transformation of mass support to active participation in the day to day activities of our organisation."

And the new theme adopted by the delegates declared: From protest to challenge; From mobilisation to organisation."

The challenge came. Over the next few months organisations which previously might have consisted of a few dozen activists suddenly developed a mass membership.

It was now possible to focus anger - through tactics like consumer boycotts, stayaways and rent boycotts.

But this period of "ungovernability" also threw up

disquietening developments. Among sections of the youth, frustration was widespread and discipline often poor. It was in this context that the Azapo-UDF conflict and "necklace" killings occurred.

These developments, with incidents like the killing of Moeqston Abrahams at a Mitchells Plain meeting in May 1986, adversely affected the UDF.

Even though the UDF distanced itself from these incidents, the government relentlessly exploited the theme of "black on black" violence to justify repression and drive whites into the laager.

On July 20, 1985, 60 000 people gathered at Lingshille township to bury the "Craddock Four".

Matthew Goniwe, Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Mhlawuli.

On the same day the government declared a State of Emergency in 36 magisterial districts, in the Eastern Cape Transvaal. In the unrest and 1986, it was a turning point.

Craddock, with a long tradition, enjoyed a reputation as one of the best of communities in the country under the leadership of the affiliated Craddock Residents Association (Cradora), chairperson, Matthew Goniwe, virtually all 1 700 Craddock had been driven into street and zonal

Faced with this kind of situation, the entire community

THE democratic movement has flourished despite restrictions on organisations like the United Democratic Front, says UDF patron Johnny Issel.

Speaking on the eve of the front's fifth anniversary, Issel said he did not believe the democratic movement should "go underground".

"The bulk of the work can still be done in a covert manner, even though some activists have had to become highly mobile," he said.

"Certain things will still have to be done with lots of circumspection and checks. But these activities will have to link up somehow."

Issel played a major role in the formation of the UDF. He has been in hiding for more than two years.

Emerging briefly this week, he said the situation had changed dramatically since 1983.

This included the situation in Angola and Namibia, international pressure on the South African government, and the growth of the democratic movement inside the country.

"There is a total new set of conditions," he said.

"We are enjoying unprecedented international support. Nowhere else in the world have oppressed people enjoyed the kind of support we have."

"This is accompanied by the increasing influence of the West in world affairs."

"It is propelling our struggle forward, like the events overseas for Mandela's birthday."

"The great danger is that our inefficiencies and shortcomings are not exposed and are not given the required attention."

"There is no doubt that apartheid is in injury time. How it will be finally removed needs to be talked about, not so much the timetable. We must determine the boundaries of our freedom."

He believed organisations like the Cape Teachers Professional Association had "come around to the democratic movement because of the deep crisis permeating our society - and not because of pressure from anyone".

The crisis affected everyone. People were either affected by unemployment, problems in factories or in education.



## Issel's No to underground movement

Most people understood that the basis of this crisis was apartheid. They understood that apartheid must go.

Organisations were being forced to take sides. They were either for the old guard or for those who stood for the new order. They were compelled by broader social forces to redefine their position.

"We see this happening not only in the black community but also in the white community."

"This can be seen in the Church where even some NGK priests are rebelling against the old order."

"As more people move over to the side of democracy, the state's influence decreases."

"At the moment the state has serious credibility problems. Its power base has been narrowed."

"We will require creativity to maintain our relationships with all these structures which are being transformed."

He believed that many activists had been psychologically affected by the State of Emergency.

"We will have to counter the paranoia that appears whenever a few people are arrested," Issel said.

Many things had happened in the Western Cape lately, unlike a year ago.

New circumstances prevailed today, and new forms of struggle were needed to adapt to the situation.

Organisations did not know how to move forward. They were not addressing the desperate need to develop leadership. Activists had been scattered and organisations dispersed.

"We have failed to halt that process," said Issel, adding that this issue needed special attention, especially in areas singled out for special attention by the security forces.

"Another problem is that ultra-leftism has infiltrated our ranks. These elements are set on stopping us from building the required alliances. This weakens us everytime."

Issel believed that the October elections would show that the government did not represent the majority of South Africans.

"It will provide us with another opportunity to consolidate our forces, like June 16, National Women's Day and Mandela's birthday."

"We need to produce the creativity the present situation requires. But the struggle will continue after October."

# A birthda

THE UDF turns five this Saturday and, for the first time, it will not be able to celebrate its birthday.

The front, which claims 900 affiliated organisations with three million members, is one of 18 organisations restricted under emergency regulations renewed on June 10.

However, the day won't go entirely unnoticed in the Western Cape where, it is believed, some UDF affiliates are planning some form of celebrations.

Last year, about 4 000 people attended the UDF's fourth anniversary celebrations at the University of the Western Cape.

All indications are that there will be no major celebrations in other parts of the country.

Almost the entire leadership of the UDF is either in detention, restricted or in hiding.

Most people detained are linked to the UDF.

### Like a Who's Who

In fact, the list reads like a Who's Who on South African extra-parliamentary political figures.

These include the UDF's acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, acting general secretary Mohammed Valli; Eastern Cape executive members Edgar Ngoyi, Henry Fazzie, Stone Sizani and Gugule Nkwintji; Port Elizabeth youth leader Mkhoseli Jack; South African Youth Congress leaders Peter Mokaba and Mzimasi Mangotywa; UDF Youth coordinator Dan Motsintsi; Amos Masondo of the Soweto Civic Association; Yusi Khanyile, Eric Molobi and Rev Molefo Tsolo of NECC; Tiego Mosenke, Chris Ngcobo and Blessing Mphela, all of SANSCO; Northern Transvaal UDF executive member Joyce Mabhudafazi; Transvaal UDF general secretary Pat Lephunya; New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu; UDF official Jacob Dlamini; Uitenhage officials Aubrey Cape Mali, Mcedisi Sitoto, J Lamani, Z



Siqwati, Wonga Nkala, Fikile Kobese; Maritzburg UDF leader Skumbuzo Ngwenya; Thami Xulu of the Edendale Residents Association, and Dennis Nkosi, Govin Naidoo, Abeen Badal and Umbelala Bola, of the University of Durban-Westville SRC

Western Cape detainees include UDF executive members Willie Hofmeyr and William Thomas; Cape Youth Congress general secretary

Neville Naidoo; pupils Mark ters, Gloria Veale, Maghbool and Errol April; United Congress members Zodwa... and Nosopho Ntuanambi; Workers Association of South (Mwasa) organiser Wilson... Walter Mputing of G... danha Youth Congress Maxwell Moss; and Atlantis Isaac Phooko.

Other detainees include

...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...FIVE YEARS OF UDF...

**FIVE YEARS OF UDF... FIVE YEARS OF UDF... FIVE YEARS OF UDF... FIVE YE**

# and it's still no easy road

Goniwe, Sparrow  
Fort Calata and Sicelo

the same day the government  
a State of Emergency in  
magisterial districts, mostly  
the Eastern Cape and  
In the unrest of 1985  
1986, it was something of a  
point.

with a long political  
enjoyed a reputation as  
of the best organised  
in the country and  
the leadership of the UDF-  
Cradock Residents' As-  
socation (Cradora), and its  
person, Matthew Goniwe,  
all 1 700 residents of  
had been organised  
street and zonal committees.

with this kind of opposi-  
the entire community coun-

all had resigned. Cradora moved  
in to fill the gap. In small ways  
it began to run the township.

The system of people's power  
spread, first to other towns in the  
Eastern Cape and later to Pretoria  
townships and to Alexandra, near  
Johannesburg.

In August 1985, the UDF  
adopted the slogan: Forward to  
People's Power. For the next year  
attempts to develop structures of  
people's power throughout the  
country dominated the work of  
many affiliates.

But the gains made could not be  
sustained. Recognising the threat  
posed by these structures, the  
state declared a new State of  
Emergency in June 1986.

Nevertheless, the street  
committees gave a glimpse of

what a post-apartheid South  
Africa might one day look like.

State attacks on the UDF con-  
tinued. Its meetings were banned,  
leaders and activists detained and  
offices shut down. Late in 1986  
overseas funds were cut off when  
it was declared an affected  
organisation.

Initially, the government tried  
to justify the detention of UDF  
leaders by charging them in  
court.

Under the State of Emergency,  
however, the government dropped  
its legal scruples. Election to the  
UDF executive nowadays means  
almost certain detention or  
restriction.

Since June 1986 periods of de-

ntention have lengthened. Some  
UDF leaders, like Transvaal  
executive member Raymond  
Suttner, have now been in prison  
for more than two years.

The state has also not been  
content to arrest only leaders.

One of the features of the state  
of emergency has been the deten-  
tion of thousands of grassroots  
activists.

In 1986, three out of four of  
those detained were linked to the  
UDF. More than 6 000 of the of-  
ficial figure of 8 000 detainees  
are linked to the UDF.

If anything, this has harmed the  
UDF even more than the deten-  
tion of its leaders. It has nulli-  
fied what the movement hoped  
would be its major strength in  
the face of repression - its

growing support at a grassroots  
level. In most towns, street  
committees have been eradicated  
and civic bodies have collapsed.

Despite all this, the UDF ap-  
pears to have survived the worst  
of the state's onslaught.

Despite all this, the UDF ap-  
pears to have survived the worst  
of the state's onslaught.

Notwithstanding the continued  
detention of top UDF leadership,  
there are signs that repression at  
grassroots level is, at least  
temporarily, abating.

But the UDF has also been hit  
in other ways.

Its biggest affiliate, the  
Congress of South African Stud-  
ents (Cosas), was banned in  
1985.

The North Cape UDF president,  
Peter Nchabeleng, died in deten-  
tion in Lebowa in April 1986,  
and East London executive  
member Eric Mtonga was found  
dead near East London in July  
last year.

Port Elizabeth community lead-  
ers, Qaqawuli Godolozel, Sipho  
Hashe and Champion Galeka, have  
been missing since.

Former Border UDF secretary,  
the Rev Arnold Stoffie, is serv-  
ing a seven-year-prison sentence  
for terrorism in the Ciskei.

Former Border UDF president,  
Steve Tshwete left the country in  
1985 and is now a member of the  
African National Congress Na-  
tional Executive Committee.

## Freedom Charter

Before its virtual banning in  
February this year, the UDF had  
broadened its scope from an  
organisation established to op-  
pose the tricameral system of  
government to one supporting the  
Freedom Charter.

It worked closely with  
organisations like the Congress  
of South African Trade Unions  
(Cosatu) and the National Edu-  
cational Crisis Committee.

In October last year, together  
with Cosatu, the UDF attempted  
to negotiate with Inkatha to  
bring an end to violence in the  
area that has so far resulted in  
the violent death of nearly 600  
people.

The attempt met with very little  
success. Violence continues in  
the area.

## Cultural base

Also last year, the UDF  
launched its cultural and sports  
desk. The aim of the desk is to  
help UDF affiliates develop  
cultural portfolios of their own,  
thus widening the UDF's cultural  
base.

In February 1988, the UDF and  
17 other organisations were  
restricted.

The State President, by a  
proclamation, banned the UDF  
along with 15 of its affiliates in-  
cluding the Detainees Par-  
ents Support Committee, Sayco, Port  
Elizabeth Black Civic Organisa-  
tion, Soweto Civic Association,  
Cradock Residents Association,  
South African National Students  
Congress, National Educatio-  
nal Union of South Africa, V  
Civic Association, Detainees  
Support Committee, Release  
Mandela Campaign, and West-  
Cape Civic Association.

## Day of Action

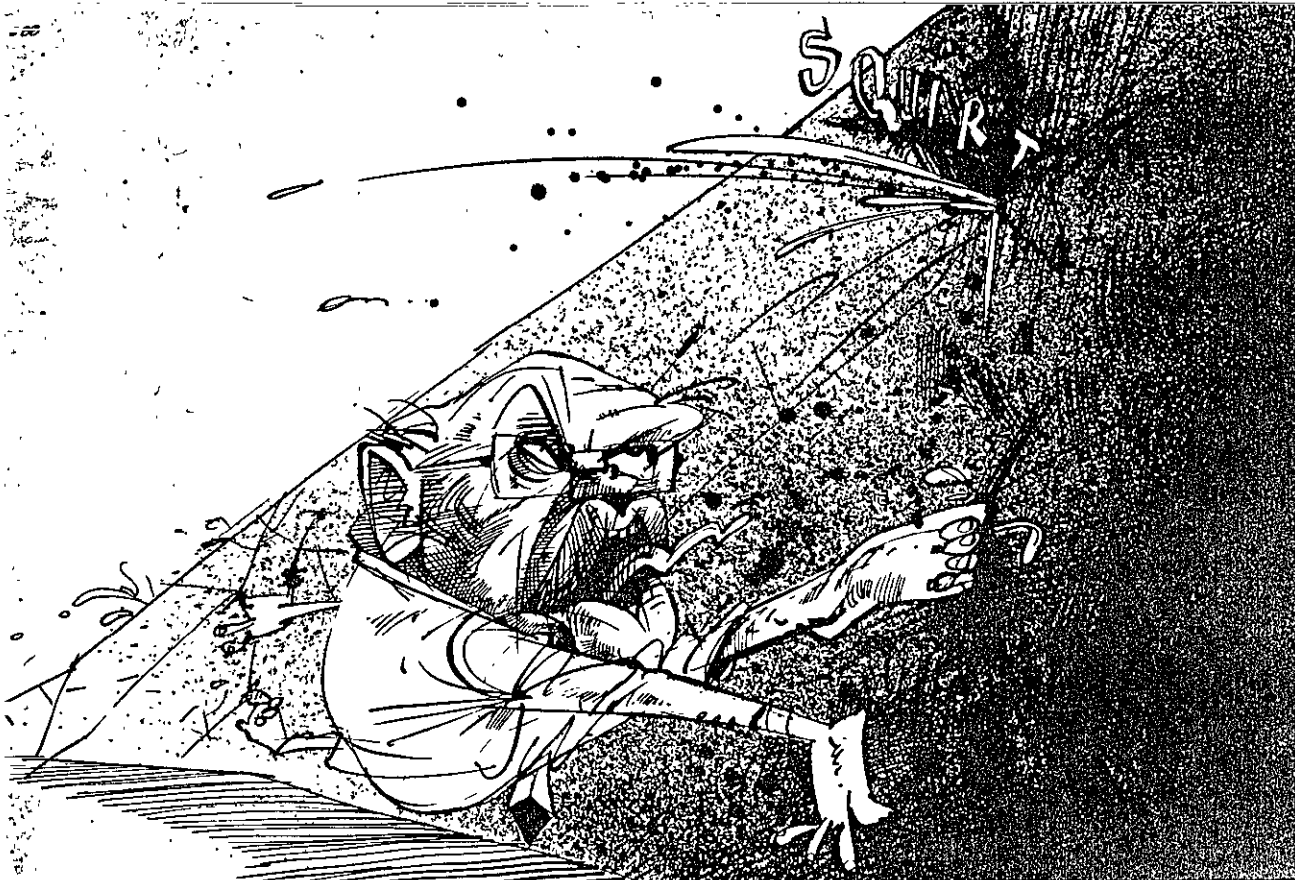
Other organisations restric-  
ted were the NLCC, Cosatu, Azan-  
People's Organisation and Azan-  
a Youth Organisation.

On March 21 this year, UDF  
affiliates not restricted called for  
a Day of Action in protes-  
against the ban and restric-  
Imposed on the 18 organisations.

On May 4 this year, C  
Democrats was launched at C  
Town City Hall and attended by  
more than 2 000 people, mostly  
whites. The organisation is  
latest to be formed which  
seeking affiliation to UDF.

The call by Cosatu for a three  
day protest from June 6 to 8  
supported by UDF affiliates  
which are not restricted.

# Day with no cake



Naidoo; pupils Mark Splin-  
Gloria Veale, Magbool Moos  
Errol April; United Women's  
members Zodwa Nhandeka  
Nosipho Ntuanambi; Media  
Association of South Africa  
organiser Wilson Sedina;  
Mputing of Guguletu; Sal-  
Youth Congress president  
Moss; and Atlantis activist  
Phooko.

detainees include Jerome

Moses, Sicelo Mkosi and Adele  
Brown, according to information  
supplied by lawyers and monitoring  
groups. Police do not confirm deten-  
tions under emergency regulations.

Those restricted include national  
presidents Albertina Sisulu and  
Archie Gumede, national treasurer  
Azhar Cachalia; former Western  
Cape executive members Trevor  
Manuel, Ebrahim Rasool, Christmas  
Tinto, Zolli Malindi, Joseph Marks

and his son Joey, Mrs Dorothy  
Zihlangu and Roseberry Sontu;  
Maritzburg UDF chairman AS  
Chetty; Reggy Hadebe of the  
National Educational Union of South  
Africa (NEUSA); Martin Wittenberg  
of the UDF; Dr Simon Gqubule,  
former president of the Methodist  
Church of South Africa; Mr Cam  
Chetty, of the Maritzburg Residents'  
Association; and Mr Clement  
Ntombela, of the Edendale Youth  
Congress.

Those in hiding include national  
chairperson Cumick Ndlovu, Natal  
vice-president Billy Nair, Natal  
treasurer Yunus Mahomed, and political  
activists Praveen Gordhan and Roy  
Padayachee.

Attempts to keep a close record of  
all detentions, restrictions and other  
acts of harassment have been made  
difficult by the banning of the De-  
tainees Parents Support Committee  
in February.

A new Maritzburg organisation, the  
Detainees Aid Committee, is trying  
to reorganise the monitoring of hu-  
man rights' violations, but a  
spokesperson said they were experi-  
encing several problems because of  
the emergency regulations.

"Our figures are all estimates be-  
cause it is so difficult to give the  
exact details of all detentions and re-  
strictions," said the spokesperson.

**FIVE YEARS OF UDF... FIVE YEARS OF UDF... FIVE YEARS OF UDF... FIVE YE**

# Savimbi predicts Fapla <sup>can't take</sup> offensive <sup>5</sup>

LONDON. — Angolan rebel leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi has predicted that Cuban-backed government forces will launch a major offensive against his strongholds once South African troops withdraw from the country next month, Jane's Defence Weekly magazine reported.

In its current issue, the magazine quoted Dr. Savimbi as saying that Cuban troops and the Angolan government's Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola (Fapla) had been preparing an offensive "for months".

"I don't think the Cubans will encourage Fapla to undertake its offensive until the South Africans have left the country," said Dr. Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita).

"We are expecting this to happen in the next weeks, not months," Jane's quoted Dr. Savimbi as saying. — Sapa-AP

X

Gallup Poll for The Daily Telegraph

**Unita ignores ceasefire**

*CAPL TRK (S)*

LISBON. — Unita rebels, ignoring a ceasefire between the Angolan government and SA, said yesterday that they killed 21 government soldiers in recent attacks.

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress (ANC) has welcomed moves that will bring about peace not only in Angola, but to the entire Southern African region.

It said the South African government was deliberately "creating obstacles" referring to the presence of ANC camps in Angola as an issue in the ongoing negotiations between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States.

According to the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Roelof "Pik" Botha, the South African delegation at the Geneva Peace talks expressed Pretoria's opposition to seven areas from

## 'SA creating obstacles'

which alleged ANC operations were directed and from where "terrorists" were trained to commit violence and murder within South Africa".

The alleged ANC bases were said to be:

- The Viana Transit base about 11km east of Luanda;
- The Caculama base situated about 50km north of the Angolan town of Caculama;
- Quibaxe (also known as Camp 13) situated about 10km from the town of Quibaxe;
- The Pango Training Centre east of Luanda;
- The Malanje Training Centre south of Caculama;
- The Queala Farm based in the north-east

# Nujoma backs quick Cuban withdrawal from Namibia

## Swapo will not allow ANC bases

From BRENDAN SEERY  
Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — A free SWA/Namibia would "certainly support" the people of South Africa in the struggle against apartheid, but a Swapo government in Windhoek would probably not allow ANC bases on its territory, said Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma.

"We are not fighting to liberate ourselves to have other people's bases in our country," he added.

Speaking about Namibia after independence, Mr Nujoma outlined major policies that a Swapo government would follow:

- Relations with South Africa would depend on Pretoria's attitude to Windhoek, but he noted that countries that were neighbours would "have to learn to live together". If South Africa attempted to destabilise a Swapo government or attack Namibia, the country would defend itself.

- There would be no blanket policy of nationalisation of private industries or holdings. "We don't want to steal the property of whites." If property was expropriated "adequate compensation" would be paid.

- A policy of national reconciliation and no racial or political discrimination.

- Swapo did not feel compelled to implement the socialist-type system of other countries such as the eastern bloc. "We are returning to Namibia owing to one or any side a penny." However, if the people wanted socialism, Swapo would comply.

- Existing contracts and operations of

(Turn to page 3, col 3)

From BRENDAN SEERY  
Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Swapo leader Sam Nujoma has come out in support of a quick Cuban withdrawal from Angola and says he has ordered Swapo insurgents inside SWA/Namibia to observe what amounts to a unilateral ceasefire.

He said he firmly believed South Africa was serious about peace negotiations.

In a wide-ranging interview in the northern mining town of Kabwe, Mr Nujoma said Swapo insurgents inside Namibia had been given "strict orders" not to engage in "hostile acts" against South African troops unless in self-defence.

Asked whether he thought the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops could be withdrawn from Angola within the seven-month period from November 1 this year to June 1 next year — as demanded by South Africa — he replied: "Yes, why not?"

Commenting on South African suggestions that there were still some "loose ends" to be tied up in the UN peace plan, Mr Nujoma said any attempt to amend Resolution 435 would be "totally unacceptable" to Swapo, the Namibian people and to the international community.

However, he did make a major concession by saying that Swapo would not press the issue of the ownership of Walvis Bay or allow that problem to hold up the peace process.

Swapo maintains Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia but accepts that an independent government in Windhoek would have to negotiate with South Africa on the point.

Mr Nujoma made it clear, however, that the South West African Territory Force (SWATF) would have to be dismantled.

He said the Resolution 435 peace plan provided for the police to maintain law and order in the transition period. They would be armed only with side-arms.

The Swapo leader said he was not too concerned about the possibility of a flight of white capital and skills from the country.

### DETAINEES TO BE FREED

He said his organisation had always made it clear that "the struggle was not against individual whites but against an unjust system".

He also assured his black political opponents inside Namibia that Swapo would adopt a policy of national reconciliation similar to that espoused by Zimbabwean leader Robert Mugabe and that there would be no recrimination and no discrimination because of political views in an independent Swapo-run Namibia.

He pledged that his organisation would release those people it was holding as alleged South African spies, in accordance with the provision of Resolution 435, which stipulated that all detainees should be unconditionally freed.

Mr Nujoma said he firmly believed South Africa was serious about the peace negotiations, saying he believed Resolution 435 could be implemented on November 1 this year.

"Let us believe that this time the South African government is serious," he said.

Apart from becoming increasingly isolated in the international community because of its attitude in the territory, South Africa could not afford to continue spending billions of rands and sacrificing the lives of young white soldiers in "a war they cannot win".

The Swapo leader said he expected UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to formulate a plan



Swapo leader Sam Nujoma

### New peace talks

LONDON. — Delegates from Angola, Cuba and South Africa will meet next week in Brazzaville in a new round of peace talks, according to Luanda Radio.

The radio, monitored here by the BBC, said the US-mediated talks would be held from August 24 to 26.

The talks are expected to include negotiations about dates for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola and for the completion of Namibia's transition to independence. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Nujoma outlines policy

(Continued from page 1) South Africa was "a myth", Namibia would establish its own markets and use its natural resources to limit links with South Africa, although trade links would continue in spite of ideological or other differences.

- Land would be redistributed. Dormant or vacant land would be given to those who needed it and could use it effectively.

- Swapo, through its commitment to UN Resolution 435, acknowledged the importance of a multiparty democratic system, but would accept the wishes of the people if they wanted a one-party state.

- The idea that Namibia was economically dependent on



⑤ Sam B. 19/8/88

# Nujoma favours rapid withdrawal of Cubans

By Brendan Seery, The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma has come out in support of a quick Cuban withdrawal from Angola and says he has ordered Swapo insurgents inside Namibia to observe what amounts to a unilateral ceasefire.

He said he firmly believed South Africa was serious about peace.

Speaking from the northern Zambian mining town of Kabwe, Mr Nujoma said Swapo insurgents inside Namibia had been given "strict orders" not to engage in "hostile acts" against South African troops unless in self defence.

Asked whether he thought the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops could be withdrawn from Angola by June 1, he commented: "Yes, why not?"

Speaking about South African suggestions that there are still some "loose ends" to be tied up in the UN peace plan, Mr Nujoma said any attempt to amend Resolution 435 would be "totally unacceptable" to Swapo.

However, he did make a major concession by saying that Swapo would not press the issue of the ownership of Walvis Bay or allow that problem to hold up the peace process.

Swapo maintained Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia, but accepted that an independent government in Windhoek would have to negotiate with South Africa on the point.

Mr Nujoma made it clear, however, that the South West African Territory Force would have to be dis-

mantled. He said a free Namibia would "certainly support" the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid, but Swapo would probably not allow ANC bases on its territory.

"We are not fighting to liberate ourselves to have other people's bases in our country".

Mr Nujoma also outlined the major policy points a Swapo government would follow. They included:

- Relations with South Africa would depend on Pretoria's attitude to Windhoek, but he noted that neighbours would "have to learn to live together".

- There would be no blanket policy of nationalisation of private industries or holdings.

- There would be a policy of national reconciliation and no racial or political discrimination.

## Redistribution of land

- There would be a review of the existing contracts and operations of multinational corporations.

- There would be a redistribution of land.

- Swapo, through its commitment to UN resolution 435, acknowledged the importance of a multiparty democratic system, but would accept the wishes of the people if they wanted a one-party state.

- The country would establish its own markets and utilise its own vast natural resources.

The Swapo leader said he was not too concerned about the possibility of a flight of white capital and skills from the country in the run-up to independence.

His organisation had always made it clear that "the struggle was not against individual whites but against an unjust system".

# Next Angola talks to be held in Congo

*CHE TIMES 19/8/88*

PRETORIA. — The next round of south-western African peace talks will be held in Brazzaville, Congo, from August 24 to 26, a South African Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed here yesterday.

He confirmed a report to this effect broadcast by Luanda Radio, monitored by the BBC in London, and reported by the Reuter news agency.

Senior officials from Angola, Cuba and South Africa are expected to discuss a range of topics at the US-mediated meeting, including:

● The efficacy of the newly-formed joint military commission monitoring the ceasefire, and the withdrawal of the 2 000-plus South African troops from Angola;

● A calendar for the withdrawal of 47 000 Cuban troops from Angola, and

● Issues surrounding the implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia, and the response — if any — from UN Secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar to the parties' recommendation that November 1 be set as the date for beginning the implementation of the resolution. — Sapa

# Local hero

By MOKGADI PELA



**DR Abu-Baker Asvat's commitment to the black community's struggle for freedom runs deep.**

Besides his regular work at his surgery in Soweto, he has used his medical skills to help many underprivileged people who are unable to afford medical assistance. In the 70s he did voluntary work for the Black Community Programmes. This he did at the Methodist Church in Soweto.

### Free

When BCP was banned in 1977, he joined the Azanian People's Organisation. He headed Azapo's health secretariat for many years.

With the help of other doctors, nurses and paramedical personnel, he conducted free health clinics in areas such as Winterveld, Mogopa, Botshabelo, Brandfort,

Mzimhlope, Duduza and a host of other places.

He also co-ordinated clinics in other parts of the country. During the nationwide detention of activists under the state of emergency in 1986, he went into hiding and in his absence his home was petrol-bombed.

Before Azapo was restricted on February 24, this year, he started Health 2000 which was, according to him motivated by concepts of self reliance and self sufficiency.

He said: "We in Health 2000 believe that the health future should be preventive rather than curative."

### Chosen

Last year he was among people chosen by *The Star* as The Stars of The Community in recognition of their contribution to the plight of the human race. The Lenasia based news-

paper, *The Indicator*, awarded him a Human Rights award also for the same reason.

People from overseas regularly call at his surgery looking for ways in which they could assist numerous projects.

He has had brushes with the municipality police when they wanted to remove him from his surgery at Mochaeneng. He resisted the eviction since 1983. Early this year when the entire squatting community in the area was removed, he had no option but to find alternative accommodation. He is now based at Moroka, Soweto.

At the surgery, well wishers send him clothes and blankets to give to the needy. At a squatter camp near Kliptown, residents hugged him on his arrival as he distributed blankets to them. "He is our messiah," a shack dweller commented.



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you can trust'

He is our  
messiah,  
says squatter

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**Peace talks set for Brazzaville** *(S)*

PRETORIA — The next round of south-western African peace talks will be held in Brazzaville, Congo, from August 24 to 26, a Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed yesterday.

Senior officials from Angola, Cuba and SA are expected to discuss a range of topics at the US-mediated meeting, including:

- The efficacy of the newly formed joint

military commission monitoring the ceasefire, and the withdrawal of 2 000-plus SADF troops from Angola;

- A calendar for the withdrawal of 4 000 Cuban troops from Angola; and

Issues surrounding the implementation of resolution 435 in Namibia and any response from the UN Secretary-General to November 1 as the beginning of its implementation. — Sapa. *(S)*

ANGOLA-NAMIBIA

## One for the Gipper

The clock begins ticking in Washington again this week as negotiators begin the fourth round of south-western Africa settlement talks — this time headed for an intermediate September 29 deadline for an agree-

~~2/5~~ PM  
19/8/88

ment on the phased withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and of the first SA soldiers from the border area.

Whether that goal will be reached remains to be seen. It is even more problematic, American officials say privately, that by the November 1 date already agreed to, the three main parties will be able to signal the United Nations to begin implementation of Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

It is not too much to say that the Ronald Reagan administration wants both goals achieved so badly they can taste it. At a rare State Department press conference, Under-Secretary for African Affairs Chester Crocker put the best spin possible on the recent rush of diplomatic momentum on Angola-Namibia. One factor in the sudden progress in talks between Pretoria, Havana and Luanda, Crocker said, was that the parties have "become increasingly comfortable with their own mediating role. They want it, they invite it, they go out of their way to welcome it and they seem increasingly to want to be operating in that context."

"Secondly, there have been various efforts over the years to explore military solutions. Everybody has tried upping the ante at one stage or another — the South Africans, the Angolan government with Cuban help at another point — and it simply doesn't lead anywhere ...

"A third factor is the reality of a changing US-Soviet relationship. There has been some progress in co-operating on regional issues and this meeting in Geneva was a perfect case in point. We had two days of discussions with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Adamishin before the talks started. We discussed in detail and concretely in a non-rhetorical fashion all the key issues that we and they expected would arise during the Geneva talks ..."

Equally important, Crocker hinted, there are real prospects that Jonas Savimbi and his Unita forces might be able to work out some resolution of the conflict with the Dos Santos government in Luanda. He even went so far as to say that the Soviets agreed with the American position that the dispute was "political" in nature and therefore "must be solved politically" — that is, through some power sharing compromise or perhaps a de facto partition of Angola which nevertheless guarantees its borders from SA intervention.

Will there be an agreement by September 29 — the 10th anniversary of the UN adoption of R 435?

The Americans are not sure. They are committed to a solution and so are the Soviets, the Reagan aides believe. The jokers in the pack, however, are the Cubans and the South Africans, especially the South Africans. Fidel Castro, according to the American analysis, must still bend to the pressure of his Kremlin paymasters no matter how



**US's Crocker ... parties comfortable with own mediation**

badly he wants to cling to his role as leader of the Third World revolution.

But the P W Botha government is under no such pressure from Washington. On the contrary, Pretoria's internal political dynamic might even be strengthened by a bit of recalcitrance at the last moment — a withdrawal from Angola, for example, but a refusal to leave Namibia until a suitably friendly government is established in Windhoek.

As has been demonstrated before, President Reagan wants Castro out of Africa almost more than anything remaining to be accomplished in his presidency. It is interesting to speculate just what price the American hosts will be willing to put on the table when the August 22 talks get under way, to guarantee that the negotiating clock keeps ticking.

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## NOT THE END OF THE WAR

When the end of a war is in sight, the population affected thinks happily of a return to normality — of the alleviation of the burdens imposed by conflict. This could be the harmless explanation for (premature) speculation that the national service period in the SA Defence Force could be reduced now that government has apparently committed itself to peace in Angola.

Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach, however, feels there is something much more sinister behind the speculation. He equates rumours along these lines with "campaigns against national service" associated with the activities of "terrorists and their fellow travellers."

Despite the fact that the conscription issue is a sensitive one at the moment, Breytenbach's reaction seems somewhat intemperate. A casual observer of the peace process might be forgiven for wondering to what use the fighting troops will be put next.

PFP Deputy Defence spokesman Roger Hulley expressed his party's disappointment that the peace process will apparently not lessen the manpower demands of the SADF: "One wonders why not?" he asks.

Hulley pointed out that even at the height of the Angolan conflict, reports of waste were rife — waste of time as well as manpower. "The Deputy Minister's statements can only fuel suspicion of a lack of seriousness about maintaining peace in Angola."

When military service was increased to two years in 1976, the reason given was the "total onslaught" facing SA from abroad.

Breytenbach now cites the "aims and objectives of the ANC and SA Communist Party" as being the threat against which the army must be mobilised.

So happy speculations about peace may be premature after all. This time the conflict could be drawing a lot closer than the Orange River.

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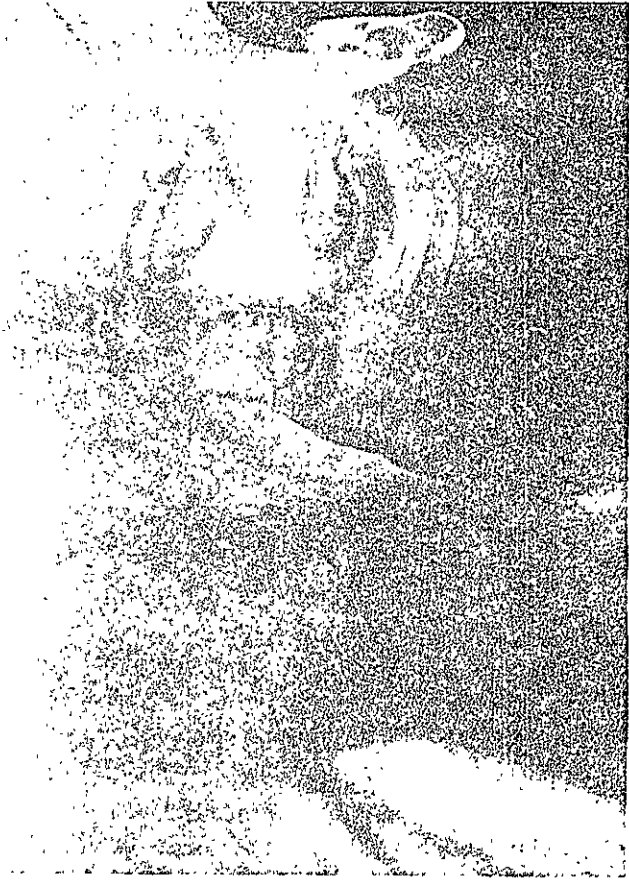
Winnie stays silent on moves as TB is confirmed

# WIMMINDETTA



WINNIE MANDELA

That's my Jesse Umpiyezwe  
Clegg! says jet-home Johnny



Sunday Times Reporters

HOPES that Nelson Mandela's release was closer than ever flared high this weekend among family and close associates of the imprisoned ANC patriarch.

His wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, was expected to fly yesterday to Cape Town, where her husband is in Tygerberg Hospital. But late yesterday she was reported to be still in Soweto.

And yesterday the hospital superintendent, hitherto prevented by medical ethics from disclosing the nature of Mr Mandela's illness, confirmed for the first time that his famous patient had suffered from "tuberculous pleural effusion".

Dr J G L Strauss told Saps that Mr Mandela's prognosis for recovery was "excellent".

He added: "The effusion has cleared up, the drain was removed on Monday and his lung has fully expanded."

Dr Strauss said he was able to report on the patient's condition after the president of the European Society of Pneumology, Professor Heinrich Herzig of Switzerland, had held a medical consultation with Mr Mandela and the doctor in charge, Professor M A de Kock.

Professor De Kock said there was no "lung involvement" and Mr Mandela's condition was not infectious. "He

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## SEIZE THIS MOMENT Opinion, Page 72

is responding well, he's cheerful and he's up and about." Since Friday, Mrs Mandela has been uncharacteristically reticent about discussing her husband's chances of liberty. Friends of the family said this was to avoid any statement that might upset the delicate possibility of his release.

However, while the family's hopes were rising, senior government spokesmen were at pains to emphasise that there were no changes in Mr Mandela's conditions of imprisonment or prospects of release.

Late last night, Tygerberg Hospital superintendant Dr Robbie Truter said Mr Mandela was "sleeping comfortably and doing well."

Yesterday's flurry of rumours and denials followed a week in which voices all over the world again called for Mr Mandela's release.

This followed news of his illness and a cryptic statement by President Botha that the ANC leader had been co-operating with the Government and, if this continued, "positive results might follow".

Mr Botha repeated his insistence that Mr Mandela would have to renounce violence as a means of attaining political goals.

Immediately, various respected bodies and individuals issued calls for his release.

They were joined by important figures in the Afrikaner establishment, including the newspaper, Beeld, and the Calvinist mouthpiece, Woord en Daad.

### Security

Renewed speculation about the possible release of the world's best known prisoner was fuelled yesterday by a sudden swelling of security at Tygerberg hospital, where a large contingent of Pressmen gathered, expecting an announcement.

ER Cars entering the hospital grounds were searched.

A large police presence built up at Cape Town's D F Malan Airport.

By the afternoon, however, the security force at both places had disappeared.

Speculation that Mr Mandela had been moved from the hospital was denied by official spokesmen.

A Sunday Times reporter late yesterday visited the ward where Mr Mandela had been tended earlier in the week and found it empty, suggesting that he had been moved elsewhere in the hospital.

### Violence

A Cabinet source said factors involved in Mr Mandela's possible release remained as stated by President Botha on Thursday: The Government hoped it would not be necessary for him to return to Pollsmoor prison.

Mr Mandela's illness had brought humanitarian considerations further to the fore, according to the source, but the security prognosis remained unchanged.

The source also indicated the Government would not consider an undertaking to forswear violence as a sufficient condition for release.

## Duple abbed death

By BILL KRIGE

CE last night were nting the killers of a 50-ar-old woman and a an stabbed on an stern Cape farm. red in blood, the woman iggered to the door of r Stutterheim farm-use before dying metres om the 30-year-old an's body.

ery is thought to be the otive for the killings, ich have shocked the rring community.

e said a domestic work-on the farm Gravillea, km from Stutterheim, ocked at the door yesrday but could not get in. en the door was sudden- opened by the bleeding oman.

her worker drove to a ighbour for help but hen they returned the oman was dead.

## igby death

DOLBOY Mark Lotz, 17, eidelberg, Cape, has died a kneecap operation for gby injury. His family bes he had a rare muscle ase

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

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# IF MANDELA WERE TO DIE!

More people want him released

By LEN KALANE and CP Correspondents  
FEARS are rising about the continued ill-health of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Even the Johannesburg-based Afrikaans daily newspaper, *Beeld*, has voiced concern about the grave implications Mandela's death could have should he die in prison.

But there were strong indications yesterday that the government was preparing to release Mandela. This came in the form of a

statement by the State President, PW Botha, saying he expected Mandela to co-operate and not to choose to go back to prison.

Repeated calls, both here and abroad, to release the 70-year-old political prisoner currently serving a life sentence in Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison, have failed because of PW's refusal to free Mandela unless he denounces violence.

In one of the few statements allowed from Mandela, the jailed ANC leader

said: "You cannot make contracts with prisoners."

In his new stance yesterday, President Botha told the Natal National Party Congress that Mandela had so far given the government his co-operation and that if this continued "I believe we will get positive results."

"Personally," Botha added, "I don't think that at his age and condition it would be wise for him to choose to go back to prison, and I hope he will make it possible for me to act in a

humane way so that we can have peace in South Africa."

Botha reiterated that he was prepared to release Mandela if he rejected violence as a political weapon and undertook not to campaign for a process of violence in South Africa.

This week, as news of Mandela's illness filtered through, fears that he could die in jail were expressed by a wide spectrum of people who called for his release on humanitarian grounds.

Mandela was admitted to Cape Town's Tygerberg Hospital last Friday and was said to be under treatment for tuberculosis and coughing up blood.

A spokesman at the office of the State President said the matter of clemency was the responsibility of the Justice Department.

A Justice Ministry spokesman said the Minister, Kobie Coetsee, was deeply perturbed by Mandela's condition, and that the issue was receiving his personal attention.

Mandela's admission to hospital raised fears of widespread violence.

And the refusal of Mandela to allow details of his illness to be released has done little to allay these fears.

But Botha this week said he was satisfied Mandela was receiving the best possible medical care.

He said this in reply to a letter by SAC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane, who had expressed concern for Mandela's health.

However, in USA's, the ANC accused the SA government of "callous neglect" of Mandela's health.

In the wake of the countless calls for his release, another Afrikaans church publication, *Woord en Daad*, joined the chorus.

"Mandela in jail is synonymous with a stalemate," the editorial said. "According to the government there can be no negotiations without him renouncing violence and according to the ANC there can be no substantial negotiations without the release of its leaders."

Leaders in the black community too have expressed their fears.

Civil rights leader and the Mandela family physician, Dr Ntsho Motlana, in an interview with the Africa News Organisation, warned that for the man-in-the-street it would be an "easy and reasonable conclusion that the system had killed Mandela", should he die in jail.

Political observers say that Mandela's recent illness has offered the government yet another occasion to release him and thereby absolve itself from any intervening possibility.

To Page 2

## Boxer's death to be queried

By PULE MOKHINE  
THE SA Boxing Board of Control will hold an emergency meeting next week to investigate the circumstances which led to the death of Free State junior featherweight Daniel Thetete.

Thetete died on the way to Pelenoni Hospital in Bloemfontein after losing on a fifth round technical knockout to Aaron Williams on Saturday.

"Although the boxer was said to have sustained a cut above his right eye in the fifth round of the fight, we suspect he died of brain injuries following the punishment he received," said Board official Stanley Christodoulou.

"The hospital has promised to give us the post-mortem by this weekend, and we'll tackle the matter at the meeting."

Christodoulou said the Board would contribute to the funeral expenses.

According to boxing statistician Ron Jackson, Thetete is the 47th local boxer since 1905 to have died from boxing injuries and the second this year.

The Board has not yet completed its investigation into the death in June of Brian Baronet.

Thetete will be buried at the Wesselsbron Cemetery at 2pm tomorrow after a service at the local Methodist Church.

## Brush with death as plane crash - lands

By S'BU MNGADI  
EIGHT passengers aboard a twin-engine aircraft shared death in the face when the plane crash landed at Louis Botha Airport this week.

Those who boarded Citi Air Flight 801 from Um-tata to Durban at 4.30pm were not aware that they had a harrowing experience ahead of them.

Loyal Ndwandwe, 28, of Clermont, described the experience as "agonising and nerve wracking".

He said they were within view of the airport when the pilot, Doug Castleman of Empangeni, tried furiously to crank the landing gear down by hand.

They circled the airport for 10 minutes.

At that point, Eric Dybeni, who was sitting next to the pilot, also started cranking the gear, and fellow passengers demanded to be told what was happening.

Castleman explained Other passengers tried cranking, but to no avail.

"The pilot then told us we would have to try belly-landing."

"He said we must brace ourselves and to remove any sharp objects."

"It was agonising. We could see emergency vehicles waiting below," Ndwandwe said.

The pilot then told passengers he would circle until he had burnt up all the fuel to prevent the plane from bursting into flames



Loyal Ndwandwe... nerve-wracking.

on landing

"It was becoming dark. We flew very low and suddenly the plane began to give trouble."

"The pilot tried last-minute manoeuvres to nose-dive, but the plane dropped like a stone out of the sky."

"Next thing I felt a heavy impact when we hit the ground. I immediately undid my

safety belt and we all rushed out of the plane before it exploded," Ndwandwe said.

Other passengers were Advocate Archie Findya, SC, Advocate Justice Poswa, Nel Cross, Chris Dodson and William Ngcobo.

Castleman was injured but others were only bruised.

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# 'Mandela's illness gives govt a chance to free him'

Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Prof Mike Hough, said that while the "wisest" thing for the government to do was to release Mandela before his death, some ANC would "prefer to see him in jail".

"These people say that Mandela would serve the ANC's purpose as a martyr in jail. If he is released, it could result in a leadership struggle in the ANC."

However, there was also another view that the release of Mandela would "at least prove some of the bona fides of the South African government" and could help to create circumstances "conducive to finding a political solution".

The release of Mandela in isolation, said Professor Hough, could not be expected to lead to a change "for the total good" because of the other lesser well-known demands of the ANC. The only difference it would make would be that there would no longer be a campaign for the release of Mandela.

Dr Motlana emphasised that should Mandela be allowed free political rein in his activities, he had no doubt he could bring peace through negotiations in this country.

"I would sincerely and very strongly recommend that he be released and that the movement be unbanned and those in exile be allowed to return to South Africa," said Motlana.

For senior lecturer in politics at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr Tom Lodge, Mandela's death in jail could result in "a great deal of anger" both inside and outside South Africa. That "surely" had to be a major consideration in the government's "thinking" concerning Mandela's possible release.

"If Mr Mandela was released and allowed to live in South Africa without significant restrictions on his political activity, he would play a very major and important political role," observed Lodge, noting also that Mandela - because of the political problems in the country - could contribute vitally to avert a crisis in leadership.

Mandela has been "officially" hospitalised outside prison four times since he was sentenced, but a private specialist told Sapahe had treated him in city rooms "at least three times".

Mandela's lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said three litres of fluid had been extracted from his lungs.

Mandela has been "officially" hospitalised outside prison four times since he was sentenced, but a private specialist told Sapahe had treated him in city rooms "at least three times".

Mandela's first officially confirmed hospitalisation was in November 1979 when he had a "minor operation on his right heel" at Woodstock Hospital. In February 1983 he was admitted to the same hospital for a "minor operation".

In September 1985 it was reported that Mandela had prostate problems. He was treated by a State urologist and his family later appointed three specialists to see him.

"The truth," said Ramaphosa, "will be known if and when Mandela and other political prisoners are freed."

The condition of Mandela, who has been in prison for 26 years now, has been said by the Tygerberg Hospital authorities to be improving steadily, although they have declined to say whether or not the ANC leader was undergoing treatment for tuberculosis.

The condition of Mandela, who has been in prison for 26 years now, has been said by the Tygerberg Hospital authorities to be improving steadily, although they have declined to say whether or not the ANC leader was undergoing treatment for tuberculosis.

# Angolan ceasefire 'decisive change'

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Sunday Times Reporter

ANGOLAN President Jose Eduardo dos Santos says his country's ceasefire with Pretoria marks a major change for southern Africa.

"It has changed in a decisive way the climate of tension and of war that prevailed up to now," he said in Zambia.

Angola, South Africa and Cuba are to resume US-sponsored talks in the Congolese capital, Brazzaville, aiming to fill in the main gaps in agreements reached so far.

Referring to Unita forces fighting his government, the Angolan leader said removal of external factors worsening the conflict would ensure a solution to his country's internal problems.

● Angola said yesterday Botswana President Quett Masire's jet was overflying the country's war zone without clearance when it was shot down by an Angolan fighter earlier this month.

Botswana has said Masire's BAE 125-800 was following an international route duly cleared with Angolan authorities when it was attacked, losing one of its two engines at 10 700 metres.

Masire, who was on his way to a meeting in Luanda, suffered minor back injuries.



President Mobutu Sese Seko



General Magnus Malan

# Cuba the new

SA begins to look like hero over SWA as Castro

**F**OR once South Africa is starting to look like the hero instead of the villain in the SWA/Namibia independence dispute.

If there is a villain in the play now it is Cuba in spite of Dr Fidel Castro's great desire to go down in history as Southern Africa's saviour.

Not everyone concerned with the efforts to bring independence to SWA/Namibia acknowledges this unusual reversal of roles. The Cuban dictator certainly does not.

But if the allegations current in some diplomatic circles are true, he is playing a desperately dangerous game that could not only scuttle independence for the territory but also prolong the search for peace in Angola and spread the flames of war more widely in Southern Africa.

South Africa's role as the hero is for the time being a largely self-assigned one, but it could well get wider recognition. It will certainly give the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, something to ponder during his visit to Pretoria.

South Africa's claim to the part rests on its having done everything that could reasonably be expected of it in recent months to clear the way for independence. Nothing has emerged to challenge the South African assertion that

it is genuinely trying to achieve a solution.

In the negotiations with Angola, Cuba and the United States, the South Africans have not only reaffirmed their intention to give SWA/Namibia independence but have also started giving effect to their promise by withdrawing their troops from Angola and setting a date — November 1 — for the implementation of the United Nations peace plan set out in Security Council resolution 435.

The Cubans have refused, however, to withdraw their 50 000-odd troops in a period short enough to make it impossible for them to influence SWA/Namibia's independence election.

"What more can we do?" a senior South African official recently asked, saying that Pretoria had so far made all the concessions in the bargaining.

Short of agreeing to delay independence to give the Cuban troops more time to withdraw, it is indeed difficult to see what more South African can do. The Cubans, however, have other things on their minds than quitting Angola, according to accounts in diplomatic circles.

With the MPLA regime in Luanda, they are said to be planning a major offensive against Unita, hoping that in

**RIGHT:** Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi questions two captured Cuban pilots.

They are: Lieutenant-Colonel Manuel Rocas Garcia, centre, and Captain Ramon Quesada Aguilar.



the absence of the South African troops, who have protected the rebels in the recent past, they can at last destroy or at least neutralise them.

The Cubans and at least some in the Luanda government apparently prefer this to the other options open to them, of which there are only two.

The one is to try to defeat or contain Unita on their own without the help of the Cubans, which on the face of it would not be possible. The other is to negotiate a political solution with Unita, which would involve bringing them into the government and sharing power with them.

According to diplomatic sources, the Cubans plan to seal Angola's border with SWA/Namibia to try to stop the South Africans from coming back to aid Unita and

then to attempt a crushing military defeat of the rebel

There would then be need for the MPLA to come to terms with Unita — a development that would displease the Cubans because it would have made their costly efforts to protect the MPLA seem in vain.

With Unita defeated, Cuban troops could be withdrawn with honour. But some diplomatic quarters there is a fear that this would more likely be seen into fresh adventures in Southern Africa aimed at shoring up Fidel Castro as a man who finally defeated Boers for Africa.

Some experts doubt that Unita could beat off an assault by Angolan tanks and aircraft without South African help.



Cuban troops disembark from an Angolan airliner.



Dr Fidel Castro

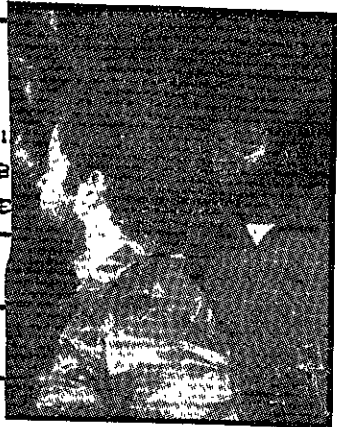


President Eduard dos Santos

# villain

## ro plays dangerous game

**GERALD L'ANGE**, editor of the *Argus Africa News Service*, reports on the latest developments in the dispute over SWA independence



because this would allow Swapo to infiltrate through the Caprivi Strip and so widen the conflict in SWA/Namibia.

Theoretically there would be no danger of this under the agreement said to have been reached in Geneva for Swapo's forces to be confined north of the 16th parallel. But Luanda's respect for this and other parts of the Geneva protocol would be brought into question if the reported eastward offensive against Unita were to take place and the Cubans were to be involved.

The terms of the Geneva agreement have not been made public — a strange decision in itself — but it is believed to prohibit the Cubans from embarking on hostilities east of the 17th meridian unless they are provoked.

However, provocation can easily be engineered and there seems to be a fear in some quarters that this is just what the Cubans would do. Alternatively, they would simply deny their participation in the Fapla offensive and it would be difficult to prove otherwise.

South Africa would not lightly decide to intervene. It would not have forgotten the international condemnation provoked by its previous entries into Angola. And it would know that the formidable anti-aircraft and other

weaponry installed by the Cubans and Angolans in southern Angola would make intervention much more costly.

However, the South Africans might well have considerably more open support from African countries than they have had in past interventions. Some of Africa's most influential leaders are believed to be concerned about the continuing conflict in Angola spreading wider in the continent.

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, in particular, is said to be seriously worried, having apparently been warned by the Angolans and Cubans to stop aiding Unita and having seen Zaire's air space violated by Angolan MiGs.

Eleven African leaders are said to have confronted President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola at a recent meeting and urged him to get the Cuban troops out of his country and start negotiating with Unita.

Now President Mobutu has disclosed that efforts are being made to arrange a summit involving South Africa, Angola, Zaire and neighbouring countries to discuss ways to facilitate reconciliation between the MPLA and Zaire.

If it comes off, the summit can only strengthen the roles of South Africa as hero and Cuba as villain.

The question is whether South Africa would send its forces to the rescue. The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, hinted last weekend that it might well do so.

Accusing the Cubans of using the peace talks as a cover for an effort to eliminate Unita, General Malan warned that they might learn again the lesson they received at Cuito Cuanavale where, he said, they lost up to 10 000 men.

The Minister did not say so, but it might reasonably be assumed that at least some of those losses were inflicted by the South African forces that were involved in the battle.

The South African government has strongly suggested in the past that it could not permit Unita to be ousted from south-eastern Angola

### TRICKS

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Anything

### Eskom moves line

**The Argus Correspondent**  
DURBAN. The Electricity Supply Commission has rerouted one of its 11 000-volt power lines — to help protect some endangered birds.

An Eskom team today took Press representatives to Balgowan in the Natal Midlands, the breeding ground of some endangered wattled cranes — of which there are only some 120 breeding pairs left in the country, most of them in Natal.

The massive rerouting operation followed a report that two cranes had

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# Border War still raging claims Swapo

JOHANNESBURG. — Clashes between Swapo and SA forces in Angola continued despite the ceasefire agreement entered into by SA, Cuba and Angola on August 10.

A Swapo diplomat in Lusaka claimed on Friday that large numbers of Namibians had been shot in Angola from inside Swapo territory in the past two weeks. They were shot on Angolan territory after crossing the border between Namibia and Angola, he said. The diplomat said Namibians reported a major build-up of SA troops in northern Namibia.

A SWATF spokesman yesterday denied the claims, but added that SWATF had killed 14 terrorists in Owambo land in eight separate incidents from August 2-15.

He said the internal security of Namibia was still the responsibility of the SWATF. Swapo was not party to the ceasefire agreement entered into by SA, Cuban and Angola earlier this month. However, Swapo leader Mr. Sam Nujoma said in Kabwe, Zambia, last week that Swapo was voluntarily complying with the ceasefire.

## Peace talks

The cessation of hostilities was agreed to at the previous round of Angolan-Namibian peace talks in Geneva where SA, Cuban, and Angola approved a comprehensive series of practical steps to reduce the risk of military confrontation which brought a de facto cessation of hostilities into effect. SA's negotiating team, headed by Foreign Affairs Director Mr. Neil van Heerden, will meet with senior officials from Angolan and Cuban in Brazzaville on Wednesday for the next round of Angolan-Namibian peace talks. The main item of Wednesday's agenda is the agreement to a timetable for Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

# Ceasefire signed in Namibia

RUACANA — Military representatives from South Africa and a combined Cuban and Angolan delegation yesterday formally signed a treaty to end hostilities.

The agreement, concluded near Ruacana, in the Namibian bush, provides for the formation of a Joint Military Monitoring Committee

The document was signed by the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer, commander in chief of the Cuban and Angolan troops, Lieutenant-General Leopoldo Frias of Cuba, and the Angolan presidential secretary for defence, Colonel Antonio Maria.

Delegates agreed earlier this month on a ceasefire, withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, and to start the independence process in Namibia.

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# Soldier dies in rocket attack

*Cape Times 23/8/88*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SADF yesterday declined to divulge the exact circumstances that led to the death of an SADF soldier, Lance Corporal Raymond Jagga, 19, in the "operational area" on Friday.

Cpl Jagga's is the first SA death since the ceasefire announcement between SA, Angola and Cuba on August 10.

Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said in Lusaka last week that Swapo complied with the tri-party ceasefire agreed to earlier this month.

Cpl Jagga died on Friday "in action against terrorists in the operational area when the vehicle in which he was travelling was struck by an anti-armoured vehicle RPG7 rocket", an SADF statement said.

An SADF spokesman declined to say where in the "operational area" Cpl Jagga died, and whether it was in action against Swapo.

Cpl Jagga is survived by his mother, Mrs J W Jagga, and his father Mr V Jagga of Durban.

"The chief of the SA Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, expressed his sympathy with Lance Corporal Jagga's family, loved ones and friends," the statement said.



CAPE TOWN 23/8/88

# SA, Angola sign for peace

**RUACANA.** — Military representatives from South Africa and a combined Cuban and Angolan delegation yesterday formally signed a treaty to end hostilities between the two sides.

The agreement was concluded near Ruacana, about 200 metres from the Angolan border in the northern Namibian bush, and provides for the formation of a Joint Military Monitoring Committee (JMMC).

"This is a memorable day towards the establishment of peace and stability in this region," the officer commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General Willie Meyer, said shortly after he had signed the Ruacana accord yesterday afternoon.

Gen Meyer, who led the South African delegation, said negotiations that had preceded the agreement were

conducted in a spirit of goodwill that would help the JMMC to overcome any obstacles it might encounter.

The document — drawn up in English, Spanish and Portuguese — was signed by the commander-in-chief of the Cuban and Angolan troops, Lieutenant-General Leopoldo Cintrás Frias of Cuba, and the Angolan presidential secretary for defence and security, Colonel Antonio Jose Maria.

Gen Frias said the negotiations had taken place in "an atmosphere of respect and responsibility", and he expressed the hope that the JMMC would successfully fulfil the functions assigned to it.

Col Maria said the accord was the first practical expression of the desire by all the parties for "just peace and dignified peace". — Sapa

# Hope of breakthrough on Cuban withdrawal

BRAZZAVILLE — A vital breakthrough in the key question of a timetable for Cuban withdrawal from Angola could well be in sight.

It is understood that at the latest round of talks due to start here today:

- The Cubans will moderate their initial standpoint of a withdrawal from Angola over four years; and

- SA might be prepared to look at the possibility of independence for Namibia before all the Cuban troops have been withdrawn.

PATRICK CULL

In another development, former UN Special Representative for Namibia Maarti Ahtisaari arrived here and is likely to be also briefed on developments for the next three days, the period for which the talks will last.

At this stage Cuba is insisting on withdrawal of troops over four years, while SAA wants this to happen in 10 months.

Should the Cubans drop this period to two years when the talks start tomorrow, diplomats taking part believe there

(5) ~~5~~ 5 Day  
is room for manoeuvre and there is real reason for hope. *24/8/88*

Foreign Affairs director general Neil van Heerden made it clear last night that Cuban withdrawal was the "crunch issue".

The South African delegation arrived here last night via Lusaka and immediately held talks with US Under Secretary for African Affairs Chester Crocker who will chair today's sitting. The Angolans, Cubans and Americans were also all in Brazzaville last night.

# Namibia: is a settlement really on the way there?

Chm. Tails 24/8/88

WILL Pretoria really abide by its agreement to implement UN Resolution 435 and set in motion the process designed to bring independence to Namibia?

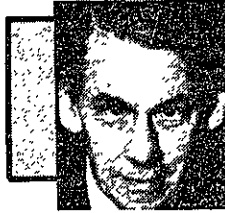
Resolution 435 was passed 10 years ago. Given Pretoria's long record of delaying tactics, it is hardly surprising that there is a good deal of scepticism in Namibia, South Africa and in the outside world.

One point at least is certain: Pretoria, highly adept at holding its ground with dogged obstinacy, would never contemplate withdrawing from Namibia unless it became evident that the continued occupation of the territory — a territory of only marginal importance to the defence of South Africa — was demanding a price so high as to be no longer worth paying. There are now a number of indications to suggest that this may indeed be the case.

**T**ake first the military situation. The defence of Namibia has involved a prolonged involvement in Angola. While Angola remained a Portuguese colony there was close co-operation between South Africans and the Portuguese on security.

This was the ideal situation: a friendly power north of the border. It was, of course, undermined by the collapse of Portuguese rule.

But then the rise of Unita, making a remarkable recovery from the knock-out blow received at the hands of the Cubans and the MPLA in 1975, began to suggest a viable alternative. Let Unita create a buffer state in southern Angola in which the SADF would be allowed a free hand to go in "hot pursuit" of Swapo forces. It was worth giving Unita a good deal of support in pursuit of this objective.



By  
ROBIN  
HALLETT

But the more effective Unita became, the more insistently the MPLA had to appeal to its own external backers for support. And the MPLA had the great advantage of being able to pay through its oil revenues for the aid it received. So there was a steady increase in the volume of material reaching Luanda from the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries.

This has become particularly noticeable in the last couple of years. New supplies of aircraft, radar and anti-aircraft missiles have enabled the MPLA and its allies effectively to challenge the hitherto uncontested mastery by the South Africans of the skies of southern Angola.

**N**o less important has been the increase in the Cuban military presence, which has risen in the last year from 30 000 to 45 000. According to a recent report from Havana (John Rennie in the Guardian, July 26), Fidel Castro told leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement in May that he decided at the end of 1987 to increase the Cuban commitment by sending over "crack divisions" equipped with T55 and T62 tanks as well as Cuba's best pilots flying MiG 23s.

Castro is quoted as saying that this decision "brought a total change in the balance of power", a change that was decisive in bringing the South Africans to the negotiating table.

There is clear evidence that

the increasing — though by World War II standards still very small — number of white casualties in the Angolan fighting was having an adverse effect. In January a survey of public opinion undertaken by the South African Institute of International Affairs indicated that 57% were in favour of negotiations with Swapo over Namibia (up from 33% in 1982). The same survey also showed that three out of four whites were opposed to greater military spending.

To these factors must be added significant changes taking place within Namibia. The year 1988 has seen the territory shaken by the most widespread opposition to South African rule ever launched, with a strike and a four months' schools boycott. Behind these developments lies the growth over the past three years of the National Namibian Students' Organization and the National Union of Namibian Workers — both organizations that have admitted to the inspiration and advice they have received from their South African counterparts.

**T**rade unions and student activists can, of course, be dealt with by familiar methods but the tougher Pretoria becomes the more its actions discredit the body it set up in 1985, the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU). To gain local credibility and support the TGNU has embarked on policies of liberalization and reform only to

find its efforts blocked by Pretoria's veto.

Add to this the fact that the territory's economy is described as declining. Since 1979 employment in the mines has shrunk from 36 000 to 22 000. Namibian trade unionists reckon that more than 50% of the country's potential work force is unemployed. A territory so strife-ridden, an economy so unbuoyant involves the South African Government in heavy expenditure, estimated at R700 million every year for defence, R306 million in deficit finance, R236 million in short-term loans and R80 million in an overdraft facility at the South African Reserve Bank.

**I**t begins to look more and more as if the SADF is having to face in Namibia the sort of realities that confronted the French in Algeria, the Americans in Vietnam and the Russians in Afghanistan: technical military superiority is not enough to win a war that comes to be regarded by more and more local people as a struggle for national liberation.

Yet inevitably, given the long series of disappointments over attempts to reach a negotiated settlement over Namibia, Pretoria's latest moves are being taken with many pinch of salt.

Still, given the elaborate nature of recent negotiations and the international publicity they have received, well-informed observers are now cautiously inclined to believe that the South African Government is at long last really prepared to implement UN Resolution 435. I think I would now be prepared to bet that by the end of 1989 we are likely to see a very different regime in Namibia.

□ (Robin Hallett is an historian and writer on Africa)

SA-Cuban compromise on withdrawal expected

# Angola talks set for breakthrough

By Peter Fabricius

Brazzaville

The Angolan-Namibian peace talks starting in Brazzaville today could be poised for a breakthrough on the crucial question of a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

As the South African, Cuban, Angolan and American teams arrived here last night, it seemed that both sides might be prepared to shift their positions to approach a compromise.

Indications were that South Africa might be prepared to alter its basic position by accepting a partial Cuban presence in Angola after United Nations elections in Namibia — if the Cubans withdrew to the north of the country.

Until now, South Africa's position has been that all Cubans troops must be out before UN elections.

In Brazzaville last night it also seemed that Cuba might be prepared to alter its minimum period for pulling out of Angola from four years to two years.

Asked if he was confident of a breakthrough, Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of foreign affairs, who is heading the South African delegation, said he was "neutral".

Under the Geneva agreement, the Cubans and Angolans must come up with an acceptable withdrawal timetable by September 1.

South Africa has offered to begin implementing Namibian independence on November 1, with elections on June 1 next year.

However, Mr van Heerden stressed last night that November 1 and June 1 were not deadlines but target dates.

The State's Washington Bureau reports that the Soviet Union believes there is a 50-50 chance that South Africa will try to back out of the accords now under negotiation.

## Interaction

In an interview on the eve of the Brazzaville talks, Moscow's chief southern Africa policy-maker, Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin, said South Africa had frequently gone back on its word in the past and there were fears that it would do so again in the present negotiations.

"But I think that in present conditions it will not be so easy for the RSA to go back on its word."

Mr Adamishin said conditions favouring a settlement included a change in the general world atmosphere and an interaction between the Soviet Union and the United States in favour of settling conflicts.

Asked whether US and South African support for the Unita rebel movement would hinder the negotiations, Mr Adamishin said that ensuring Angola's security and non-interference in its internal affairs remained an acute question to be resolved.

"The USSR adheres to the view that if favourable external conditions are created, then the Angolans themselves will find ways of solving their internal problems by peaceful means."

A series of major questions had already been resolved in principle, military disengagement was taking place and a mutually acceptable timetable should be presented for the total withdrawal of the Cuban presence, he said.

"But there are still complications at these talks which, with goodwill from all sides ... can be overcome."

"We are having ... a positive influence on the settlement by means of being in constant contact with our friends, Angola and Cuba. We maintain a systematic exchange of opinions with the United States."

# SA team off for round 6 of talks

*CATG Times 24/8/88*  
JOHANNESBURG. — A political and military delegation flew yesterday to Brazzaville, Congo, to resume peace talks with Angola and Cuba in what will be the sixth round of US-mediated talks.

The delegation, lead by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden, will include SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and National Intelligence Service head Professor Neil Barnard.

Beginning today, the negotiators will discuss a timetable for withdrawal of some 50 000 Cuban soldiers.

Officials said the scheduled three days of discussion were buoyed by the creation on Monday of a ceasefire monitoring group drawn from the three major forces.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said on August 9 that under the ceasefire agreement accepted in Geneva, South Africa would allow an independence programme for Namibia to begin under United Nations stewardship on November 1.

But that kick-off date was linked to Cuba and Angola setting a timetable by September 1 that was "acceptable to all parties" for the withdrawal of Cuba's expeditionary army. — UPI

## Three Swapo insurgents killed

*CATG Times 24/8/88*  
WINDHOEK. — Security forces in northern Namibia killed three Swapo insurgents in three skirmishes last week, bringing to 278 the number of Swapo losses to date this year, the SWA Territory Force said in Windhoek last night.

In the same period, a civilian died and another was injured when Swapo insurgents carried out stand-off bombardments on Ombalantu village in northern Namibia.

The SWATF said considerable damage was caused to a hospital in the village during the bombardments.

# Angola is 'main base' for the ANC

CAPE TOWN  
24/8/88  
5

## Political Staff

ANGOLA is the main training ground for ANC terrorists and Botswana is their main infiltration route into South Africa, General Johan van der Merwe, head of the security police, said yesterday.

Briefing political journalists on the current security situation, he said South Africa is having a "reasonable degree of success" against infiltration.

Botswana is the main conduit because the ANC has difficulties in operating from other neighbouring states; but is nevertheless still using them to varying degrees as staging posts to reach SA.

The ANC's involvement in Angola is an important aspect of the current peace negotiations concerning Cuban withdrawal and independence for Namibia. However, General Van der

Merwe said it is a sensitive situation and he could not say what the outcome of the peace talks would be.

He said Botswana had been given warnings of the activities of ANC members in its country and is attempting to take firmer action.

"However, we understand that President Kenneth Kaunda has asked Botswana not to be too tough on the ANC, which has established underground structures in that country," he said.

Botswana was careful not to give the ANC such a degree of free rein that it would entice action by the SA security forces.

"In light of the increased infiltration by terrorists, and the serious warnings issued by SA, Botswana decided in 1987 on a stricter security policy regarding revolutionary movements," he said, adding that South Africa has the impression there is a great deal of laxity or inefficiency on the part of Botswana.



WORLD

NATIONAL

# Troop withdrawal: SA, Cuba may compromise

AP 6/25 24/8/88

From PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — The Angolan/Namibian peace talks starting here today could be poised for a breakthrough on the crucial question of a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

As the South African, Cuban, Angolan and American teams arrived here last night it seemed that both sides might be prepared to shift their positions to approach a compromise.

## Flexibility

Indications were that South Africa might be prepared to alter its basic position by accepting a partial Cuban presence in Angola after United Nations elections in Namibia — if the Cubans withdrew to the north of the country.

Until now South Africa's position has been that all Cuban troops must be out before UN elections.

It also seemed that Cuba might be prepared to alter its minimum period for pulling out of Angola from four years to two years.

The signs of flexibility on this central issue, which has so far prevented a peaceful settlement, has boosted hopes of an agreement, though South African diplomats are still advising caution.

## Timetable

Asked if he was confident of a breakthrough, Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of foreign affairs who heads the South African delegation, said he was "neutral".

Under the Geneva agreement reached early this month the Cubans and Angolans must have an acceptable withdrawal timetable by September 1.

The timetable for Cuban withdrawal must be acceptable to South Africa, which has offered to begin implementing Namibian independence on November 1 with elections on June 1 next year.

However, Mr van Heerden stressed last night that November 1 and June 1 were not deadlines but target dates.

"They can be shifted downstream but not upstream," Mr van Heerden said.

● The arrival of special United Nations Representative to Namibia, Mr Marti Ahtisaari at the Angolan/Namibian peace talks starting here today has boosted confidence in a settlement being reached.

His presence indicates that the UN believes a firm agreement could be signed, setting in motion the process of UN-supervised elections in Namibia.

● See page 27.

# Swapo killers flee on bicycles after attack

ter tanks at a military base were damaged. The spokesman said that three Swapo insurgents had been killed in clashes, bringing to 278 the number the organisation had lost this year. The latest incidents are seen by military authorities here as proof that Swapo is not observing the ceasefire agreements signed between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

**WINDHOEK.** — A civilian has been killed and others injured in a mortar bombardment of a village in the Ovambo war zone in northern S/WA/Namibia. A Territory Force spokesman said the attack was by 12 Swapo insurgents, who fled back into Angola by bicycle and on foot.

In another bombardment a hospital and wa-





# It's the 'crunch' talks

## Hopes for peace in Angola and SWA at crossroads in new Brazzaville meeting

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

**HOPES** for permanent peace in Angola and SWA/Namibia reach a crossroads in Brazzaville, Congo, this week when South African, Cuban and Angolan negotiating teams meet for the sixth round of talks in the current series.

The South African team will be under the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Niel van Heerden, accompanied by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and the National Intelligence Service chief, Dr. Neil Bernard. The talks are scheduled to end on Friday.

These will be the "crunch" talks, say diplomats. A fragile ceasefire agreed to in Geneva on August 5 regains along the SWA/Namibia-Angola border and possibly as far as 150km north (at least between South African, Angolan and Cuban forces — only not included in the ceasefire agreement and continue to fight).

But the "fighting season" in south-eastern Angola is coming up and at the back of everyone's mind at the negotiating table will be the thought that if the talks break down, there might be a repetition of last year's bloody exchanges at Mavinga and Oito Cunhale when Uthia and South Africa stopped the Frelimo-Cuban assault on Uthia leader Jonas Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba.

"Everything is running smoothly at the moment and the joint military monitoring committee supervising the ceasefire is working well," said a South African diplomatic source.

"We just hope there is no offensive coming up against Uthia as there was last year at the time. If there is not, that will be a sign that we can talk turkey about Cuban withdrawal."

A lasting peace will depend on what timetable the Cubans present in Brazzaville for withdrawing their 50 000 troops from Angola to match South Africa's offer of a November 1 deadline for the start of the process of implementing United Nations resolution 435 for SWA/Namibia independence and the withdrawal of South Africa from the territory.

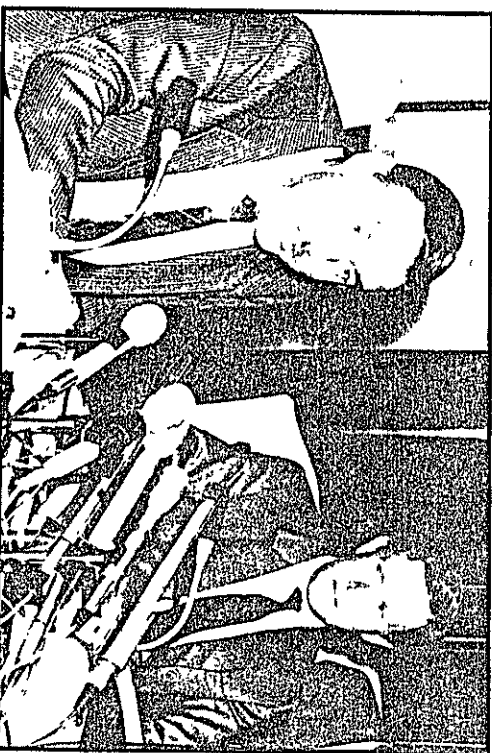
Under the South African offer, made on August 3 at the last round of talks in Geneva, United Nations-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia will be held on June 1.

The Geneva agreement of August 5 stipulates that Cuba and Angola must agree before September 1 to a deadline acceptable to all parties for the complete withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. It will be this proposal that will probably come up first on the agenda in Brazzaville today.

Although the Geneva agreement does not stipulate that all the Cubans must be out by the June 1 elections, South Africa has repeatedly stated that Cuban withdrawal must be complete by the time elections are held in SWA/Namibia. And under the Geneva agreement South Africa has to approve the timetable for Cuban withdrawal before it can give the go-ahead for resolution 435.

Although little has been said in public, so far the Cubans seem to have been sticking to their old minimum of a four-year roster for getting out of Angola (though it has been suggested they could be negotiable down to two years).

The Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Niel van Heerden, right, who is leading the South African team at the Brazzaville talks. He is seen here with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha.



Publicly, too, they do not accept the principle of "linkage" between implementation of 435 and a Cuban troop withdrawal — at least not in the way the South Africans understand it.

South Africa interprets linkage as meaning a simultaneous execution of both processes while Cuba appears to have accepted only that it must give an undertaking to pull out of Angola (at some time) in exchange for the South African concession on SWA/Namibia.

However, South African diplomats say this is just rhetoric and the Cubans know that the principle of linkage which they have accepted implies a simultaneous process. "The ball is very much in their court at Brazzaville," a diplomatic source said.

If Cuba is not prepared to come down to the seven-month deadline, the question arises: Is South Africa prepared to accept a longer period as long as this extended period also applies to resolution 435?

Diplomatic sources said this depended on the State Security Council. The negotiating team goes to the talks armed only with the seven-month schedule.

"We still have to see their schedule. If their idea is that the timetable for implementing UN 435 should be scheduled to match a longer period for withdrawing their troops, we will have to put that to the State Security Council."

"We have yet to see their proposal. They have no stone tablet like ours. Once they give an idea of how far they are prepared to adjust, we can decide how much we can accommodate them and still have free and fair elections."

The hazards facing an agreement in Brazzaville are too many for anyone to put much more than a flutter on it. "The real intentions of the South Africans remain uncer-

tain and those of the Cubans obscure.

Since the Geneva agreement, announced on the South African side with a great deal of fanfare, Cuba has dampened enthusiasm considerably by announcing that SWA/Namibia must be granted independence before it even begins to withdraw its troops from Angola — a suggestion obviously unacceptable to South Africa.

The problem of Uthia appears to be bothering the Cubans. Uthia is not a party to the present ceasefire but Cuba believes that while Dr. Savimbi's movement continues to threaten the Angolan government, Cuba's continued military presence is justified.

There is also some doubt about South Africa's sincerity. For, apart from the central issue of Cuban withdrawal, Pretoria has thrown up a whole host of lesser issues, any one of which could become an insurmountable obstacle to an agreement. If necessary.

Basically, these are:

- An insistence that Angola deny the African National Congress bases in its territory.
- An assurance from the United Nations that someone else will foot the estimated R1,5 billion bill for implementing resolution 435.
- An assurance that someone else (perhaps the five permanent members of the Security Council) will take over South Africa's economic aid to SWA/Namibia (which according to South Africa totals R4,5-billion since 1989 excluding security costs) and will take over as guarantor of SWA/Namibia's estimated R750-million worth of current loans and



General Jannie Geldenhuys

● An assurance that the United Nations (which long ago declared Swapo the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people) will remain impartial in the independence process.

Given these hurdles, it is perhaps too much to hope that the Brazzaville talks will end with a joyous announcement of "peace in our time".

Perhaps the most one should hope for is that the talks will end with the negotiation process still intact and an agreement to meet again (somewhere, sometime) after all governments have considered a new postponed deadline for a settlement of the "old vested dispute" (as Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha has described it).

The danger is that if the November 1 deadline is not met, the United States presidential election and other factors will upset the complex peace negotiations and the current series could grind to a halt.

And then the military option might seem preferable.

# SA may soften its stance on Cuban pull-out

25/8 00 Political Staff Star

**BRAZZAVILLE** — The chances of South Africa dropping its insistence on total Cuban withdrawal from Angola before the United Nations supervised Namibian elections has increased after the first day of bargaining at the Angola-Namibia peace talks here.

The Cubans have shown flexibility at the negotiation table which may allow South Africa to move its position, boosting chances of overall agreement.

A new Cuban appreciation of South African concern has emerged which has surprised the South African team and may be reciprocated.

It is understood that a Cuban offer of a timetable for withdrawal of its troops from Angola was the substance of hard bargaining.

During the morning session the SA team under Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, met Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State, who is mediating at the talks.

It is not clear if Dr Crocker conveyed a Cuban offer of a new timetable to the South African delegation.

The mood was clearly tense as all sides recognised that these were the crunch talks in which the Cuban withdrawal issue must be tackled head on.

## ENCOURAGING PRESENCE

It will be difficult for the delegations to maintain that the talks have succeeded unless there is real progress on the central question.

The Cuban delegation is headed by Mr Carlos Aldana. The head of the Cuban military contingent is General Ulisses Rosales del Toro.

The presence of Mr Vladlin Vasev, the Soviet Union's South Africa expert, is seen as an encouraging sign. The South Africans believe he was responsible for exerting pressure on the Cubans to reach previous compromises.

● **OSLO** — The secretary-general of Swapo predicted yesterday that an independent Namibia would soon be in armed conflict with South Africa.

Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, who is attending an international conference on refugees in southern Africa, said that he did not believe South Africa was ready to live in peace with its neighbours.

"The fate of Angola will be transferred to Namibia after it becomes independent."

Mr Toivo said he had no doubt that Swapo would win an election in Namibia. He said a Swapo government would give refuge to ANC fighters.

"We have been co-operating with the ANC in our struggle. We will follow the policy of the Organisation of African Unity to give refugees asylum status, and the ANC is no exception," he said. — Reuter.

# Steep road ahead — PW

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IT WAS not the first time that a solution in Namibia had been in sight and expectations should not be set too high too soon, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Negotiating the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola remained the "hardest nut to be cracked", he said.

He was opening a special debate on the territory at a joint meeting of all three Houses of Parliament.

## Principles

"There are serious issues still to be negotiated. There is a steep road ahead," he said. "The latest negotiations between Angola, Cuba and South Africa show progress. We are following a step-by-step approach.

"This means that we tackle one aspect at a time and finalize it before taking on the next subject."

The set of principles agreed to at the negotiations in Cairo, New York and Geneva would be converted into an international agreement.

"What has been achieved thus far by way of agreement is very important to South Africa because total Cuban withdrawal from Angola and SWA-Namibian independence are clearly linked."

This had been a goal of South African foreign policy which the government had long striven for while almost the entire world, apart from the US, had denied and opposed it.

The Angolans and Cubans had now committed themselves to the principle that the territory could only become independent once agreement was reached on the total withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Brazzaville and he did not want to comment further on the issue.

The establishment of a ceasefire in the operational area was another major event, he said. "The South African goodwill has been illustrated by our having started to withdraw our troops from southern Angola."

Mr Botha said the government continued to insist that the people of Namibia should be able to decide on their

own future, free of intimidation from outside.

One of the problems was the way in which the United Nations favoured Swapo.

"It was a serious stumbling block in the past, and it still remains one.

"The secretary-general will have to be absolutely neutral in his involvement in the independence process. Swapo and the other parties in Namibia will have to be treated on an equal footing." — Sapa

## Hardest nut

South Africa had taken the initiative by presenting a proposal for implementation of Resolution 435 at Geneva whereby elections would take place before June 1, 1989, by which time the Cubans would have to be out of Angola.

"The timetable for the Cuban withdrawal must however still be negotiated before September 1. "This is the hardest nut to be cracked," Mr Botha said.

Representatives of the countries taking part were negotiating in

# Malan says 'no' to red flag over Windhoek

HAVING the red flag fly over Windhoek was irreconcilable with the efforts South Africa was making for Namibia, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

He told the special joint meeting of Parliament that while South Africa did not prescribe to Namibia, it did however have interests it had to look after.

While there were several "tough nuts" to crack in the negotiations over the implementation of Resolution 435, it was to be hoped that they would lead to lasting peace and stability.

From South Africa's side this was a serious aim, and the government was doing all in its power to reach it.

South Africa was in Namibia because it was taking out an insurance policy in its own interests and in the interests of the people of that territory and of the subcontinent.

It had always been South Africa's policy to keep Marxism and people's democracies away from her front door and the country would not turn back from this course.

"We say this because South Africa has a non-negotiable faith in the self-determination of peoples — not only those in our country but everywhere in the world.

"Our presence and our involvement in Namibia therefore revolves around protecting and helping the pro-democratic and freedom-minded people. For that reason the struggle is worth the difficulty and expense.

"And for that reason it is inappropriate to now speculate over a possible Swapo government in Namibia."

Gen Malan said the possibility that Resolution 435 could be implemented was a fact.

There were, however, tough nuts that had to be cracked in negotiations on the subject.

Among these were the Cuban troop withdrawal, the financing of 435 and the impartiality of the United Nations.

There were guarantees from which South Africa would not budge and which were in the interests of this country, Namibia and the subcontinent.

There was therefore no ground for cheap allegations that the government was busy giving Namibia away or selling it out.

One could not give away something that one did not own. Namibia had never been part of South Africa.

Resolution 435 made provision for an election in Namibia, and particular preconditions were attached to this as well. — Sapa

## Peace to help SA solutions

THE peace agreement on Angola and Namibia would enhance the opportunity of resolving South Africa's internal problems, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the House of Assembly, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

The climate of reconciliation would surely affect the domestic scene.

The fact that the SA government could sit down and reach an accord with Cubans and Angolans and the fact that Swapo said it wanted peace with South Africa, had to have a bearing on internal politics.

He called on the government not to lose the will to settle the Namibian issue, despite the difficulties ahead. — Sapa

## Red govt for Namibia CP

IMPLEMENTATION of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia amounted to a rejection of the idea of self-determination for the different "nations" in the territory, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Expressing his party's concern at the course of current negotiations between South Africa, Cuba and Angola on peace in Namibia, he said in the special joint debate that the CP saw the end result as a communist government in Namibia and the Republic itself "fighting for its life" against communism.

Emphasizing his party's commitment to a "peaceful and honourable" settlement in Namibia, he said it was however disturbed by developments indicating a growing encirclement of communism around South Africa and that it "not prepared to throw the territory to the wolves".

The key question was whether the current settlement being negotiated would protect and guarantee the rights of the different peoples of Namibia.

The CP saw the negotiations as opening the door to Swapo and the end result of the negotiations' current course as pulling the frontline against communism back from the Cunene River to the Orange River.

Russia and Cuba were now agreeing to a political solution as opposed to war, but their ultimate goal of a communist Swapo government in Namibia and a communist African National Congress government in South Africa remained the same. — Sapa

# Botha's speech on the Angola peace talks

Political Staff

AS THE latest round of Angolan-Namibian peace talks got under way in Brazzaville, Congo, yesterday, President P. W. Botha appeared to telegraph a message of compromise on the crucial issue of Cuban troop withdrawal.

Speaking in a joint debate by all three Houses of Parliament on the peace initiative, which all but the Conservative Party supported, Mr Botha emphasized that South Africa's demand was for a "total" withdrawal, coupled to Namibian independence.

The "coupling" had finally been accepted after a long and hard struggle.

## Withdrawal

"To put it simply, SWA can only become independent when agreement has been reached about the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, a principle to which the Cubans and Angolans have now bound themselves," Mr Botha said.

South Africa had taken the initiative in Geneva by proposing that elections in terms of UN Resolution 435 should take place on June 1, 1989, by which time Cuban withdrawal should have been completed.

Mr Botha appeared to indicate a degree of willingness to compromise on the timetable which had to be agreed before next Thursday.

"However, the timetable for the withdrawal of the Cubans must still be negotiated — and before September 1.

"It will be the toughest nut to crack," he said.

South Africa had shown its goodwill by withdrawing its troops from Angola, he said.

Its proposal that the Cubans should also be withdrawn before the elections seemed "logical and fair".

## Unfair advantage

Mr Botha added: "South Africa is not trying to gain unfair advantage through this, but withdrawal must take place in such a way that none of those involved can at any given moment outmanoeuvre the other."

Mr Botha and other speakers expressed concern about the degree of impartiality the UN staff would display during the elections, clearly fearing a pro-Swapo attitude.

However, Foreign Minister Mr. P. Botha gave the assurance that this was a matter which would have to be discussed.

This was why the State President had invited UN Secretary-General Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar for talks.

## PW's compromise to Angola peace talks

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- PW speaks at joint debate, page 5
- Guarded optimism at Angolan talks, page 7

CPK Links 25/8/88 (5)

# Guarded optimism at Angolan talks

From PATRICK CULL

**BRAZZAVILLE** — The first plenary session of the latest round of negotiations on the future of Namibia was due to start late yesterday afternoon.

After the morning session between the US and South African delegations, a US source indicated that the latest Cuban proposals had been given to the SA delegation by Dr Chester Crocker.

## Further bilateral talks

Further bilateral talks, however, may have to take place before the four parties sit down together, with Dr Crocker conveying the South African response to the proposals to the Cubans and Angolans.

A spokesman for Dr Crocker would neither confirm nor deny that a news blackout had been imposed.

There was, he said, quite simply no comment.

The SA delegation came out after three hours of talks for an extended lunch break lasting about three-and-a-half hours.

A source in the SA party said that at this stage there was "nothing to report."

The Cuban, Angolan and US delegations also took an extended lunch break.

Although there are still major hurdles to be overcome, there is a spirit of optimism at the talks.

For the second time, Swapo is present as an observer, represented by Mr Hadipo Hamutenya, one of the top three men in the movement.

The issue is the timetable for the withdrawal of the 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola. There are signs that the mood might be right for compromise.

The Cuban stance at this stage is that the troops will be withdrawn over a four-year period. South Africa wants them out in ten months before there can be an independent Namibia.

## Gulf Oil wells could become Unita targets

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — Unita has warned that if US aid is withdrawn it will regard Gulf Oil wells in Cabinda as legitimate targets for attack.

Jane's Defence Weekly quotes senior Unita military official Brigadier Ernesto Mulato as saying its forces in the northern coastal enclave are capable of launching offensives against the oil installations.

He said that if the Democrats won the US election and Mr Michael Dukakis carried out his threat to stop aid to Unita, its soldiers would see no reason not to destroy the installations which are providing a substantial income to the Angolan government.

Meanwhile, there have been further reports that Unita has established a northern headquarters at Quimbele. US officials in London have confirmed that Unita was stepping up activities in the north.

The Cuban-Angolan axis is now expected to soften its stance and may propose a pullback over two years with all remaining troops withdrawn to a position north of Luanda before the independence process gets under way.

That will put the ball back in the South African court with a decision likely to rest with the State Security Council.

What has given rise to optimism is the presence of a number of key figures.

*not. Tanks 25/8/88*

# Troops in Angola take Aids home to Cuba

(S) (C)

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Cuban forces in Angola and elsewhere in Africa are facing high rates of Aids infection, says a high-ranking Pentagon commission.

A new study suggests that while this could slow the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the continent, it could also deter President Fidel Castro from introducing further forces.

Cubans have been "severely afflicted with Aids as a result of their deployment in Africa and the infection has been brought back to Cuba by returning troops". The latter have been "quarantined in special camps" on Cuba and some carriers of the virus have been "prevented from returning".

The study, part of major reappraisal of US security policy, concludes that the disease could have serious consequences for international stability.





Friendly discussions about timetables

# Peace talks now at the 'rockface'

APGUS  
25/8/88  
5

From PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — The Angolan/Namibian peace talks have for the first time got down to the "nitty-gritty" of timetables for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, who is leading the South African team, said the first day of the talks yesterday had been "extensive and intensive and conducted in an atmosphere conducive to serious negotiations".

South African diplomatic sources said that the Angolans, Cubans and South Africans had now started "seriously working at the rockface of withdrawal calendars".

Until now the series of talks had been about broad princi-

ples and "clearing the undergrowth".

The mood here is friendly and constructive.

Although the teams have agreed not to disclose details it is understood that the Cubans may be prepared to reduce their schedule for withdrawal from four years to two years.

South Africa may also be prepared to increase the seven-month period for implementing United Nations-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia.

South African diplomats have emphasised that although the June 1 date for UN-supervised elections and final Cuban withdrawal offered by South Africa in Geneva was still a target, it was entirely negotiable.

However, no new timetables have yet been put on the negotiating table, though tentative proposals are believed to have been made yesterday.

The talks opened in the Congress Palace with a meeting between the South African team and Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State and mediator at the talks.

The South African team was then asked by the Cubans and Angolans for a meeting to discuss the timetables.

Under the Geneva agreement signed this month Cuba and Angola must draw up a formal agreement for a timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

Most observers at the talks seem optimistic that a settlement in south-western Angola is now closer than before.

The talks are scheduled to finish tomorrow but could be extended if necessary.

South African sources have also said that the September 1 deadline for the withdrawal of all South African troops from Angola is on schedule.

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### Cubans 'gas' Unita forces'

LONDON. — Cuba is using a mixture of mustard gas and nerve gases against Unita forces in Angola, a Belgian toxicology expert said.

Prof Aubin Heyndrickx, a UN expert and head of toxicology at the University of Ghent in Belgium, said Cuban troops were using a combination of Soviet-supplied gases to flush out Unita forces. — Sapa

5



WORLD

# Worship 'free in Angola'

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BRUSSELS. — A delegation of black US church leaders reported it had found no religious oppression in Angola during a two-week visit.

"There is freedom of religion in Angola," said Rev Benjamin Chavis Jr, head of the New York-based United Church of Christ delegation in a statement here where his delegation stopped on its way back to the United States.

"The government of Angola and the churches have developed a positive, constructive working relationship."

Mr Chavis said he had seen Angolans worshipping "openly and joyously" in churches of their choice.

He had met several Angolan officials and travelled through the country to see the effects of the 13-year-old civil war.

## "Serious about peace"

Rebels, backed by the United States and South Africa, have been fighting Angola's Marxist government since the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

The sixth round of US-brokered peace talks between Angola, South Africa and Cuba, which has some 50 000 troops in Angola, is under way in Brazzaville, Congo.

"We are convinced that the government of Angola seriously wants peace," said Mr Chavis, who criticised the US administration for supporting the Unita guerrilla organisation.

"There is a long trail of African blood that can be traced from Angola directly to the White House." — Sapa-AP.

# Peace hopes

BRAZZAVILLE — The Angolan/Namibian peace talks have for the first time got down to the "nitty-gritty" of actual timetables for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr Neil van Heerden Director-General of Foreign Affairs who is leading the South African team, said the first day of the present round of talks this week has been "extensive and intensive and conducted in an atmosphere conducive to serious negotiations."

South African diplomatic sources said the

26/8/88  
Angolans, Cubans and South Africans had now started "seriously working at the rockface of withdrawal calendars."

Until now the series of talks had been about broad principles and "clearing the undergrowth."

## Mood

The mood here is friendly and constructive, and the talks are still very much on track.

Though the teams have agreed not to disclose substantive details it is understood that the Cubans may be prepared to reduce their schedule for

withdrawal from four years to two years. South Africa may also be prepared to increase the seven-month period for implementing United Nations-supervised elections in Namibia.

South African diplomats have stressed that though the June 1, 1989 date for UN elections and final Cuban withdrawal offered by South Africa in Geneva was still a target, it was entirely negotiable.

The talks started in the Congress Palace with a bilateral meeting between the South African team and Dr Chester Crocker the American assistant Secretary of State who is mediating the talks.

# Cheers and for PW in Cr

AKGAS 26/8/88



By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Staff Reporter

HUNDREDS of cheering, whistling Crossroads residents, who gathered to welcome President Botha on his first visit to the settlement today, broke ranks and ran forward, almost surrounding his car as it swept by.

Detectives and officials at the Topcore Manpower Training and Work Centre, which was officially opened by President Botha, leapt forward and closed the security gates behind the presidential car to halt the rush of excited people, mostly children.

## Aflutter with flags

For nearly an hour before Mr Botha's arrival the road leading to the centre was aflutter with miniature red, black and white flags handed out to children and teachers by the Crossroads council.

Nobody knew what the flags represented ... but it later turned out to be the new "flag of Crossroads".

Guests, including Cabinet Ministers, senior government officials, the Administrator of the Cape Mr Gene Louw and the Mayor of Cape Town Mr Peter Muller, were cheered as they drove in.

Even a taxi driver going about his business and later a cyclist were caught up in the spectacle and earned cheers as hearty as those for the guests.

The crowd — watched by a large police contingent and a circling helicopter — swelled as curious people came to see what all the fuss was about.

## Doubt

Many were not entirely certain who was visiting them.

But doubt seemed to have been dispelled by the time the presidential car arrived because it was greeted with a deafening crescendo of cheering and whistling.

In a brief speech of welcome, the chairman of the interim advisory board of Crossroads, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana said Mr Botha had "paved the way for all peoples of South Africa ... and I am thankful for that."

Mr Botha concluded his opening address by saying he was privileged to be in Crossroads.

Mr Botha and Mrs Elize Botha, who were entertained by singers and dancers after the official opening of the centre, were handed gifts from the people of Crossroads.

• See Page 3



**WAVING THE FLAG:** Crossroads residents bearing miniature replicas of the township's new red, black and white flag line the streets today for the fleet of government vehicles.

## Seven suspects arrested in Hout Bay crime swoop

By STEPHEN WROTTESELEY, Crime Reporter

POLICE believe they have made a major breakthrough in investigations into more than 30 housebreakings in Hout Bay in the past month.

Backed by an air force helicopter yesterday, they swooped on the compound at Hout Bay harbour and arrested a 30-year-old man in connection with at least 10 burglaries involving about R50 000.

They also found two firearms, dagga worth thousands of rands, cameras and a man's gold watch worth R4 000.

A police spokesman said six men aged between 25 and 60 had been arrested in connection with the dagga.

"For some weeks there have been a large number of housebreakings in Hout Bay and in one month 12 business premises and 20 houses were burgled.

ASLEEP IN BED

## Group areas: Nats as Eglin checks

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT and Opposition leaders clashed again today over latest moves to push through the group areas legislation.

The government reaffirmed its determination to push ahead while Opposition leaders accused it of discarding the consensus approach of the tricameral system.

Today there was also talk of moves to challenge the legality of the government moves.

The Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement have announced that they will not take part in parliamentary debates on the group areas legislation and other related Bills.

MORE CUMBERSOME

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more cumbersome because possible amendments would have been put before representatives of all three Houses.

Mr Colin Eglin, parliamentary leader of the PFP, said today the NP had "ripped off the masque from the pretence" that the tricameral system was based on consensus.

It had now been shown that consensus, in Nationalist terms, meant agreement with that party. It wanted to impose its "baasskap" on other groups.

Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the House in the Assembly, said today the government



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# Crossroads

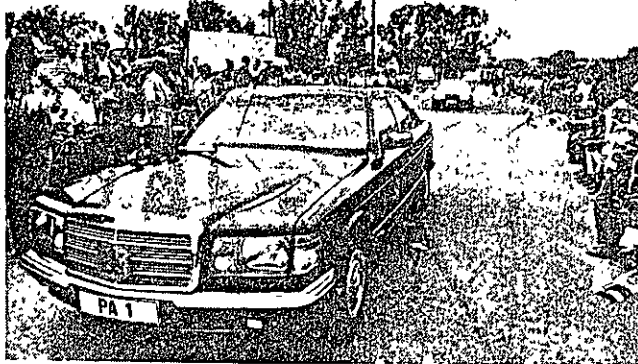


of the township's new red, black and government vehicles.



Pictures: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

**ALL SYSTEMS GO:** Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok indicates that everything's under control for the presidential visit to Crossroads.



**HEL-LOUWI!** Administrator Mr Gene Louw arrives in Crossroads, unmistakable for his vehicle's distinctive registration number.

## Father dies playing Russian Roulette

The Argus Correspondent WITBANK. — An out-of-work Witbank father of six shot himself dead while playing Russian Roulette in a moving car carrying his wife, children and a friend.

Police believe Mr Marthinus Petrus Peens, 29, was heavily under the influence of alcohol at the time.

A police spokesman said Mr Peens shot himself on the fifth firing of a .375 Magnum revolver.

He had first put it to the head of his friend, a Mr Schoeman, who was driving the family in his car from their Clewer home near Witbank towards Pietersburg.

He then pulled the trigger at the heads of three of his children (aged between 10 months and eight years).

Mr Peens then turned the revolver's chamber against himself and pulled the trigger, fatally wounding himself.

Mrs Peens and her children hitched a lift to the Witbank police station, while the dying Mr Peens lay in Mr Schoeman's car which had stalled.

Eventually Mr Schoeman managed to start his car, but Mr Peens was dead on arrival at Witbank Hospital.

## Areas: Nats dig in on checks legality



more cumbersome because possible amendments would have been put before representatives of all three Houses.

Mr Colin Eglin, parliamentary leader of the PFP, said today the NP had "ripped off the masque from the pretence" that the tricameral system was based on consensus.

It had now been shown that consensus, in Nationalist terms, meant agreement with the

a Group Areas Amendment Bill which would in effect abolish the main Act.

Mr Hendrickse has also expressed his "revulsion" over what he described as an insinuation by Mr de Klerk that the Labour Party was being prescribed to by the PFP. He said this was typical of a "baasskap" attitude.

The question of whether the government's latest actions are legal is being studied but Mr Eglin said there could be no talk of a possible court action until this had been established.

The Independent Party today identified itself with the stand

# NOW THAT'S OK



Cuba halves time for withdrawal

# Negotiators edge closer on pullout

26/8/78 B/Dav

**BRAZZAVILLE** — Angola and SA yesterday edged closer to each other on a timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal, with SA proposing 12 months and Angola and Cuba dropping to 24 months.

The US presented a compromise proposal of 18 months.

This means Cuba and Angola — and the US — have halved the timescale for withdrawal since the Geneva talks.

SA's position is that UN resolution 435 will not be implemented before all Cuban troops have left Angola.

SA diplomatic sources said the key word at this stage was flexibility, with all sides seemingly prepared to adopt a give-and-take attitude.

The latest position before yesterday's negotiations was spelled out by Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

He told the People's Congress in Luanda that Cuba and Angola now proposed a two-year withdrawal period for the Cuban troops. SA proposed 12

**PATRICK CULL**

months, and the US 18 months.

It is understood one possibility open to bridge the gap in the timescale is that Cuban troops might begin withdrawing, leaving a specified limited number until Namibian independence, but based north of Luanda.

There is no doubt the mood of optimism in at least some quarters, although the SA delegation has been careful to avoid "characterising" negotiations.

The bilateral talks between the two sides, with the US as observers, continued yesterday morning, after which all parties attended a lunch hosted by US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker.

The delegations returned to the Palais de Congress briefly at 4.30pm before

● To Page 2 ➡

## Negotiators edge closer on Cuban pullout

returning to their hotel, where discussions were continued.

At this stage, the leaders of the various delegations are involved.

SA delegation leader Nell van Heerden said on Wednesday night the talks so far had been "intensive and extensive" but declined to comment on the substance.

A similar response came from the Angolans.

It is understood, however, that progress has been made and the two sides are down to the rockface of the problem — hammering out the programme for Cuban withdrawal.

← ● From Page 1

B/Dav  
26/8/78

(5)

...said that some of the measures would become "apparent shortly"

**Papenfus out of hospital**

*APR 25 AM 6 Times 26/8/88*

PRETORIA. — South African prisoner-of-war Private Johan Papenfus has been discharged from the Havana hospital where he was treated and transferred to an unknown institution in the Cuban capital. Delegates of the International Red Cross visited Private Papenfus recently, his foster father, Mr Johan Language, said.



## Cubans, Angolans consider new plan

*Cape Times 27/8/88*

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — Cuban and Angolan representatives returned to this city yesterday after an overnight trip to Luanda to consider a proposed compromise plan for the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, sources close to the conference said.

The timetable for a Cuban withdrawal is the key to peace talks with South Africa.

The sources, who declined to be identified, said US mediators had proposed that the Cubans be withdrawn during the next 18 months.

Angola has offered to send the Cubans home in four years, while South Africa has said they must be withdrawn within a year.

South Africa's support for Unita was also among subjects being discussed, sources close to the South African delegation said.

Angola presumably was demanding South Africa and the US halt support for Unita in return for concessions on the Cuban withdrawal timetable.

Unita has not been involved in the talks, and has ignored a ceasefire signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba. — Sapa-AP

# Angola links Cuban withdrawal to aid for Unita

LISBON — A top Angolan military official was quoted at the weekend as saying withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops from his nation was directly linked to US aid for Unita rebels.

Portugal's Lusa news agency reported Angolaan Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Antonio dos Santos Franca as saying: "We're not going to sacrifice our security in return for nothing."

Franca, whose comments were made as he left Brazzaville for Luanda, headed the Angolan delegation at US-mediated talks, with SA and Cuba, suspended on Saturday

after parties failed to reach agreement on a withdrawal timetable.

The Angolans and Cubans say it will take four years to complete the withdrawal. SA wants them out in a year. US mediators are reported to have proposed 18 months.

The talks will to resume next Monday in the Congolese capital.

Withdrawal of troops has been linked to an overall peace plan for the region and an agreement by SA to

grant independence to Namibia and withdraw its troops from southern Angola and Namibia.

Unita is not party to the talks and has not observed a ceasefire signed last week by SA, Angola and Cuba.

An American diplomat close to the US mediators in Brazzaville said US support for Unita could not be a bargaining chip.

"It is absurd to ask us to disengage unilaterally. I don't consider it a con-

dition of our mediation," he said.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker architect of the accord, has said agreement between the Angolan government and Unita was essential for the plan to take hold.

On Friday, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told OAU head Moussa Traore that Angola would not be pressured into a power-sharing agreement with Unita as the price for peace in the region — Sapa-AP.

It's back to Brazzaville for more talks

## Parties fail to agree on terms of pull-out

DELEGATIONS from four countries involved in a bid to resolve the problems of south-western Africa will head for Brazzaville once again next week to try to hammer out a compromise which will lead to Namibian independence in terms of UN resolution 435.

The last round of talks ended in the early hours of Saturday morning with the leader of the SA delegation, Neil van Heerden, acknowledging his disappointment that the gap between the two sides had not narrowed.

One area of particular concern to SA is the run up to the implementation of resolution 435 when the bulk of SA troops will have been withdrawn from Namibia.

PATRICK CULL

An SA diplomatic source said there would have to be a matching response from the other side. This had not been forthcoming; what was offered "falls quite a way outside our expectations".

One possibility mooted is that SA will shift from its position of demanding that all the Cubans be out of Angola prior to independence and permit a limited number to be based north of Luanda.

This would allay Angolan fears that Unita, continuing to be supplied by the US, would pose a major threat to MPLA control.

To date the issue of US aid for Unita has not been discussed. A source said this was a matter for the US and Angola.

It is acknowledged the target

date for an agreement on Cuban withdrawal from Angola — September 1 — is now out of the question while there also appears to be far less chance of November 1 being the date for the beginning of the implementation of resolution 435.

SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys gave the assurance that whatever the outcome of the talks, all SA troops would be out of Angola by September 1.

The SA delegation will report to the government tomorrow when the possibility of a shift in the SA position will obviously be looked at.

Then it is back to Brazzaville to discuss what Van Heerden describes as the major issue — Cuban withdrawal.

### IN BRIEF

#### No Mahobe acquittal

THE application for the acquittal of former Mamelodi Sundowns Football Club boss Zola Daniel Mahobe was turned down by a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate on Friday.

Mahobe faces five counts of fraud involving R6m.

The case was postponed to Wednesday.

#### Zulu group in Holland

AMSTERDAM — Zulu song and dance group Shikisha are the only South Africans taking part in the week-long World Roots Festival 1988 starting here today

#### Results of food tests

DURBAN — The results of tests made on samples of food eaten by the 35 children admitted to Addington Hospital with food poisoning on Friday would be made known today, SABC radio news reported

Only two of the children had not been discharged by Saturday: they were both in a satisfactory condition.

#### Wits school festival

PORT ELIZABETH — The 1820 Foundation in Grahams-town has announced that its

### W & A

paid, having the profit increase (R11.5m).

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W & A expects the year to Dec giving a rise of 4% from operations, depend on the the Hunts rights

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# UDF: 5 years old in silence

The Cape Democrats held a cultural event at the University of Cape Town to celebrate the fifth birthday of the UDF on Saturday.

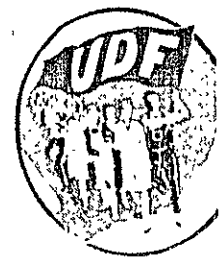
The UDF was formed at a mass rally at Rocklands, Mitchells Plain on August 20, 1983, to oppose the tri-cameral elections. The activities of the UDF were severely restricted in February this year when it became an offence to organise UDF structures or promote its public image.



## 5 FIGHTING YEARS

## LONG LIVE!

### KAAPSE DEMOKRATIE



X

# Mandela may be freed a bit at a time

11A  
STimes  
28/8/88

By LESTER VENTER and  
NORMAN WEST

A STAGED release of the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, may already be under way, according to persistent speculation in government circles.

Senior government sources, some of them close to the Cabinet, say it is virtually certain Mr Mandela will not be sent back to prison.

He is presently recovering from tuberculosis in Cape Town's Tygerberg Hospital.

The speculation now gaining wide currency among parliamentarians and others is that Mr Mandela will continue his recovery in a convalescent institution.

There he may be granted increasing access from outsiders. In time this could even include media interviews.

## Fears

The Government is known to be anxious to find a way of releasing Mr Mandela — but fears the impact on what it calls the "revolutionary climate" in the country.

A staged approach is being suggested as a way to reconcile the Government's desire for his release and its fears of the consequences.

A staged release would also take the sting out of the inevitable backlash from rightwing whites.

If handled in this way, Mr Mandela's freedom would differ from that of another ANC leader, 77-year old Mr Govan Mbeki, who was unexpectedly released on November 6 last year. He had also served 25 years imprisonment for political crimes.

The sudden impact of the Mbeki release caused great excitement in townships and led to celebrations and welcome rallies, which the Government deemed a security threat. So Mr Mbeki was later banned.

Mr Mandela is reported to be in good condition in Tygerberg Hospital and is making a recovery attending medical specialists have described as "remarkable".

The current round of top-level speculation surrounding Mr Mandela's release was initiated by President P W Botha's remarks at last week's National Party Congress in Natal.

Mr Botha said it would not be a good idea for Mr Mandela, at the age of 70 and in his condition, to go back to prison.

## Logic

But the reason top sources can only speculate on the Government's precise intentions concerning Mr Mandela is that the decision doesn't rest with the Cabinet.

It's up to the State Security Council of which President Botha is chairman.

Some officials are using another event as a reason.

Last week the Government showed off a former ANC member who joined the SAP after 10 years in the ANC.

Introduced to the media at a police camp near Cape Town only as "Mr X", the former Umkhonto we Sizwe member said the ANC wanted Mr Mandela to stay in jail.

He said Mr Mandela's release would cause "chaos" in ANC ranks and that its current leader in exile, Oliver Tambo, "would not like Mr Mandela to take his job".

## PIC

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## Kids

By CHARIS

THE SABC bow pressure group reinstated a programme — try!

The pressur made up of 23 year-olds from primary school petition calli

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**Sept troop withdrawal promise**

SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys has given the assurance that whatever the outcome of the talks, all SA troops would be out of Angola by Wednesday. Delegations from four countries return to Brazzaville next week in a bid to hammer out a compromise that will lead to independence for Namibia. Full story — Page 2

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# Diplomats from SA tell of 'working at the rockface'

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

ARGUS 29/8/88

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**“WORKING** at the rockface” was how Neil van Heerden, leader of South Africa’s negotiation team, characterised the start of the Angola/Namibia peace talks in Brazzaville, Congo.

He said the “underbrush” of broad principles had been cleared in previous talks. They were now down to the nitty-gritty, the rockface of a calendar for Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The rockface seemed barely dented in the three days of bargaining which ended with nothing visibly gained but an agreement to meet again in the Congo capital next week. However, South African diplomatic sources insist that flexibility was shown in some important areas by both sides.

Diplomatic sources suggest the negotiations were much more about the timing of Cuban redeployment to the north of Angola than about a date for their complete withdrawal.

It seems that South Africa’s greatest flexibility was on its official previous position that all Cubans must be out of Angola before the proposed June 1, 1989, date for United Nations elections in SWA/Namibia.

President Botha’s speech in Parliament on the talks has been mostly interpreted as meaning that South Africa has dug in its heels on this principle. But South African diplomats point out that Mr Botha said the Cubans must be out before SWA/Namibia independence rather than before the June 1 date for elections.

It must be remembered

that SWA/Namibia will not become independent on that day. June 1 is the date by which a constituent assembly must be elected to draw up a constitution for independence.

Apart from the importance of this in itself, it also indicates a new emphasis and South African diplomatic sources point out that it was the official position before the talks began.

At Brazzaville it was suggested that this was the point on which South Africa was most flexible and that the South African team focused instead on timetables for redeployment of Cuban troops northwards in Angola during the period running up to the elections — not on the deadline for complete withdrawal.

South Africa put the view at Brazzaville that the different phases of the independence process under UN resolution 435 — the period before the process starts on November 1, the period from then to the elections on June 1 for a constituent assembly and the post-election period — had different “sensitivities”. South Africa said the most sensitive period was the middle one.

During the first three months after the start of the implementation of UN 435, South African forces would have to withdraw from SWA/Namibia except for a nominal presence of 1 500 troops confined to the Oshihelo and Grootfontein bases.

South Africa told the Angolans and Cubans that in those three months UN forces would be arriving and the world’s attention would be on SWA/Namibia.

The South African view was that in this period it should not look as though only South Africa was withdrawing. There should be a matching withdrawal northwards of Cuban troops to balance the South African withdrawal.

The point that the South African team tried to make to the Cubans and Angolans was that the presence of a large Cuban force — with an arsenal of conventional weaponry far greater than needed to protect Angola — just across the SWA/Namibia border during the election campaign would intimidate voters and affect the outcome of the elections.

Apart from the intimidation factor, South Africa also seems to believe that if the election process under UN 435 begins with a South African military “retreat” not matched by an equivalent Cuban “retreat”, this would make Swapo look like the winner of the war in the minds of SWA/Namibia voters.

The South African appeal for a Cuban withdrawal northwards in the three months after November 1 is understood to have been the reason for the sudden return to Luanda by the heads of the Angolan and Cuban delegations.

They consulted the Angolan government and returned with a proposal that fell “quite a long way short” of South African expectations and at this point the talks effectively ground to a halt.

The Angolans and Cubans argued that the Cuban presence had nothing to do with UN 435 and that they were in

Angola by invitation of the country’s sovereign government. They added that the Cuban presence was equivalent to the South African presence across the other SWA/Namibia border in South Africa.

South Africa countered that its troops across the Orange River were in no position to influence the outcome of the elections as strongly as the Cubans across the Cunene because about 70 percent of the population was in Owambo on the northern border.

South Africa said that Swapo was on record as saying that if anything went wrong at the polls, its Cuban allies would be there to help.

South Africa believes the large Cuban presence just across the border goes right to the heart of the linkage principle which is aimed at ensuring free and fair elections under UN 435

Although Cuba’s and Angola’s response to this approach did not meet South African expectations, it was at least a response.

All the indications from Brazzaville were that Cuba and Angola would adamantly reject complete Cuban withdrawal from Angola by the time of UN elections.

South African diplomats have indicated that the September 1 deadline for South African troops to be out of Angola is still on track and that although the September 1 date for an agreement on a Cuban withdrawal timetable is now unattainable, the November 1 date for starting UN 435 could still be.

# Brazzaville: Fresh bid for compromise

By PATRICK CULL  
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Delegations from four countries involved in a bid to resolve the problems of south-western Africa return to Brazzaville next week in a bid to hammer out a compromise that will lead to independence for Namibia in terms of UN Resolution 435.

The last round of talks ended in the early hours of Saturday morning with the leader of the South African delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, acknowledging his disappointment that the gap between the two sides had not been narrowed.

It was in stark contrast to the muted optimism expressed before the talks.

One area which is of particular concern to South Africa is the run-up to the implementation of Resolution 435 when "it should not look as if only South Africa and Namibia have made concessions".

During this period the bulk of SA troops will have been withdrawn from Namibia and there is very obvious concern about what will be happening north of the territory.

An SA diplomatic source said there would have to be a matching response from the other side which had not been forthcoming and what had been offered "falls quite a way outside our expectations".

One possibility which has been mooted is that SA will shift from its present position that all the Cubans would have to be out of Angola before independence and permit a limited number to be based north of Luanda.

This would allay Angolan fears that

Unita, continuing to be supplied by the US, would still pose a major threat to the MPLA.

The SA delegation will report to the government tomorrow. Meanwhile, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported from Lisbon yesterday that a top Angolan military official said that the withdrawal of the 50 000 Cuban troops is directly linked to US aid for Unita rebels fighting the MPLA government.

"We're not going to sacrifice our security in return for nothing," Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Antonio Dos Santos Franca said before returning to Luanda from Brazzaville.

The Angolans and Cubans have said it would take four years to complete the troop withdrawal. South Africa wants them out in a year. US mediators reportedly proposed a compromise timetable of 18 months.

Unita is not party to the talks and has not observed the ceasefire signed by SA, Angola and Cuba.

An American diplomat close to the US mediators in Brazzaville said that US support for Unita couldn't be "a bargaining chip... it's absurd to ask us to unilaterally disengage... I don't consider it a condition of our mediation (at the talks)".

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, architect of the accord, has said an agreement between the MPLA government and Unita is essential for the plan to take hold. But Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said on Saturday that Angola would not be pressured into a power-sharing agreement with Unita as the price for peace in the region. — Sapa-AP

## Points to monitor SA journalists ceasefire set up to visit Angola

By JIM FREEMAN

WINDHOEK. — South Africa, Angola and Cuba are to erect 11 monitoring points along Namibia's northern border within the next few weeks to ensure that the ceasefire between Angola and Namibia is upheld, according to senior military sources here.

The sources, who have asked not to be identified, said the members of the Joint Monitoring Co-ordination Committee (JMCC) agreed to the move while signing the ceasefire ratification last week.

The monitoring points will stretch from the vicinity of Ruacana in Namibia's north-western Kaokoland region "to deep into the Caprivi", the soldiers disclosed.

The main aim of the monitoring points is to ensure that none of the signatories to the ceasefire, or Swapo, send forces into one another's territories to jeopardize the agreement, signed as a preamble to the possible implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia.

It is also understood that the Unita resistance movement of Dr Jonas Savimbi in south-eastern Angola will fall in with the ceasefire and do nothing to upset the shaky peace in the region.

JOHANNESBURG. — A party of South African newsmen was due to leave Jan Smuts Airport for Harare today, en route to Angola.

Clearance for the week-long visit was negotiated with the assistance of Cuban Embassy staff in Harare, who issued the invitations last week. The degree of access which the group is to be granted to Angolan officials will be detailed during a briefing at the Angolan Embassy offices in Harare today.

The thawing of the frosty relations between the frontline states and South Africa's mainstream media began with a snap visit to Harare last month by representatives of Rapport and the Financial Mail.

# Peace, stability before timetables

(5) 29/8/88

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Positive progress was made in Brazzaville during the latest negotiations on a settlement of the Angolan and Namibian conflicts.



General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the SADF, relaxes on the plane back to South Africa.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba have failed to meet a September 1 target for agreeing on a timetable for pulling Cuban troops out of Angola, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said at the weekend.

But Mr Botha, commenting on the peace talks that ended in Brazzaville on Friday, said positive progress had been made in the negotiations on a settlement of the Angolan and Namibian conflicts.

The US-mediated talks in the Congolese capital ended after three days of tough negotiations on a timetable for withdrawing an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola. Negotiations will resume in Brazzaville in a week's time.

The failure to meet the September 1 deadline is not a surprise. Political sources have described the date as a target, not a deadline.

"The discussions at Brazzaville were serious, detailed and constructive," said a joint statement issued by South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the US.

Pretoria demands the withdrawal of the Cubans as a condition for granting independence to Namibia. Angola and Cuba have said they want a four-year withdrawal of Cuban troops while South Africa has demanded a pullout over one year to match its departure from Namibia.

In a statement released in Pretoria, Mr Botha said: "From the negotiations that took place in Brazzaville it became clear that the delegations from the various countries would now have to report back to their respective governments.

## COMPLICATED MATTER

"This is a complicated and delicate matter that requires clinical reflection on the part of the governments involved in these discussions.

"The South African delegation is now returning to report back fully to the Government and the indications are that further discussions about this important issue will need to be arranged," Mr Botha said.

"The SA Government would like to express its appreciation to the Republic of Congo for the facilities and hospitality extended to all the delegations, and reiterates the view that the problems of our continent must be solved by the leaders of Africa.

"In view of the desirability that further deliberations and negotiations should take place, it follows that the date of September 1 1988 for the reaching of an agreement about a timetable for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is not attainable."

"The discussions in Brazzaville took place in a spirit of mutual understanding," Mr Botha said.

"Because so much is at stake for all the people and countries of southern Africa, the question of timetables should not be the decisive element — what is important is that southern Africa should achieve peace and stability.

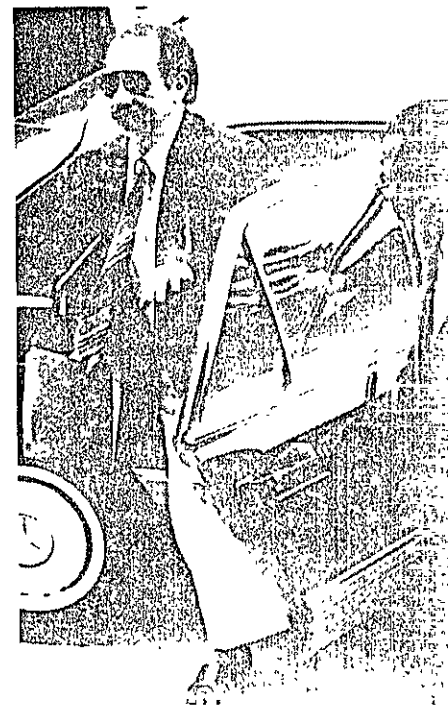
"It should be borne in mind that positive progress has been made in respect of a cessation of hostilities. So, too, in respect of the recognition of the linkage between the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435," Mr Botha said. — Sapa and Reuter.



Head of SA's negotiating team, Mr Neil Den, finds time to shop in Brazzaville's ...



Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant US Secretary of State for African Affairs, in optimistic mood.



General Carlos Aldana, head of the Congolese delegation, arrives at Brazzaville's Congress.



# US link with Cuban pull-out

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29/8/78

A TOP Angolan military official said on Saturday that the withdrawal of some 50 000 Cuban troops from his nation is directly linked to US aid for Unita rebels fighting his government, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

"We're not going to sacrifice our security in return for nothing," armed forces Chief of Staff General Antonio dos Santos Franca told

reporters before leaving Brazzaville for Luanda.

Franca headed the Angolan delegation at US-mediated talks with South Africa and Cuba that were suspended on Saturday after the parties failed to reach an agreement on a withdrawal timetable.

The Angolans and Cubans have said it would take four years to complete the troop withdrawal. South Africa wants them out in a year. US mediators reportedly proposed a compromise timetable of

18 months.

The talks were to resume September 5 in the Congolese capital.

The Cuban forces have been backing the Angolan army since the late 1970s in its fight against the US and South African-backed Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) rebels. Unita has been fighting a guerilla war against the Marxist-oriented government since Angola achieved independence from Portugal in 1975. — Sapa-AP.

# Deadlock: Hendrickse, Heunis meet tomorrow

NA  
ARGUS  
29/8/88

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, is to meet the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, tomorrow to discuss the constitutional deadlock.

Announcing this today, Mr Hendrickse said he was not prepared to compromise.

The Labour Party has demanded the scrapping of the Group Areas Act. Mr Hendrickse said he had not proposed a list of residential areas which must be opened, as had been reported earlier.

Mr Heunis said today that his door was open if Mr Hendrickse wanted to talk.

Meanwhile, the constitutional impasse may take a new turn this week after the Labour Party has examined ways of retaliating following the National Party's actions in the Assembly last week.

The party is considering changing the rules of the House of Representatives to pass its own version of legislation which would amount to the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

## Way opened

The National Party, by changing the Assembly rules to prevent the other two Houses playing a role in legislation passed by it, has opened the way to similar action by the Labour Party.

The rules providing for a joint committee of all three Houses of Parliament were agreed to by all of them.

The NP last week unilaterally changed the rules to turn the group areas legislation and related Bills into "own affairs" measures to be dealt with by a

committee appointed from only the one House.

Some Labour MPs want the Representatives to also "go it alone" on the rules.

The party has made it clear it will have nothing to do with the present legislation short of scrapping it.

Asked about the possibility of the other Houses of Parliament using procedural changes similar to those of the Assembly to open coloured areas to other groups, Mr Heunis said this was a legal question he could not deal with.

However, his political answer would be that something like that was possible in terms of the present proposals being rejected by the Representatives and the Delegates.

## Mandela: Coetsee over staged release

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, today declined to react to a report that there may be a plan for a staged release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

The report said there was persistent speculation about this in government circles.

Mr Coetsee said today the report was "speculative" and he could not comment on it.

He said it was "obvious" that Mr Mandela was having the best treatment, and that it would be ensured that this was the case until he recovered.

He emphasised that the lat-

## Troops leave Angola

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The last of the troops stationed in Angola are due back into Namibia tomorrow in the

Friday 25/8/88

## Last SA troops cross the border

ELSABE WESSELS

**MONTHS** of heavy fighting and years of SA military presence in Angola officially come to an end today, as the last SA troops cross over the Angolan border into Namibia.

The withdrawal closes a chapter of heightened SA military aggression in Angola, which escalated with the Lomba River battle in October and continued at Cuito Cuanavale, military observers said yesterday.

The withdrawal required the dismantling of SA forward bases at Cuito Cuanavale and SA positions at the Calueque water scheme where 12 SA soldiers died in an Angolan air raid on the dam in June.

### Monitored

Continued water and electricity supply from Calueque and Ruacana to Namibia was guaranteed by the Angolans and Cubans at Geneva when the ceasefire was agreed on August 10, and will be monitored by the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC).

SA troop levels peaked at an estimated 6 000, during the height of the Angolan/Unita conflict at the Lomba River in October, says Africa Confidential.

Troop levels have been reduced, however, to an estimated 2 000 in recent months, says Jane's Defence Weekly SA correspondent Helmoet Heitman.

● See Page 4

# Dukakis is warned on Angola switch

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The Argus Africa News Service reports

**T**HE American Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, has been warned that a reversal of the present United States policy towards Angola would prolong the civil war there and kill any chances of SWA/Namibia independence.

The warning was given by the well-known authority on the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, and expert on Angolan affairs, Mr Fred Bridgland, diplomatic correspondent for the Scotsman.

Mr Bridgland said that any notion that the Angolan resistance would stop because of a Dukakis decision to cut off arms supplies needed to be abandoned.

Writing in the latest issue of *South Africa International*, published by the South African Foundation, Mr Bridgland said the West made the same mistake in 1976 when "after a series of terrible errors of judgment, it cut off all aid to Unita and settled down to do business with the MPLA".

Mr Bridgland, the author of *Jonas Savimbi: A Key to Africa*, said the assumption then, as Mr Dukakis was making now, was that Unita would be finished.

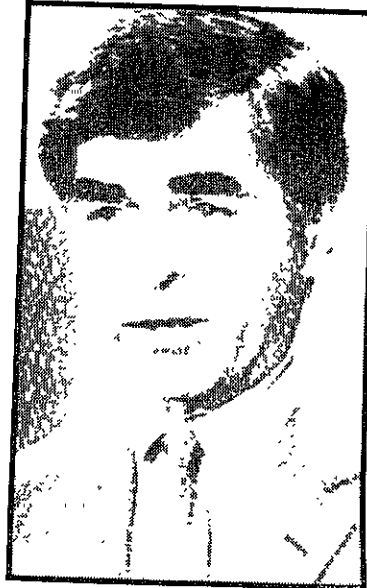
From 1976 to 1988, however, Unita had grown to such an extent that it was now threatening the internal cohesion of the Cuban state itself.

"Unita's ability to scrap it out in the forests without any outside support, and its ability to capitalise on support once it is won, suggests that Unita would again survive any cut-off in American aid," he wrote.

However, any cut in American supplies of arms to Unita would mean that the rebels would be



Dr Jonas Savimbi



Mr Michael Dukakis

unable to put great pressure on the MPLA government, which would once again play for total victory.

"Since such total victory is unlikely, what would be achieved would be another decade of warfare stretching into the next century until some new cycle of historic events again put pressure on the MPLA to settle," Mr Bridgland wrote.

He warned that there was another flaw in a possible Dukakis decision to cut aid to Unita, recognise the MPLA government and simultaneously increase pressure on South Africa to end its rule in SWA/Namibia.

"Whatever else the South Africans are, they are not stupid. Why would they want to honour a democratic process in Namibia if the United States was unwilling to pursue one in Angola?"

Where would be the equitability in such a development?" Mr Bridgland asked.

"The most likely outcome of a Dukakis reversal of US policy would be the worst of all worlds — a prolongation of the Angolan war and an end to any chance of independence for Namibia."

In his article he also pointed out that South Africa's intervention in the Angolan civil war in 1975 had been with the approval of Zambia and the United States.

"Between July, 1975, and December of the same year Brand Fourie, then the top civil servant in the South African Foreign Ministry, made more than 20 clandestine trips to Zambia to liaise with Kenneth Kaunda and Jean Wilkowski, the US Ambassador to Lusaka," Mr Bridgland said.

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Rebel group ignores ceasefire

# Unita claims 54 Angolans dead in renewed fighting

LISBON — Unita, ignoring a ceasefire signed last week by SA, Cuba and Angola, claims to have killed 54 Angolan troops and one Cuban soldier in separate actions.

The rebel group added yesterday that its forces shot down an Angolan army MI-35 helicopter in south-eastern Cuando Cubango province on Wednesday and killed all 35 military personnel on board.

There was no independent confirmation of the report released in Lisbon.

The statement also said Unita forces had killed 19 Angolan government troops and a Cuban soldier the same day in north-eastern Lunda Sul province.

Unita said its losses were seven dead and 13 wounded.

Angola, Cuba and SA are to meet again on Sunday in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville to continue US-brokered negotiations on a peace plan for Angola and inde-

pendence for Namibia.

The talks now centre around a timetable for the withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola where they have been backing the Marxist-orientated Angolan government against the US- and SA-backed Unita rebels.

Angola gained its independence from Portugal in 1975 and Unita launched a guerrilla war shortly afterwards.

Unita is not party to the peace talks that have now been held in European and African venues.

Its leader, Jonas Savimbi, says Angola must be pressured into admitting a role for Unita in any Angolan settlement.

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos has ruled out talks with Unita.

Part of the search for peace in south-western Africa is implementation of UN resolution 435 to give Namibia independence. — Sapa-AP.

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## Angolan war: 'Turning point last November'

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — The turning point in the Angolan war, according to a Cuban Army film shown to South African journalists here yesterday, can be traced to November last year.

The three-hour documentary, screened on Cuban TV earlier this month, said that it was in November that Cuba committed itself to a major reinforcement of its forces on the Angolan southern war front.

In the film, entitled "The Response to the South African Escalation", Cuban officers likened the military situation in Angola at the time to 1975 — the year in which the SADF advanced to the outskirts of Luanda.

Last year, explained Mr Raul Castro, brother of the Cuban president, Dr Fidel Castro, and Minister of the Armed Forces, massed Cuban Army units were sent to Angola.

The film depicted Dr Castro explaining to troops that the bases behind the reinforcements were to contain planned advances by the SADF and force South Africa to the negotiating table.

● Walvis Bay will definitely remain a part of South Africa, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said yesterday.

He said developments in Namibia would not change the status of the town.

News in Brief

Unita claim <sup>5</sup> 55 killed <sup>AP Times 30/6/78</sup>

LISBON. — Angola's Unita rebels yesterday said they killed 55 government soldiers and shot down a helicopter in separate clashes last week.

# SADF out of Angola today

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30/8/88

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Angola: 'Turning point in war last November', PAGE 3

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Months of heavy fighting and years of SA military presence in Angola officially come to an end today as the last SA troops cross over the Angolan border into Namibia.

The withdrawal closes a chapter of heightened SA military aggression in Angola which escalated with the Lomba River battle in October last

year and continued with SA's siege on Cuito Cuanavale, military observers said yesterday.

The withdrawal required the dismantling of SA forward bases at Cuito Cuanavale and SA positions at the Calueque water scheme where 12 SA soldiers died in an Angolan air raid on the dam in June this year.

Continued water and electricity supply from Calueque and Ruacana to Namibia was guaranteed by the Angolans and Cubans at Geneva when the ceasefire was agreed to on August 10, and will be monitored by the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC).

Covering forces towards the south-west of Cuito Cuanavale and SWATF contingents, who had already moved up into central Angola

when the withdrawal was announced would have had to make their way back to Namibia, observers said.

SA troop levels peaked at an estimated 6 000, according to Africa Confidential, during the height of the Angolan-Unita conflict at the Lomba River in October last year.

Despite an SADF announcement of troop withdrawal late last year, SA had retained as many as 3 000 troops south of Cuito Cuanavale with G-5 and G-6 artillery, Africa Confidential claimed.

Troop levels have been reduced however, to an estimated 2 000 in recent months, according to Jane's Defence Weekly SA correspondent Mi Helmoet Heitman.

The cessation of hostilities is central to the present tri-party negotiations to bring peace to Angola and independence to Namibia.

1/6 PRICE



# AZAPO CHALLENGES EMERGENCY ORDER

## President Botha taken to court

THE Azanian People's Organisation has challenged the validity and lawfulness of a section of the emergency regulations under which an order was granted restricting it and 17 other organisations earlier this year.

An application in the Supreme Court, Durban, has sought an order declaring a section of the emergency regulations and the order made under it invalid and of no force and effect in law.

Mr Justice Booysen reserved judgment. In an affidavit, the national health secretary of Azapo, Mr Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape, said the background to the application against the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, lay in the state of emergency.

He said the purpose of the application was to set aside the regulation and the order made under it which prohibited Azapo and 17 other organisations from "carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever."

## Invalid

The section of the emergency regulations which prohibited Azapo and the other 17 organisations is a re-enactment of a regulation under the Public Safety Act which restricted Azapo and 16 other organisations in February this year.

The affidavit claims the regulation under the Public Safety Act is invalid on the grounds that Mr Botha has exceeded the powers conferred on him in promulgating it and that, by virtue of its inherently contradictory nature, the regulation is vague and unenforceable.

In a replying affidavit, Mr Botha said the advancement of the "revolutionary offensive" had made it necessary to take immediate and drastic

steps to ensure public safety. He said he had been advised it was not necessary for him to put forward any answer to the applicants' arguments.

In his replying affidavit, Mr Vlok said the actions had been taken as a result of information received from informants which was then investigated. He said that it was not possible to reveal the identity of these informants as they and their families would probably be intimidated, have their lives and property threatened and possibly killed.

# SA soldiers come marching home

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

**RUNDU BRIDGE** — The slogans daubed on the dun-coloured vehicles crossing the bridge in single file ranged from the tough "No Retreat, No Surrender" to the tender "Hello Mom".

And, lest anyone forget that the men in those vehicles had been through weeks of bom-

bardment from Angolan and Cuban forces 300 km inside the country they were leaving, one armoured vehicle boasted: "We had joy, we had fun, we had Fapla on the run".

The fighting was also recalled by the sight of four huge G5 cannon rolling back into Namibia. These had been deployed near Cuito Cuanavale.

About 1 000 troops started crossing from Angola into Namibia at this deserted spot soon after dawn yesterday.

The convoy halted before noon to await a large press party, and then carried on in single file over the floating steel bridge flung across the 150 m-wide Kavango River by South African troops about a year ago.

They were met by a banner, "Welcome Winners", strung between two thorn trees, cold beer, hot showers and the prospect of a braai with the Chief of the Army, General Kat Liebenberg. Commandant Anton Grundling, the last commanding officer of the Cuito Cuanavale force, had only one thought — to get to Upington and his family as soon as possible.

Having crossed the river, the troops — their grimy, grinning faces the same shade of dust as their grubby uniforms — set about dismantling the bridge.

With the sound of steel on steel as men broke the links between the bridge sections, SADF Chief of Staff General Ian Gleeson said: "As of now there are no South African soldiers in Angola."

ELSABÉ WESELS

# SA troops leave Angola early

RUACANA — Withdrawal of the combined SADF/SWATF force from Angola to Namibia was completed one day ahead of schedule yesterday at noon.

This marked the third withdrawal from Angola since 1976. The second was announced in 1985.

SADF Chief of Staff General Ian Gleeson and Foreign Affairs deputy director Glenn Babb yesterday reaffirmed SA's commitment to honouring the ceasefire agreement with Angola and Cuba.

"We have kept to our side of the agreement. Anything from here onwards depends on the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops," Gleeson said.

Both men said that with SA forces out of Angola, there was no more justification for the Cubans to be there.

"SA's commitment for Namibian independence is written on stone tablets," Babb said.

SA, Cuba and Angola have not yet agreed on a timetable for the staged withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Babb said SA still stood for commencement of implementation of UN resolution 435 that will give independence to Namibia.

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Mr Bill.

He said there were simply not enough facts available yet to assess the meaning of the explosion. But he was

... their problems as blacks living in an apartheid society? This attempt to silence us will not succeed and our work will go on."

She added: "We question the authori-

mannatten Court, directly behind Khotso House, said she and her sister-in-law, Mrs P D White, were sleeping when the explosion occurred. She rushed to evacuate other tenants in the building.

# SA troops beat ceasefire deadline

By Claire Robertson and John Ryan

South African troops poured across the Angolan border in a motorised convoy yesterday in fulfilment of ceasefire and withdrawal agreements reached at the Geneva peace talks.

Yesterday's border crossing completed a withdrawal operation of South African and South-West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) troops.

Sapa reports that yesterday's South African withdrawal, through Rundu and Ruacana, was emphasised as "total" by the SADF's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, at a press conference on the bank of the Kavango River. Fewer than 1 000 troops crossed the river at Rundu yesterday.

At no time since last year had more than 3 000 South African troops been deployed in Angola, he said.

Returning troops were met by members of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) which was established to check possible violations by Cuban, Swapo or SADF forces. In terms of the agreement, these forces may not be deployed between the 16th parallel and the Angolan-Namibian border.

On the bridge over the Kavango River, while remnants of South African artillery from positions east of the last battleground of Cuito Cuanavale were moving across, South African and Cuban officers shook hands.

Cuban Colonel Jesus Falcon told newsmen there was good understanding between the two groups.

He said he believed the JMMC would go about its business in a "very good spirit" in a preventive, rather than reactive, way.

General Gleeson echoed the Cuban sentiments. He said, as far as the ceasefire was concerned, all appeared to be going according to plan. There had been no incidents involving the Cubans or Angolans since June 24 and no violations by Swapo since August 12.

The general said he expected that Swapo forces would adhere to the general ceasefire agreement from tomorrow — the deadline proposed by South Africa for an end to hostilities.

The JMMC, he said, would start its operations in earnest on the same day.

"We must go step by step," he said.

There were almost as many journalists on hand to see the final withdrawal from Angola as there were South African troops crossing the border.

The military hardware from the Cuito Cuanavale region — Ratel armoured cars, Samils, howitzers, trucks and the occasional Buffel — were manned mainly by one or two soldiers.

South Africa's pull-out programme began three weeks ago. It involved 1 000 troops from the Cuito area, who took 11 days to cover the 300 km. They have been coming through the Rundu border in dribs and drabs.

Few of the soldiers showed emotion at the prospect of an end to it all.

Asked if the South African forces had left any armaments behind for Unita to use, General Gleeson said: "We have left no military equipment. We are taking out what we took in."

South African troops have been in Angola intermittently since 1975. They withdrew in 1976 after a major offensive against Swapo of which the South African public was unaware.

There was a formal troop withdrawal in April 1985 but the proposed ceasefire — in terms of the Lusaka Agreement of February 1984 — did not hold.

During talks at Ruacana on August 16 the parties engaged in negotiations over Angola and Namibia agreed on the establishment of the JMMC to oversee the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

Last Monday, military representatives from South Africa, the SWATF and a joint Cuban-Angolan delegation signed a treaty at Ruacana to end hostilities between the two sides.

● See Pages 3 and 15.

# Breaking rules 'immoral, tragic'

AKGus  
31/10/88

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By DALE LAUTENBACH, Parliamentary Staff

THE Conservative and the Progressive Federal parties opposed another government move to suspend the rules of Parliament as "immoral" and "tragic".

Speaking in the House of Assembly yesterday, CP Chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux said it was "immoral" of the government to unilaterally break rules agreed to by a joint committee of the three houses of the tricameral system.

Leader of the House Minister F W de Klerk said the suspension was necessary if the Assembly was to continue its business — "to do its job" — in the absence of the houses of Delegates and Representatives which have both refused to deal with legislation in this short session.

Mr de Klerk proposed suspending certain parliamentary rules in order that the Income Tax Amendment Bill could be read a second time during this sitting. Ordinarily, there must be a longer passage of time between the first and second reading of a Bill.

The alternative to suspending the rules was for the Assembly to "pack up and go home".

"Is that what you want?" said Mr de Klerk.

"Scrap this stupid legislation," interjected PFP MP Mr Jan van Gend, referring to the group areas trilogy which had caused the boycott in the other houses.

"Stupid in who's eyes? Yours?" said NP MP Mr A Fourie, also interjecting.

Mr van Gend: "Yes, and in the eyes of the whole world."

PFP MP Professor Nic Olivier opposed Mr de Klerk's proposal saying it was a "tragic day" when the government had to suspend rules agreed to by all three houses. The move was a "symptom" of the problems inherent in the tricameral system.

Responding to allegations made by Mr de Klerk last week that he, Professor Olivier, and PFP parliamentary leader Mr Colin Eglin had "meddled" in the affairs of the houses of Delegates and Representatives and influenced their recent decision to boycott debate, Professor Olivier said he was not so arrogant to presume he could influence other people against their will.

It was his function to reveal implications from a legislative point of view and anyone could ask him to do this. Neither he nor Mr Eglin had tried to influence the decisions of another party.

Mr de Klerk's proposal to suspend the rules was carried by an NP majority.

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## Cuban troops said to have been on red alert

South Africa believed that Cuban and Angolan troops had been placed on red alert following the suspension of regional peace talks in Brazzaville last week, according to the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glen Babb.

Referring to "strange" reports that South African forces had been defeated and driven from Angola, Mr Babb said the red alert did not seem to be the action of an army "sure of itself or one aiming at peace, but rather one preparing for a return to war".

# 'Strange' reports of SADF defeat

Senior military officials told reporters earlier that the mass withdrawal by the SADF from Cuito Cuanavale, 300 km inside Angola, had proceeded without engagement between the two forces.

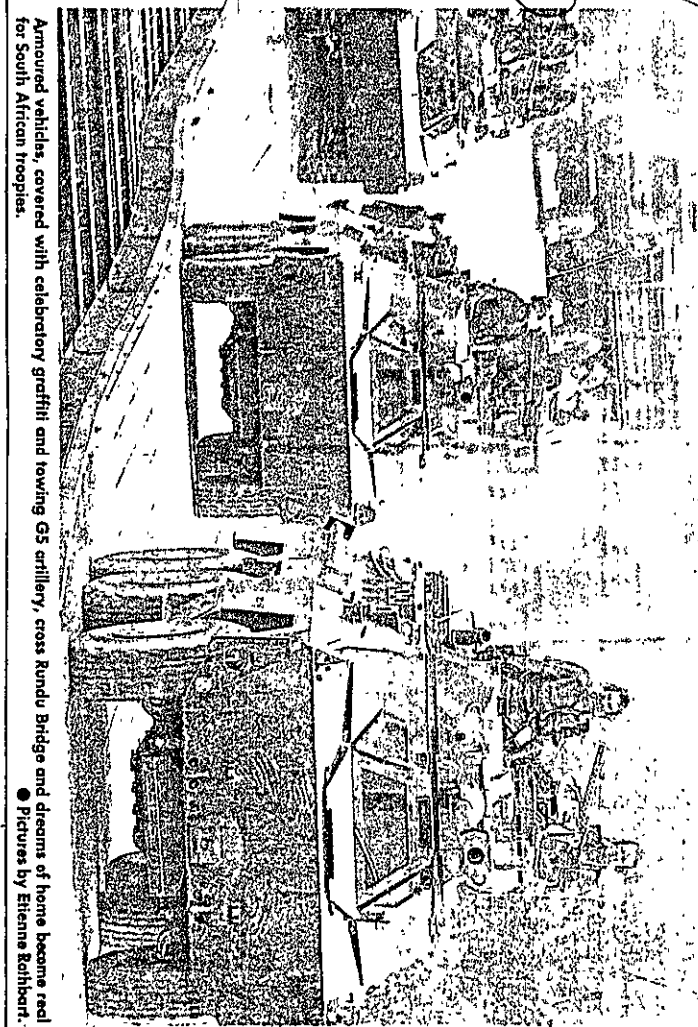
Mr Babb said the final withdrawal of SA troops had removed any justification that Cuba claimed for the presence of an estimated

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

50 000 troops in the country. He described the Cubans as "an occupying force" that all Africa wanted to be rid of. "Justification for the Cuban presence has always been that they were there

because South Africa was in Angola; with our departure that justification falls away."

A "reasonable" commitment and timetable for the withdrawal of the Cubans was necessary before South Africa, Angola and Cuba could sign an agreement to ask that United Nations Resolution 435 — the Namibian independence blueprint — be implemented.



Armoured vehicles, covered with celebratory graffiti and towing G5 artillery, cross Rundu Bridge and dreams of home become real for South African troops. ● Pictures by Etienne Rothbart.

Briefing

# The Ions, Grim thrusts in and out of Angola

The South African troop withdrawal from Angola yesterday ended 14 years of fighting which, in the last year alone, cost the lives of at least 75 SADF and SWATF members.

The withdrawal, which started three weeks ago, was due to be completed by midnight. This is, however, not the first time that South Africa has withdrawn from Angola since it first intervened in that country in 1975 near the end of Portuguese rule.

That short-lived intervention involved mainly a thrust to the outskirts of Luanda by a South African armoured column.

The withdrawal of these forces in 1976 was followed, however, by a gradual increase in South African military activity across the border, mainly against Swapo bases but later also in support of the Unita rebels.

## Lusaka Accord with MPLA

In April 1985 the South African Government announced that it had pulled out all its troops from Angola following the Lusaka Accord with the MPLA government.

The following month, however, two South African commandos were killed and a third one, Captain Wynand du Toit, imprisoned by the Angolans after a mission into the oil-rich Cabinda enclave.

A few days later Angola announced that it was breaking off negotiations with South Africa, negotiations which had led in March of the previous year to joint Angolan-South Africa military operations against Swapo in southern Angola.

After the Cabinda incident the fighting in Angola gradually intensified, reaching its height at the end

of last year when an Angolan government offensive against the rebel Unita movement was defeated after South Africa intervened.

South Africa's military operations in Angola after the collapse of negotiations in 1985 involved either attacks against Swapo bases or operations in support of Unita.

The current withdrawal, across the Kavango River into Namibia in terms of the ceasefire agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola, will be checked by the Joint Military Monitoring Committee (JMMC). This body, made up of SADF and Angolan military representatives, is to hold daily meetings.

It has set up 11 monitoring points along Namibia's border to ensure signatories to the ceasefire observe the truce.

The toughest nut to be cracked in the Angola/Namibia peace negotiations is the agreement of a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops. The next round of negotiations takes place on September 5.

The following is an account of South African involvement in Namibia and Angola since 1974, including operations and contacts. Most of the information was supplied by the SADF.

● In 1974, South African troops moved into northern Namibia as Portuguese rule neared its end.

● In 1975, Operation Savannah drove Swapo from Namibia into southern Angola.

● The next year, South African troops formally withdrew from Angola for the first time.

● On May 4 1978, Operation Reindeer — an air and paratrooper attack — was launched against Swapo's training and logistics support camp at Cassinga, also known as 'Moscow'. A ground strike was also

carried out by a mechanised force on several temporary bases in the border area, including the "Vietnam" complex near Cheteguera, 28 km north of the border. Six SADF members died, while the SADF claimed 1 000 Swapo casualties.

● In late 1979, Operation Safraan was launched with a missile attack from the Zambezi area on Katima Mulilo.

## Serious clash with Fapla

● In June 1980, Operation Sceptic began as a lightning attack on a Swapo base in southern Angola, but developed into a wide-ranging operation as more Swapo cells were discovered in the area. The operation marked the first serious clash with the Angolan forces, Fapla. It was also marked by the first clash with Swapo mechanised elements. The SADF claimed 380 Swapo casualties, while 17 South African soldiers died.

● In August 1981, Operation Protea, the largest mechanised operation by the SADF since the end of the World War 2, began with an air strike on a Fapla radar station which neutralised key Angolan air defence systems. A mechanised force then attacked Xangongo — Swapo's north-western front headquarters — destroying Swapo bases south and south-east of the town. Fapla and Swapo were driven from

the town, pursued by SA forces which captured Ongiva on August 28 after destroying a joint Swapo-Fapla force dug in and around the town.

Swapo facilities in and around Ongiva were destroyed and the operation ended on September 1 1981. Ten SADF soldiers died, and the SADF claimed 1 000 Swapo and Fapla casualties.

● On November 1 1981, Operation Daisy saw a mechanised force reach the deepest into Angola since that country's civil war. Targets were hit at Bambi and Cheteguera. Two MiG-21s clashed with the SA Air Force and were shot down by a Mirage. The operation ended on November 20.

● In July and August 1982, Operation Meebos was launched with a number of air strikes on Swapo's command structure. The SADF claimed 345 Swapo casualties, and the destruction of Swapo's eastern front headquarters at Mupa. The SADF lost 29 soldiers — 15 in one attack when a Puma helicopter was shot down.

● On December 6 1983, Operation Askari was launched with four mechanised battalions with 500 men each hitting specific targets, while smaller infantry groups carried out operations in the border area.

● On January 3 1984 the largest clash between SA forces and Fapla occurred when Fapla's 11 Brigade and two Cuban battalions were sent in to help Swapo at its headquarters 5 km from Cuvetlai. The SADF claimed 324 casualties. The operation cost 21 South African lives.

● In April 1985, South African forces formally withdrew from Angola for the second time in spite of violations of the Lusaka agreement by Swapo forces. At the time, the Chief of the Defence Force, Gen-

eral Constand Viljoen, said: "I sincerely hope we will never have to cross the border again."

Less than a month later the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned that the SADF would go back if the Angolan armed forces failed to contain Swapo cross-border raids.

● In July 1 1987, Operation Moduler was launched to halt the advance of four Fapla brigades south of the Lomba River. During heavy fighting in September and October the G-size cannon-howitzer was used while SA tanks were in combat for the first time since World War 2.

## Cuito Cuanavale action

SA forces helped Unita to reach the outskirts of Cuito Cuanavale. In November SADF forces were involved in further action in the vicinity of the Chambinga and Hube rivers.

● In mid-December 1987, Operation Moduler was followed by Operation Hooper. After several actions, an offensive was launched on January 13 this year and Fapla's 21 Brigade driven from the area.

The SADF claimed 250 Fapla casualties, and a further 230 in a second attack against Fapla's 59 Brigade on February 14.

● On June 27 1988, a joint Fapla-Cuban force launched a ground — and later an air — strike on the Caluque water scheme. The ground attack was repulsed. Twelve SA soldiers and more than 300 Cubans and Angolans died in the two battles.

● On August 2, South Africa proposed time schedules for the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola at the four-party peace talks in Geneva.

David

# Coming home from war

Argus Africa News Service  
from Rundu, on the  
Angolan border

**S**OUTH African and Cuban officers shook hands across the Kavango border in a spontaneous gesture of goodwill as the last South African troops moved out of Angola today.

It was a no-nonsense show of mutual respect in a day which was to have been given to symbolism of a more mundane, stage-managed kind.

And symbolism that might have offered the observers who saw it less trust in a holding truce in the Angola-Namibia theatre.

But the sincerity of what eventually became the occasion was patent.

Senior members of the SADF, there to brief journalists on the final withdrawal of a token number of military men, suddenly were thrust into a close encounter with Cuban representatives of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission who will help oversee the ceasefire.

### Understanding

And on the Sapper-built bridge over the Kavango River, while remnants of South African artillery from positions east of the last battle-ground of Cuito Cuanavale were moving across, expressions of hope for peace were exchanged by both sides.

Cuban Colonel Jesus Falcon told newsmen there was good understanding between the two groups and he hoped everything would go according to plan.

"And that in the course we are able to find the peace we are all looking for," Col Falcon said. "Also, by doing do, that we will all forget the past."

He said he believed the JMMC would go about its business in a "very good spirit"

in a preventative rather than reactive way

"I hope we can carry on in the same spirit of understanding with cordiality but, above all, sincerity."

General Ian Gleeson, the South African Army's Chief Of Staff, echoed the Cuban sentiments.

He said, as far as the ceasefire was concerned, things appeared to be going according to plan. There had been no incidents involving the Cubans or Angolans since June 24 and no violations by Swapo since August 12.

### 'Step by step'

Gen Gleeson said he expected that Swapo forces would adhere to the general ceasefire agreement from tomorrow — September 1 — which is the deadline proposed by South Africa for an end to hostilities.

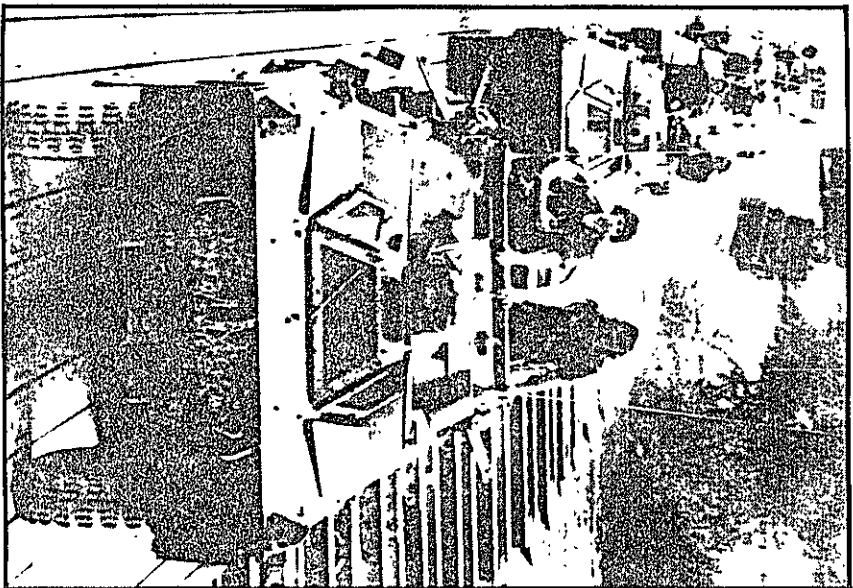
The JMMC, he said, would start its operations in earnest on the same day.

"We must go step by step," Gen Gleeson said, "and see what happens next."

There were almost as many journalists on hand to see the final withdrawal from Angola as there were South African troops crossing the border.

The hardware of war out of the Cuito Cuanavale region — Ratel armoured cars, Samitis, howitzer guns, trucks and the occasional Buffel — mainly were manned by one or two soldiers. South Africa's pull-out programme began three weeks ago. It involved a thousand troops from the Cuito area, who took 11 days to cover the 300 kms. They have been coming through the Rundu border in drabs and drabs.

Few of those soldiers on



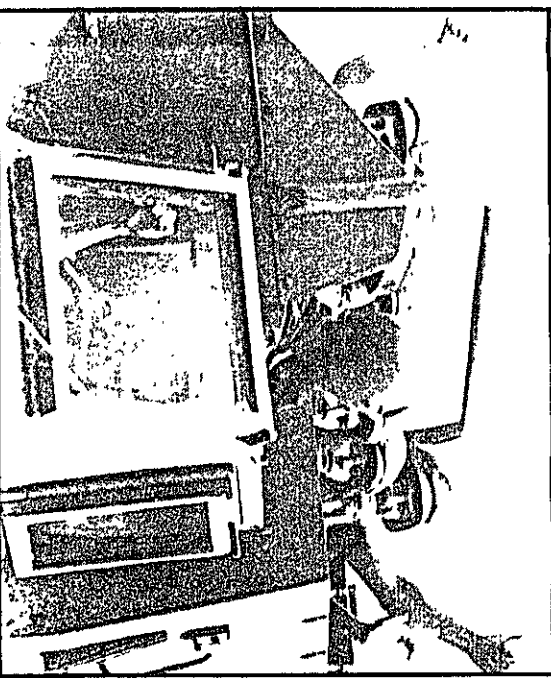
**COMING HOME:** A convoy of South African armoured vehicles crossing the pont bridge over the Kavango river, the border between Angola and Namibia.

display showed emotion at the prospect of an end to it all. But slogans on the doors of their vehicles perhaps expressed it better than they themselves could have done.

"No retreat, no surrender," said one slogan on a troop carrier.

"We made Fapla run," said another.

And again, "We gave Fapla and Swapo the treatment they deserve."



**HAPPINESS IS . . . :** South African troops give the thumbs up in happiness at being 'home' after crossing the border yesterday.

As the column of artillery moved through the dust towards the town of Rundu — which, in 13 years of war, has seen more action than most in Namibia — they passed under a banned strung across it.

"Welcome winners", the banner said

At a Press conference later, one journalist questioned the taste of the banner in view of the obviously delicate circumstances.

"We achieved what we set out to achieve," said Gen Gleeson. "There was an imbalance we needed to redress."

"And our troops have always had a high morale."

Asked if the South African forces had left any armaments behind for Unita to use, Gen Gleeson said: "We have left no military equipment. We are taking out what we took in."

South African troops have been in Angola intermittently since 1975. They withdrew in 1976 after a ma-

for offensive against Swapo which the South African public was not informed about.

There was a formal troop withdrawal in April, 1985, but the proposed ceasefire — in terms of the Lusaka Agreement of February, 1984 — did not hold

### Monitoring

During talks at Ruacana on August 16, the parties engaged in negotiations over Angola and Namibia agreed on the establishment of a Joint Military Monitoring Commission to oversee the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola.

The JMMC is comprised of representatives from FAPLA, the Cuban forces, officers of the SADF and South West African Territorial Forces and American mediators.

Last Monday, military representatives from South Africa, the SWATF and a joint Cuban-Angolan delegation signed a treaty at Ruacana to end hostilities between the two sides.





**PULLOUT:** Fifty armoured vehicles rumble across a pontoon bridge carrying the last South African troops out of Angola where they had been fighting for more than a year.

*ARGUS 31/8/85* Full report and more pictures, page 21.

## Clashes in Namibia: 14 Swapo killed

Argus Africa News Service  
WINDHOEK. — The SWA Territorial Force says 14 Swapo insurgents have been killed in clashes in the Namibian operational area in the past week.

It said these brought the organisation's deaths in action this year to 292.

The SWATF said a number of arms caches had been found in the last week, and there had been two detonations of landmines by cattle in the same period.

Swapo said originally it would honour the ceasefire from September 1, although the organisation's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said in Lusaka recently his fighters inside Namibia had been ordered not to fire on South African troops.

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# OUT OF AMBUSH

## 1 000 war-weary SA troops cross border at noon

From JIM FREEMAN, with Agency and Own Correspondent reports  
**RUNDU, Angolan-Namibian border.** — About 1 000 war-weary South African soldiers crossed the Kavango River from Angola into Namibia at noon yesterday, 36 hours ahead of their deadline.

A few of the soldiers cheered or gave thumbs-up signs but most stared impassively at the barrage of press and television cameras that awaited them.

A handful of Angolan and Cuban army officers watched as the last of nearly 70 vehicles, including armoured personnel carriers, G-5 howitzers and mine-proof tow-trucks, arrived under a towering cloud of yellow dust.

The convoy drove in from positions up to 300km north of the border at Oundo Cunanavale, growing across a bobbing pontoon bridge into Namibia.

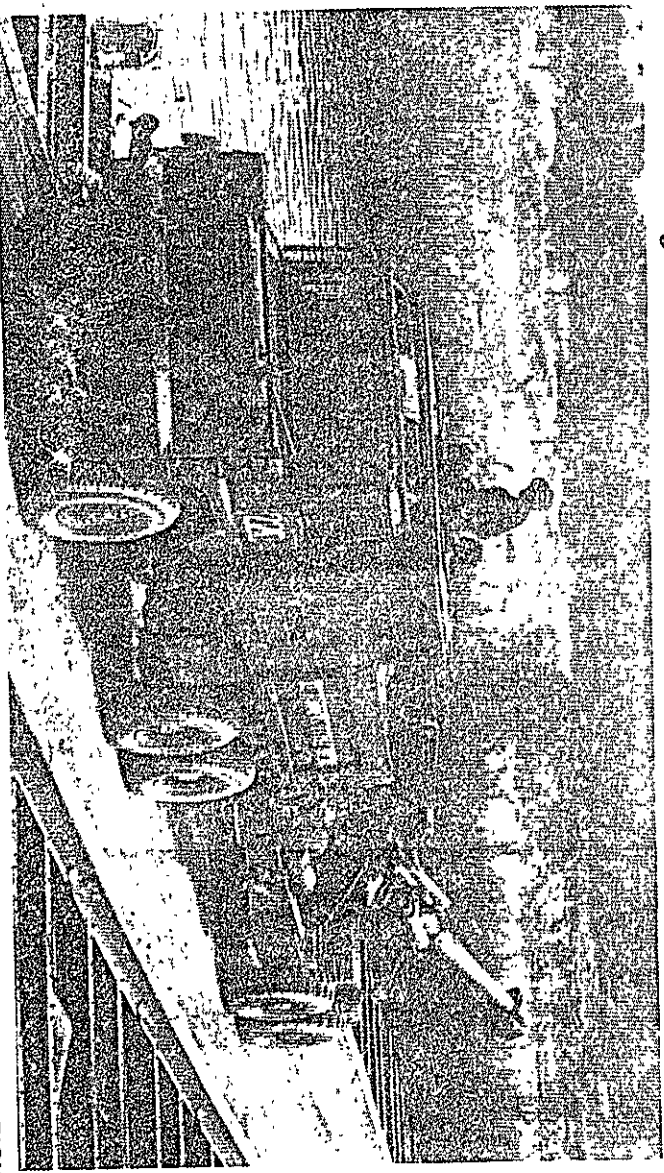
### Slogans

"It's great to be coming home," a sweat-stained soldier shouted above the noise as the armoured column rolled back on to Namibia soil. "I was up there for four months," he said holding up four grubby fingers.

The khaki-painted SA military vehicles, mostly ravel troop carriers, arrived sporting slogans on their sides such as "SA the best", "We fight to win", "Pretoria rules", "Boers win again" and "Angolan open — SA wins in straight sets".

They passed under a white banner strung between two lion trees on the sandy river bank that said "Welcome winners".

SADF chief of staff Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson told reporters



LEFT: A South African lorry pulls a G-5 howitzer across the pontoon bridge over the Kavango River. RIGHT: Colonel Archie Moore with his arm on the shoulder of a Cuban officer at the crossing yesterday.

at the crossing point, marked only by a few tents, that about 3 000 men had withdrawn since August 12, a third of them on Tuesday.

"We are out of Angola. We have lifted the siege of Oundo Cunanavale and have no more soldiers inside Angola," he said.

There was an easy camaraderie between SA's co-chairman on the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMJC) appointed to police an August 10 ceasefire and his fellow members from Cuba and Angola.

Both General Gleeson and the

deputy director of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glenn Babb, confirmed SA's commitment to honouring the pre-sent ceasefire agreement.

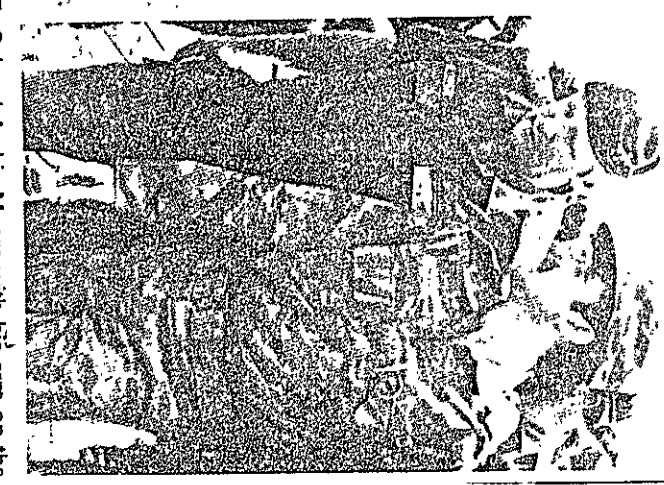
At a press conference at the Waterloo Air Force Base, Mr Babb said that during the SA withdrawal Angolan and Cuban troops were on "red alert".

"SA's commitment for Namibian independence is written on stone tablets. Once the secretary-general has been informed of when UN Security Council Resolution 435 can be applied, SA cannot turn back."

Mr Babb said SA still stood for the commencement of implementation of 435 on November 1, but now wanted a similar commitment on Cuban withdrawal from Cuba and Angola, he said.

Yesterday's withdrawal of SA troops from Angola was the third since SA troops were first pulled back in January 1976 and the second agreed to in the past three years.

"We hope that on this side there are none of the South Africans left,"



Cuban Colonel Jose Suri told reporters as he watched soldiers begin to dismantle the pontoon bridge.

Colonel Suri and his Angolan counterpart on the JMJC Major Osvaldo Van Duijn, were flown to the border town of Rundu in an SA helicopter.

"Our people deserve peace," said Major Van Duijn. "Our governments have shown the world that our peoples are partners in peace and that is our main mission."

According to the agreement between the three countries, the Cubans will not deploy south of the line extending from the Angolan side of Ruacana in the west, Chitudo (about 35km into Angola), Ngiva in the central region and south of the Lomba River (about 270km into Angola).

The Angolan government will also ensure that Swapo will not use the demilitarized zone to infiltrate Namibia while Fapla forces will be allowed to operate up to the Namibian border.

# Quiet birthday



Cahac's Wilfred Rhodes with birthday cake

THE cake was big, the crowd not, but the 250 people at the Cape Democrats "Red, Yellow and Black" party didn't care. They had congregated at UCT to celebrate the fifth birthday of the United Democratic Front. The UDF is restricted, and thus could not host the celebration themselves.



Robbie Jansen at "party"



Crowd joins the fun

Sasha



Band performs at UDF birthday celebrations

**Snags in time**

A halt to US support for Unita may be the key to securing agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola

2/9/88  
FNY

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— and thereafter a date for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia. But SA diplomatic sources say the issue is not even on the agenda and is regarded as a matter for bilateral discussions between the US and Angola.

That does not make sense — particularly while Angola clings doggedly to the view that all the Cubans will not leave until the US stops aid to Unita and while SA demands that all foreign forces be out of Angola before there can be independence in Namibia.

An end to US aid to Unita would seem to be the catalyst that could break the deadlock and provide the kind of security which the MPLA needs to give the green light for the Cubans to go home.

Last week's talks in Brazzaville achieved little more than a resolve to talk again at the same venue on Monday, with SA delegation leader Neil van Heerden acknowledging that the gap between the two sides had not narrowed.

It is hard to be optimistic about the chances of success.

The Cuban-Angolan axis is due to present another set of proposals and the chiselling away at the problem of a timetable for Cuban withdrawal will go on. Van Heerden is fond of referring to the question of a timetable as the rockface, an accurate analogy if the rate of progress is anything to judge by.

The one really positive note came from the chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, who gave the assurance that whatever the outcome of the talks, the withdrawal of SA troops would be completed by September 1.

That is clearly the only target date that is going to be met. ■

AN exact replica of an AK-47 assault rifle, each of its components intricately carved in ivory, is on display at the George museum. It was given to President PW Botha by Jonas Savimbi, leader of Angola's Unita rebels.

That token of Savimbi's gratitude to South Africa may also symbolise a more gruesome side to the relationship between Unita and the government in Pretoria.

According to an American environmentalist group, the great elephant herds that once roamed the plains of Angola in numbers exceeding 200 000 — once the largest elephant population in Africa — have been systematically annihilated by armed Unita bands, so the movement can pay for its South African aid.

Detailed evidence to back these allegations, together with claims that South Africa is running a massive international ivory smuggling ring, was presented to the United States congress last month by the Washington-based Conservation, Environmental and Animal Welfare Consortium — and has sparked a major row in South Africa.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan, questioned by the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) on the issue, has categorically denied the allegations and instructed the South African Defence Force (SADF) to set up a board of enquiry to investigate the claims.

The report echoes allegations Unita leader Jonas Savimbi made to a reporter from the French magazine, *Paris Match*, earlier this year. In that interview Savimbi said SADF assistance to his movement had to be repaid with ivory and teak from the forests of Angola.

Said the report: "According to reliable sources in Africa, a massive smuggling ring has been operating for years, with the complicity of the South African officials at the highest levels of the government and military, to funnel ivory and other contraband out of Africa ...

"The South African military has cynically aided the virtual annihilation of the once-great elephant herds of Angola. Jonas Savimbi and his Unita rebel forces in Angola, largely supplied by South Africa, have ruthlessly liquidated perhaps 100 000 elephants to help finance the 12-year-old conflict ...

"A third major flow of poached ivory aided by South Africa is from Mozambique ... Reliable reports indicate the Renamo rebel forces have killed tens of thousands of elephants in recent years to help finance their insurrection."

Asked to comment on the allegations, a defence ministry representative rejected them as being ludicrous. "I doubt whether there are that many elephants in Africa," he said.

"The minister has ordered a board of inquiry into these allegations and anyone who could possibly throw light on the allegations would be most welcome to submit details."

He said details about how evidence can be submitted to the inquiry will be made public once the board has been established.

# Did 100 000 elephants die to pay for the war in Angola?

*An American conservation group has told the US congress that Unita systematically killed off half the elephants in Angola and smuggled the ivory abroad to pay South Africa for its aid in the war. The SADF has set up a board to investigate the claims.*  
EDDIE KOCH reports



Magnus Malan (left) and Jonas Savimbi ... at the centre of a row over illicit ivory

Part of the board's task will obviously be to investigate the report's detailed claims about the way South Africa's alleged ivory smuggling ring operates.

The American group says the tusks are ferried by army trucks to a staging post at Rundu, on the Namibian-Angolan border, from where they are taken by tractor-trailers across Namibia to South Africa.

"Most of the ivory is shipped out on aircraft and boats to Taiwan ... and to China and India ... Some undoubtedly is routed to the United Arab Emirates (UAE)."

However some of the tusks are transported via Zaire to Burundi where Chinese operators ship the booty to Hong Kong, Japan and the UAE, says the report.

"At this very moment, more than 100 tons of ivory — the product of perhaps 10 000 massacred elephants

— is stockpiled in Burundi awaiting export by air to the UAE and other outlaw nations ...

"An investigation of South African exports for the years 1982 and 1983 showed that ivory tusk shipments out of the country were at least ten times the amount officially imported."

(Virtually none of the tusks generated internally by culling at Kruger Park are exported whole. That ivory is worked in the country.)

The report was compiled by Craig van Note, executive vice president of the environmental consortium, who told *Weekly Mail* he had gathered much of his information during a field trip to Angola and Namibia in the mid-1980's.

He declined to name his sources for fear of exposing them to harassment but insisted he had gathered information from people who had been eyewitnesses to the slaughter of ele-

phants and the illegal ivory traffic. He said his informants included wildlife experts and government officials.

Van Note, who nine years ago helped expose the operation of an ivory smuggling connection between France and Emperor Bokassa of the Central African Republic, says he has additional evidence to back his claims about the "South African connection" and is willing to make this available to groups here.

Responding to the defence ministry representative's rejection of his claims and figures for the number of elephants slaughtered, Van Note said Angola's herds had obviously been decimated by now and the number of elephants being killed each year was declining rapidly. His estimate of 100 000 is a figure for the number of elephants killed over the last 10 years in Angola, he said.

Rupert Lommet, the PFP spokesman on environmental affairs, who played a key role in urging Malan to set up a probe into the allegations told *Weekly Mail* he was horrified by the details in Van Note's report. He has urged Malan to appoint an independent conservationist to the board of inquiry.

Paul Fauvet reports from Maputo that the number of elephants in Mozambique has declined by 70 per cent in less than a decade, according to officials in Mozambique's Ministry of Agriculture.

In 1979 there were an estimated 54 800 elephants in Mozambique. This year the estimate is 16 600.

Mozambique's most famous national park, Gorongosa, has been closed to tourists since 1981 when Renamo rebels ransacked the main tourist camp and wildlife school.

Since then rebels have been roaming the park machine-gunning elephants. Some of this ivory has subsequently been recovered when Renamo's Casa Banana headquarters in the foothills of Gorongosa mountain, when it was captured by Zimbabwean paratroopers.

Paulo Oliveira, former Renamo Western Europe representative, said on several occasions he had received messages from Renamo referring to "white material" (ivory) which was to be smuggled from Mozambique to Lisbon via Malawi.

Prior to 1986 Mozambique's legal ivory exports ran at about three tons a year. But in 1987 the Mozambican state wildlife company, Emofauna, exported about 60 tons — overwhelmingly this ivory consisted of tusks recovered from Renamo camps overrun by the Mozambican army.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

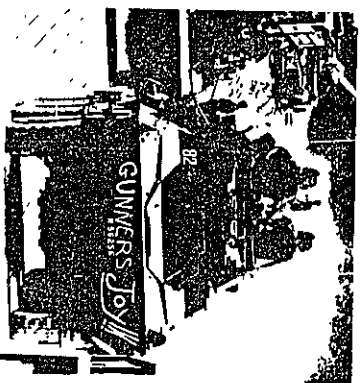
**Undergraduate Admissions: 1989**



D. E. T. REGISTERED



**STANIEEY UYS, doyen of South African political writers and respected commentator on Southern African issues, joins The Argus Group today. He writes from LONDON...**



**THERE they go ... South African troops withdrawing from Angola at Rundu bridge.**

**R**UMOURS are filtering through from Angola that the FAPLA-Cuban army is preparing for another September offensive against Unita. The last offensive — in September 1987 — was crushingly defeated by Unita and the SADF, but with all SADF troops out of the country and Unita standing alone, the outcome could be dramatically different this time.

This is one of the storm clouds gathering as the parties to the Angola peace process — South Africa, Angola and Cuba — get ready for another round of talks in the Congo capital Brazzaville this week.

This will be the eighth round of talks since the first meeting was held in London on May 3. Other venues followed at almost breathtaking speed, Brazzaville, Cairo, New York, Cape Verde, Geneva, Brazzaville, and now Brazzaville for the third time.

The Cubans seem to have dropped their objection to Brazzaville as a venue — they reacted angrily to the first Brazzaville meeting, accusing Foreign Minister Pk Botha of trying to Africanise the peace process, and secure extra mileage on the side for Pretoria, like state visits to the Congo by President P.W. Botha.

Apparently, the Cubans and Angolans have learnt the first lesson of engaging in diplomacy with Pretoria — you have to learn to live with Pk and his inexhaustible bag of tricks.

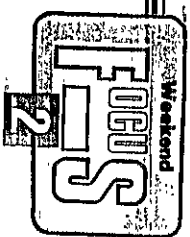
Whether the Angolans and Cubans seriously intend to launch another offensive against Unita, or whether the rumours are just part of the elaborate bargaining game that is being played out in the bewildering series of venues, is not clear yet.

One thing seems to be emerging though, diplomatically, Pk, for all his bull-in-a-Chin-shop style, has positioned South Africa advantageously in the chess game, but militarily the Angolans and Cubans are now a menacing factor.

**N**OTHING has gone right for the SADF since its triumphant repulsing of the offensive last year. It was halted in its tracks in its advance on Cuito Chanavale this year, and now has had to abandon the siege. At the same time, the southward movement of more than 10,000 Cuban troops almost to the Namibia border pinned the SADF down, allowing it very little room for manoeuvre.

But the peace talks have got the SADF off the hook. A potential humiliation was turned into a kind of victory, as witness the "Welcome the Winners" banner which greeted the returning SADF troops as they crossed back into Namibia — a dubious kind of victory, but at least not a humiliation.

**ANGOLA AGAIN**



**UNITA: STANDING ALONE**

*REVIEWS 3/9/88*

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ging African state against racist, expansionist South Africa. If he quits Angola, he wants to do so triumphantly as having made the 13 years of warfare worthwhile.

**I**f the Cubans and Angolans combine their resources now, and draw on the sophisticated weaponry supplied by the Soviets (shipments of Soviet military aid, admittedly not of a socialist-kind, have been arriving at Luanda since the peace talks opened on May 3), Unita will be in trouble.

All the signs point to some kind of climax approaching in Angola, either in the peace process, or militarily on the ground, or both. Jonas Savimbi has shifted the emphasis of his campaign from the south-east to the north, where he is in closer striking distance of the capital Luanda and the Cabinda oil enclave.

He has moved into the Bakongo tribal territory of Holden Roberto's long dormant, but now reviving, FNLA, and he and Roberto are said to be making overtures to each other — a possible pooling of resources.

What would the generals in Pretoria do if the Fapla-Cuban forces launched a September offensive against Unita? It's a tricky question. The SADF has the manpower to save Unita, but would it dare cross the border back into Angola again? And would the losses in white lives and aircraft be acceptable to South Africa, even in the emotionally charged atmosphere of an ap-

proaching election, and with the Conservative Party whipping up feelings?

It is too early to be gloomy. This week's talks in Brazzaville, which will centre on a timetable for Cuban withdrawal, could be crucial. Does anyone, except possibly Castro, really want to return to Angola's endless battlefield?

The presiding Americans were reasonably satisfied with the last Brazzaville talks, even if the September 1 deadline for agreement, on a Cuban withdrawal was not reached. Apparently, the Angolan/Cuban and South African delegations were inordinately polite to each other, so much so that Dr. Chester Crocker (Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, who presides as chairman) found occasion to remind the delegates that they were there not only to make friends with each other, but also to do business.

Cuba remains the wild card in the pack. One of its Communist Party Central Committee members Ernesto Escobar said recently: "We would be prepared to stay until the destruction of the apartheid system, which would be the solution to the problem of Southern Africa. But Angola decided to negotiate and we consider that the best course now."

Castro is a reluctant peace-maker, but at least the peace talks have produced a framework for negotiation and a set of agreed principles. The incentives for peace may yet outweigh the pressures for war.

# SA ready to move in again

W/C ARG 3/9/88 (5)

SOUTH AFRICA, reacting to reports of a Cuban military build-up in southern Angola, said it would not hesitate to take steps to protect its interests in the region.

"Merely because South Africa is engaged in a negotiating process does not mean that South Africa will not take whatever steps it deems necessary to ensure the protection of its interests," said a statement by the Foreign Affairs Department.

The statement came days after South Africa completed the withdrawal of about 3 000 troops from Angola under an agreement reached at US-mediated peace talks.

A possible row over the alleged Cuban troop influx threatened to cast a shadow over the negotiations between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, which resume in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville next week.

Reports today quoted US officials as saying that Cuba was pouring tanks, MiG-23 aircraft and other equipment into Angola, where it is supporting the government against pro-Western Unita rebels.

The officials said there would soon be 60 000 Cuban troops in Angola and that they might be used to hit Unita and to attack South African-ruled SWA/Namibia, which borders Angola.

But the US State Department said that although there had been a recent increase in Cuban military supplies to Angola there was no evidence of a sudden troop build-up.

The Foreign Affairs statement said that South Africa was constantly monitoring the situation in Angola.

The reported Cuban military build-up was disturbing and not conducive to finding peaceful solutions, it said.

"If Angola and Cuba are sincere in their stated aims at the negotiating table it cannot be necessary for them to build up arms and personnel," it said.

The US-mediated talks are aimed at securing independence for SWA/Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

South Africa did not say whether it had independent confirmation of a Cuban military build-up in Angola.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told Americans visiting his bush headquarters at Jamba in southern Angola this week that Cuban and Angolan forces were taking advantage of the South African withdrawal to prepare for a big offensive against Unita.

South African forces intervened in southern Angola last year to halt an offensive against Unita. — Sapa-Reuters

# The Angolan War — as told to the Cubans

by PETER WELLMAN, Argus Africa  
 News Service in HARARE  
*15/10/76 3/9/88*

**I**N a rare lifting of military censorship, Cuba's official media have published war stories out of Angola describing clashes with South African forces.

The battle of Cuito Cuanavale, in particular, has been extensively covered in reports, interviews, diagrams and pictures.

Perhaps it is easier for the Cubans to release such material, since they see themselves as the victors at Cuito Cuanavale in that lengthy offensive which began late last year. But even so, Frank reports from soldiers wounded by South African fire — and who saw their comrades killed beside them — are concessions to publication it is hard to imagine Pretoria making.

For instance, take the story of First Lieutenant Tena Macias, political adviser to the Cuban 59th Brigade. In an article in the weekly review *Granma*, headlined "St Valentine's Day under gunfire", the lieutenant describes how the brigade was defending a Cuban-Angolan bridge-head on the eastern bank of the Cuito River during the siege of the town.

It is graphic stuff. "South African G5 and G6 guns were shelling us from early morning, making life a veritable hell," Macias says. "Our artillery responded but was hampered by woods and rough terrain."

"A South African and Unita attack breached one flank of the brigade. It was repulsed after about an hour, and then the enemy began firing mortars at our positions."

"When the smoke cleared, I realised that several Papla (Angolan) soldiers had died beside me."

"I discovered I had been wounded twice in the back, in the dorsal muscle and just above the right hip. I was bleeding a lot. I groped for my rifle and found it had been shattered."

"There were only four Cuban officers left fighting in the trench. (Macias does not say how many were killed or injured.) Captain Isquiedo was bleeding heavily from a head wound. We found it but we could not see how bad it was."

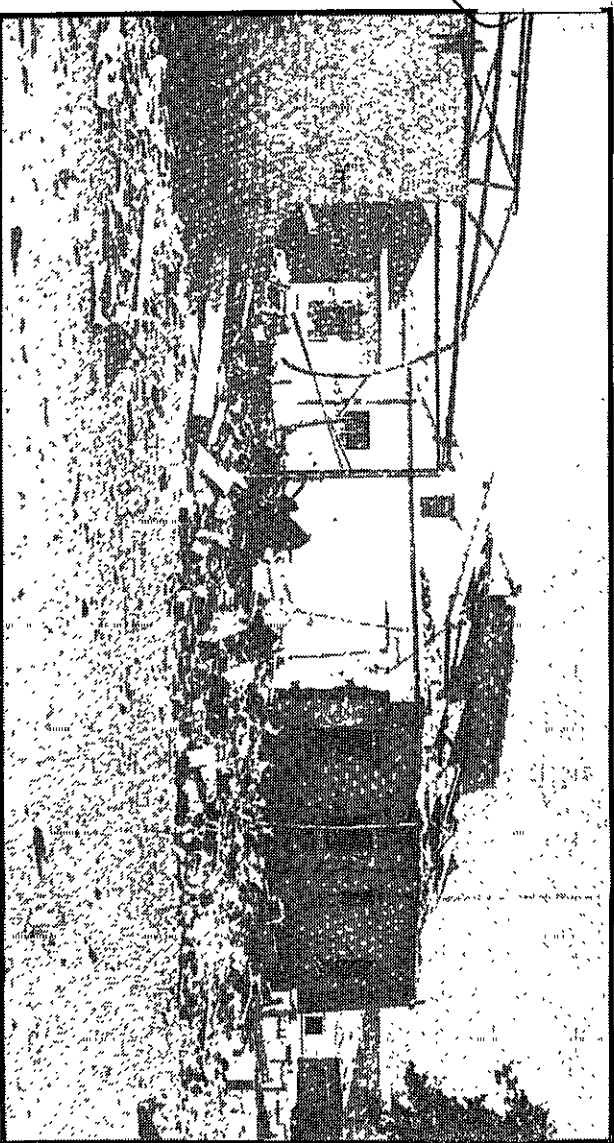
**T**HE survivors began moving along a connecting trench to their second line of defence, and Lt Macias took a rifle from a dead soldier.

Four Unita soldiers, with about another 20 nearby, came across them in the trench. One of the Cubans threw a grenade at the Unita men, and they did not attack.

"We saw South Africans in combat cars passing a few metres away," says Macias, "But they did not see us."

The survivors spent the night moving slowly along the trench, and reached their lines at 7.30am.

Another report of Cubans taking a hit was carried in the official film of the battle, entitled "Response to South African aggression". It portrays the Cuban version of the build-up to the main battle for the town.



**DESTRUCTION in Cunene after a South African bombing raid.**

carry the wounded out all be killed. "But the South Africans stopped fired. I don't know why," he says. "We were rescued by Fapla troops."

The commentary to the film says that in November last year Cubans were stationed only in the following areas: The far north enclave of Cabinda; Luanda eastwards to Malanje—the central port of Benguela and eastwards around Huambo and Bie; east of the southern port of Namibe near Lubango, Matata, Jamba and Menongue — 200 kms short of Cuito Cuanavale. It meant supplies had to be hauled by road and air to the Cuito Cuanavale defenders.

**T**HE commentary says it became clear South Africa intended to try for Cuito Cuanavale and the decision to reinforce the Cuban troops was taken in Havana in November. "It was not ideal, because the enemy had chosen the battlefield, not us. But we decided to accept the challenge."

There is detailed coverage of the reinforcement exercise — with troops, tanks and the MIG 23s which, with in-depth surface-to-air missile cover, reportedly ended South African air superiority in the region. Roads were mined, taking a constant toll of the reinforcements, but — judging from the film — there does not seem to have been aerial bombardment of the new troops and equipment. Then the runway at Cuito Cuanavale was

completed, and supplies no longer had to be ferried from Menongue.

There is a dramatic sequence when a MIG pilot out of fuel lands unexpectedly at the Cuito strip. The aircraft is hurriedly moved out of the way, as South African shells are seen landing on or near the strip. The pilot retreats and takes off, giving the cameraman the thumbs-up sign. Strongly featured is the firing of the multiple rocket launchers known world-wide as "Stalin organs" after the defeat of the Germans at Stalingrad in 1943. They have been much improved since then in range and accuracy.

There are battle scenes showing both sides, whether or not the Cubans themselves filmed the South Africans is not explained.

**I**N April this year, claims the commentary, Cubans were still in Cabinda. But from Luanda they had spread half across the country to Malanje — from Benguela, more than halfway to Luena on the important Benguela rail line; from Namibe to Cuito Cuanavale, and south over a wide area as far as N'giva near the Namibian border.

The film also shows Castro explaining how South African tanks had been led into a trap in a minefield.

"Their planes were not flying, but their tanks were," the Cuban leader says. "They used big tanks they called elephants. Good for noise and for scaring people. But vulnerable."

But he adds that if the South Africans had had barges big enough to ferry the tanks across the river to the west bank near the town, the



**AN Angolan picture of Major Wynand du Toit shortly after his capture.**

battle for Cuito Cuanavale would have been more difficult. Castro gets in plenty of his own propaganda in talking about Pretoria's propaganda. He

says, "They claimed Angola and Cuba lost 5 000 men, and had another 15 000 injured. "If that is true, why did they not take Cuito Cuanavale?"

In one part, Lieutenant Colonel Hector Aguilar explains personally to Fidel Castro and his top military men in Havana the mistakes he made when his armoured car was hit by South African fire near Cuito Cuanavale.

Col Aguilar says it happened during a counter-attack: "I was in an armoured car and we got ahead of the infantry. We found our mistake when we were facing the South African infantry without our own infantry to support us."

"We were hit by an anti-tank grenade. There were several casualties, including the driver who lost half an arm."

Col Aguilar, himself wounded twice, helped



# SA and Cuba ready for fresh talks on Namibia

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA and Cuba will lock horns next week in Brazzaville. And SA will be looking to Cuba for a convincing commitment to an attainable Namibian independence process when the two nation's diplomats meet.

Confidence has been shaken in Pretoria and Washington by reports from the American capital earlier this week — then denied on Friday — that Cuba was despatching significant troop reinforcements to Angola.

The Washington reports first said the fresh Cuban troops might be used in a new push against Unita.

Unita and a Cuban delegation met recently to arrange a return of two Cuban airmen Unita had been holding as prisoners.

Mr Glen Babb, Foreign Affairs assistant director-general for Africa, said verification of Cuban troop movements had not yet been obtained.

He said SA noted the initial reports of Cuban re-enforcements "more in sadness than in anger after the five months we have been negotiating and all the things we have achieved so far".

## 'Ludicrous'

SA diplomats must now decide whether the goodwill of Cuban and Angolan negotiators is an accurate reflection of the Cuban Government.

Sources at last week's talks in Brazzaville said the Cuban negotiating team appeared embarrassed by the "ludicrous" proposals they put on the table.

Up to now Cuba has denied it is building up its troop complement, saying new arrivals are part of the normal process of troop "turn around" leaving totals more or less intact.

Mr Babb said Cuba would have no basis for arguing a troop build-up because their stated reason for their presence in Angola was the presence there of South African troops.

South Africa withdrew the last of its troops from Angola this week.



DAVID JACKSON reports from Angola's capital

S Times 4/9/88

A T

# Peace jitters in grim Luanda

THE backlash from Angola's 13-year-old civil war hits you at the gateway to Luanda.

The buzzing of flies around the overflowing toilets in the ramshackle baggage-collection hall at the city's international airport is an immediate reminder that here Third World problems have slipped into an even grimmer dimension.

This is the Fourth World. A country reeling from the breakdown of essential services and the drain on its resources to fight a debilitating war waits tensely for the outbreak of peace so that it can haul itself back into the race for survival.

Amid the stench of blocked drains and uncollected street refuse, the whiff of that elusive peace is in the air in the streets of Luanda.

It's an uneasy, jittery truce as people await the news from last week's Brazzaville peace talks to filter through. They have been down this road before. And the physical legacy of this war will take generations to erase.

You see the evidence of that down the palm-tree-lined Fourth of February Avenue, which skirts Luanda Bay like a pock-marked version of Durban's esplanade.

## Wreckage

In pre-war times — and that was more than 25 years ago — this was a holiday paradise for the colonial Portuguese, with lovers strolling arm-in-arm beneath colourful parasols straddling the pavement cafes.

Now the broken neon signs, the boarded-up shopfronts and the deserted yacht moorings provide a pathetic touch of nostalgia to what once was the jewel of the African Riviera.

Above the bay, Fort San Miguel is now a military war museum. Inside are the pieces of wreckage from a SAAF Mirage and mementoes of Captain Wynand du Toit's sabotage attempt at Cabinda.

Along the esplanade I saw an Angolan soldier, his leg blown off below the knee, picking his way on crutches through the potholes. He is one of more than 20 000 who have lost limbs in this war — mainly by detonating anti-personnel mines.

Health and physiotherapy institutions are hard pressed to cope and artificial limbs are in short supply.

## Crazy

The soldier paused to look through the window of a bare-shelved coffee shop where locals were playing cards for the prize of a solitary can of beer.

They might as well have been playing for a gold nugget.

Luanda is on the beer standard — a crazy, unofficial barometer of a man's worth where everything is related to the bartering power of a can of beer. The official currency, the kwanza, is so devalued that it is practically worthless.

Goods are bought with

To Page 2

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## PICK

THERE were six tickets in the Pickfontein yesterday. The net pool of R1 091.12 was R166 919.84. Winning numbers: 1, 2, 7, 12. At Greyville the four successful tickets had a net pool of R298 673.60. Winning numbers: R74 668.40. Winning numbers: 10; 4; 7; 1.

## Matches

THE fight between weights Pierre Cochin and Johnny du Plooy has been postponed until at least Feb 11 if it ever takes place. See Page 2.

## Exit Rhod

THE Australian Government is to rename Rhodesia the street in front of the Embassy in Canberra now to be Nelson Place. See Page 2.

THE contents of this issue of the Sunday Times have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

# Tension rises as troop build-ups reported in Angola and along border

AP Wire Service  
 5/19/88  
 S.A.P.

Tension is rising between South Africa, Cuba and Angola with the parties involved in the five-month-long peace talks reporting massive troop build-ups in Angola and on the Angolan/Namibian border.

Cuban troops were streaming into Angola and the US media reports must have known the MPLA would use the talks to destroy Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi told a news conference at his headquarters at Jamba at the weekend.

Following reports of a new major build-up of Cuban troops the Minister of Defence General Lagunas Malan yesterday issued a thinly veiled warning that the balance of power to be "disturbed".

An angry Dr Savimbi launched a scathing attack on the Assistant Secretary of State

for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, who, he said, knew about the MPLA strategy.

The MPLA was interested only in a "cosmetic solution" that would leave Unita weakened and promote war, Dr Savimbi said.

The MPLA had already launched a new offensive against Unita under Russian and Cuban guidance.

Cuban troops were pouring into Angola and had now swollen to 60 000. More were on their way, he said.

Dr Savimbi vowed to continue the guerrilla war: "We are not in a panic because we are determined to stay here... until the country is really free."

Unita was calling for peace, but the MPLA feared peace because without the Cubans "the MPLA is nothing". He said Unita could not be

called South African puppets because all the SADF troops had withdrawn from Angola, but the MPLA were Cuban puppets.

He warned that the four-party peace negotiations "are at great risk of not succeeding if they don't change the course of the negotiations quickly".

Unita had supported the negotiations, but was now distancing itself from them because they had disadvantaged Unita militarily.

"We don't understand what the aims of the negotiations are — to find peace or to increase the possibility of a continued war."

He blamed Dr Crocker for the state of affairs, because he "must have known that this situation would arise."

Following a Foreign Affairs statement at the weekend that South Africa would not hesitate

to take steps to protect her interests, General Malan warned the build-up "increased the potential for conflict".

In a carefully worded statement General Malan appeared to indicate that South Africa would come to the aid of Unita if Cuba launched any major attack. He called for the intervention of the United States and the United Nations.

"The build-up of Cuban forces contradicts the spirit and intentions of the four-nation negotiations. Prospects for peace could therefore be jeopardised."

"It is unacceptable that an increase or build-up of forces and equipment can take place while negotiations are ongoing."

"This increases the potential for conflict and places a question mark behind Cuban intentions at the negotiation table."

General Malan said South

Africa, as the leading power in the region, could not allow the subcontinent to slip further into misery as a result of the presence of forces which did not carry the interests of the people at heart.

"It is in South Africa's and the region's interest that the balance of power should not be distorted."

Angola was worried by South African military manoeuvres in Namibia near the border, Defence Minister Mr Pedro Maria Tonha said in a briefing at defence headquarters in Luanda yesterday.

"Our information is they began on August 2 and will last for two months. We are worried that they are so close to our frontier. We cannot stop them."

Asked whether the MPLA government saw the manoeuvres as a provocation, he said:

"If there are ulterior motives or intentions, we do not know what these are. But if we need to respond, we shall certainly know how to respond."

However, General Tonha was careful to include South Africa in the credit he gave to the negotiating parties in the Angolan and Namibian peace talks.

He also made the following unsolicited comments when he wrapped up the 90-minute briefing:

"We do want to state there was a great defeat for the South African forces (in Angola)."

He added: "We are not claiming superiority over South Africa. But we believe South Africa will have to find another manner of solving its problems (instead of attacking other countries in the region)."

General Tonha confirmed Angolan and Cuban forces had oc-

cupied strategic positions held by SA forces inside Angola since SA forces withdrew.

"Not all the areas they occupied were strategic, and we do not wish to occupy all of them. Also, they moved about frequently to avoid attack. I can confirm our forces are in Ruacana and Caluque."

There had been no incidents since the ceasefire and joint withdrawal agreement came into effect.

He said overseas press reports of a recent Cuban build-up were false. Some US reports said Cuban forces had been increased from 47 000 to 60 000 men, and 24 more MIG fighters had arrived. He refused to say how many Cuban troops were in the country. — Political Staff, Sapa-AP.

## g border

Savimbi did it

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# Reported Cuban build-up high on talks agenda

ARGUS 5/9/88 5

The Argus Correspondent reports from Pretoria

THE reported build-up of Cuban troops in the south of Angola over the past few weeks will be high on the agenda of the Angolan and SWA/Namibian peace talks in Brazzaville starting on Wednesday.

South African diplomatic sources said this today but added that they were treating the reports cautiously and had not yet confirmed the build-up or made a decision about the Cubans' intentions.

They said that reports, from a variety of sources, indicated that the Cubans were preparing in case they had to go into the "military mode".

On the second last day of the last round of talks in Brazzaville 10 days ago, the Cubans sent a signal saying the talks were not producing results and putting their troops on alert.

All these developments have made the South Africans "uneasy" and they will be confronting the Cuban and Angolan generals with them in Brazzaville. They will also ask the American mediators of the talks to deal with the

alleged Cuban build-up as a top priority.

This ties in with yesterday's challenge by General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, to the United States and to the United Nations to take decisive action to stop the Cuban build-up.

However, South Africa has not yet determined the Cubans' motives. The more hopeful interpretation of the build-up, if it is confirmed, is that the Cubans are preparing themselves in case the ceasefire is broken by the other side.

The worst possible interpretation — which has not been ruled out — is that the Cubans have cynically been taking advantage of the peace negotiations to prepare themselves for an offensive to wipe out Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in his Jamba headquarters in south-east Angola.

However, South African diplomatic sources caution that they want to be sure of their facts before entering negotiations.

Meanwhile, it has emerged that the Cubans' best offer in Brazzaville last

time was to pull out all their troops from the country in 36 months — down from their previous position of 48 months.

And while they were prepared to consider the South African suggestion that they begin moving out the moment the process of United Nations-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia had begun, the vast bulk of their troops would still have been in the country at the time of independence elections.

The possibility of South Africa accepting a limited Cuban presence in Angola after independence — but confined to north of Luanda and possibly restricted in other ways — has been raised.

But on the 36-month withdrawal schedule proposed by the Cubans, 40 000 or more troops would still be in Angola — and unrestricted — at the time of elections.

This is completely unacceptable to the South Africans. But they have not ruled out a possibility that the Cubans may come up with a better offer this week.

## South Africa will not allow power balance 'distortion'

By BRUCE CAMERON, The Argus Political Staff

IN the face of a second major Cuban build-up, the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, issued a warning today that South Africa would not allow the balance of power to be "distorted".

A statement by the Department of Foreign Affairs at the weekend said South Africa would not hesitate to take steps to protect her interests. General Malan warned that the build-up "increased the potential for conflict".

In a carefully worded statement, General Malan appeared to indicate that South Africa would come to the aid of Unita if Cuba launched a major attack. He called for the intervention of the United States and the United Nations.

In his statement, General Malan said the South African withdrawal from Angola demonstrated three points.

"She has no expansionist motives, respects the territorial integrity of Angola and, thirdly, has shown her sincerity to co-operate in finding a peaceful, negotiated settlement in south-western Africa."

Repeating the reason given for South Africa's entry into the civil war last year, General Malan said South Africa's primary interest was "her own security" as well as that of SWA/Namibia and the region.

"The build-up of Cuban forces contradicts the spirit and intentions of four-nation negotiations. Prospects for peace could therefore be jeopardised.

"It is unacceptable that an increased build-up of forces and equipment can take place while negotiations are ongoing. This increases the potential for conflict and places a question mark be-

hind Cuban intentions at the negotiation table.

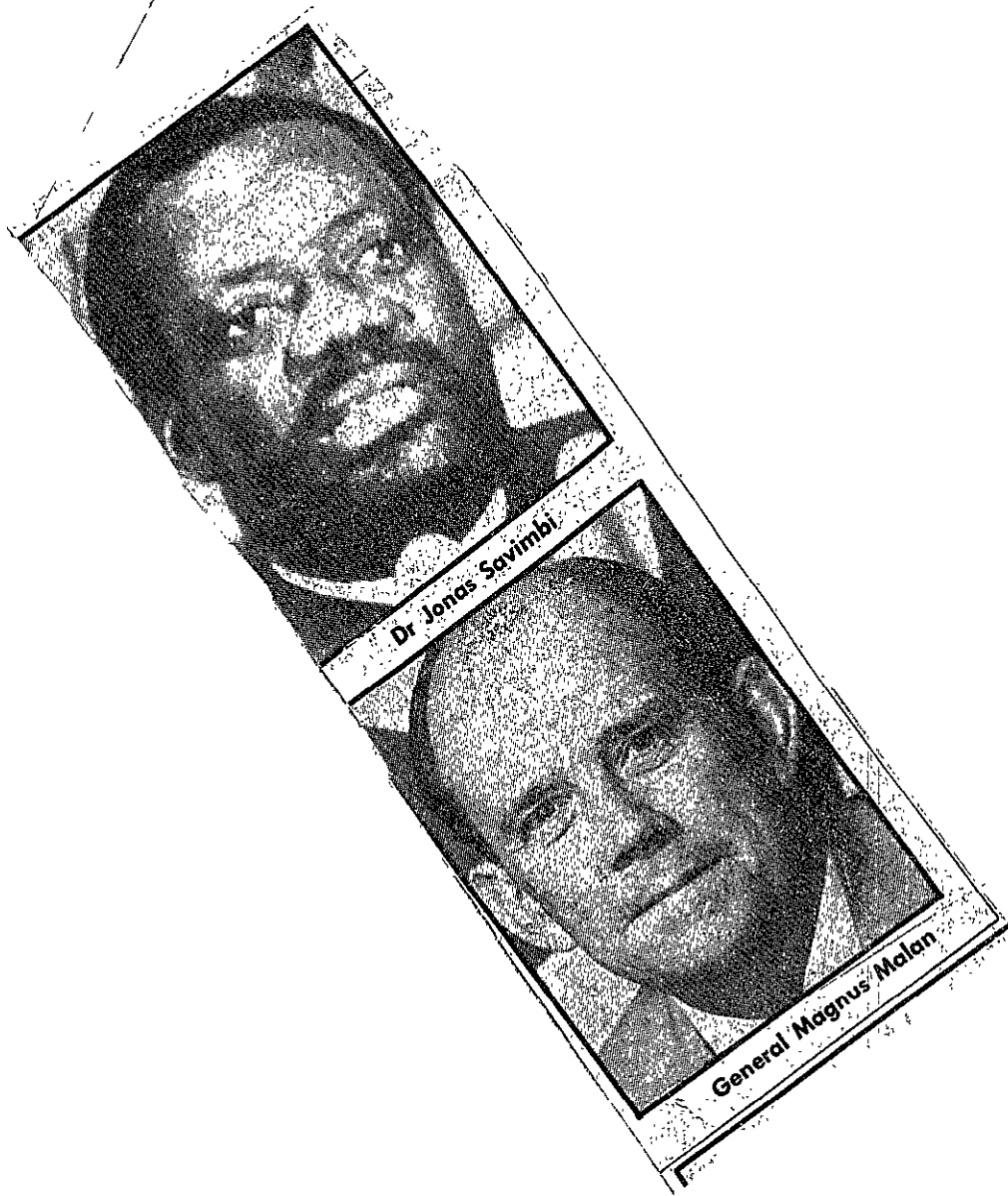
"It also illustrates who the real aggressor is in the region."

General Malan said South Africa, as the leading power in the region, could not allow the sub-continent to slip further into misery because of the presence of forces which did not have the interests of the people at heart.

A particular responsibility rested with the United States to take concrete steps. The United Nations could also use the opportunity to show its impartiality.

The South African Defence Force would maintain its "posture of being flexible, alert and prepared without being aggressive or provocative".

He added: "It is in South Africa's and the region's interest that the balance of power should not be distorted."



Dr. Jonas Savimbi

General Magnus Malan

THE seventh round of peace talks aimed at ending the Angolan conflict open in Brazzaville today under the cloud of weekend accusations that both Cuba and South Africa were increasing their military presence in south western Africa.

The talks are expected to decide and seal the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 to bring independence to Namibia and set a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

But the question of Cuban troops came under the spotlight at the weekend with reports of an increased Cuban presence by unnamed US sources and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in an Associated Press report

AP quoted American officials in Washington

# Troops build-up clouds Brazzaville peace talks

who said 10 000 Cuban troops had arrived in Angola since the start of the peace negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Though the three countries entered a ceasefire agreement on August 10, Cuban troop strength in Angola is now estimated at 60 000.

US State Department spokeswoman Ms Phyllis Oakley later discounted the AP report.

In Luanda, the head of the MPLA's information and propaganda department, Mr Paulino Pinto Joao, also dismissed the reports as rumours.

However, the Angolan Minister of Defence, Mr

Pedro Maria Tonha (Pedale), told the official Zimbabwean news agency that his government was worried about South African military manoeuvres in northern Namibia.

Meanwhile in South Africa, the Department of Foreign Affairs said Cuban troop movements in Angola were being monitored.

If Angola and Cuba were sincere in their stated aims at the negotiating table it would not have been necessary for them to build up arms and personnel, the statement said.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said on SABC-TV last night that South Africa found the build-up unacceptable.

But there was no question from any of the sides that today's talks would not go ahead.

The talks today will also decide on the 11 border posts where joint military committees will monitor the progress of the ceasefire that started on September 1.

The 11 frontier posts will provide daily information to two joint centres at Ruacana and Cua-lueque. — Sapa-Reuter-AP and UPI

5/19/88  
SAPA Times

# SA monitoring new Cuban troop build-up

5/9/88 B/dau

A RENEWED Cuban build-up in southern Angola has prompted a response by the Foreign Affairs Department in Cape Town.

It said in a weekend statement SA would not hesitate to protect its interests in the region.

SA was aware of what was happening and monitoring the situation.

"Merely because SA is sincerely engaged in a negotiating process does not mean it will not take steps it sees as necessary to ensure the protection of its interests," it added.

Sapa quoted American officials in Washington as saying 10 000 fresh Cuban troops had arrived in Angola since the start of peace negotiations

ELSABÉ WESSELS

between SA, Angola and Cuba.

The three entered a ceasefire agreement on August 10 but Cuban troop strength has since risen to an estimated at 60 000.

"To the extent that such reports are true they are disturbing and not conducive to the finding of peaceful solutions," the statement said.

Sapa-Reuter reports Unita leader Jonas Savimbi told Americans at his bush headquarters at Jamba, southern Angola, last week that Cuban and Angolan forces were taking advantage of SA's withdrawal to prepare an offensive against his rebel forces.

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# Angolan peace talks to continue in Brazzaville

*capl Tmt 6/7/88*

PRETORIA. — Peace talks involving delegations from South Africa, Angola and Cuba would continue in Brazzaville, Congo, tomorrow, the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday.

The director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, would lead the South African delegation which would also include the head of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and Dr Neil Barnard, director-general of the National Intelligence Service.

The talks are expected to focus on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the department said.

Meanwhile, the Joint Military Committees of Angola, Cuba and South Africa yesterday began monitoring the ceasefire that is to be implemented in the Angola region from Thursday.

This was announced in Luanda by the Angolan Defence Minister, General Pedro Maria Tonha.

General Tonha said Angola would establish 11 control points along the border between Angola and South-West Africa for the monitoring process.

The committees are beginning their work amid reports of a renewed Cuban troop build-up in Angola.

● Unita said yesterday that it had rejected a proposal from US Africa expert Dr Chester Crocker for a three-year pullout of Cuban troops from Angola.

Dr Crocker made the offer at a meeting with Unita officials in an undisclosed African country on August 27, Unita said in a statement.

Unita said its delegation at the talks with Dr Crocker was led by secretary-general Mr Miguel Nzau Puna, and included Brigadier Isidro Huambo and Colonel Jorge Alicerces Valentim. Dr Jonas Savimbi was not present. Dr Savimbi strongly criticized Dr Crocker in weekend remarks, accusing him of digging graves for America's friends.

● Australia offered yesterday to send 300 troops to a possible UN peace-keeping force in Namibia if talks on SA's withdrawal from the region are successful.

Defence Minister Mr Kim Beazley said the UN approached the government late last month about sending troops to Namibia. — Sapa, Reuter and AP



## Snags may delay Namibia plan

# Cuban build-up threatens talks

(S)  
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4/9/88

The Star's Africa News Service  
and Political Correspondent

The Cuban troop build-up in southern Angola is expected to lead to a confrontation with the South African delegation across the negotiating table when the Angolan peace talks resume tomorrow.

And the November 1 target date for the start of Namibia's independence process will almost certainly be postponed if the latest round of peace talks between South Africa and Angola/Cuba in Brazzaville is not decisive, it was learnt today.

As delegations to the talks were preparing to resume negotiations, Unita rebels said they had rejected an American proposal for a three-year pull-out of Cuban troops from Angola.

The South African delegation under the leadership of the Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, left for Brazzaville today.

South Africa is thought likely to demand an explanation for the reported influx of several thousand additional Cuban troops since the negotiations began, bringing the total to a reported 60 000.

The build-up will almost certainly be discussed in the context of the efforts to get agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola. But it is not clear whether the South African team will insist on resolving the issue of the build-up before resuming negotiations on the withdrawal.

What is certain is that the troop build-up has cast a heavy shadow over the talks.

The deployment of strong Cuban forces close to the Namibian border poses the risk of their clashing with the South African forces stationed in northern Namibia.

It is also seen as threatening the Unita rebel forces in the south east, in support of whom South African forces were fighting until their withdrawal at the end of last month in observance of the ceasefire arranged during the negotiations.

### Swapo route

Intervention by South African troops is not ruled out by knowledgeable observers should the Cubans launch an offensive against the Unita positions. The SADF is known to fear that the ousting of Unita from south-eastern Angola would open the way for Swapo military incursions from the area into the Caprivi.

South African sources today said that unless progress was made at the talks on the issue of

## Tutu snubs Cape Town mayor by stayaway

CAPE TOWN — The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, snubbed the mayor, Mr Peter Muller, last night by not attending the civic ceremony in which Dr Richard van der Ross was awarded the freedom of the city.

The snub followed reports yesterday which said Mr Muller was "extremely upset" by the call made by Archbishop Tutu on Anglicans not to participate in the October municipal elections.

Archbishop Tutu made the call at the installation on Sunday of the new Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones.

Mr Muller reportedly said that he "almost walked out of St George's Cathedral" when Archbishop Tutu made the call.

Archbishop Tutu's secretary, Mr John Allen, confirmed that the archbishop did not attend the freedom of the city ceremony in which Dr van der Ross, former rector of the University of the Western Cape, became the fifth freeman of the city.

Mr Allen said the archbishop had intended to go to the function "in spite of the fact that some people in the community would have questioned his attendance".

"But in view of the mayor's response to his call, the archbishop decided not to attend."

He said Archbishop Tutu had telephoned Dr Van der Ross to say that he was pleased at the honour being bestowed on him and explained why he felt he could not attend the ceremony.

"Dr van der Ross said he understood the bishop's position," Mr Allen said.

It's so nice to



The look of love . . . Miss Sally Suttner greets her brother yesterday while the lovebird which shared his cell

## English cricket invasion — if tour to India cancelled

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Up to 12 of England's top test cricketers will sign lucrative contracts to play in South Africa if the winter tour of India is called off, a British newspaper claims.

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South African sources today said that unless progress was made at the talks on the issue of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola within an acceptable time scale, the November 1 deadline South Africa had proposed for the start of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia would probably be postponed.

The plan provides for a seven-month period leading up to independence elections.

South Africa has until now publicly insisted that all 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola must have been sent back to Cuba by the election date.

Cuba has so far insisted that it needs four years to withdraw all its forces. It is not prepared to abandon Angola until sufficient Fapla (Angolan army) troops can be trained to fill the vacuum left by the Cubans.

Knowledgeable observers consider if no progress is made this week in resolving the issue of the Cuban troop build-up, the negotiations could then be in serious trouble.



The look of love . . . Miss Sally Suttner greets her brother in prison yesterday while the lovebird which shared his cell . . .

## English cricket invasion — if tour to India cancelled

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Up to 12 of England's top test cricketers will sign lucrative contracts to play in South Africa if the winter tour of India is called off, a British newspaper claims.

Chris Lander of the *Sun* names them as Graham Gooch, Kim Barnett, Robert Bailey, David Capel, Greg Thomas, Phil Newport, Robin Smith, Allan Lamb, Chris Broad, Graham Dilley, Mike Gatting and Tim Robinson.

He quotes a player who asked not to be named as saying: "We're fed up with blackmail threats from Indian politicians trying to scare us by saying they will refuse visas to certain England players."

"A number of England tour candidates have given verbal agreements to play for top sides in South Africa. They are just waiting to see who gets picked on Wednesday morning . . ."

The *Sun* devotes a page today to an editorial headed "How Dare They?" which attacks India for lecturing England about Gooch.

"Among the nations the greatest hypocrite of all is the Republic of India, the Uriah Heep of the Third World," it says.

It claims that while India wants to be seen as striking a blow for the oppressed black people in South Africa, "within her own boundaries, there are perhaps a hundred million or more oppressed peoples. They are the members of the lowest class, the untouchables . . ."

● Ian Botham has urged politicians to stop interfering with the lives of sportsmen — but he says he will not go to South Africa, reports Sapa.

In an interview with *Today*, Botham said: "Sportsmen just seem to be pawns in the big game of politics, whether it is athletes and the Olympics or cricketers and South Africa."

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# Time 'slipping away' in Namibia talks

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6/9/88

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By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

THE November 1 deadline for the start of the United Nations-sponsored independence process for Namibia hinges on the outcome of the Angola/Namibia peace talks which start in Brazzaville tomorrow.

If the date is to be met, Cuba and Angola will probably have to offer an acceptable timetable for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The original deadline for them to table a withdrawal schedule acceptable to South Africa was September 1. This date fell away at the last round of talks in Brazzaville two weeks ago but South African diplomats said then that the November 1 target was still attainable.

Now they say this date is "slipping away" and it will almost certainly be impossible to meet it if an acceptable withdrawal timetable is not offered this week — which seems unlikely.

## Flexible

However, diplomats emphasised the date was not critical. South Africa regarded it as a target date and would be "flexible up to a point" in putting the date back.

But there have been conflicting reports about how prepared South Africa is to continue postponing the target dates for the implementation of the whole peace package.

Some reports say that if Cuba and Angola do not offer an acceptable withdrawal timetable in Brazzaville this week, South Africa will present them with a new deadline.

But diplomatic sources deny this report and say South Africa will present no ultimatums.

It is clear that the opposing sides are still far apart on the Cuban withdrawal timetable.

It has become clear that Cuba offered a 36-month timetable in Brazzaville last time, down from its initial position of 48 months.

South Africa found this completely unacceptable. Its official position is that all the Cubans must be out of Angola by the time of UN-supervised elections in Namibia under UN Resolution 435.

Under the present proposed calendar this would be June 1 next year.

However, the possibility of South Africa accepting a limited Cuban presence in Angola after UN elections has been raised. The suggestion of no more than 20 percent of the Cuban force remaining in the country but strictly confined to the north and restricted in other ways, is believed to have been discussed.

South Africa has also shifted its emphasis to a complementary withdrawal of Cuban troops from the Namibian border to balance the withdrawal of SADF troops from Namibia which has to start the moment UN 435 is set in motion.

## Shown readiness

Cuba and Angola have shown some readiness to accept this idea but under their proposed 36-month timetable for withdrawal about 40 000 troops would still be in Angola at the time of UN elections — a force unacceptable to South Africa.

The South African delegation to the talks leaves for Brazzaville today, led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, and including the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and the chief of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard.

High on the agenda of the talks will be the reported build-up of Cuban troops in the south of Angola in the past few weeks. Unconfirmed reports indicate that the total Cuban troop strength has been increased from about 50 000 to 60 000 with a "shipload a day" of troops and arms leaving Havana.

Diplomatic sources are more cautious about the reports and the US State Department has said the troop movement is just a turnabout of forces.

# ANGOLA ON THE BOIL

TENSION is rising between South Africa, Cuba and Angola with the parties involved in the five-month long peace talks reporting massive troop build-ups in Angola and on the Angolan/Namibian border.

Cuban troops were streaming into Angola and the US peace-talk mediators must have known the MPLA would use the talks to "destroy Unita," Dr Jonas Savimbi told a news conference at his headquarters at Jamba at the weekend.

An angry Dr Savimbi launched a scathing attack on US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker, who, he said, knew about the

## Sowetan Correspondent

MPLA strategy.

The MPLA was interested only in a "cosmetic solution" that would leave Unita weakened and promote war, Dr Savimbi said.

The MPLA had already launched a new offensive against Unita under Russian and Cuban guidance.

Cuban troops were pouring into Angola and had now swollen to 60 000. More were on their way.

Dr Savimbi vowed to continue the guerilla war: "We are not in a panic because we are determined to stay here . . .



SAVIMBI . . . "war will continue".

until the country is really free."

Unita was calling for peace, but the MPLA feared peace because without the Cubans "the MPLA is nothing."

Unita could not be called South African puppets because all the SADF troops had

withdrawn from Angola, but the MPLA were Cuban puppets.

He warned that the four-party peace negotiations "are at great risk of not succeeding if they don't change the course of the negotiations quickly."

## Blamed

He blamed Dr Crocker for the state of affairs, because he "must have known that this situation would arise."

Following reports of a new major build-up of Cuban troops, the Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan issued a thinly-veiled warning that South Africa would not allow the balance of power to be "distorted."

⑤ *bruetun* 6/9/88

# SA 'to take harder line'

CHC Times 7/19/88

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — South African fears of a new Cuban military build-up in Angola seem likely to harden positions at the three-sided peace talks on Angola and Namibia which resume today.

The resumption of the talks comes after the suspension of the last meeting without an agreement two weeks ago to give the parties an opportunity to consult their governments.

The various parties' standpoints had been so divergent to make compromise possible.

On the table again when South African, Angolan and Cuban negotiators meet in Brazzaville under US mediation will be the issue of a timetable for the withdrawal of the estimated 60 000 Cuban troops in Angola. President P W Botha is expected to take a

tough line today on the continuing Cuban build-up.

Mr Botha will address the National Party's Free State congress in Bloemfontein as the latest round of peace talks get under way.

His speech will come against the background of direct warnings by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, that the continued build up of Cuban troops while the peace talks are going on is "totally unacceptable" to South Africa.

"While we're making serious efforts to reach a peaceful arrangement, the Cubans are bringing in more planes and men," a member of the South African delegation said in Brazzaville.

"We will be seeking an explanation and that will be high on the agenda," said the official, who asked not to be named. Angola

and Cuba have not reacted to the South African allegations.

While the inflow of Cuban troops could be a tactical ploy by Cuban President Fidel Castro, the build-up of his forces in the south of the country in close proximity to concentrations of South African forces just across the border is increasing tensions in the region.

The issue must be cleared if the parties are to go ahead with a UN plan for the independence of Namibia.

Preparation for a UN-supervised election is scheduled to begin on November 1.

Military analysts said Angolan government forces and their Cuban allies may be gearing up for an offensive against Unita.

An Angolan-Cuban offensive against Unita now would take advantage of the departure of South African troops from southern Angola,

which was completed at the end of August and is the main fruit of the negotiations so far.

Unita is not included in the ceasefire which accompanied the withdrawal agreement.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi attacked US mediator Dr Chester Crocker at the weekend, suggesting he was preparing to dig Unita's grave to get the Cubans out of Angola.

Failure in the Brazzaville talks might also lead Swapo to renew its bush war against South African forces.

Swapo has announced a unilateral ceasefire in Namibia. "If there is no agreement... we will go back to the trenches," Swapo information secretary Mr Hidipo Hamutenya said.

# PW's tough line on Cubans

Star 7/9/88

## SADF ready to mass on Namibian border

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Bloemfontein

The State President Mr P W Botha is expected to take a tough line on the deteriorating conflict situation in Angola when he addresses the Free State National Party congress here today.

The Government regards as very serious the threat of a further build-up of Cuban troops in Angola.

Defensive actions are being taken by the SA Defence Force in line with the Government's policy that South Africa will be prepared for any contingency.

The SADF is out of Angola, in keeping with the agreement South Africa made with Angola-Cuba for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from southern Angola.

However, a substantial build-up of South African forces just south of the border between Namibia and Angola is likely if Cuba persists with its aggressive actions.

South Africa believes Cuba has recently added 10 000 troops to the 50 000 it had in Angola, at a time when it was supposed to be negotiating the reduction of its forces in the country.

South African Government sources are pessimistic that the current round of peace talks in Brazzaville will yield any compromise on the issue of the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

One senior military source puts the chances of success at less than 10 percent.

## 'No evidence of build-up'

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The State Department has dismissed claims of Cuba pouring more troops into Angola, attributing South African fears and those of the Angolan rebel group, Unita, to "nervousness at a crucial phase of the peace talks".

A State Department official said that US information that there is no evidence at this time that additional Cuban troops are arriving.

"The supposed new intelligence of Cuban arrivals is therefore without any foundation in fact."

The US Administration's best estimate of current Cuban troop strength is just under 52 000.

The South African Government is increasingly suspicious of Cuba's real intentions in Angola.

Suspicions are being voiced privately that Cuba may attempt an invasion of Namibia, in the belief that this would make it a popular international liberator.

### Airspace

According to sources, Cuban military aircraft frequently penetrate Namibian airspace in what is suspected to be acts of provocation.

Government sources say South Africa is prepared to take on the full force of the Cubans in such an eventuality.

The announcement by United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Peres de Cuellar that he had accepted in principle an invitation by Mr Botha to visit South Africa was welcomed by the Government today.

Sources believe the announcement is timely and that it may facilitate the current talks at Brazzaville by demonstrating to the Cubans that the United Nations was taking a serious interest in a peaceful settlement.

President Botha invited Dr de Cuellar last month to discuss the implementation of Resolution 435 and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

South Africa has offered to implement Resolution 435 from November 1, provided a satisfactory agreement has been reached with Angola and Cuba on the timescale of the withdrawal of Cuban forces.

Argus 7/9/88 (5)

WASHINGTON — The United States has shot down claims that Cuba is pouring more troops into Angola and has attributed South African fears and those of Unita to "skittishness" at a crucial phase of the peace talks which resume in Brazzaville today.

Responding to assertions by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and from sources in Washington that Cuban troop levels had risen greatly, a State Department official said US information was that they had levelled off in July, before the Geneva round of the south-western Africa settlement negotiations.

"The US administration's best estimate of current Cuban troop strength is just under 52 000," the official said.

### November 1 target

The three parties to the Brazzaville negotiations — South Africa, Cuba and Angola — had set November 1 as the date for implementing the seven-month United Nations independence plan for SWA/Namibia, "and we have received no indication that they do not intend to meet their objective".

But the reported build-up of Cuban troops in the south of Angola has cast a pall over the Brazzaville peace talks, where the atmosphere was described by sources in the SA delegation as "tense" and "muted".

In government circles in South Africa there is growing pessimism about the outcome of the talks which seem to be getting bogged down on the question of an acceptable timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

### Last big obstacle

Agreement on the timing of a Cuban pull-out is the last major obstacle to the signing of a regional peace accord formally ending the war in southern Angola and giving independence to SWA/Namibia.

The SA delegation led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, arrived in Brazzaville last night and held talks with the American mediator of the negotiations, Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker.

Mr van Heerden, asked if he intended to raise the issue of a Cuban build-up, told Reuters: "Yes, we will."

South Africa on the one side and Cuba and Angola on the other side are still far apart on a calendar for Cuban troop withdrawal.

Cuba has so far offered a minimum of 36 months. South Africa's stance is that all Cubans should be out of Angola by the proposed June 1 1989 date for UN elections in SWA/Namibia.

This position seems to be flexible but a 36-month timetable is far from acceptable.

It seems unlikely now that the November 1 target date for the start of the SWA/Namibian independence process under UN Resolution 435 can be met.

### Some optimism

It is understood that President Botha may raise the subject of the negotiations when he addresses the Free State congress of the National Party in Bloemfontein today.

Against the mood of general pessimism, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha struck an optimistic note today when he said the proposed visit to South Africa of UN Secretary-General Dr Perez de Cuellar could "facilitate" agreement in Brazzaville.

He said Dr de Cuellar's announcement yesterday that he had accepted in principle President Botha's invitation indicated that the Secretary-General was serious that agreement should be reached and that this could influence the negotiations.

Matters which South Africa wished to discuss included the question of who would foot the estimated R1 500-million bill for implementing SWA/Namibian independence, and the impartiality of De Cuellar's staff during the independence process. — The Argus Foreign Service and Political Staff.

Pall of gloom cast over latest round of peace negotiations in Brazzaville

# 'NO Cuban hurdle'

Argus

# Angola talks bog down in debate about SA claims of Cuban

**BRAZZAVILLE**—Peace talks on Angola and Namibia reopened in Brazzaville yesterday but rapidly bogged down in debate about SA reports of a new Cuban military build-up in Angola, conference sources said.

Negotiators from SA, Angola and Cuba with the US acting as mediator, held a series of meetings in the morning in an attempt to clear the air of controversy over an alleged reinforcement of the Cuban military contingent in Angola. There's been some disinformation going on. They're going to have to

trash out what is true and what is false about the reported Cuban build-up," said a source who asked not to be named.

The negotiators are seeking agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. But only days before the talks resumed, SA said Cuba had sent military equipment and 10 000 men into Angola in addition to an estimated 50 000 already there.

The US State Department has said there has been a recent increase in Cuban military supplies to Angola but that there is no evidence of a troop build-up.

Angola's chief negotiator, armed forces chief of staff Antonio dos Santos Franca, dismissed the SA fears as fantasies based on Press, not intelligence, reports.

Contacts were being arranged between Cuban and SA military experts in Brazzaville to study the issue.

The debate was preventing negotiators from tackling the issue of the Cuban troop withdrawal and some delegates expressed doubt whether agreement could be reached in time to allow a UN plan for the independence of Namibia to

go into effect as planned on November 1.

Only two days have been scheduled for the current round of talks, with the SA negotiating team planning to leave for home this afternoon.

Many political analysts doubted whether, given yesterday's slow start, this was enough time for the parties to reach an accord.

But France told reporters, "If there are concrete proposals, it's more than enough time."

Angola and Cuba have together formally proposed a 36-month period for

Cuban troops to pull out of Angola. SA has been seeking a much shorter period to match the seven-month duration of the UN's Namibia plan, Resolution 435, which includes an SA troop withdrawal from Namibia and a pre-independence election.

Watching but not taking part in the talks in the Congolese capital were the UN's special representative for Namibia, Martti Ahtisari, Moscow's top southern Africa expert Vadim Vassey and senior Swapo member Hidipo Hamutenya. — Sapa-Reuter.

build-up



5 Study 18

## Cuban build-up claim 'unfounded'

The Star's Africa News Service

There has been no independent confirmation of claims by South Africa and Unita that Cuba has increased the number of its troops in Angola.

A United States Information Services spokesman said yesterday the claims of a build-up of Cuban forces in Angola had first been reported on Friday by an American news agency, which quoted an unidentified State Department official as its source.

### WEAPONS

The report, stating that there were now 60 000 Cuban troops in Angola, that in the past three weeks 24 new MiG23 fighter aircraft had been shipped to Luanda, and that a ship packed with troops and weapons was leaving Cuba every week, was quickly denied on Sunday by the State Department itself.

"We really have seen no evidence of recent build-ups," State Department spokesman Ms Phyllis Oakley said.

"We think Cuban troop

strength is over 50 000 but not that far above," she added.

Ms Oakley said last weekend that although there had been a recent increase in Cuban military equipment sent to Angola, South Africa also continued to boost its forces in Namibia.

Unita last weekend supported the claim that Cuban troops in Angola now numbered 60 000 and that the Cuban army was preparing an offensive from Cuito-Cuanavale against Unita-held areas.

The Star Bureau reported from Washington this week that State Department officials shot down Unita's claims.

### TALKS

A State Department official said US information was that the Cuban troop strength had levelled off in July, before the Geneva round of the Angola-Namibia settlement negotiations.

He said the "the supposed 'new intelligence' of Cuban arrivals" was without fact.

He ascribed the claims to nervousness on the eve of the new round of peace talks in Barazzaville.

# Peace talks snag on the hook of 'disinformation'

Peace talks on Angola and Namibia reopened in Brazzaville yesterday but rapidly bogged down in debate about South African reports of a new Cuban military build-up in Angola.

This news came as the State President, Mr P W Botha, warned in Bloemfontein that a large-scale build-up of Cuban troops and weaponry in Angola would be a breach of the agreements made in New York and Geneva.

### True and false

Negotiators from South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the United States acting as mediator, began yesterday's sixth round of the talks by holding a series of bilateral meetings in a bid to clear the air of the controversy.

"There's been some disinformation going on ... they're going to have to thrash out what is true and what is false about the reported Cuban build-up," said a source at the talks who asked not to be named.

Angola's chief negotiator, General Antonio dos Santos Franca, known as "Ndalú", dismissed the South African fears as fantasies based on media, not intelligence, reports.

Contacts were being arranged between Cuban and South African military experts in Brazzaville to study the

issue, delegates said.

Only two days have been scheduled for the current round of talks, with the South African negotiating team, led by Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden, planning to leave for home this afternoon.

Many political analysts doubted whether, given today's slow start, this was enough time for the parties to reach an accord. But General Franca told reporters: "If there are concrete proposals, it's more than enough time."

In Bloemfontein, President Botha, winding up the Free State National Party congress, said that, if the report of a Cuban military build-up were true, there had been a breach of the agreement between South Africa on the one hand and Angola and Cuba on the other.

Mr Botha said the link between the implementation of Resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal had been formally recognised but that a fair and realistic balance would have to be found between the timescale of Cuban withdrawal and the implementation of Resolution 435.

Other important matters still on the agenda were the presence of ANC terrorist camps in Angola, he added.



# SA fears a 'fantasy'

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — Peace talks on Angola and Namibia reopened here yesterday but rapidly bogged down in debate about South African reports of a new Cuban military build-up in Angola, conference sources said.

Negotiators from South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the United States acting as mediator, held a series of bilateral meetings in the morning in a bid to clear the air of controversy over an alleged reinforcement of the Cuban military contingent in Angola.

Angola's chief negotiator, armed forces Chief of Staff Antonio dos Santos Franca, dismissed the South African fears as fantasies based on press, not intelligence, reports.

"There's been some disinformation going on... They're going to have to thrash out what is true and what is false about the reported Cuban-build-up," said a source at the talks.

This is the sixth-round of the talks, which began in May.

The negotiators are seeking agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. But only days before the talks resumed, South Africa said Cuba had sent into Angola military equipment and 10 000 men in addition to an estimated 50 000 already there.

## Talks falter

## On new 'Cuban build-up' claim

The US State Department has said there had been a recent increase of Cuban military supplies to Angola but that there was no evidence of a troop build-up.

Contacts were being arranged between Cuban and South African military experts in Brazzaville to study the issue, delegates said.

The debate was preventing negotiators from tackling the issue of the Cuban troop withdrawal and some delegates expressed doubt whether agreement could be reached in time to allow a United Nations plan for the independence of South African-ruled Namibia to go into effect as planned on November 1.

Only two days have been scheduled for the current round of talks, with the South African negotiating team led by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden planning to leave for home this afternoon.

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But General Franca told reporters: "If there are concrete proposals, it's more than enough time."

Angola and Cuba have together formally proposed a 36-month period for Cuban troops to pull out of Angola.

South Africa has been seeking a much shorter period to match the seven-month duration of the UN Resolution 435/78, which includes a South African troop withdrawal from Namibia and a pre-independence election.

Concentrating the minds of the negotiators in Brazzaville is the knowledge that collapse of the talks could threaten a one-month-old ceasefire being observed on the Angolan-Namibian frontier by South African and Angolan and Cuban forces.

Watching but not taking part in the talks in the Congolese capital were the UN's special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, Moscow's top Southern Africa expert, Mr Viadlin Vasev, and Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, a senior Swapo member. — Sapa-Reuter

## Unita to accept MPLA?

**LISBON.** — Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, would be prepared to work under Angolan president Mr Eduardo dos Santos, provided democratic elections were held following any peace agreement in the Southern African country, news reports here said yesterday.

"I am prepared to work under orders of Eduardo dos Santos. I would accept a position of second, third, fourth place, it doesn't matter to me," said Dr Savimbi in an interview.

The rebel leader added: "I set one condition — that elections will be realized within a period agreed on by Unita, MPLA, FNLA and other patriotic forces."

"There will have to be a guarantee, respected by the signatories — Unita, MPLA and FNLA, that the elections will be democratic," Dr Savimbi said. — Sapa-AP

## Swapo pledged to 'war'

**HARARE.** — The South West African People's Organization (Swapo) has vowed to intensify the war of liberation in Namibia if a political solution is not found.

Swapo's president, Mr Sam Nujoma, said in Luanda at the weekend that his organization would make sure that the more than 100 years of suffering, exploitation and oppression of Namibians came to an end.

Mr Nujoma accused South Africa of not having been willing to grant Namibia its independence peacefully, but also expressed hope that the seventh round of talks currently being held in Brazzaville would be successful. — Sapa

ARGUS 8/9/88

# Peace talks bogged down by debate on Cuban troops

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — Efforts to find a peace settlement in south-western Africa have become bogged down in a debate over reports of a fresh Cuban military build-up in Angola, diplomats say.

"There seems to be a crisis of confidence building up," one diplomat, who asked not to be named, said yesterday after the first day of the latest round of talks produced little progress.

Negotiators from South Africa, Angola and Cuba — with US officials acting as mediators — failed to make headway on the central problem of setting a timetable for withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Instead, the diplomats said, the talks in the Congolese capital Brazzaville became distracted by reports of a new buildup of Cuban troops and

military hardware in Angola.

Angola has dismissed the reports as "fantasies". Reports in the US and South African Press alleged the Cuban force in Angola was being raised to 60 000 men from 50 000.

The three parties and the US mediators met for about an hour yesterday after discussing the reports of Cuban reinforcements in bilateral meetings. But the full session was cut short when the South Africans left for separate consultations.

Conference sources said the South Africans were apparently angry about a surprise move by the Angolans and Cubans to raise the issue of Walvis Bay, a port in Namibia.

South Africa claims sovereignty over the strategic port even after Namibia becomes independent under a United Nations plan due to start on November 1.

● A large-scale build-up of Cuban troops and weaponry in Angola would be a breach of the agreements made in New York and Geneva between the various parties involved in the peace initiative, President Botha said in Bloemfontein

Winding up the National Party's Free State congress in Bloemfontein yesterday, President Botha said that if reports of such a build-up were correct then there had been a breach of agreement between South Africa on the one hand and Angola and Cuba on the other.

He said the link between the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal had been formally recognised, but a fair and realistic balance would have to be found between the time-scale of Cuban withdrawal and the implementation of Resolution 435. — Political Staff and Sapa-Reuter.

SA-ANGOLA PEACE TALKS

# Unita in the balance

As the south-west African peace train reaches its first dangerous crossing at Brazzaville this week, reports of a renewed Cuban troop build-up in Angola threaten to derail the delicate process. Political observers point out that the "make or break" talks depend totally on a Cuban commitment to a phased troop withdrawal from Angola.

The build-up and the position of Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita forces underline the weak basis of the initial peace talks, says Stellenbosch Africa Studies Professor Willie Breytenbach: "From the beginning of the process I warned that Savimbi's exclusion from the talks is the weak link."

Breytenbach suggests that a failure to extract a commitment from the Cubans on their withdrawal increases the chances of the SADF once more going to the rescue of Savimbi. "Unita's position is an embarrassment and irritation to SA. It now looks as if we have forsaken Unita and I am sure that the men at Voortrekkerhoogte would not easily allow that to happen."

Like the Institute of International Affairs' Gary van Staden, however, Breytenbach does not see the troop build-up as a direct threat to SA. "I do not see us going into Angola again unless there is evidence of aggression on our border," he says. To go to Unita's aid at this stage would be premature on the part of SA; and possible aid to the rebels could yet be used as a trump card later, he reckons.

If, indeed, there is a troop build-up, it would seem to be aimed at Unita, says Van Staden. "September is the beginning of the dry season, which usually results in an offensive. I do not think SA would jeopardise the peace talks on Unita's behalf and, in the end, it will all depend on what SA sees as its own interests." Van Staden adds, however, that after 13 years of aiding Unita, SA may go to its assistance if it really becomes necessary.

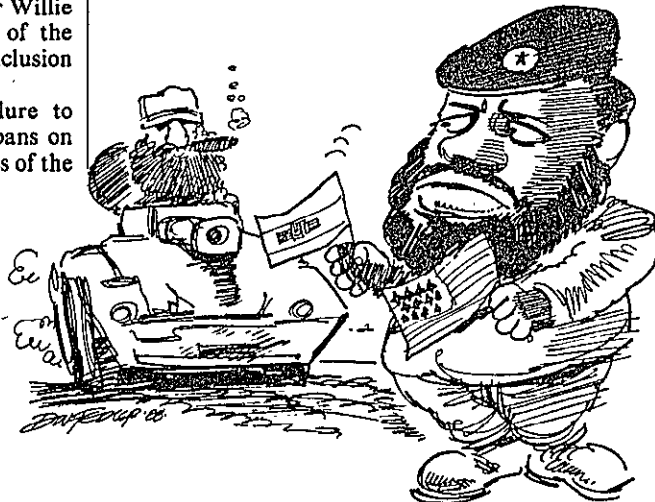
The Africa Institute's Richard Cornwall thinks the build-up could serve two purposes: "If the Cubans plan another advance on Unita's headquarters in Jamba, they would like to strengthen their position at Cuito Cuanavale. They may also hope to pin SA down opposite them on the Namibian border."

He adds: "A more dangerous approach will be if Fidel Castro has decided to have a last go at the South Africans. I feel that some of Defence Minister Magnus Malan's statements about the quality of Cuban troops may have been derogatory and counter-productive. That is no way to deal with South

Americans. The Cubans have the least to gain from a disengagement in Angola."

Yet none of the three observers is unduly worried that the build-up could wreck the current talks. "This would only happen if the Cubans act outrageously or launch a major attack on Unita," says Cornwall.

However, everything still depends on a commitment from Castro's men to a phased withdrawal. Cornwall says Pik Botha's



amazing (and premature) offer of a timetable now "looks like a stroke of genius instead of a piece of public diplomacy." It places the Angolans and the Cubans on the spot, he reckons. He thinks a period of three years for the withdrawal (instead of the 12 to 18 months as envisaged by SA, or the four years proposed by the Cubans) could be a compromise — "but it will not work unless it also includes a phased withdrawal from the border beyond certain parallels."

Mike Hough of the University of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies says action against Unita, especially with support from Cuba, may entice SA to cross the border again. "Another factor threatening the peace process will be continuing Swapo attacks or an unrealistic timetable for withdrawal by the Cubans."

But, says Hough, the negotiations have progressed so far and all parties have accepted their importance, so that any such incidents may only delay the process. "Only a full-scale invasion of SA into Angola and the total ignoring by Swapo of the ceasefire will wreck the core of the peace talks."

There is agreement that SA is serious about the peace process and eventual independence for Namibia. Van Staden is, however, less optimistic about the chances of success. "It seems there are a few snags

creeping in. I'm not sure that certain allegations from SA's side are all that necessary. It looks as if they may try to slow the pace of the negotiations.

"However, the bottom line is SA's intention to get out of Namibia. The slowing down process may be for domestic consumption."

Cornwall agrees: "SA's position is very tricky. They have to sell their own withdrawal and Namibia's independence to the public.

And Malan may be trying to keep up the morale."

But, Cornwall warns, anything can go wrong and derail the talks; although the whole process has gone further than ever before, the situation is very fluid. "Fortunately, the Americans and Soviets have so far acted very responsibly. A lot will also depend on pressures for Cuban withdrawal from other African states."

A lot will also depend on Pretoria's commitment. Addressing the Independent Party's congress in Stellenbosch last week, Namibia's Justice Minister in the transitional government, Khozo Kozonguizi, had his doubts: "From experience, I know that SA's policies and practices in Namibia have been characterised by decisions based on force of circumstance and events which give rise to euphoria and high expectations on the part of the people in Namibia, only to dramatically change into nothingness — as if SA all of a sudden has come to the realisation that, after all, it was a dream."

Almost everyone hopes this may not be so again — but experience breeds vigilance.

## PARLIAMENT

### Hard Labour

Last week's disastrous one-sided parliamentary debate on the amended Group Areas Bills was only the beginning of heartaches for the ruling National Party (NP). After cold-shouldering Allan Hendrickse and his Labour Party (LP) on June 15, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis can now forget about any more compromises from the LP leader.

Hendrickse told the *FM* this week that he will not abide by his earlier offer of certain concessions to Heunis, made without the knowledge of his caucus. "He totally rejected the concessions I was willing to make," says Hendrickse. He would not elaborate on

9/9/88 PM

# Peace talks make slow progress

CMC Times  
9/9/88  
(5)

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — Tough negotiations over a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola showed few signs of progress yesterday and a South African negotiator said it looked as though the target date of November 1 for starting to implement a Namibian independence plan would be hard to achieve.

Negotiators from South Africa, Angola and Cuba and their US mediators began a second day of talks in Brazzaville after weathering a complex row on Wednesday over a reported build-up of Cuban troops.

Delegates at Brazzaville were anxious to stress that the peace process was continuing, knowing that a collapse in the talks could threaten the one-month-old ceasefire being observed on the Angolan-Namibian border.

But the slow progress of the negotiations, centred on setting a timetable for withdrawing about 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, has cast doubts on whether they can keep to their deadline for implementing the UN plan.

Agreement on a timetable for a Cuban withdrawal is the last major obstacle blocking a regional peace agreement that would incorporate Namibian independence.

Angola and Cuba have proposed withdrawing over three years but South Africa wants a much shorter period, closer to the seven months the UN has envisaged it will take to implement its plan for Namibian independence.

The Brazzaville negotiations with Cuba and Angola were continuing, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

Meanwhile, Unita said in Angola yesterday that they shot down a military helicopter and killed 31 government soldiers in recent clashes.

Unita, excluded from the talks, has said it must play a role if lasting peace is to be reached.

The rebels latest communique said 17 soldiers were killed on Sunday in an attack in the northern province of Zaire and 14 died in a clash the same day in the central province of Huambo.

Swapo deputy secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Aaron Shihepo, called on non-aligned countries on Wednesday to exert pressure on Pretoria to ensure it did not deviate from the peace process.

Addressing the conference of non-aligned foreign ministers, he expressed optimism that there was a reasonable chance peace would return to Angola, and Namibia would become independent "sooner rather than later". — Sapa-Reuter

# No breakthrough in talks

**DAVID BRAUN**  
Political  
Correspondent

THE latest round of peace talks between South Africa and Angola-Cuba has ended inconclusively.

The South African delegation under the leadership of the director general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, returned from Brazzaville yesterday and reported immediately to the Government.

The two-day talks were apparently conducted in a relaxed but serious atmosphere and although no substantial breakthrough appears to have been made on the issue of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, several ideas appear to have been put on the table.

A joint statement released by the delegations said all parties reaffirmed their commitment to November 1 as the target date for implementation of Resolution 435 and agreed to resume

## Cabinet to study complex proposals before next round

negotiations as soon as possible at a venue to be agreed upon.

The statement said the parties had noted that the understandings achieved in Geneva had been implemented, that South African troops had withdrawn from Angola by September 1 and that the Joint Military Monitoring Commission was functioning satisfactorily.

All parties expressed their intention to intensify their efforts to reach an agreement on the staged and total withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola as part of an overall agreement. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a statement yesterday the South African delegation had reported briefly to him, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and the State President, Mr P W Botha, soon after their return to Pretoria yesterday.

Complex proposals and counter proposals had been put on the table and it was logical the Government needed to consider everything very carefully.

Mr Botha said: "It can be seen as progress that the ceasefire still holds. South Africa has withdrawn from Angola amidst favourable publicity worldwide and constructive reaction from the UN Secretary-General.

"The South African delegation reported that a satisfactory agreement on the timescale of the withdrawal of Cuban troops was still being sought in all seriousness and that a further meeting may be expected so that the matter could be explored further."

Mr Botha said all the points President Botha raised at this week's Free State National Party congress in Bloemfontein had been discussed at the talks,

especially the question of Cuban troops (Mr Botha raised the questions of additional Cuban forces being pumped into Angola, ANC bases in Angola and the financing of Resolution 435).

South Africa would be seeking greater clarity on claims of a Cuban troop build-up.

In a statement this week Mr Pik Botha said the Cubans had given assurances there had not been a movement of additional troops into Angola, but merely the replenishment of supplies and rotation of forces.

Mr Botha also said in his statement yesterday the subject of ANC camps in Angola had been raised as a very delicate but urgent matter. Further discussions on this would still take place.

Mr Botha denied suggestions there was any difference of approach to the peace talks between the Department of Foreign Affairs and the South African military.

He said he and General Malan had adopted the same approach to the negotiations.

# No agreement on timetable

JOHANNESBURG—South Africa, Cuba and Angola failed in a seventh round of peace talks to agree on a timetable for withdrawal of Cuba's 50 000 troops, officials said yesterday.

The three nations failed to set a withdrawal timetable but did not break off the talks "and agreed to resume negotiations as soon as possible at a venue to be agreed upon", a Foreign Affairs Ministry statement said.

Earlier yesterday, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha met the South African negotiators returning from the three-day talks in Brazzaville.

Mr Botha told reporters a ceasefire along the Namibia-Angola border agreed on on August 10 was holding between Namibia-based SA forces and the Cuban-backed Angolan government army.

He said that the question of ANC bases in Angola and the financing of Security Council Resolution 435 were amongst the issues discussed. These issues would be discussed further when the UN Secretary-General visited SA.

Reuter reports from Brazzaville that the three parties adjourned with optimism voiced on all sides that they were drawing close to a settlement.

Angola's deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Venancio de Moura, told reporters that "we have come a long way and we are practically in the last stages". A joint communique said the sides would intensify their efforts to agree on a timetable for Cuban troops in Angola to withdraw northwards and eventually leave altogether.

## CALL TALKS 10/9/88 New talks ahead on Cuban troops

Mr Neil van Heerden, SA's chief negotiator, told reporters before leaving in Brazzaville that "we feel that this meeting in Brazzaville has again significantly advanced the process from the previous meeting here".

Agreement on a Cuban departure is SA's price for granting independence to Angola's southern neighbour, Namibia. The relative timing of the two events has been the main sticking point in six rounds of US-mediated talks started in May.

Details of the negotiations were kept under wraps by all sides but Mr De Moura said "we are slowly bringing our positions closer together in the direction of an agreement on a calendar".

Neither Swapo nor the Angolan rebels, Unita, are taking part in the negotiations and Unita's war against the Angolan government goes on. Yesterday's joint communique said further nego-

tiations would be held as soon as possible. Spokesmen on both sides said the next meeting would also be in Brazzaville.

Diplomats say that time is running short for preparation needed by November 1 — when all sides have proposed that the United Nations should set in motion its plans for holding elections in Namibia and guiding the territory, often called Africa's last colony, to independence on June 1, 1989.

But in their joint statement, SA, Angola and Cuba reaffirmed their commitment to the November 1 target.

Mr Van Heerden told reporters that "as far as South Africa is concerned, the date of November 1 is still on the table".

Mr Hidipo Hamutenya, a senior member of Swapo, told reporters after brief talks with Angolan and Cuban officials that the next round of talks could be decisive.

"I think by now we have finally narrowed the gap. I think that in the next round we can close the gap," he said. Mr Hamutenya took no direct part in the talks but was in Brazzaville as an observer.

The official Angolan news agency said in a brief report monitored in Lisbon that Angolan forces had killed more than 150 Unita rebels this week.

It quoted military sources as saying there were clashes on Wednesday near Cuemba and Munhango in Bie province of central Angola. — UPI

# 'Painful' choices for Namibia talks

CAT TAP'S  
12/9/88



**BRAZZAVILLE.** — SA, Angola and Cuba, racing to meet a target date for a Namibia independence plan, must choose between compromise or failure if they wish to reach an accord on the key issue of Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

Diplomats involved in the latest negotiations in Brazzaville said SA, Angola, Cuba and US mediators had managed to define, but not yet agree on, a compromise over a timetable for a phased withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

"We have been able to identify the practical outline of a compromise which will mean for both sides a tough and painful choice," one diplomat, who asked not to be named, said.

SA has demanded agreement on the Cuban departure as the main condition for granting independence to Namibia. The timing of the two events has been the main debating point in six rounds of US-mediated talks.

All sides have agreed that the UN should set in motion its plans on November 1 for holding elections in Namibia and pave the way to independence on June 1, 1989. But the diplomats said failure to agree on a Cuban withdrawal timetable would block the whole process.

Sources at the talks said SA had apparently indicated it was willing to extend the seven-month period it had originally demanded for a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Angola and Cuba, who had wanted the withdrawal to be staggered over three years, said they were willing initially to move Cuban forces northwards away from the Namibian border behind the 13th parallel, while the UN-sponsored elections were held in Na-

mibia.

Diplomats said the compromise under consideration was not a simple question of time spans but a whole multi-faceted package involving logistical, military, political and psychological factors.

One diplomat said the November 1 target date was of psychological importance and would remind the parties of a tight but identifiable schedule within which to work. "They know if they let it slide, they may not get it back," he added.

If the November 1 deadline is missed, the one-month-old ceasefire being observed by SA and Angolan and Cuban forces on the Angola-Namibia border could be threatened.

Swapo has also warned that the unilateral ceasefire it has declared in its war against SA would not hold if the date was changed.

Another factor in the conflict is Unita. Washington and Pretoria want Angola to negotiate with Unita but Luanda refuses and has demanded an end to SA and US support for the rebels.

The parties have agreed to consult their respective governments and to meet again in 10 days' time in the Congolese capital.

Angolan and SA negotiators were optimistic about the chances of success. SA delegation chief Mr Neil van Heerden said the talks had made significant progress and Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura said they were in the last stages.

"I think it is encouraging that the parties want to proceed expeditiously with the negotiations," the UN special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, said in Brazzaville. — Sapa-Reuter



(S) 12/9/88

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE ceasefire in Angola was still in force, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said at a Press briefing attended by the SA delegation on its return from Brazzaville on Friday.

The SA delegation met its Cuban and Angolan counterparts on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

Botha said the presence of ANC camps in Angola and the financing of security council resolution 435 were among issues discussed.

He said these would be discussed further when the UN Secretary-General visited SA.

The parties reaffirmed their commitment to the target date of November 1 for implementing resolution 435

## Ceasefire in Angola still in force — Pik

and agreed to resume negotiations as soon as possible. The venue for this had still to be agreed.

Sapa-AP reports that Unita rebels said on Saturday they had killed 52 soldiers and captured six others in three days of fighting last week.

Angola Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said an end to US aid to Unita remained an Angolan condition for a peace settlement.

Unita said on Friday the Portu-

guese authorities had threatened to expel its representatives from Lisbon.

Newspaper reports on Friday claimed the government had warned the Unita delegation to "neutralise" its public activities.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi responded by warning of "tragic consequences" for Portuguese citizens in Angola if his delegation was expelled from Lisbon.

'Brazzaville meeting decisive'

# Next round of Angolan talks 'might be last'

17/9/88. Hickey (5)

LISBON — Angola's official news agency Angop said yesterday the country's peace talks had reached a decisive stage and next week's meeting on September 19 in Brazzaville would probably be the last.

"The meeting, probably the last of the first series of four-party negotiations aimed at bringing peace to Angola and Namibia, is being seen as in the most complex and decisive phase," it said.

Officials of the four countries expressed optimism that they were drawing close to a settlement, Reuters reported.

The main stumbling block has been the timing of the withdrawal of Cuban troops in exchange for the granting of independence to Namibia by SA.

Unita, which has been excluded so far from the negotiations, said it killed 69 government soldiers in six different attacks last week.

A Unita statement said the rebels attacked army positions and clashed with Angolan troops in Cabinda, Huambo, Bie, Malanje and Huila provinces.

Unita has ignored the recent ceasefire

between Angola, SA and Cuba and has stepped up its attacks in a bid to strengthen its position in the peace process.

□ Swapo has also expressed cautious optimism over the current talks and the Namibian independence issues, reports ANO.

Swapo secretary for information and publicity Hidipo Hamutenya said that at the Brazzaville talks last week SA showed flexibility and dropped its demand for Cuban troops to leave Angola within seven months.

## Date confirmed

The last round of talks also saw the narrowing of differences which pushed the negotiations to a definitive conclusion, Hamutenya said.

During the talks, all parties confirmed November 1 as the date for the implementation of Resolution 435.

Hamutenya explained that UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar was putting together a UN transitional assistance group that would oversee the implementation of Resolution 435. He said Swapo was committed to peace.

## FALLING OFF

Production	Output	
	Pre-ind	Post-ind
Maize .....	700 000 t	250 000 t
Cotton .....	104 000 t	33 000 t
Sugar .....	84 000 t	36 000 t
Sisal .....	66 719 t	690 t
Cattle .....	4,4m	3,4m
Goats .....	2m	960 000
Pigs .....	1,4m	465 000
Sheep .....	350 000	250 000
Fish .....	599 100 t	191 000 t

accepted by the four parties to the talks — an agreement by September 1 on a timetable for Cuban withdrawal — has already been rolled back indefinitely. Last week's Brazzaville round again failed to reach consensus.

The post-independence collapse of the Angolan economy (with the single exception of its life support — oil exports) is virtually total. So too is the local management of such elementary services as do continue to operate in the derelict capital of Luanda (see box).

Threatened by massive unemployment, inflation, food shortages and a huge refugee population with an adult life expectancy of under 40 years, the vulnerable and largely incompetent MPLA administration has come to rely completely for its tenuous survival on Cuban troops, technologists and administrators. It is of little more than academic interest to apportion blame for this: right now it is quite unrealistic to demand the quick withdrawal of the Cubans, since that would mean suicide by the entire Angolan government.

So any settlement must provide time for the Angolans to let go of Cuban hands; time for the economic reconstruction of the country, to restore essential services abandoned during 23 years of struggle; and to resolve the outstanding challenge presented by Un-

ita. Anything else will simply see *e luta continua* — the struggle continue. It will prove as useless as the Alvor agreement of 1975 by which the MPLA, FNLA and Unita were rather naively expected to share the spoils of independence. And remember that this was followed by Jomo Kenyatta's peace-brokering efforts in the Nakuru agreement; and the Lusaka agreement of 1984. Nothing helped.

The collapse of the Angolan economy after independence is not well documented by the Marxist-Leninist MPLA, which drove its partners in the struggle, Unita and the FNLA, from Luanda in 1974-1975 — with the help of superior firepower provided by the USSR. Even the World Bank has difficulty getting such data from Luanda.

However, Europa Publications' *Africa South of the Sahara* (1988), and the latest

Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) quarterly report, document 13 years of lost opportunity. The fate of the coffee crop is typical.

In 1975, when the Portuguese thrust independence upon an armed and belligerent but hopelessly divided and unprepared citizenry, Angola's main cash crop and export earner was coffee. At 225 000 t, it was the second biggest coffee harvest in Africa. Ten years later, without skilled Portuguese husbandry, nationalised by the MPLA and harassed by Unita, output of the once thriving plantations was down to 14 000 t — 6% of the 1975 figure.

The saga of neglect and decline is continued throughout the agricultural and fishing sectors, as the table shows (most of the post-independence figures refer to 1985, some to 1984). The upshot is that whereas Angola met 90% of its food requirements in the year before independence, only 50% was locally grown in 1980-1981 — and the percentage has declined further since. The cereal deficit for 1986-1987 — when for the first time Angola appealed for food aid from the UN — is put at 338 800 t.

Were it not for the oil revenues — currently running at plus \$2bn annually despite depressed oil prices — the picture of devastation would be complete. But since perhaps

### ANGOLA

# If wishes were horses

■ Peace remains a long way off. And perhaps Luanda doesn't want it

After the initial flurry of excitement, the talks designed to bring peace to south-western Africa have lost momentum. The reason can be found in the economic and political destitution into which Angola has sunk over

the past 13 years of civil war, foreign intervention and economic mismanagement.

It is a decline that has simply gone too far to allow a "settlement" to be easily conjured up from the superpower hat. Even a cursory

glance at Angola's economic, social and security predicaments should make that plain — and challenge the unrealistic pace with which peace is being pursued.

The first of several unreasonable deadlines

P. T. O.

half of all government income is spent on the war, and an unknown percentage wasted on loss-making State enterprises, the potential benefit to the economy from these revenues is being squandered.

One of the principal reasons for the MPLA's reluctance to commit itself to peace without a viable internal programme of economic reconstruction is the fact that Unita remains a factor — ready to exploit any opportunity which the economic malaise may present. Ready to sabotage, at that. Luanda may not yet be a city under siege, but could well become so.

The history of the struggle and the considerable ideological differences which divide them suggests the MPLA and Unita would make uncomfortable partners — if partners at all — in a government of national unity.

But the fact remains that the MPLA is under enormous international pressure to negotiate just such a compromise. On August 11, three days after the ceasefire on Angola's southern border became effective — and the quadripartite talks began to wrestle with a timetable for Cuban withdrawal — Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamshin said at a press briefing in Moscow that the MPLA should start a dialogue with Unita, without which "the negotiations . . . will



**Inherited . . . squatters in abandoned coffee factory**

be placed in jeopardy."

A few weeks earlier, in Harare, Cuban Politburo member responsible for African affairs, Jorge Risquet, told journalists he believed the MPLA and Unita would be able to settle their differences once foreign aid to Unita was ended. He was confident this would happen.

For its part, the US is emphatic that "reconciliation" talks must take place between the MPLA and Unita — and has taken steps to bring them about. The stick

was most visibly deployed during joint military exercises undertaken by elite US and Zairean forces in Shaba near the border with Angola from May 2 to 12. In Luanda there were claims that Unita participated — and there have also been repeated allegations that Unita is regrouping to the north and perhaps into Zaire itself.

The message to the MPLA is clear: talk or else. And if it was essentially superpower pressure which brought SA, Angola and Cuba to the negotiating table in the first place, why should the selfsame pressure not bring the MPLA and Unita together?

The EIU report says peace in Angola is a *sine qua non* for economic reconstruction. That proposition could be turned around — economic reconstruction is a *sine qua non* of a return to peace.

The danger, however, is that south-western Africa's international midwives may pluck an untimely agreement from the talks which may satisfy them — but leave the power balance in the region unresolved and the economic powder keg smouldering.

The challenge facing SA as much as Angola is to see that the talks serve the interests of the region, rather than those of the superpowers and Cuba. And that may be an impossible task.

5  
by  
16/9/88

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## Paper perestroika

The Angolan government has embarked on a delicate ideological egg dance to reform its ailing economy. There can be little doubt that prescriptions required from the International Monetary Fund as a pre-condition for aid to resolving its external debt (around US\$4bn), together with rocketing inflation, unemployment and food shortages, have combined to force the ideologues in the MPLA to defer to the pragmatists. But the exercise is fraught with political risk.

The party remains unsure of its power base. Although the six laws giving expression to "SEF" (Sancameto Economico e Financeiro, or New Economic Recovery Programme), were passed in February this year, they were only published in June and no copies are available to the press.

A summary made by a foreign diplomat of the five main laws, however, provides some insight into the tentative experiment with liberating the economy and allowing some form of private enterprise.

A new law on foreign investments, for instance, which replaces a statute passed in 1979, allows the Council of Ministers in the MPLA government the leeway to approve certain exceptions to the rule that defence, education, health, telecommunications, ports and airports and air transport remain closed to foreign capital. Investors wishing to make investments in areas "complementary or subsidiary" to these endeavours may now be able to do so.

The law also allows for joint ventures between private capital and Angolan State or private enterprises. In joint ventures with State enterprises (to be known as *empresas mistas*), the Angolan holding must be at least 51%, though the council may authorise certain exceptions. There is no such restriction on joint ventures with private companies (*empresas conjuntas*), nor are these restricted as before to export or hi-tech industries.

Foreign investors are guaranteed the right to remit profits, subject to authorisation from the finance minister and to fair compensation in the event of expropriation. Joint venture companies may seek internal and foreign external credits to finance investments, subject to the authorisation of the finance minister and the governor of the national bank.

In a preamble to the law on planning, the government states that centralised management of the economy remains essential. "However, the present system is excessively bureaucratic and centralised and disregards the mechanisms of supply and demand.

"The stages and methods of economic decision-making need to be modified and the

area of competence and responsibilities of the bodies concerned more clearly defined. Major reforms are necessary."

Despite the understandably woolly wording of such statements, the tacit suggestion that things have gone wrong and need to be put right makes for explosive reading in Angola. Small wonder that the legislation took five months to be published and remains shrouded in a certain degree of mystery.

And even so — who wants to go in on those terms? ■

# MPLA and Unita claim battle victory

LISBON — Government forces and Unita rebels yesterday reported fierce fighting just a week before peace talks are to resume in Brazzaville.

The official Angolan news agency Angop said the army had captured an area long held by rebels around Cangumbe in the central Moxico province.

"The region of Cangumbe, which has been occupied for five years by Unita, is now under the total control of the Angolan armed forces," said Angop, citing Defence Ministry officials.

Unita said in a statement, distributed in Lisbon, it had killed 123 Angolan government soldiers in a month-long battle for the town of Munhango, some 62 km from Cangumbe. Its own losses were 18 dead.

A Unita spokesman denied losing control of Cangumbe and said MPLA units there were merely part of a three-pronged assault on Munhango.

"We don't deny they are in the area, but this is just part of their offensive on Munhango. There is no such thing as complete control in a guerilla war," the spokesman said. — Reuter.

Assault on Savimbi's home town

# Big battle rages for long-held Unita territory

6/20/88  
16/9/88

LISBON — Angola's Marxist government and pro-Western Unita rebels yesterday reported fierce fighting a week before peace talks resume in the Congolese capital Brazzaville.

The official Angolan news agency Angop said the army had captured an area long held by rebels around Cangumbe in central Moxico province.

"The region of Cangumbe, occupied for five years by Unita, is now under the total control of the Angolan armed forces," said Angop, quoting Defence Ministry officials in Luanda. The area was taken on September 1, it added.

Unita said it had killed 123 Angolan government soldiers in a month-long battle for the town of Munhango about 100km from Cangumbe.

The next round of peace talks between Angola, SA, Cuba and the US begins next week in Brazzaville. They aim to bring peace to Angola and Namibia but have not included Unita.

Angop said three Unita units were

trapped near Cangumbe with little food or ammunition.

Unita reported the Angolan army, backed by Cuban troops and Soviet advisers, began an offensive on August 9 for rebel-held Munhango.

It said rebels had destroyed 10 tanks, several cargo vehicles and shot down a MiG-23 fighter in the battle for the loss of 18 Unita men.

A Unita spokesman denied government troops had taken control of Cangumbe and said the army units there were merely part of a three-pronged assault on Munhango.

He said eight Angolan army brigades of about 1 200 men each had tried to trap Unita at Munhango, birthplace of rebel leader Jonas Savimbi.

"We don't deny they are in the area, but this is just part of their offensive on Munhango," Unita spokesman Abel Chivukuvuku said.

He added that rebels pulled back from the town this week, after more than a month of fierce fighting, but the battle was continuing. — Sapa-Reuter.

■ From Page 1

bringing peace to south-western Africa.

In view of the latest developments the talks in Brazzaville will probably get off to a shaky start.

According to South African sources there is room for flexibility on the tricky question of a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

Until now, South Africa has insisted that all Cubans must be out of Angola by the time the elections for the independence of SWA/Namibia are held.

That would imply that the 50 000 Cubans in Angola would have to leave by June 1 next year, assuming the start date

for United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for SWA/Namibia's independence, remains November 1 this year.

South Africa is now prepared to allow the Cubans to withdraw over a period of one year from the start date of 435, provided that a substantial number, at least 10 000, are out by the date of the elections.

South Africa is also understood to be preparing to offer a compromise that if Cuba really needs 36 months to remove its troops from Angola, it can delay the independence of SWA/Namibia for the same period.

In other words, SWA/Namibia can become independent the day the last Cuban has gone home.

## WAR clouds are gathering again over Angola and SWA/Namibia as Cuba's intentions in the region seriously concern South Africa and several African nations.

Cuba's aggressive posture and a threatened major onslaught on Unita's Jamba headquarters in a part of Angola supposed to be a no-go area for Cubans could suck South Africa back into the country's civil war, diplomatic sources warned last night.

According to well-placed diplomatic sources, Cuba's central committee member in charge of Foreign Affairs, Mr Jorge Risquet, has blatantly intimated to President Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire that his country's plan for Angola is to drive out the South Africans, seal off the border with SWA/Namibia and wipe out Unita.

The current negotiations between Cuba/Angola and South Africa could therefore be merely a mechanism to buy time and eliminate South African assistance for Unita, diplomats fear.

Mr Risquet is also said to have told President Sese Seko that unless his country refrains from assisting Unita—the Cuban armed forces in Angola will also invade Zaire, thus spreading the conflict in the region.

This conversation with the Zaire leader, as well as statements from the Cubans and intelligence on the ground, has further indicated that the Angolan government forces are preparing for a major offensive against Unita with the full backing of Cuban manpower and sophisticated equipment.

### Blatant violation

According to diplomatic sources this would be in blatant violation of the Geneva Protocol agreed to by South Africa, Cuba and Angola in July.

Article 6 of the Geneva Protocol, which until now has been strictly confidential, stipulates that Cuban troops will not take part in offensive operations in the territory east of meridian 17 and south of parallel 15 degrees, 30 minutes, provided they are not subject to harassment.

However, according to sources, Cuba is currently engaged in major battles with Unita forces in the region about the Benguela railway line.

There is every indication, according to military sources, that these battles are in preparation for a major offensive from Cuito Canavale on Mavinga and eventually Jamba, Unita's headquarters.

This would be in clear violation of the Geneva Protocol and could scuttle the entire peace negotiations in the region.

The next round of talks between South Africa and Cuba/Angola is supposed to take place in Brazzaville in the last week of this month.

### Incalculable effects

One senior diplomatic source said last night: "Unless this offensive is stopped, the entire region could be pulled into a new war which would have incalculable consequences for the whole of Southern Africa."

Meanwhile, it is understood, 11 African leaders meeting in Brazzaville three weeks ago to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Congo revolution took a dim view of Cuba's continued adventures in Africa.

The leaders apparently told Angola President Eduardo dos Santos that now that the South Africans were out of Angola, he needed to begin a dialogue with Unita if there was to be peace and stability in the region.

Diplomats say that an African initiative such as this could play a decisive rôle in

■ To Page 3

by DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

# WAR CLOUDS GATHER AGAIN OVER ANGOLA

W/C AS645 17/9/88



# Cuban 'attack'

plan: <sup>CMC 7/15</sup>  
<sub>17/9/88</sub>

# Peace in balance

## Political Staff

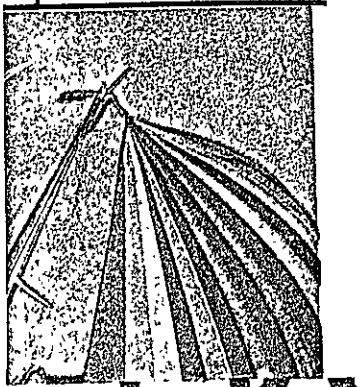
PRETORIA. — A planned attack on Unita by Cuban forces has thrown the peace initiative in the balance and opened a real possibility that South Africa could be dragged back into the war, a top government source said yesterday.

The source claimed plans of the attack had been outlined to President Mobuto Sese Seko of Zaire by a senior member of the Cuban politburo, Mr Jorge Risquet. He claimed the plan is to: isolate South African troops south of the Angolan-Namibia border by sealing the border; attack Unita and capture its capital at Jamba, and then possibly move on Zaire.

With South African troops already out of Angola since September 1, the stage is now set for the Cubans to move on Unita which, according to one source, will pull South Africa back into the war with what is described as "incalculable consequences".

The Zairean leader is reported to be "terrified" of the possibility of a Cuban attack after being warned by Mr Risquet not to get involved.

Another round of talks is scheduled on the peace initiative, but no date has yet been fixed. The SA government source said a timetable for Cuban withdrawal from Angola will once again be the stumbling block.



# Angolan war clouds gather

SPR - \$ 17/9/88

DAVID BRAUN  
Political Correspondent

**WAR CLOUDS** are gathering again over Angola and Namibia as Cuba's intentions in the region seriously concern South Africa and several African nations.

Cuba's aggressive posture and a threatened major onslaught on Unita's Jamba headquarters in a part of Angola supposed to be a no-go area for Cubans could suck South Africa back into the country's civil war.

This is according to highly placed diplomatic sources who spoke to the Saturday Star last night.

They warned that Cuba's central committee member in charge of foreign affairs, Mr Jorge Risquet had blatantly intimated to President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire that Cuba's plan for Angola was to drive the South Africans out, seal off the border with Namibia and wipe out Unita.

The current negotiations between Cuba, Angola and South Africa could therefore be merely a mechanism to buy time and eliminate South African troops for Unita, diplomats fear.

Mr Risquet is also said to have told President Mobutu that unless his country refrained from assisting Unita the Cuban armed forces in Angola would also invade Zaire, thus spreading the conflict in the region.

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TO PAGE 2

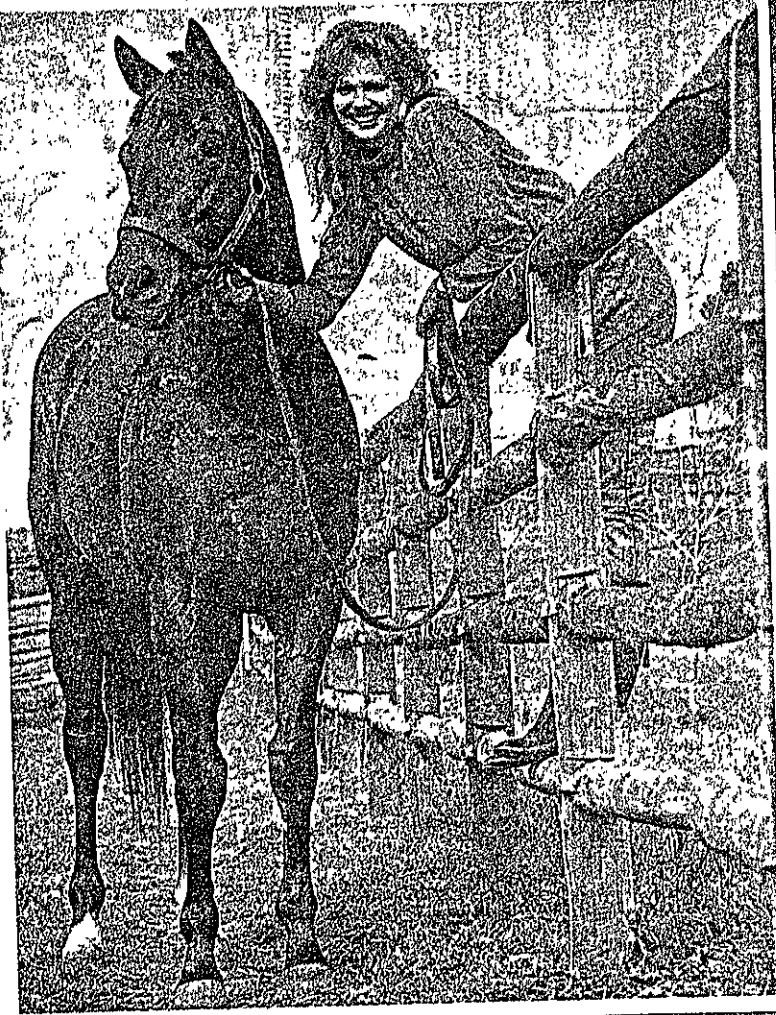
## The fair Cape's beauty and the beast

**STAR-STUDED:** Former Miss Universe Margaret Gardiner and US-bred sire Shoe Danzig, who is standing his first season as a stallion at Sydney Press and Godfrey Gird's Oakfields Stud near Wellington in the Cape.

Shoe Danzig, winner of eight races in America, is one of seven stallions at Oakfields which will next month become the first stud farm in South Africa to be listed on the JSE.

Shoe Danzig was one of the last thoroughbreds imported to this country before the Government imposed a 60 per cent surcharge on imported horses.

The surcharge is likely to halt importation of overseas stock which is certain to adversely affect the quality of racehorses bred here.



## Unit's urgency of education crisis

and one third of those who resigned were men

necessary

P.T.O

**STAND ENROL STUDY**

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# Cuban threat to Unita

● FROM PAGE 1

provided they are not subject to harassment.

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There is every indication, according to military sources, that these battles are in preparation for a major offensive from Cuito Canavale on Mavinga and eventually on Jamba, Unita's headquarters.

This would be in clear violation of the Geneva Protocol and it could scuttle the entire peace negotiations in the region.

The next round of talks between South Africa and Cuba/Angola is supposed to take place in Brazzaville in the last week of this month.

One senior diplomatic source said last night: "Unless this offensive is stopped, the entire region could be pulled into a new war which would have incalculable consequences for the whole of southern Africa."

Meanwhile, it is understood, 11 African leaders who met in Brazzaville three weeks ago to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Congo revolution, took a dim view of Cuba's continued adventures in Africa.

The leaders apparently told the Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos that, now that the South Africans were out of Angola, there must be dialogue with Unita if there was to be peace and stability in the region.

Diplomats say an African initiative such as this could play a decisive role in bringing peace to south-western Africa.

The next round of talks in Brazzaville will probably get off to a shaky start in view of the latest developments.

According to South African sources, there is room for flexibility on the tricky question of a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.

Until now, South Africa has insisted all Cubans must be out of Angola by the time the elections for the independence of Namibia are held.

That would imply that the 50 000 Cubans in Angola would have to leave by June 1 next year, assuming the start date for United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which provides for Namibia's independence, remains as November 1 this year.

South Africa is now prepared to allow the Cubans to withdraw over a period of one year from the start date of 435, provided that a substantial number, at least 10 000, are out by the date of the elections.

One senior South African source last night said South Africa had made all the concessions so far in this regard and it was now time for the other side to do the same.

South Africa is also understood to be preparing to offer a compromise that, if Cuba really needs 36 months to remove its troops from Angola, it can delay the independence of Namibia for the same period.

In other words, Namibia can become independent the day the last Cuban has gone home.

# Onslaught by MPLA: Unita forces 'mobilising'

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Reports that the Angola-Namibia peace talks may be jeopardised by an MPLA government onslaught against Unita have been followed by a Unita announcement that it is mobilising a third of its total troop strength to repel what it called a "massive MPLA offensive".

A Unita spokesman said in Lisbon the assault was clearly aimed at destroying Unita forces while the peace talks were going on.

His statement came in the wake of reports over the weekend — attributed to diplomatic sources — that Cuba was backing a major offensive against the rebels.

These were said to have raised fears South Africa could be dragged back into the Angola war shortly after having withdrawn its troops in accordance with the agreement reached at Geneva during the peace negotiations.

The Minister of defence, General Magnus Malan, said at the weekend Cuba and the MPLA government were using the peace talks to cover attempts to eliminate Unita.

## "Double strategy"

He accused the Cubans and MPLA of pursuing a "double strategy" by talking peace with South Africa and at the same time preparing an all-out military offensive against Unita.

General Malan said if the Cubans and Angolans did not want peace they would learn the same lesson as at Cuito Cuanavale, where they lost between 7 000 and 10 000 men and equipment worth R2-billion.

Speaking at the Harrismith Commando's 130th anniversary celebrations, he said South African forces were ready for "any eventuality".

Diplomatic sources said at the weekend Cuba had warned states bordering Angola not to interfere in a Cuban plan to seal off the border with Namibia

following the South African withdrawal and then wipe out Unita.

Zaire was said to have been warned it would be invaded unless it stopped aiding Unita.

## Special envoy

A Windhoek newspaper today quoted the United Nations special envoy for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, as saying he hoped to be able to move to Windhoek soon for the start of the implementation of the Resolution 435 settlement plan.

He said he would leave today for South Africa for talks with President Botha and would then carry on to attend the peace talks in Brazzaville between South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

He hoped to move to Windhoek soon after the Brazzaville talks.

● Sapa reports from Harare a UN spokesman said today there would be no immediate announcement from UN headquarters about this week's proposed visit of UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar to South Africa.

● According to a Windhoek newspaper Swapo insurgents in Angola are being trained by Russian instructors in the use of sophisticated bombs — including types which can be used to blow up aircraft.

## Sick SA doctor in Antarctic 'better'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African doctor in Antarctica who had acute appendicitis has improved considerably, a spokesman for the Department of the Environment said in Pretoria today.

Dr Fred van der Merwe, 26, the team doctor at the South African National Antarctic Expedition (Sanae) polar base, reported acute apendicitis at the beginning of the month.

"He is much better and has no more pain. He is up and about and able to go about his work," Mr Richard Skinner, a spokesman for the department said.

# Heavy fighting clouds talks

ROGER SMITH

IMPACT of MPLA-Unita heavy fighting on the next round of Brazzaville talks was cause for concern, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday.

He added one of the objectives of the talks was to allow the MPLA and Unita to reach an accommodation so that any pretext for a Cuban presence in Angola would fall away.

He said dates for the next round of talks had still to be announced. Sources said they might take place next week. Sapa-Reuter reports Foreign Affairs said on Friday UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar would visit SA this week for talks on Namibia.

These are also expected to cover financing of Namibian independence.

Perez De Cuellar's visit comes amid government's mounting concern that Angola and Cuba might be using negotiations as a smokescreen for a major offensive against Unita.

Reports at the weekend indicated fierce fighting last week, in the Bie and Moxico provinces, with both sides claiming to have inflicted heavy casualties.

● To Page 2 →

# Heavy fighting clouding peace talks

The extent of possible involvement by Cuban forces was uncertain.

Unita said on Saturday it was mobilising a third of its total troop strength to repel what it called a massive Soviet-backed government offensive.

A Unita statement distributed in Lisbon said the assault was clearly aimed at destroying the rebels while international peace talks were going on.

PATRICK CULL in Pretoria reports information on a planned attack on Unita by Cuban forces has thrown the whole peace initiative in the balance and opened a very real possibility that SA could be dragged back into the war.

A top source disclosed on Friday the Cuban plan had been outlined by Jorge Risquet, a top-ranking Cuban, to President Sese Seko Mabuto of Zaire.

The plan is to:

- Isolate SA troops south of the Angolan-Namibian border;
- Attack Unita and capture its capital at Jamba; and
- Then possibly move on Zaire.

With SA troops out of Angola since September 1 the stage is set for the Cubans to move on Unita.

# Kaunda may mediate for peace

## PW in African

5  
20/9/88



President Kaunda



President Botha

# move on Angola

By David Braun  
and Gerald L'Ange

Africa's most important leaders are taking the initiative to end the civil war in Angola and give Namibia its independence.

South Africa's State President, Mr P W Botha, is expected to play his full part in these new moves.

The *Financial Times* in London carries a report from Michael Holman in Maputo today saying that tentative plans are being made for President Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to meet.

This meeting may tie in with a summit meeting of several major African leaders in a new bid to end the Angola civil war.

The summit meeting, announced by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko in an interview with *The New York Times*, will be the culmination of many months of intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations among African leaders to take the initiative to restore peace and stability to south-western Africa.

President Mobutu said talks at head of state level had been agreed to by South Africa, Angola, Zaire and "its neighbours". Timing and venue still had to be negotiated.

### Unita reconciliation

One possible issue for discussion is a potential mediating role for President Kaunda in efforts now taking place to reconcile the Angolan government and the Unita rebel movement, led by Dr Jonas Savimbi, which is backed by South Africa and the US.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, who returned to London today from a 10-day visit to five African countries, replied to a sceptical journalist who raised the "apparent stalemate" in South Africa. Sir Geoffrey suggested that the "mate was not as stale" as his questioner suggested.

Diplomatic sources in South Africa have confirmed that high-level talks have already taken place at the initiative of important African leaders who now believe the time has come for a pan-African approach to resolving the continent's most pressing problems.

Senior South African leaders are understood to have made highly secret visits to various African capitals in recent months, including Kinshasa, and at least one African head of state is known to have made a secret visit to Pretoria this year.

President Botha's own recent official visit to Mozambique and Malawi, and the possibility of one or two more such trips to other African states in the near future, are all related to these developments.

### 'Heart of the OAU'

The African leaders involved represent a dozen states around Angola and up through West Africa. These also include Kenya, Egypt, Zambia and Morocco and, together, according to a local diplomatic source, they represent "the heart of the Organisation for African Unity".

The Africans want the 50 000 Cuban soldiers in the region to go home. They want the South Africans out of Namibia and they want that territory to get its independence.

Most significantly, the African leaders want the Luanda government to settle its differences with Unita, especially now that the South Africans have withdrawn from Angola.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, has substantial support in many parts of Africa.

At a recent celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Congo revolution in Brazzaville, 11 African heads of state are understood to have confronted Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos and told him that the time had come for him to start a dialogue with Unita.

The Angolan president is understood to have since written to some of these African colleagues to say he would be in favour of talking to Unita.

President Mobutu is believed to be one of the prime movers behind an African initiative to end the Angolan civil war and get the Cubans out of the region.

20/9/78

## Botswana starts inquiry into near disaster

# Why was Masire's plane shot down?

Star



**The Star's Africa News Service**

GABORONE — Botswana has named the members and terms of reference for a board of inquiry into the shooting down by Angola of the Botswana jet carrying President Quett Masire.

The jet was downed by an Angolan MiG fighter plane as it was flying over a sensitive military area on the way to Luanda last month for a meeting of Frontline heads of states.

Only brilliant flying by the British pilot enabled it to land at a military airstrip without casualties, although President Masire was slightly wounded in the back during the initial attack.

The terms of reference of the board are to find who, how and when the decision to fly to Luanda was communicated to Angolan authorities; to trace what

action was taken by personnel in the Botswana Department of Civil Aviation, the Botswana Defence Force, the police department, the Department of External Affairs and the pilots of the presidential jet in determining what route the president's plane would take into Angola as well as to evaluate the system of arrival and departure of the president.

Finally the board is charged with analysing the advantages and disadvantages of the president's aircraft being placed on a civilian register as opposed to the military register as at present.

The members of the board have been named as Mr Justice Isaac Aboagye, Mr M S Gaongalelwe, Mr Phillip Steenkamp and Mr Brian Popock.

The board is to conduct its inquiry "in private" and report directly to President Masire.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**AS United Nations secretary-general Mr Javier Perez De Cuellar heads for Pretoria tonight for talks with President P W Botha on Angola-Namibia, intense diplomatic activity in the region erupted on the eve of the resumption of the Brazzaville peace talks.**

Speculation continued that a meeting between Mr Botha and a number of African leaders would take place in the next few weeks to discuss the peace initiative.

Mr Botha's office dismissed the reports — in the London Financial Times and the New York Times — as "speculative".

Neither the Department of Foreign Affairs nor the British Foreign Office could confirm that that a meeting was on the cards between Mr Botha and various African heads of state on ways to end the civil war in Angola and bring independence to Namibia.

### Surprise visit

However, South African government sources were not prepared to rule out the possibility of further talks between Mr Botha and other African leaders, particularly after his successful safari earlier this month to Mozambique and Malawi.

Diplomats and officials in London were commenting yesterday on "the great deal of fluidity in the region" and the general desire among African states for national reconciliation in Angola. They said there were a number of visits and discussions taking place.

Observers yesterday noted that Mr Botha had been due to pay a surprise visit to Brazzaville earlier this year when a team of South African diplomats were in the Congolese capital for negotiations about Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence. The trip was eventually called off after the Cubans complained that South Africa

was attempting to extract political capital out of regional peace initiatives.

It is also known that a number of senior African politicians have made secret trips to the Republic in recent years for talks with top government officials.

Pretoria has been using a number of highly successful aid programmes as a means of extending its contacts with states to the north and SA government offi-

To page 3

# PWA's peace summit soon?

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# Peace summit

Officials believe that such contacts could pave the way for the opening up of trade missions and eventually embassies. South African diplomats yesterday also pointed to the recent 25th anniversary celebrations of the Congo revolution in Brazzaville at which 11 African heads of state apparently confronted Angola's President Eduardo Dos Santos and insisted that the time had come for the MPLA to start talking with the rival Unita movement.

A Zambian foreign affairs spokesman yesterday described reports of an imminent meeting between Mr Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda as "speculation".

Meanwhile, in Pretoria the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed that Mr Perez De Cuellar would arrive in South Africa tonight for a two-day visit. The UN's special envoy for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, will be in Mr Perez De Cuellar's party.

Mr Perez De Cuellar will have talks with Mr Botha. He will also meet representatives of Namibian parties and organizations in Pretoria tomorrow morning.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman in Windhoek said most internal parties had agreed to attend the meeting in Pretoria, including a delegation from the transitional cabinet, headed by cabinet and DTA chairman Mr Dirk Mudge.

Swapo is not expected to attend the meeting.

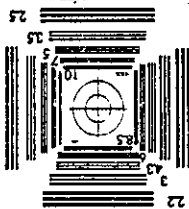
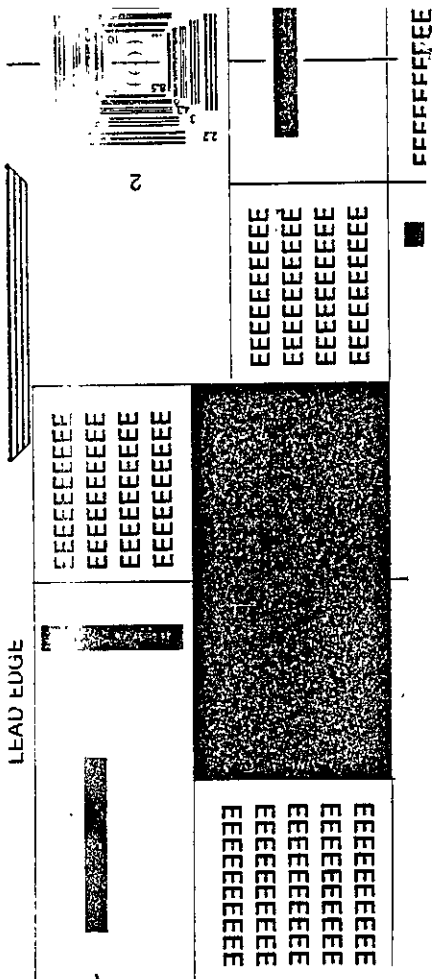
Namibia's administrator general, Mr Louis Pienaar, will have a separate meeting with Mr Perez De Cuellar tomorrow.

After his two-day visit, the UN secretary-general will fly to Luanda for a meeting with Mr Dos Santos. He is expected to fly directly to New York.

Mr Perez De Cuellar is expected to focus on the civil war with Unita during his meeting with Mr Dos Santos and to insist that the two sides come to the negotiating table.

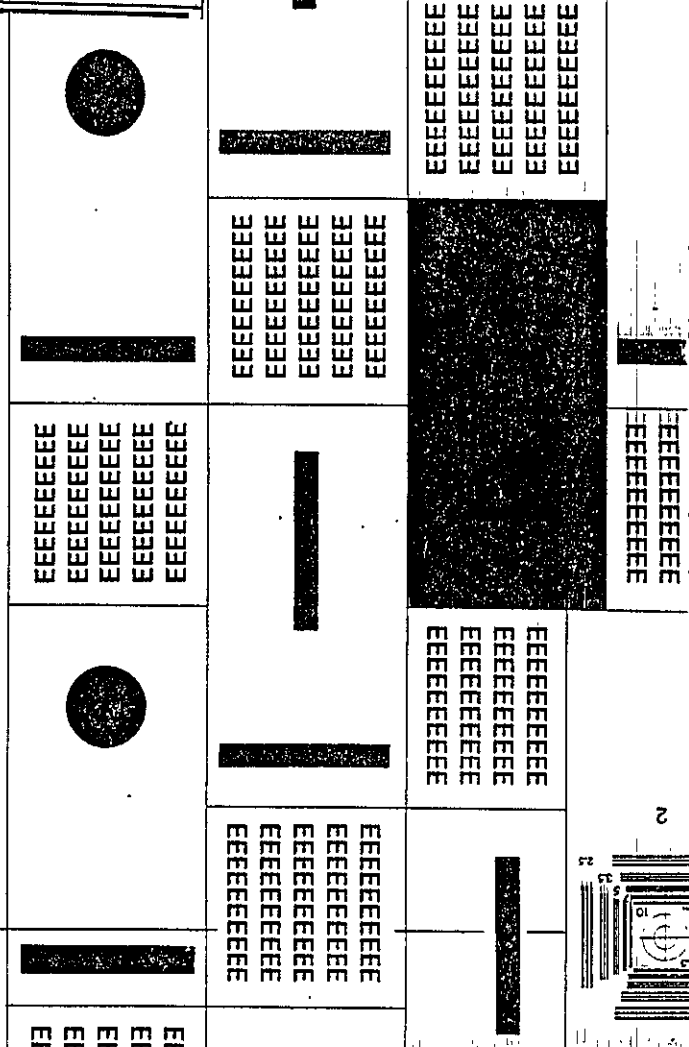
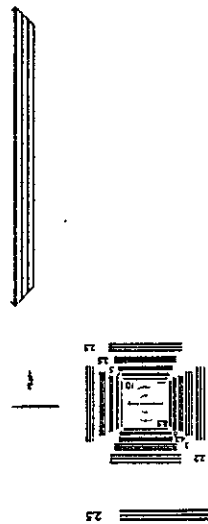
Sources in Namibia speculated yesterday that Mr Ahtisaari may stay on in Windhoek after attending the resumed talks between Angola, SA and Cuba in Brazzaville on Monday, which some commentators say are in deep trouble as a result of disagreement over a timetable for Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

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GM Times 23/9/88

# Angola claims new victories against Unita

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — Cuban and Soviet-backed Angolan government forces yesterday claimed major victories over Unita-held positions along the strategic Benguela railway line amid signs that Luanda and Havana were determined to rout the rebels before signing a final regional peace accord.

An Angolan defence ministry communique monitored in Lisbon said government forces had retaken the towns of Munhango, Cangamba and Cuemba in eastern Moxico province after fierce fighting in the first two weeks of September.

Lieutenant Colonel Joao de Matos, Angola's deputy military commander on the eastern front, told a press conference in Luanda: "The battles were very difficult and the enemy was well dug-in in the area. We killed 1300 Unita soldiers for a loss of 50 of our men and 300 wounded."

Government forces also claimed to have captured large quantities of arms and equipment.

Earlier Mr Alcides Sakhala, Unita representative in Lisbon, confirmed the fighting saying government forces had launched a massive offensive against rebel positions on the Benguela railway and in Moxico province.

He said Luanda appeared to be betting on a military victory over Unita rather than a negotiated internal deal.

He insisted rebel headquarters at Jamba in the south-east was safe and claimed Unita was making "considerable progress" with its bush war along the northern and central fronts.

The latest military confrontation

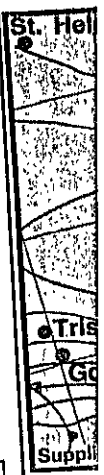
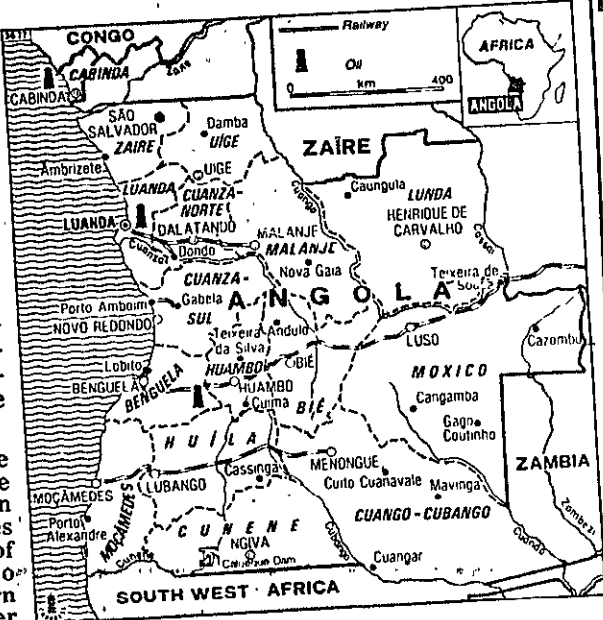
comes as talks between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States are due to talk again in Brazzaville on Monday.

This sixth round of talks is meant to hammer out a firm timetable for the withdrawal of some 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Analysts here suggested yesterday that far from fixing a date, the Cubans would play for time in the hopes that major military victories against the rebels could be announced before the November US presidential elections.

"Castro will probably only call his troops home once he can point to a decisive military blow against South African and US prestige, perhaps through an attack on Jamba," one Western diplomat said.

Other sources here suggest the rebels are in serious trouble, with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimibi facing challenges to his authoritarian grip and many war-weary younger rebels questioning the wisdom of continuing a fight which has no military solution.



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IN THE high-stakes poker game presently being played out in Southern Africa the enigmatic and ebullient Dr Jonas Savimbi remains the joker in the pack.

At first glance it may seem as if he and his Unita movement have been shuffled out of the deal, but all the participants still realise that when the aces are raised, Savimbi has the ability to become really "wild".

For without Unita there can really be no prospect for lasting peace in Angola, and without peace the Luanda government's total reliance on their Cuban backers will not diminish.

The 54-year-old Jonas Malheiro Savimbi is a survivor par excellence.

**Test**

Since forming his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) he has in turn sought help from the Red Chinese and North Koreans, had a brief flirtation with his former colonial masters, the Portuguese, and eventually found himself enmeshed in his present love-hate relationship with Pretoria.

But now the Swiss-trained political scientist is facing the toughest test of his 25-year bush-fighting career.

His movement has been conspicuous in its absence from the negotiations on the future of Angola and Namibia, and finds itself in the embarrassing situation that SA and the US have to act as its spokesmen.

His major sponsor, the South African military, had to withdraw south of the border, taking with them their formidable array of firepower, armoured vehicles and long-range artillery.

Stacked against him is a rejuvenated Fapla army still heavily

# Survival is the name of Savimbi's bush game

BH Saw  
23/9/88

supported by Cuban troops and logistics. Their morale is high after what they consider to be a military victory at Cuito Cuana-vale.

And deep down the Unita leadership experiences this eerie feeling that the sudden close cooperation between the two superpowers in Southern Africa may relegate it to an expendable bargaining chip, to be sacrificed in efforts to win the peace without any side losing face.

There are ample indications that the strains are beginning to show in the ranks of Unita. The once impregnable cohesion, bound together by a common loyalty to their charismatic leader, is cracking at the edges.

**Dries van Heerden**  
*looks at the role of the Unita leader in the regional peace initiative*



Rumours of discontent surfaced over the decision, taken at the behest of the SA military, to abandon their well-proven hit-and-run guerrilla tactics and to engage the enemy in a conventional battle at Cuito Cuana-vale.

The tell-tale signs of war weariness are showing in the south where the locals are becoming increasingly tired of being the subjects of occupation by opposing soldiers wearing different hues of green fatigues.

The close alliance with Pretoria is causing an increasing feeling of unease, and Dr Savimbi himself was said to be shocked with the hostile reception he received from black activist groups on his recent visit to the US.

At the same time the Reagan administration has embarked on a major campaign to wean Unita away from the South African influence and to make them more dependent on US aid.



The US is said to be strongly in favour of Unita shifting its headquarters from Jamba in the south to Quimbele near the border with Zaire. This would enable the US to supply Unita through their Zaire bases at Kamina and Kahemba.

From a military point of view this move makes sense. Unita has always been active in the north-east, but the main thrust of its operations has been centred in its ethnic power base and military strongholds in the Cuando Cubango province.

With the Cuban and Fapla forces rolling back Unita advances in the south, an escalation of the fighting in the less populous, yet strategically more important Moxico province, looks like a sound military option.

**Fears**

All these options presuppose that the civil war in Angola is to continue for some time yet, even if the negotiations do succeed in removing both "big brothers" — SA and Cuba, from the scene.

This week Savimbi reiterated his willingness to negotiate with Luanda about the formation of a government of national unity. Thus far these calls have been met with utter intransigence on the part of the MPLA — they would negotiate with Unita, they say, but never with Savimbi himself.

Some of their fears can be easily understood. Even if relegated to a relative junior partner in the coalition by the bland Marxists, it is very difficult to envisage how the irrepressible Savimbi, being "a good man", can be kept down for ever.

The odds still favour a continuation of the war in Angola. The only glimmer of hope lies in the possibility that the ravages of the conflict will induce sanity in the warring factions and force them to their own negotiation table.

So how long will they stay? Government says the choice is theirs. The Americans say they won't be forced to leave.

"The aim is to find a speedy resolution to the problem," says US embassy information officer Barrie Walkley. "But there have been cases where temporary refuge has become extended." The most famous case is that of Cardinal Josef Mindzenty who took refuge in the US embassy in Budapest for 11 years after the Hungarian uprising.

SA Institute of International Affairs' John Barratt observes that everything is speculative at the moment and repercussions will depend on what they demand and what they do.

"But I do not think it is enough to fuel a new sanctions drive and the sting has been taken out by government saying they will not be redetained. At the moment they can't really build an issue out of it."

So for the moment it is all more of a problem for the Americans — although it could be an embarrassment to Pretoria because of more publicity on security legislation. ■

## NAMIBIA TALKS

### The UN and Unita

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar may act as an unofficial messenger for President P W Botha when he leaves for

## N JAMBA

tems (that is, Stinger missiles). "Moscow has replaced all the equipment lost by Luanda's forces in the fighting last year and the current Soviet-inspired offensive is a clear sign that both Moscow and Luanda have changed tactics, abandoning the possibility of a negotiated deal with Unita, seeking instead a military solution to the conflict."

Sakhala suggests that the US election was a crucial reason for this changed tactic together with a Soviet wish to be in a strong military position on the ground in Angola before offering any concessions.

He refutes repeated recent reports suggesting that Unita was crumbling in the face of the first peace effort showing real signs of becoming effective. "Unita had fought its bush war for 13 years without US support and with only logistical backing from SA and was capable of continuing as long as necessary," claims Sakhala.

However, observers in Lisbon have noted a number of signals in recent weeks which suggest that the rebels are anything but tranquil about the prospect of being totally abandoned by Washington and Pretoria in exchange for a deal over the Cubans.

Angola towards the end of the week on the next leg of his diplomatic shuttle through southern Africa. Although the UN chief has no mandate from the world body to involve himself with Unita's fate in Angola, it can be expected that he will convey Pretoria's concern about the well-being of their erstwhile ally to Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

Former SA ambassador to the UN, Kurt von Schirnding, who knows the Secretary-General well, says the recent rumours of a troop build-up by the Cubans in Angola, as well as speculation that the combined forces of Fidel Castro and Fapla plan an onslaught on Jonas Savimbi's Unita stronghold, will be brought to De Cuellar's attention. "Other than conveying this message to Dos Santos, I don't think the Secretary General would like to get involved in this matter," says Von Schirnding.

The visit, which was due to start as the FM went to press, should be seen as a positive move, Von Schirnding says. "If he had any doubts about SA's bona fides, the visit would not have taken place. Not too much emphasis should however be placed on the fact that he is missing the opening of this session of the General Assembly — but one can safely say that the Secretary General's visit shows the importance he attaches to the peace process."

Von Schirnding, who now heads the SA Foundation, says SA is very fortunate that a man of such extreme integrity is at the helm of the UN at this time. Von Schirnding was present when De Cuellar and Botha met for the first time in SA in 1983: "I think they have a good understanding of each other," he comments.

Stellenbosch University political scientist Willie Breytenbach says the most important point on the agenda between De Cuellar and Pretoria will be the cost of implementing UN Resolution 435 for Namibia's independence. "SA wants to withdraw from Namibia because of the high costs of administering the country. If the withdrawal means higher costs, it may be better to remain there," he says.

Breytenbach agrees with Von Schirnding that Unita's fate will not be a bargaining point during De Cuellar's discussions with Botha. "Unita has not been included in the peace process in the first instance." Breytenbach has previously warned that this is the weak link in the negotiations.

But, at the end of the day, Angola cannot be detached from the Unita factor, he adds. "Unita will always form part of the fine print of any negotiations about Angola. De Cuellar will have to take notice of this."

A spokesman for the American State Department was earlier quoted as saying that they have no knowledge of a planned full-scale Cuban-Fapla attack on Unita. Breytenbach does not agree: "Although it is difficult to judge the situation from Stellenbosch, I believe the information which is at the disposal of SA. One can speculate that the Americans are busy playing their own little



UN's De Cuellar ... SA visit gives impetus to peace talks

game. They may not want to admit that the situation is serious."

Breytenbach says De Cuellar will also have to take notice of the diplomatic breakthrough which has taken place with the current peace talks. "At this stage, no finger can be pointed to SA. On the international political and diplomatic fronts, the past two weeks have been the best SA has had for a long time."

The diplomatic breakthrough may even extend further. The London *Financial Times* reported on Tuesday that tentative plans are being made for Botha to meet Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in an initiative to end the civil war in Angola and give Namibia its independence. The meeting may tie in with a summit meeting of several major African leaders, which was announced in an interview with *The New York Times* by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

A meeting like that, together with the visit of De Cuellar, could give some impetus to the peace talks — which have suddenly seemed to falter in the wake of rumours about an alleged attack on Unita. ■

# Angola denies <sup>CNN Times 2.4/98</sup> push against Unita <sup>5</sup>

LISBON. — Angola's defence minister has denied that government forces are engaged in an offensive against the Jamba bush headquarters of the Unita rebel movement, the official news agency Angop reported yesterday.

The minister, Mr Pedro Maria Tonha, also accused South Africa of falsely alleging Cuban involvement in government actions against the rebels to compromise US-mediated negotiations aimed at a regional peace settlement, the report, monitored in Lisbon, said.

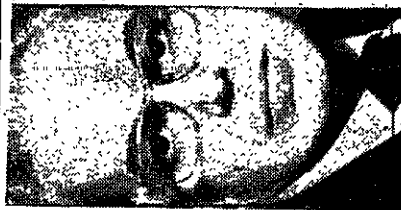
"We have no intention of carrying out an offensive against Jamba. It will disappear of its own accord because a time will come when the bandits of Unita can no longer survive," Mr Tonha told a news conference in the Angolan capital of Luanda.

Angola said on Thursday that it had killed 1 300 Unita guerillas in a campaign that led to the recapture on September 13 of the strategic central town of Munhango on the Benguela railroad. Army casualties were given as 50 and 294 wounded in heavy fighting for the town.

Mr Tonha said South Africa claimed Cuban troops were involved in the operations because it wanted to upset compromises reached in talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

In Washington, meanwhile, the State Department said on Thursday that, despite heavy fighting in parts of Angola, there was no evidence South Africa intended to send troops back into the war-ravaged country.

"Fighting continues to be intense in contested areas along the Benguela railroad, but there is no evidence that an offensive is under way against Unita-held territory in south-eastern Angola and we've seen no evidence that South Africa intends to go back into Angola," department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said. — Sapa-AP-Reuter



PEREZ DE CUELLAR

# Namibia African states

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**A SECOND front has been opened in a bid to involve African leaders in bringing peace to Angola and independence to Namibia.**

Cabinet Ministers of Namibia's transitional government have recently visited several African countries, in many cases meeting heads of state.

Their main aim is to get a meeting of all Namibian parties, including Swapo, where "the rules of the game" for the territory's independence process will be agreed on.

The move has, however, been greeted with suspicion by Swapo officials. Hidipo Hamyanya, the organisation's information secretary, yesterday rejected the idea of preliminary all-party talks.

A parallel, but unconnected, effort for a meeting between President P W Botha and other African leaders also made progress this week.

## Stable

The purpose of this meeting would be to promote conciliation between the MPLA and Unita in Angola, and to explore possibilities of more

## Swapo suspicion of new initiative

enforceably linked.

However, their fears were partly allayed when Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar said before he left Pretoria that he considered the two elements part and parcel of the same plan.

By LESTER VENTER

stable regional relations in southern Africa.

A senior diplomat said yesterday plans for this meeting could come to fruition "within days".

The Namibian leaders want their conference to take place before the starter's whistle blows for the independence process.

Their concern is that UN Resolution 486, which calls for independence in the programme of principles laid down by the western contact group, and the group's recommendations on how it should be achieved are not

## Potential

Dirk JUDGE, chairman of the Windhoek Cabinet, said: "We see the potential for a degree of conciliation in such a meeting."

Meanwhile, the South African diplomatic delegates were preparing to leave today for Brazzaville for the next round of talks with Cuba and Angola.

(S) SPN 26/9/88

## Withdrawal date to dominate new Congo talks

CAPE TOWN — The new round of peace talks starting in Brazzaville today are crucial for the retention of the November 1 starting date for the independence of Namibia, South African Government sources believe.

Even United Nations secretary-general Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar has described this round of talks as the key to Namibia's independence.

A delegation of South African experts under the leadership of the director general for Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, will be meeting their Cuban and Angolan counterparts in the Congo capital for three days.

Diplomatic sources said if the talks were unable to produce an agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, it would be highly unlikely that Resolution 435 could be implemented from November 1.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 provides for the independence of Namibia.

At the top of the agenda for today's talks will be reports of a new military build-up in Angola which threatens Unita's headquarters at Jamba, in the south-east of the country.

### WAR PREPARATIONS

Mr van Heerden said last night if one was talking about peace, it did not help if one of the parties was preparing for war.

South African Defence Minis-

# Cuban build-up causes concern

"They (the Cubans) stand in the way of solutions in Africa, and of the handling of African issues by Africans," said Gen Malan.

He said Castro kept his troops in Africa because there was no work for them in Cuba.

General Malan also warned that the South African Defence Force and the South West African Territory Force would continue to search out and destroy Swapo as long as it violated the ceasefire agreement.

He said Swapo was persisting with its deeds of terror and was not sticking to its commitment to honour the ceasefire. "As long as they act in this way, they will have to suffer the consequences."

Ceasefire violations by Swapo were reported to the Joint Military Monitoring Committee, "but we are still eagerly awaiting a denunciation of Swapo vio-

lations by the Americans", General Malan said.

He slammed Conservative Party allegations that the Nationalist government was selling out Namibia as "typical of a party that prey on political crumbs".

### DEMOCRACY

"It is in the best interest of South Africa that democracy thrives in Namibia," General Malan said.

South Africa was negotiating for peace in Southern Africa because it was in the best interests of the region, he said. "But we are doing so with a cool head."

"We talk because we are strong, from a position of power and strength."

Those who belittled South Africa's position would experience its determination and power, he said

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

ter General Magnus Malan said at the weekend the negative influence of the Cubans in Angola would be discussed.

He said a renewed Cuban/Angolan offensive against Unita would be contrary to the spirit of the peace talks and would stand in the way of Namibian independence.

This follows reports last week of major Angolan victories against the Unita rebel movement.

Addressing a Roodeplaat National Party rally at the Moot commando training area, General Malan said the peace talks would revolve around a Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

# SA to tackle 'new Cuban offensive'

Malan:  
Cuba plans  
Angolan  
offensive

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA delegation to the latest round of Brazzaville peace talks will tackle reports of a major Cuban military offensive against Unita as a priority issue when the negotiations resume today.

The director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, indicated that his delegation would take first start on the military thrust against Unita's Jamba headquarters.

"If you are talking about peace, it does not help the process if one of the parties is preparing for war," Mr Van Heerden said on the eve of his departure for the Congolese capital yesterday.

"The main focus will be a calendar for Cuban withdrawal. But we will also be raising reports about a push towards Jamba and the reported flow of Cuban and Soviet troops to Angola.

"These are things we will have to clear out of the way if we are to reach an agreement," Mr Van Heerden said.

The SA, Cuban and Angolan teams have agreed to set aside three days for the summit. A key figure will be the UN's official representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, who will be at the talks as an observer.

Although Mr Ahtisaari will give

no direct input, his presence in the corridors outside the talks is likely to impress on delegates the urgency of finding an agreeable settlement, with the UN still holding out for implementation of Resolution 435 on Namibian independence starting on November 1.

The UN has never officially recognized a linkage between the implementation of 435 and the withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola — SA's bottomline for a settlement.

## Stumbling block

President P W Botha said after talks with UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar last week that the Cuban presence remained the major stumbling block in the way of the Namibian settlement.

Significantly, on his departure from SA, Dr Perez de Cuellar described the Brazzaville talks as "the key to Namibian independence".

Mr Van Heerden said the Secretary-General's visit to SA had made it easier for the government to "sell the settlement" after repeated assurances of UN impartiality.

He said the parties would "resume where we left off at Brazzaville two".

"We will have to continue the

process of dovetailing towards a settlement acceptable to all sides. I think we all want to nail this thing down, but not at any price."

Dr Perez de Cuellar held talks with Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos in Luanda at the weekend after his two-day visit to SA.

His confidence that a settlement was imminent was undimmed after his meeting with Mr Dos Santos. The Angolan leader, for his part, committed his party to close co-operation with the UN.

President Botha and the seven internal parties who met Dr Perez de Cuellar in Pretoria were apparently well satisfied with his undertaking that the UN would not favour Swapo, which enjoys the world body's official recognition.

The government approved a visit to SA and Namibia by a UN technical committee in the near future. The team will investigate the practical requirements of the UN transition group.

Meanwhile, Swapo guerillas at the weekend rejected a proposal by the Namibian interim government for a preliminary all-party conference before the UN begins implementing Resolution 435 in the territory.

PRETORIA. — The negative influence of the Cubans in Angola would be discussed at next week's round of peace talks in Brazzaville, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, told a National Party rally at Rooodeplaart near here at the weekend.

He said there were indications that Cuban and MPLA troops were preparing for a further offensive against Unita.

"This would naturally be totally in conflict with the spirit of the negotiations in Geneva. There clear guidelines had been laid down for the movements and withdrawal of the Cubans."

He said South Africa had lost 31 men at Cuito, while the other side's losses ran between 7 000 and 10 000.

Swapo was continuing its terror, plunder, abduction and intimidation of people, and was not heeding its own declared undertaking to end hostilities.

"Who acts this way should be caned, and this is exactly what our SADF and SWATF are doing."

General Malan said, however, "we want peace, not conflict". — Sapa



# Zaire rebel group enters Angola war

Argus Africa News Service *Argus* 27/9/88

JOHANNESBURG. — In apparent retaliation for Zaire's support of Unita, the Angolan government has allowed a Zairean rebel guerrilla group to start operating from its territory.

Sources in Nairobi said yesterday the Congolese Liberation Party (PLC) claimed it had ambushed a column of Unita guerillas retreating from Angola on Friday.

Forty-seven men in the column, including two suspected US agents, had been killed.

The ambush was said to have taken place near the Zaire border town of Dilolo, on the Benguela railway line.

## BACKING FROM ANGOLA

The PLC said 17 of its men had been killed and two wounded in the engagement.

The PLC claims to have been active in the past in northern and eastern Zaire, especially near the Uganda border.

A spokesman said last month the movement planned to open a new front in southern Zaire with tacit backing from Angola, which is angry over Kinshasa's apparent continuing support for Unita.

Angolan and Cuban officials said recently Zaire should stop aiding Unita or face "serious consequences".

In the past few weeks there has been heavy fighting in the Angolan side of the Benguela railway line and Unita has apparently been forced to retreat from some towns it controlled.

## UN team to visit Namibia

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — A United Nations technical team, including military officers and supply and transport experts, will leave for Namibia by the end of this week, following the South African government's decision to admit them to the territory, a UN spokesman said.

He said the group would assess the requirements of the proposed UN Transitional Assistance Group that will help to prepare for UN-supervised elections.

**SOUTH FEATURES**

# Unita rebels inflate minerals myth

**HARARE.** — Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels use American and South African weapons to wreck Angola's Benguela railroad, the best export route for the Zairean cobalt used in American jet turbines.

With the Benguela shut, Zaire must export cobalt via South Africa. Therefore the United States depends on South Africa for cobalt and dare not impose strict anti-apartheid sanctions.

Convuluted logic like this underpins the Reagan administration's most effective — and most misleading — argument against strict sanctions: they would block US access to vital "strategic" minerals.

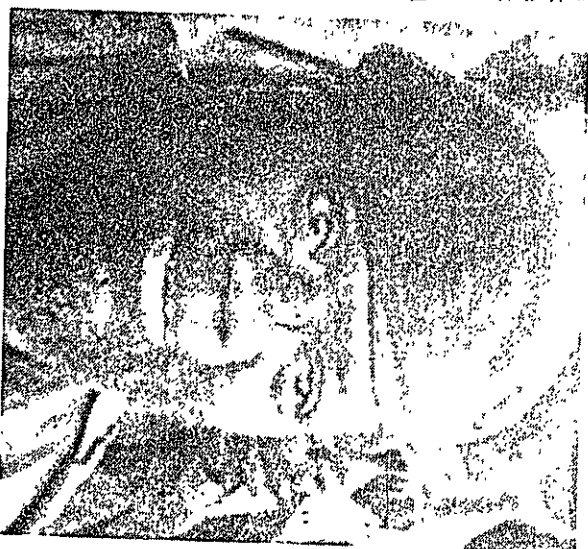
Last year, the State Department "certified" to Congress that the United States depends on South Africa for 10 key minerals. Heeding that claim, the House of Representatives exempted strategic minerals when it approved in July an otherwise near total embargo against South Africa. A companion Senate bill, likely to be debated in September, does the same.

Even so, South Africans wield strategic minerals as an anti-sanctions club, threatening to cut off supplies if the United States embargoes other products.

Yet Pretoria's and Washington's claims collapse when seriously analysed. The US government's own best experts contradict them, and part of the State Department's certification "is so blatantly ludicrous," says mineral economist Paul Jourdan at Zimbabwe's Institute of Mining Research, as to provoke suspicion "that the apartheid regime has significant support in the State Department."

A new study by Jourdan has vital import for American security because it shows how we can satisfy mineral needs without relying on South Africa's increasingly unstable minority government and strike-ridden mining industry.

Though South Africa's majority-ruled neighbours have valuable reserves of most of the



Jonas Savimbi

10 "strategic" mining products, Pretoria sabotages their production with a massive military and economic destabilisation campaign. This violence has cost the region's mining industry at least R9 000-million, Jourdan revealed in a detailed 1987 economic analysis.

Despite this sabotage, if all South African minerals were cut off tomorrow, the United States would find alternate sources with little or no increase in cost for eight of the 10 certified minerals, US and Southern African experts agree. Replacing South African chromium and platinum is more difficult, but even these can be sourced elsewhere at temporarily higher prices.

The best evidence comes from a study by the highly respected US Bureau of Mines (USMB) which says South African supplies are economically insignificant in the case of four

**South Africa's strongest anti-sanctions argument is its supposed stranglehold on strategic mineral supplies. In fact, US government data and new information from Southern Africa show that most South African minerals can be readily replaced. Given SA's political instability, the development of these alternative sources is vital to American security**

minerals certified by the State Department: antimony, asbestos, industrial diamonds and andalusite.

Though the United States does rely on South Africa for one special type of diamond used in secret military communications, a recent report by Congress' General Accounting Office notes that synthetic substances may be available.

Further analysis by Jourdan uses US data to show that South Africa isn't needed as a source for four other certified minerals:

- Zaire and Zambia produce more than half the world's cobalt.

South Africa is a net importer. Even while the Benguela remains shut, it must be emphasised, Zairean, Mozambican, and Tanzanian routes could handle all cobalt exports

- Manganese, used in ultra-hard steels, is also on the list, though the United States gets 96 percent of its manganese ore from Gabon, Brazil and Australia. Pretoria is important as a processor of this metal, and provides about one-third of US supplies of a related product, ferro-manganese. It does so, however, in competition with US smelters now running below capacity. If ferro-manganese is strategically vital, we should rebuild America's productive base and cut dependence on unstable South Africa.

- There is no possible reason for listing rutil, one of several titanium ores. Alternate sources can fully satisfy US demands for titanium, USBM says. US allies Canada and Australia are the world's top titanium producers.

- South African vanadium, which accounts for a mere nine percent of US consumption, can likewise be replaced, adds USBM.

This leaves the two real problems, chromium and platinum.

Alternate supplies can and should be developed to end the dangerous dependence on Pretoria. This American self-interest can be coupled with concrete action against South Africa through positive sanctions supporting mineral development in the frontline states. Zimbabwe has 84 percent of the world's high-grade chromium reserves. Doubling its smelter capacity would let it fully replace the South African product. Platinum reserves in Botswana and Zimbabwe can replace South Africa if new mines open.

Pretoria would be the only loser in such a programme of positive sanctions. US officials who ignore this option are, in effect, placing Pretoria's strategic interests ahead of our own. It's time to stop complaining about supposed dependence on South Africa and start investing in an anti-apartheid drive for independence in minerals.

# Cuban terms could stall withdrawal date

CAP F-15 28/9/88 (5) (2)

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — Hopes of starting a South African withdrawal from Namibia by November 1 began to flag yesterday as peace talks dragged on in the Congolese capital.

A member of the American delegation, which is acting as mediator between South Africa on one side and Angola and Cuba on the other, said yesterday that the situation "looks good."

But the South Africans, who have agreed to begin their withdrawal on November 1 if a deal can be reached to get Cuban troops out of Angola, say meeting that target is becoming increasingly difficult.

## SWATF continues with curfew

**WINDHOEK.** — The South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) said yesterday it had abandoned its plan to lift a curfew in Ovamboland because of continued guerilla activity.

The dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed in 1981 throughout Ovamboland.

The SWATF announced in August that the curfew would be lifted provisionally during September to see if Swapo guerillas abided by their unilateral offer to observe a cease-fire. — Sapa-AP

"If it proves difficult to keep that date it will certainly not be because of the actions of the South Africans," chief South African negotiator Mr Neil van Heerden said.

The date would be the starting point for a UN-mandated independence plan for Namibia

which calls for South African withdrawal over seven months and elections next June.

The key sticking point in the talks is a timetable for the withdrawal from Angola of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops, as demanded by South Africa before it

grants independence to Namibia.

The Angolans and Cubans are holding out for a three-year withdrawal schedule, while the South Africans are pushing for a much shorter time-frame.

Mr Van Heerden stressed on Monday that progress had been made and the November 1 date "remains on the table."

"Although the other side (the Cubans and Angolans) have remained firm on a calendar which stretches over three years, there have been adjustments in the programme which in a way alters the whole formula," he said. — Sapa-Reuters

APR 1978 28/4/00

# Koevoet officer flees to Angola

JOHANNESBURG. — A decorated senior officer in the counter-insurgency police unit Koevoet drove his family into Angola in a Casspir to escape charges that he looted canteen funds, police said yesterday.

Inspector Michael Hindengwa, 33, drove the armoured vehicle across the northern Namibian border at Ruacana into southern Angola at the weekend.

Police said the vehicle was fitted with communications equipment but carried no heavy weapons.

Inspector Hindengwa, a veteran of bushland battles who had been awarded a military medal for combating terrorism, was suspected of looting funds from the recreation canteen at Oshakati in northern Namibia.

Police said he fled into Angola with missing funds and stolen liquor.

Authorities are to seek assistance of a ceasefire monitoring group set up between South Africa, Cuba and Angola to have him and the vehicle returned. — Sapa

# Talks go

CAP- TUBS 29/12/88

# on after

# Cuba row

# with SA

From PASCAL FLETCHER

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — The peace talks on Angola and Namibia were on the brink of success last night when delegates brushed aside an earlier row to announce that progress was being made.

The complex negotiations between South Africa on the one hand and Angola and Cuba on the other will continue for an unscheduled fourth day today.

The US mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, when asked if progress was being made, said: "We think there has been substantial progress, but there is still a lot to do."

His statement revived hopes that the talks being held in the Congo capital could still make headway after an earlier row in which Cuba accused South Africa of blocking negotiations.

The head of the Angolan delegation, General Antonio dos Santos Franca, confirmed that there had been progress after the third day of the latest round of peace talks.

## Compromise

The US statement issued after a two-hour meeting between all three delegations and Dr Crocker said the talks, the seventh round since the peace process began in May, would continue today.

Sources at the talks said the parties were still trying to agree on a US-proposed compromise timetable for withdrawing the 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, the main obstacle to a settlement.

The compromise document drawn up by US mediators foresaw a two-year withdrawal period for the Cubans, which, if accepted, would mean major concessions by all sides, the sources added.

Yesterday's statement said the parties at the talks continued to demonstrate a constructive attitude at the negotiating table.

Diplomats said the statement appeared to be an attempt to dispel the earlier tension caused by the Cuban allegations which had threatened to upset the already volatile negotiations. Cuban spokesman Mr Alcibiades Hidalgo had described the

To page 2

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# ON THE FRONT

# PW's peace gamble

could be achieved during 1988, the 10th anniversary of the passing of the UN resolution.

By yesterday afternoon acrimony between the South African and Cuban delegations had abated.

"I think we're getting closer than ever," commented a Cuban negotiator, while a South African representative told reporters: "We're talking ... It's hard to make peace (but) we're trying hard."

The peace process, which began in earnest in London this May, has recorded some successes, notably a bipartisan ceasefire and a South African pullout from southern Angola.

But the unresolved finer details of the final Cuban pull-out mean the is-

● From Page 1

sue is as far from settlement as ever. As recently as Wednesday, the Cubans reiterated their long-held position — there is no link between a withdrawal of their troops from Angola and independence for Namibia.

And even if they concede on that, observers say the logistics of the pull-out — over and above timing — will prompt fierce argument.

The UN remains hopeful: special representative Martti Ahtisaari, in Brazzaville as an observer, announced this week that a 23-member UN advance team would visit Namibia this weekend to discuss budget details of the independence plan.

W/ Mail S [Signature] 309-6/10/88

# Botha's push-me pull-you summit gamble

*The hand of friendship  
in Zaire. The toughest  
line yet in Brazzaville*

PW BOTHA'S "push-me-pull-you" diplomatic thrust into Africa today is finely poised.

The South African state president is about to depart for Zaire and his first-ever summit with President Mobutu Sese Seko — in what is widely thought to be the precursor of a top-flight gathering of southern and central African leaders.

At the same time, his negotiators at the Brazzaville peace talks have reportedly adopted their hardest line yet on the issue of Cuban withdrawal from Angola: to the extent that the entire peace process appeared on the brink of collapse this week.

Botha's sudden flurry of visits to neighbouring states — for the first time in his 10 years of power — is seen as a way of strengthening South Africa's position in the tripartite talks on Angola and Namibia.

A Zairean official in Kinshasa confirmed Botha will fly to Mobutu's country home at Gbadolite, in north-western Zaire, tomorrow.

By next week he will have met face-to-face three African heads of state in the space of a month — and put across his view of the talks.

And, if a sub-continental summit does flow from the Mobutu meeting, Botha is likely to add Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, Botswana's Quett Masire and even Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to the list which already includes Joachim Chissano of Mozambique and Kamuzu Banda of Malawi.

## By SHAUN JOHNSON

Pretoria's longed-for role as regional "peacemaker" would be boosted by such developments.

They are clearly linked to — and even hinge upon — the United States-mediated peace process in south-western Africa. Nevertheless, the South African government is seen to be trying once again to seize the regional initiative.

Earlier South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha pre-empted the Angolan and Cuban negotiators by announcing November 1 as the target date for Namibian independence.

If it is indeed brinkmanship, on Wednesday the South African strategy in Brazzaville came close to going too far. So incensed were Cuban delegates by what they called "immoral, unrealistic and unacceptable" South African demands for a Cuban withdrawal, that they broke with diplomatic etiquette and issued a stinging public attack.

Cuban representative Alcibiades Hidalgo said Pretoria's delegation, led by chief negotiator Neil van Heerden, had brought the talks to their most critical stage and were effectively "blocking an agreement".

He accused Pretoria of seeking to mollify an increasingly influential

international diplomacy, Pretoria-style: the UN's De Cuellar meets SA's Botha

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

white right-wing at home before South Africa's municipal elections.

However, by late yesterday the talks were back on track — apparently rescued by a US proposal which would give the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops two years to withdraw from Angola. US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker was apparently instrumental in the intervention.

The Brazzaville session, which was to have been the seventh and final round in the talks, has not reached any agreement on the details of the withdrawal, however.

This means a date for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 in Namibia has not been achieved, and it is virtually certain the November 1 target will be missed.

Diplomats in Brazzaville are sure the talks will be adjourned again — much to the disappointment of the superpowers who hoped independence

●To PAGE 2



## Peace prize for peacekeepers

THIS year's Nobel Peace Prize has gone to the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces — the troops which could make an appearance close to South Africa in the course of the Namibian independence process.

The blue-helmeted members of the UN forces have patrolled conflict regions around the world for decades. Nobel Committee representative Egil Aarvik said yesterday he hoped the award would help them in their difficult tasks in the future.

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## ANGOLAN PEACE TALKS WILL BE RESUMED LATER

**BRAZZAVILLE** — SA, Angola and Cuba broke off their peace talks without agreement yesterday, saying they would meet again.

Sources said the talks had made progress and now focused on a proposal from US mediators which would get Cuban troops out of Angola in two years' time.

The talks ran overtime into an unscheduled fourth day and a joint statement issued when they ended

said the parties and their US mediators would meet again in Brazzaville at a date to be determined.

Asked whether they had reached agreement on the main issue — a timetable for a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola — SA's chief negotiator Neil van Heerden said: "We're not that far."

"We, on the South African side, are satisfied and I can confirm that the spirit was good."

It was the seventh session in a series which began in London in May.

The negotiators have been working on a US proposal which foresees a 24-month period for the pullout of the 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

In spite of their failure to reach an agreement, the delegations confirmed they were maintaining their November 1 target date for starting implementation of the UN's Namibian plan. — Sapa-Reuter.



# Delegation leaders to meet

By David Braun, (S)  
Political Correspondent

GEORGE — The Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, will meet the leaders of the Cuban and Angolan delegations to the current peace talks in New York tomorrow and Friday.

It is understood the low-key meeting of the three delegation leaders has been called by the convener of the peace talks, US Assistant Secretary of State in charge of African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

The purpose of the meeting is to see if the November 1 target date for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia cannot still be met.

Diplomatic sources say the South Africa and Angolan/Cuban delegations have



Mr Neil van Heerden . . . to hold talks in New York.

moved closer to one another on the matter of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Whereas previously South Africa had insisted all 50 000 Cubans in Angola must be out of Africa by the time of independence elections for Namibia (seven months after the start of Resolution 435), Pre-

torial later accepted that they could be gone by the end of one year after the start of the independence process.

Cuba and Angola changed their stance from 48 months to 42 months, which they said was required to phase the Cubans out of Angola.

Since then, it is understood, South Africa has accepted 18 months and Cuba/Angola 36 months.

A compromise between these two time scales is therefore increasingly likely.

South Africa is apparently demanding that the Cubans in Angola must nonetheless be north of a certain parallel by the start of Namibia's independence process, and even further north at the time of the independence elections.

A meeting scheduled for Brazzaville will apparently still take place.

# Angola: Key talks on Friday

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON.— South African, Angolan and Cuban negotiators are scheduled to reconvene in New York on Friday to thrash out final, critical details of a compromise on Cuban withdrawal from Angola, diplomatic sources here said yesterday.

The exact timing and venue of the talks are being closely guarded by US mediators who would not even confirm that the talks would take place. It is understood that the meeting will involve only heads of delegations.

A State Department spokeswoman would say only that the parties had pledged to stay in touch after the last round and "may use the opportunity of the UN General Assembly to meet later this week".

Sources said South Africa had agreed to a compromise two-year Cuban withdrawal proposal offered in Brazzaville by Dr Chester Crocker and was awaiting formal acceptance from Cuba.

The South African UN mission last night declined to comment on the talks.

## No summit, says Kaunda

LUSAKA.— President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday no African summit was planned in Zambia this week.

One of the sources of the original report was President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who met President P W Botha on Saturday. President Mobutu also said Mr Botha would attend, although South Africa later denied this.



## Simon's Town fire: Worker to be charged

By CHRIS STEVEN

A SIMON'S Town municipal employee is to be charged with negligently allowing a fire to spread and obstructing the course of justice following the fire in May in the hills near the town.

The final cost of the area's biggest fire in 27 years is expected to exceed R1 million, and legal experts said that, if convicted, the employee could be liable for civil claims.

They said the municipality could also be held liable for damages if it was found that the man was acting in the course of his duties.

The fire gutted 13 homes, left more than a dozen people homeless and destroyed more than 750ha of fynbos.

The attorney-general, Mr Neil Rossouw, confirmed that he had decided to



# Offer to Unita

Cape Times 6/10/88 (5)

## Angola's president says he will talk to rebels

ANGOLAN President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said his government is prepared to talk to Unita and even give the rebel movement cabinet posts in a government of reconciliation.

In an unusually conciliatory public statement, Mr. Dos Santos yesterday told the Paris daily newspaper Liberation that "our goal is to re-establish a just and honourable peace for all - and honourable peace for Jonas Savimbi as well."

"The important thing is to reach a political solution which is in the interests of all the Angolan people. But this is a question for the future," he said.

The president's remarks came as the Minis-

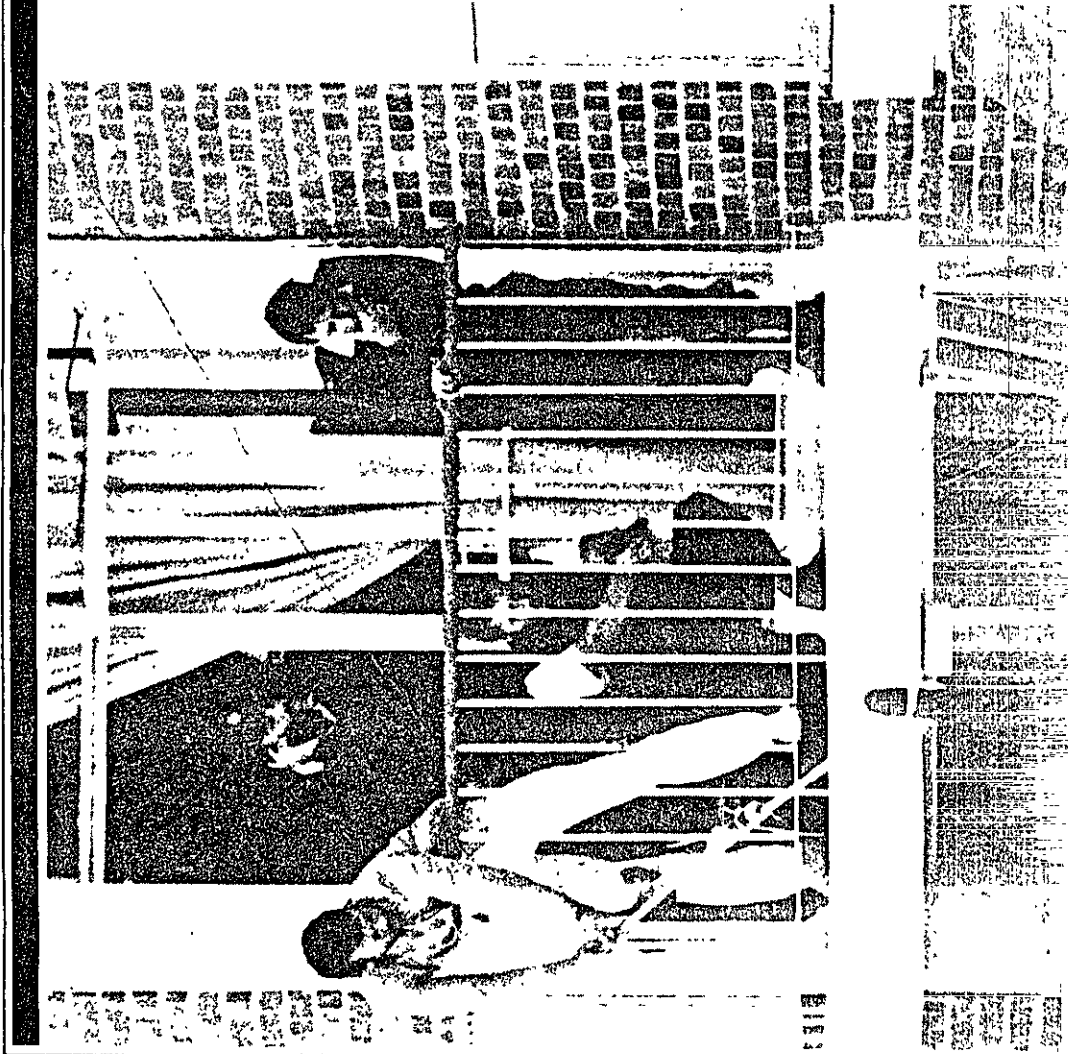
## Siege drama in Green Point flats

By PATRICK COLLINGS  
Crime Reporter

A DRAMATIC flat siege in the centre of Green Point ended yesterday when a young gunman was talked into surrendering to police.

During the three-hour drama roads surrounding the York Road block were closed to the public and police marksmen in flak jackets and armed with high-powered rifles kept watch from nearby flats and balconies.

At one stage four shots were fired from inside the fifth-floor flat where the man had shut himself, one of which ripped through the front door.



# Off

CMT hints 6/10/88 (5)

## Angola's president says he will talk to rebels

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In an unusually conciliatory public statement, Mr Dos Santos yesterday told the Paris daily newspaper Libération that "our goal is to re-establish a just and honourable peace for all — and honourable peace for Jonas Savimbi as well".

"The important thing is to reach a political solution which is in the interests of all the Angolan people. But this is a question for the future," he said.

The Angolan leader's remarks came as the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, yesterday lashed out at the continued Cuban presence in Angola.

### Bedeवilling peace

Addressing the Cape Congress of the NP in George, General Malan accused the Cubans of neo-colonialism in Southern Africa, suggesting that their final goal might be South Africa.

General Malan said the Cubans were bedevilling the peace process through delaying tactics.

South Africa, he said, had withdrawn its troops and had done all that was required to demonstrate its bona fides as far as independence for Namibia was concerned.

The key to peace and stability in the region lay in an internal settlement between Luanda and Unita.

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Malan's attack reflects SA position

# Govt suspicious of Cuban motives

Star 6/11/88

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The South African Government remained deeply suspicious of Cuba's motives in the series of peace negotiations in south-western Africa, a diplomatic source said today.

The senior source said the attack by Defence Minister General Magnus Malan on the Cuban role in the peace talks, made at the Cape National Party congress in George yesterday, reflected the South African position exactly.

## Out of pace

General Malan said it was time the Cubans demonstrated they were serious in taking positive action for peace.

Cuba was acting out of pace with the present easing of tensions between East and West.

He accused Cuba of seeming to play for time with timetables for the withdrawal of its forces from Angola.

The diplomatic source said Cuba's intentions were not clear.

South Africa had no choice but to send a tough signal at this stage of the negotiations to try to get a firm response in both words and actions from the Cubans.

It was understood today that

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

the participation of the director-general for foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, in a meeting of the peace delegations in New York is unlikely to yield any progress.

The South African view of prospects of progress appears to differ from that of the Angolans. Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said an interview with *The New York Times*: "We believe there will be a definite accord. We will do everything in our power to reach an accord."

The next round of peace negotiations will be in Brazzaville.

At the Cape Nationalist congress in George yesterday, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan made a stinging attack on Cuba for failing to play a positive role in peace negotiations.

General Malan's hard-line speech is a significant move by the Government at a crucial and delicate stage in the peace talks between South Africa and Angola/Cuba.

Success hinges on whether a compromise can be reached on a timetable for the withdrawal

of the 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

General Malan said in his speech that the Cubans were the disruptive factor in the search for lasting peace in the region.

He said South Africa had done everything on its side to achieve the progress so far made. In every respect it had demonstrated positively that it was serious about peace.

South Africa had kept its word and withdrawn its 3 000 troops from Angola. It had a clean and honourable record.

But the time had come to ask about the Cuban position.

## Bravado

"What have the Cubans done to demonstrate their seriousness to withdraw, as agreed to in Geneva, and to work positively for peace and stability in south-western Africa? The unfortunate conclusion is the Cubans have done little or nothing by way of a positive demonstration that they want peace," he said.

On the contrary, General Malan said, the Cubans were demonstrating an aggressive bravado which ran counter to the spirit and content of the peace talks.

● See Page 11.

# SA ministers warn Botswana and Zimbabwe

can't find  
6/10/88

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the general said.

But Mr Dos Santos made it clear in an earlier interview with the New York Times that Dr Savimbi would not be negotiating from a position of strength with his government.

"From a strategic point of view Unita is militarily defeated, and the weak don't dictate the political rules of the game," he was quoted as saying.

Speaking to Libération in Gabon, Mr Dos Santos said the Angolan government was prepared to talk to Unita once factors such as the presence of South African troops and the independence of Namibia had been resolved.

He predicted that an agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence will be reached soon.

Mr Dos Santos said the "problem of Unita" had to become "a purely Angolan problem to be resolved by the Angolans themselves".

The Angolan leader appeared buoyed by recent government advances along the Benguela railroad and said that without massive intervention of SA forces, Unita cannot last very long.

He would "not exclude" granting cabinet posts to Unita members, with the exception of Dr Savimbi himself, whom he described as "a special case".

He also ruled out any formal constitutional system to balance power between the main tribal groupings in Angola.

Meanwhile, Unita said yesterday it captured an important northern town this week, killing 30 government soldiers. It said Sanza-Pombo, 80km from the Zairean border in Uige province, was taken in a dawn battle on Monday.

In another development, Zimbabwe and Botswana were yesterday given thinly-veiled warnings by two senior government spokesmen that retaliatory action would follow if they continue supporting terrorists.

They were singled out at the NP Cape Congress by both the

General Malan and the deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus Meiring, as the only two neighbouring countries with whom relations were not improving in the current diplomatic out-reach to Africa.

Mr Meiring singled out Zimbabwe and Botswana as being out of step with other neighbouring states with whom relations had improved as a consequence of recent diplomatic activity.

General Malan lashed out at Zimbabwe and Botswana, stating, for the first time, that terrorist bases operate in both countries. In addition, he said, there were also bases in Zambia and Angola.

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe was at the forefront of the propaganda attack on South Africa and was now calling for sanctions at the United Nations.

"He says he does not trust the Boers. At the same time he trusts us to work on his railway lines for 24 hours a day."

Mr Meiring said that apart from Zimbabwe and Botswana, regional relations were improving and hardly a week passed without him, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, or other senior officials visiting some African state.

The "reality" of South Africa was getting through and, he hinted, President P W Botha would be making more trips into Africa soon as the government's outward policy gained mo-

mentum.  
"We have made very fruitful political contacts in Africa," he said.

He had been astonished at the ease with which the various leaders "found one another" during the recent visits into Africa by President Botha.

"If political rhetoric can be replaced by practical considerations the sky is the limit," he said.

Africa in general needed technology, expertise and experience, not handouts, and South Africans were all over the continent helping other countries to help themselves.

"Only one African country did not trade with South Africa last year," he said. — Own Correspondent and Political Staff

# US talks open on Namibia peace

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7/10/88

The Argus Foreign Service

(S) (Z)

WASHINGTON. — South African, Cuban and Angolan negotiators are due to meet in New York today to tackle differences remaining after seven rounds of talks aimed at independence for Namibia.

A principal problem is the gap that remains between the parties on a timetable for the withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Informed sources here said the Angolans were sticking to 30 months after first wanting four years, and the South Africans had eased their initial demand that all Cubans leave the country within seven months.

"They are still some distance apart," said a well-placed source, who would not specify South Africa's current offer.

"Negotiations have now narrowed the whole thing down to the bone," the source said. "The test of Cuban willingness to leave cannot be far off now."

Another South African concern is: how many Cuban troops will be left in Angola after independence?

## May keep 27 000

One estimate puts it at 27 000 Cubans still there after the execution of UN Resolution 435.

A third South African concern is how far the remaining troops will be north of the Namibia border in the run-up to an independence election.

It is understood that the Angolans and Cubans have shown a willingness to shift the Cuban forces northwards but not enough to satisfy the non-Swapo parties who fear that a looming Cuban presence nearby would inhibit free and fair elections in Namibia.

A fourth sensitivity on the South African side, a source said, was the future of Unita, which South Africa and the United States have aided.

It is believed that the South African government would find it difficult to abandon Unita to the mercy of Angolan and Cuban forces supplied with huge quantities of Soviet weapons and equipment.

## "Full-scale wipe-out"

"We just don't see peace emerging if there is a full-scale wipe-out going on," a source said.

"It will be a lot more difficult to reach finality on a settlement calendar simply because of the realities on the ground if the process of harmonisation between Unita and the MPLA is not started."

It understood this has not, however, become a South African pre-condition for Namibian independence. But South African negotiators Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of foreign affairs, and the deputy director-general, Mr Herbert Beukes, who arrived here on Wednesday, were able to read a New York Times interview with Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos.

Mr dos Santos was reported as saying that Unita could not last long without large-scale South African intervention.

His comments apparently aggravated South African concerns for an accommodation of Unita in some sort of internal deal on national reconciliation. A start to MPLA-Unita talks would, at least, improve conditions for the Namibian negotiations.



# Unita talks: About face by Angola

10/10/88  
(5)

By KEN VERNON of the Argus Africa News Service

**I**N a new development in the complex negotiations for a peaceful solution in Angola, President Eduardo dos Santos has for the first time hinted that reconciliation between the MPLA regime and the Unita movement may be possible.

The tantalising glimpse of what may happen was given by President Dos Santos in an interview with the French daily paper *Liberation*.

Asked if talks between the warring factions were possible, Mr Dos Santos admitted that they were, adding the rider that "everything is possible".

He said, however, that firstly the external problems of "South African aggression", the independence of SWA/Namibia and South African support for Unita would have to be resolved.

Under these conditions, the MPLA leader said, he would be prepared to negotiate an "unconditional national reconciliation" which would be "honourable" for the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

## "Bandit"

The conditional extending of the olive branch of peace represents a stunning *volte face* for a leader who has previously ruled out any contact whatsoever with a man he has consistently described as a "bandit" and a "traitor".

Interestingly, the change came just days after President Dos Santos had met presidents Omar Bongo of Gabon and Denis Nguesso of Congo in Gabon.

The meeting was reported to have revolved around the issue of internal Angolan reconciliation, and was but the latest and most open manifestation of a long history of pressure which has been put on President Dos Santos by other African leaders trying to end the 13-year Angolan civil war.

A summit meeting of Southern African leaders that was to have been held in Lusaka was to have continued that pressure.



Dr Jonas Savimbi



President Dos Santos

The meeting did not go ahead, but that may have been, as President Dos Santos said in the *Liberation* interview, "to give Jonas Savimbi time to think about it". He added cryptically: "He knows Angola."

Ironically, one of the major impediments to reconciliation between Mr Dos Santos and Dr Savimbi is the very success of the Unita leader. His high profile and charismatic leadership are seen a threat by the more dour MPLA hierarchy.

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But to a large extent Dr Savimbi is Unita and Unita is Dr Savimbi, and it is impossible to consider that the rebel, who has fought in the Angolan bush for the past 22 years against firstly the Portuguese and then the MPLA, will just step aside. Nor would he be allowed to do so by a Unita organisation that has virtually deified him.

Dr Savimbi has long denied presidential ambitions, once telling me that he would be more than happy to be "Minister of Agriculture" in any government of national reconciliation. "I've been in the bush for years; I know a lot about farming," he said.

President Dos Santos is unlikely to take such modesty seriously.

Apart from personality clashes, there remain serious and far-reaching political differences between the Marxist MPLA and Unita.

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While the MPLA has only recently peeked out from behind the stagnation of a totally government-controlled economy, Unita espouses the cause of the free enterprise system.

Acting against that are the interests and prestige of many African countries which are concerned that the Angolan situation is threatening their own security. They would like to see the Cubans back in Cuba, the South Africans back behind the borders of the Republic and superpower involvement in the area end.

The recent intervention of Soviet diplomats in putting pressure on the Angolan-Cuban delegation to keep the United States-mediated peace talks from breaking down indicates that superpower thinking may have finally aligned with African thinking on the situation. What remains is the ideological gulf between the warring parties.

President Dos Santos's conditional peace offer may be the first step across that gulf.

# Hint of peace between Dos Santos and Unita

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In a little noticed development in the complex negotiations concerning a peaceful solution to the Angolan situation, President Dos Santos of Angola has for the first time hinted that reconciliation between the ruling MPLA and the rebel Unita movement may be possible.

The tantalising glimpse of things maybe to come was dropped by President Dos Santos in an interview with the French daily newspaper *Liberation* this week.

Asked if talks between the warring factions was a possibility, Mr Dos Santos admitted that it was, adding the rider that "everything is possible".

## External problems

He said, however, that firstly the external problems of "South African aggression", the independence of Namibia and South African support for Unita would have to be resolved.

Under these conditions the MPLA leader said he would be prepared to negotiate an "unconditional national reconciliation" which would be "honourable" for the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The conditional extending of the olive branch of peace represents a stunning *volte-face* for a leader who has previously ruled out the possibility of any contact whatsoever with a man he has consistently labeled a "bandit" and a "traitor".

Interestingly, the change came just days after President Dos Santos had met, in Gabon, Presidents Omar Bongo of Gabon and Denis Nguesso of Congo.

The meeting reportedly revolved around the issue of internal Angolan reconciliation, and was but the latest and most open manifestation of a long history of pressure which has been placed on President Dos

BY KEN VERNON,

The Star's Africa News Service

After years of bitter and bloody conflict, there now appears to be a chance of reconciliation between the Angolan government and the rebel Unita movement.

## Savimbi's fame is a major threat



Dr Jonas Savimbi ... charismatic leader.



President dos Santos ... talks of reconciliation.

Santos by other African leaders attempting to end the 13-year-long Angolan civil war.

A phantom summit meeting of southern African leaders that was to have been held in Lusaka this week, but never took place, was to have continued that pressure.

The meeting did not go ahead, but that may have been, as President Dos Santos said in the *Liberation* interview, "to give Jonas Savimbi time to think about it" ... "He knows Angola," the president added cryptically.

Ironically, one of the major impediments to reconciliation between Mr Dos Santos and Dr Savimbi is the very success of the Unita leader. His high profile and charismatic leadership is seen as a threat by the more dour MPLA hierarchy.

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President Dos Santos's conditional peace offer may be the first step across that gulf.

Before tragedy struck ... Rebecca Malope, one of South Africa's fast-rising stars attended the Mega Music Festival at Shareworld yesterday.

## Cubans gone within 24 to 30 months

NEW YORK — Cuban and Angolan diplomats involved in weekend talks regarding the proposed pull-out of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola said the talks produced no agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal.

However, *The New York Times* reported yesterday that officials from Angola, Cuba and South Africa had agreed that all Cuban troops would leave within 24 to 30 months.

The newspaper said the agreement had been reached on Sunday in New York. *The New York Times* report cited unidentified "American officials".

But Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Ricardo de Quesada and Angolan UN Ambassador Mr Manuel Pacavira told journalists yesterday there had been "no agreement whatsoever" on the timetable.

"Up to now, at the negotiating table, there is a proposal from the mediator (the US State Department) that was accepted by the South African delegation for 24 months," said Mr Pacavira.

He said the Angolan-Cuban delegation considered the 24-month proposal "a basis for discussion because our proposal is 30 months, and we consider that the last limit of our concessions". — Sapa-AP.

## Swazis accuse SA of cross-border shooting

The Star's Africa News Service

MBABANE — South African soldiers killed a Swazi civilian after a chase 5 km into Swazi territory, a Swaziland police spokesman said yesterday.

Sub-Inspector Azaria Ndzimandze said the shooting was being treated as murder.

The SADF in Pretoria could not comment on the incident as "we are still checking up on this".

Sub-Inspector Ndzimandze said the man was apparently trying to cross from Swaziland into South Africa illegally yesterday when he was seen by a South African border patrol and SADF personnel gave chase into Swaziland. The man was eventually shot dead when he was 5 km inside Swazi territory in the Nhlanguano area, said Sub-Inspector Ndzimandze.

He would not identify the dead man except to say he was a Swazi citizen, and would not speculate on why he was trying to cross the border illegally.

Security checks at the South African side of Swaziland's border posts yesterday caused queues as long as three kilometres.

## Gold Bowl second favourite breaks leg

By Robert Garner

The drama surrounding the R500 000 OK Gold Bowl at Turffontein on Saturday continued today when one of the fancied runners, Interlink, shattered his near-fore knee in a workout.

Interlink, second favourite for the big race, is likely to be put down. The four-year-old was one of the most promising stayers in the country and trainer Michael Roberts said he was "bitterly disappointed".

Ruling favourite Castle Walk, which has twice caused betting to be suspended as a result of going lame, was pronounced fit and sound after a workout this morning.

"He's 100 percent sound and I'm confident that he's

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Paper notes change of opinion

Star 10/10/88

# Peace prospects make Savimbi <sup>(S)</sup> less of a pariah

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Angolan negotiations are starting to make Africans less shy of South Africa and its Unita allies, it is claimed here.

And the rumours that a coming African summit might draw in Zambia, Mali, Ivory Coast and Nigeria suggest that those countries also think it is time to shake hands with Dr Savimbi, says *The Economist*.

Surveying the search for solutions to southern African problems, it notes that Angolan reconciliation has not been fashionable among Africans since the Organisation of African Unity recognised Angola's Marxist regime in 1976.

Once friendly African governments cut their formal links with Unita which, by relying on South Africa help, had made itself harder to talk to. But now that South African troops have pulled out, it leaves Dr Savimbi a more palatable friend for black Africans.

Those who disagreed with the OAU's 1976 decision are re-

membering the arguments they recited then: that both Unita's part in fighting the Portuguese colonial government, and its evident following among Angolans, give it a claim to share the country's government. With South Africa gone, they say, the 50 000 Cuban troops have no more business in the country.

These are respectable arguments, says *The Economist*, but the new advocates of reconciliation have other motives too. Peace in Angola would suit its neighbours because the fighting has kept the Benguela railway out of action.

"The United States also wants its friends to urge reconciliation on Angola's government," says the paper. "Zaire will get \$54 million (about R130 million) in American aid this year and Zambia \$20 million (48 million), so the Americans may reasonably expect some diplomatic aid.

"Total American aid to Gabon and Congo comes to only \$3 million (R7 million) this year, but on this issue the Americans may, for once, be supported by the French."



# Cuban troops: SA, Angola disagree

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## Political Correspondent

A CONSIDERABLE gap remains between South Africa and Angola over the withdrawal of Cuban troops following the latest round of south western African peace talks in New York.

This was the impression today against the background of contradictory claims in reports from the United States.

The main difficulty remains a time schedule for Cuban withdrawal.

## Broad agreement

According to the American mediators, Angola, Cuba and South Africa have reached a broad agreement on a timetable for the withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola within 24 to 30 months.

Cuban and Angolan diplomats involved in the weekend talks said, however, that no agreement on the withdrawal had been reached.

Cuban deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada and Angolan UN ambassador Manuel Pedro Pacavira said in New York there had been no breakthrough on a timetable for Cuban withdrawal.

Mr Pacavira said South Africa had accepted a US proposal for Cuban withdrawal over 24 months.

The Angolan-Cuban delegation considered the 24-month proposal a basis for discussion, but said their proposal was 30 months, and this was "the last limit of our concessions".

November 1 is still being mentioned as the date for the start of the implementation of a one-year independence plan for Namibia, but it seems as if this will be unattainable.

According to US officials further talks will be held soon.

No clarity on the present state of the negotiations could be obtained from Foreign Affairs sources in Pretoria today.

Officials of the department were awaiting the return of Mr Neil van Heerden, director general of the department, who is on his way back from the US via Europe.

Meanwhile, President Joao Bernardo Vieira of Guinea-Bissau, the co-ordinator of a group of five former Portuguese colonies in Africa, has stated that he is pushing for a five-way summit to discuss a peace solution for Angola.

Mr Vieira said he had already contacted his Angolan and Mozambican counterparts and planned contacts with the presidents of Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, the other members of the so-called "Group of Five".

## Regional summit

Speaking to reporters after a brief meeting with Portuguese president Mario Soares in Lisbon, Mr Vieira said the eventual "extraordinary summit" of the five would take place in the Angolan capital, Luanda.

● The Argus Africa News Service reports from Lusaka that a regional summit meeting to discuss South Africa's peace initiatives and a meeting between the Zambian and the South African presidents appear now to be on the cards.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia yesterday held a meeting with his Zairean counterpart Mobutu Sese Sekou in the town of Lubumbashi and said afterwards he could meet President Botha next year.

"I am not opposed to such a meeting," he told reporters after meeting President Mobutu who recently held talks with President Botha.

# SA agrees to Cuban withdrawal timetable

CA 16 Times 11/10/88 (5)

WASHINGTON. — South Africa announced yesterday that it had agreed to a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola within 24 to 30 months.

But Angola's ambassador to the UN, Mr Manuel Pedro Pacavira, said yesterday that 30 months would be the earliest his government would agree to.

In Johannesburg, Mr Roland Darroll, a Foreign Affairs spokesman, said South Africa, Cuba and Angola had agreed that Cuban troops should be withdrawn within 24 to 30 months. US officials in Washington gave the same timetable.

The announcements came after informal weekend talks by all parties in New York.

While the parties haggled over a few months, other issues are said to be high on the agenda now. These include how fast most of the Cuban troops would be withdrawn and how quickly they would be moved away

from Angola's southern border with Namibia.

South Africa has agreed to implement, from November 1, a one-year UN plan calling for independence for Namibia, on condition that a plan for a Cuban pull-out from Angola is agreed to first.

South Africa had pushed for a Cuban pull-out by June 1989, while Cuba and Angola had proposed a three- to four-year timetable.

The New York Times, however, quoted an unidentified South African official as saying that while November 1 was still the target it was perhaps not achievable.

SIMON BARBER reports that the US State Department said yesterday that the "gap has been substantially narrowed" on the date the last Cuban troops must be out of the country. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

● 'Socialist path for Namibia' — Page 3

# Gap on pull-out narrows

WASHINGTON — SA, Angolan, Cuban and US negotiators have agreed that Cuban troops should be withdrawn from Angola in 24-30 months, US officials said yesterday.

Other major issues have yet to be resolved, but the agreement on the withdrawal period, reached in New York over the weekend, is a significant advance towards a peace settlement in southern Africa, they said.

"On the total length of the withdrawal schedule, it is true that the gap has been substantially narrowed," one US official said. "However, there are other elements of the withdrawal calendar where future decisions will be required," he said.

At the UN, Angola's representative Manuel Pedro Pacavira said while SA

had accepted a proposal from the US mediator for Cuban troops to be withdrawn over 24 months, the "Angolan-Cuban delegation regards it as a basis for discussion.

"Our proposal is for 30 months. We consider this the final limit of our concessions," he said, adding that Angola had already whittled down the time span from 48 months to 40 months and then 36 months before agreeing to 30 months at recent talks in Brazzaville.

Pacavira said the talks in New York had been only a consultative meeting in preparation for the next round of talks, for which no date had yet been set. — Sapa-Reuter.

Frontline summit cancelled

● See Page 3

# Hint of peace between Dos Santos and Unita

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(5) B/day 12/10/88.

**T**HE Marriot Marquis Hotel in New York is an extraordinary structure, half Hanging Garden of Babylon, half prison block on a heroically totalitarian scale. Its 50 storeys of vertiginous corridors face on to a covered atrium in the middle of which stands a pillar the size of a moon rocket with a dozen see-through lifts gliding up and down its flanks.

Even when things are quiet, it can take a good 10 minutes to navigate from your \$250 a night room to the world outside. That is, if you don't look down and you really want to get there. The neighbourhood beyond is one of Manhattan's most festering — a sort of Calcutta with peepshows.

It was an odd place to hold round 7,5 of Angola-Namibia peace-in (it did not rate a whole number, being technically "informal" so as not to offend Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, who has been promised the kudos of hosting the breakthrough) but also a peculiarly apt one.

**T**he talks are beginning (if they have not always) to inhabit a universe as separate from exterior reality as their latest venue. The sessions have taken on an air of ritual as the various delegations roam about in flying wedges to group and regroup in all the possible permutations, trying to make something happen that is beyond their own, earthbound grasp to create for themselves.

In the absence of hard, political decisions by their masters, the South African, Cuban and Angolan negotiating teams have developed — with the help of the American mediators — a series of ever more inscrutable mysteries in honour of the great god nuance. Their labours have reached such a state of perfection that almost anything that can be divined about the mysteries' true meaning is automatically wrong.

If the negotiations are going to succeed, several very obvious things are going to have to happen, none of which the negotiators themselves may discuss without risk of blasphemy.

Principally, Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos must decide the

# Time to recognise Unita as a player in Angola game

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

time has come to make peace with Unita and, unless he can be removed or otherwise translated, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Fidel Castro must decide, unreservedly, that the time has come to bring his boys home. P W Botha must make up his mind with equal absence of casuistry that Namibia is to move to independence under the terms of the United Nations plan in its current form. The Americans and the Russians must unequivocally agree to terminate military support for Unita and the MPLA respectively.

Unless all these things occur, and occur pretty much simultaneously, the present talks will remain entirely open-ended, notwithstanding piously iterated commitments to the November 1 date agreed upon in Geneva last August for the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

**I**n the real world, if not according to the Talmudic scholars on the negotiating teams, that date is a dead letter anyway. It is too late for Martti Ahtisaari and his UN Transitional Assistance Group to have their machinery up and running, and insofar as November 1 is observed, it will almost certainly be with a formula of words rather than actions.

The only reasons the date is still being mentioned are: first, to maintain a little discipline among the negotiators and; second, because no one has yet found a way to say this particular emperor is naked without being blamed for his being so.

As of last weekend, the delegations had gone beyond the "nitty-gritty," beyond attempting to "crack the nut," beyond even the molecular structure of a deal, and were venturing into its sub-atomic particles.

Broadly, what they were talking about was, in Dr Chester Crocker's poetic phrase, the "rhythm" of Cuban redeployment north, away from the Namibia, and west, which is to say across the Atlantic — how quickly how many move above what parallel and/or home.

Such discussion was made possible by SA's concession, at the last Brazzaville round, that some Cubans could remain in northern Angola after the SA flag came down in Windhoek. In return, the Angolans and Cubans accepted a reduction in the length of the overall withdrawal timetable from three years plus to "somewhere" in the 24- to 30-month range.

The Cubans wanted 27 000, or roughly half their existing complement, still in the country at Namibian independence. The South Afri-

cans said this would not fly, citing as one reason "right-wing hysteria" back home, and pushed for much heavier "front-loading" on the theory that too many Cubans too close to the Namibian border would have an intimidatory effect on the constituent elections to be held seven months after the kick-off of the UN independence plan.

The Cubans and Angolans objected that too much "front-loading" would be bad for internal security, and would mean once again ceding most of southern Angola to Unita.

**T**he unmentionable ghost of Savimbi began to hover ever more oppressively at the negotiating table. To save themselves from unholy thoughts, the delegations devoted themselves to minutely studying the infinite possible proportions of loading and the verification thereof and, such questions being fundamentally specious to the real decisions that must be made, got nowhere.

The parties' chief agreement, when the talks adjourned on Sunday afternoon, was to say they had got somewhere, that they now had a better understanding of what kind of equipment was needed to count the

angels on the head of a pin and, that they were still absolutely, positively committed to going all the way in Brazzaville before the end of the month.

Which, of course, they weren't really. After all, one of the stated reasons for the inconclusive outcome was that they needed to consult with their politicians, who quite patently have yet themselves to make up their minds.

South African Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden perhaps came closest to hitting the nail squarely when he remarked that at least the cessation of hostilities between SA and Cuba was holding and the joint monitoring commission doing its job.

In other words, we should be grateful that something out there in the real world is working, because not much of anything is going on in here.

**N**or will it until the parties actually decide they want it to. At the earliest, that will probably not be until after October 26, municipal election day, which at least has the merit of coming before November 1, or November 8, American election day, which doesn't.

It defies reason to believe that Dos Santos is not waiting to see if Governor Michael you-can-have-it-all-for-free Dukakis is elected. He would be a fool if he was not.

Agreeing to Cuban withdrawal — however timed, loaded or verified — means acknowledging at best a draw with Unita. The shape of any internal settlement that follows is in turn predicated in large measure upon the volume of outside support upon which Unita can rely.

By the same token, Pretoria would be rash to play the Namibia card when threatened with an American president determined to destroy its economy whether or not Resolution 435 is implemented. Such uncertainties must be removed before the only decisions that count are made.

And until that happens, consultations like those just completed may serve some purpose in easing current tensions and developing the practical mechanics of a final settlement — but they should not be confused with the real thing.

# Fresh US proposals on Cubans

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

ZURICH — The United States has made fresh proposals for a compromise on the timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, it was understood here last night.

Senior South African diplomatic sources said US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker had presented the proposals in a document which he had handed to the South African, Cuban and Angolan representatives at recent exploratory talks in New York.

The various governments had to decide whether to accept the new proposals, the sources said.

President Botha and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, currently in Europe for a series of

meetings, have still to study the American proposals.

The sources rejected reports that the talks in New York had produced an agreement that Cuban forces should be phased out of Angola over a 24 to 30-month period.

## NO MANDATE

They said the South African representatives had no mandate to negotiate in New York. They had taken part in fact-finding discussions.

South African sources have previously indicated Pretoria would be prepared to extend the period for the withdrawal of Cuban troops to 18 months from the beginning of independence for Namibia.

Cuba and Angola originally insisted on a four-year with-

drawal period, but have subsequently come down to 36 months.

Sources in Zurich say the next round of peace talks in Brazzaville ought to yield some real progress on the issue, particularly if the American proposals are well received by both sides.

President Botha said at a Press conference in Zurich yesterday agreement had been reached on the principle of the withdrawal of the Cubans, but talks on the details were still continuing.

The whole question of a timetable still had to be ironed out.

He could not say whether the next meeting at Brazzaville would be the last in the series of peace talks.

What he could say was there had been progress, he said.

star 12/10/88

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Nov 1 target date for 435 unlikely to be met

# Four-party talks draw closer to a conclusion

Star 12/10/88

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By Peter Fabricius, Political Staff

At least one more preliminary meeting will have to be held before South Africa, Cuba and Angola formally get together in Brazzaville to sign two vital agreements to bring independence to Namibia and end the Cuban military presence in Angola.

And the November 1 target date to begin the Namibian independence process now seems unlikely to be met, say South African diplomatic sources. They say the heads of the negotiating delegations from the three countries will probably need to meet again to thrash out a few more problems before the formal documents are signed.

The first document will be a bilateral agreement between Cuban and Angola on a timetable for total withdrawal of Cuban

troops from Angola.

The second will be signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola and will notify the UN secretary-general of an agreed date for the start of the implementation of Namibian independence under UN Resolution 435.

The SA sources cautioned against over-optimism about the result of the meeting among the SA, Cuban and Angolan heads of delegations in New York last week.

## New options

According to American sources, they reached "broad agreement" on the question of a timetable for Cuban troop withdrawal.

However SA sources said the reports were "speculative and premature", adding: "There was not that much to write home about from New York. But there has been

movement and realisation on the other side of new options about numbers and dates of Cuban troop withdrawals. This might be satisfactory to the SA Government."

This is understood to mean that the Cubans and Angolans have come to accept Pretoria's position that a significant pullout of Cuban troops to the north of Angola has to start as soon as the Namibian independence plan under 435 is set in motion.

South Africa now considers this more important than a total Cuban withdrawal from Angola before UN-supervised elections — that is why it is now prepared to accept a two-year calendar for eventual Cuban withdrawal.

According to American sources, Cuba and Angola have abandoned their original insistence on a four-year withdrawal timetable and will now accept 30 months.

This still leaves a six-month difference between the Cuban and South African positions to be negotiated.

The SA sources said the next preliminary heads-of-delegations meeting could take place in Brazzaville.

However they pointed out that the November 1 target date for Namibian independence was unlikely to be met. The SA, Cuban and Angolan negotiating teams were still aiming at this date, but the UN would probably find it impractical to implement it at such short notice, they said.

The major problem for the UN would be moving in 7,000 peacekeeping troops so quickly.

The preliminary meeting of the delegating heads could not take place before next week, they said. The head of the SA delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, was in Zurich to attend the meeting between President Botha and SA ambassadors in Europe.

● See Page 11.

# Withdrawal<sup>5</sup> of Cubans not finalised — PW

*Cape Times 12/10/88*

ZURICH — The State President, Mr P.W. Botha, yesterday made it clear that a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola still had to be worked out in the current negotiations with the United States, Angola and Cuba.

"The timetable still has to be ironed out. The principle has been accepted of withdrawal, but the timetable is still a matter for discussion," he told a press conference at a Zurich hotel.

Yesterday he went on what aides called a "private visit" to an unknown part of Switzerland.

Mr Botha would return to SA at the weekend, but aides declined to say if he would stop briefly in Lisbon en route to meet Dr Mario Soares.

Asked about reports that US officials were expressing the hope that the next Brazzaville talks would finalise agreement on the Angolan and Namibian issues, the State President said: "I can't say whether it will be the last one — you know how these discussions go.

"But we are proceeding and making headway and that is the thing." — Sapa

● A senior Angolan diplomat said yesterday that the US and SA were making unnecessary demands about the pace of a Cuban withdrawal. — Sapa-Reuter

# Unita kill 57 in weekend clashes

*CMT Tint 13/10/81*

LISBON. — Unita rebels said in a statement released here that they killed 57 soldiers, including at least one Cuban, in clashes throughout Angola at the weekend.

The biggest battle took place on Saturday when the guerillas attacked a military column near Ba-baera in the coastal province of Benguela, killing 27 soldiers.

Meanwhile, President P.W. Botha and Foreign Minister Mr. P. W. Botha will brief Portuguese leaders here on Saturday on the Angolan peace talks, diplomats said yesterday.

They said the South Africans would meet Prime Minister Mr. Anibal Cavaco Silva and other officials during a 12-hour stopover in Portugal on their way home from Switzerland.

Mr. P.W. Botha will be on holiday in Switzerland until Saturday, embassy spokesmen said. — Sapa-  
Reuter

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14-20/10/88

the war in Angola.  
Secondly, with Cuban assistance, Fapla is a force to be reckoned with. It is little wonder that the oppressed people of South Africa look to Cuba as an ally. The Cubans are prepared to act against apartheid in the spirit of international solidarity, while Western governments provide arms for Unita, puff themselves up with anti-apartheid rhetoric and claim sanctions can't work before they have been properly implemented.

Thirdly, the South African economy is on the verge of bankruptcy. It cannot afford a war in Angola that costs R4-billion a year, nor can it manage to continue bankrolling its illegal Namibian administration.

The difficulty the government faces in raising international bank loans to continue financing apartheid and the military backup that is needed to defend it, is sending the economy downhill.

Finally, the struggle of the oppressed in the 1980s has placed enormous political and military strain on the state.

It can't afford to be overextended in Angola and Namibia, as well as in South Africa. After three States of Emergency, there is still "unrest" and the government is afraid of releasing detainees or of allowing the oppressed to choose their own forms of political representation in organisations like the UDF.

The government is no longer solely in control of South Africa's destiny. It is time it recognised this and settled for peace and prosperity with genuine representatives of the oppressed. That, Mr Botha, would be putting South Africa first. — W Liebenberg, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee

IT is ironic that a United States administration should be exercising political censorship over the UDF leaders in its consulate.

It was the Reagan administration that withdrew from Unesco in the mid-1980s on the grounds that the demands of Third World countries for a New World Information Order threatened the US's adherence to a media policy resting on the free flow of information. What threat does allowing the "Kine 3" a little free speech hold?

It is clearly threatening to the South African government on the eve of the municipal elections. It restricted the UDF in February to prevent it from voicing any opinions on the elections.

Free speech from the "Kine 3" is also threatening to the Republican Party who do not want anything to damage their chances in the US elections. Allowing the three to speak on TV on the collusion between the Reagan administration and apartheid would damage George Bush's chances of being elected.

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Who would have thought that the mighty and seemingly invincible SADF would allow this to happen?

The reasons for this surprising turn of events need to be located within the context of international and national opposition to the apartheid system.

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**T**HE DOCTOR will see you now," grinned the heavily armed Unita soldier as he led the way into the fortified compound where Jonas Savimbi, leader of Angola's rebel Unita army, sat in crisis conference with his cabinet.

With camouflage suit, gaudy rank badges, red beret and pearl-handled revolver on his hip, Savimbi is every Hollywood producer's idea of a rebel leader in the bush.

In his first newspaper interview since South African forces withdrew from Angola in late August, Unita's veteran guerrilla leader looked tired and preoccupied. The night before we had travelled north from Unita's HQ at Jamba for more than three hours, bouncing across trackless country to reach Savimbi's secret war HQ deep in the Angolan bush.

Before the interview I waited in the sun for more than six hours to see Savimbi while the Unita leader conducted a series of war planning meetings with close advisers. Within the compound, command vehicles were being loaded with war supplies, and serious-looking officers hurried in and out of Unita's mud-hut equivalent of Camp David.

**T**he long-awaited government offensive against Savimbi's Unita movement had been launched with massive Cuban support. Its aim was to isolate Unita from South African supplies sent from Namibia. The ferocity of the fighting was clearly concentrating the minds of all at Savimbi's battle HQ.

"As soon as we finish talking," explained Savimbi, his gold-ringed hands gesticulating and sharp eyes flashing in contrast to his smile, "I must hurry north to the front at Cuito Cuanavale to see what is happening in the battle."

Humorous and tough-looking bodyguards ringed us as we sat under a tree. Savimbi began pointing with an ornate walking stick at the map of Angola nailed to a tree.

"In the last four months, during the peace talks between the Americans, South Africans, Cubans and MPLA régime, the Cubans have introduced more than 15 000 new

# Crucial weeks for Savimbi's rebel army



□ JONAS SAVIMBI

The next few weeks, before the onset of Angola's rainy season, could be decisive for the Unita guerrillas. SIMON O'DWYER-RUSSELL journeyed north from Jamba last week to interview Jonas Savimbi at his new hideaway, Vila Nova

troops to this area," he said, stabbing the area around Cuito Cuanavale with his stick.

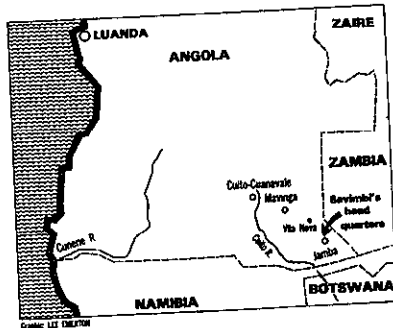
Unita faces a tough time as government and Cuban troops make a do-or-die attempt to defeat the rebel army before Angola's rainy season begins in mid-November.

Having moved his forces south in Angola during the summer, Cuba's Fidel Castro has already succeeded in securing the withdrawal from Angola of the South African troops which had been fighting alongside Unita.

Castro's aim now is to score a decisive military victory before the peace talks with SA and the US force upon Havana a date for withdrawing at least some of the 60 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

If the joint Cuban and Angolan offensive can make progress eastwards parallel with the Namibian border from the town of Ondjiva towards Savate and Macussa, then Unita's vital supply lines north from Namibia will be jeopardised.

Savimbi expects the MPLA-Cuban thrust at his tortuous supply lines to be matched with a savage offensive



by crack Cuban troops of the 50th Division south from Cuito Cuanavale, aimed at seizing the key airfield at Mavinga. If this double offensive succeeds, the MPLA and Cubans would be in a position to threaten Unita's extensive bush headquarters at Jamba.

Savimbi remained outwardly confident his forces could hold the offensive despite the heavy fighting east of Ondjiva. "The offensive is politically motivated rather than military," he insisted. The Cuban intention was to score a quick victory to strengthen Cuba's hand at the current peace talks and before the US

presidential elections in November. "We will let them come forward as far as they can in the limited time they have," he explained. "Let them make all their mistakes — they will not succeed."

Despite his bluster and well-known theatrics, Savimbi knows his lightly-armed forces face their toughest job in the 13-year Angolan civil war in stopping the combined artillery, armour and air power of the MPLA and Cubans.

Repeating the success Unita had in halting last year's offensive near Mavinga will not be easy. Now Savimbi lacks South African soldiers to assist him and sorely misses their long-range artillery and air support.

Yet on the negotiations between SA Cuba and the MPLA, he was remarkably buoyant. He stressed: "The South African withdrawal is constructive, in that now our fight with the MPLA is purely an Angolan affair in which the Cubans are interfering."

He challenged the MPLA to open talks directly with Unita on the vital question of national reconciliation. "What are they afraid of?" he asked.

Savimbi knows he is facing acute problems on the battlefield, within his own Unita organisation and on the international scene in gaining recognition for the legitimacy of Unita's cause.

Many younger elements of Unita, especially intellectuals, are believed to be opposed to Savimbi's authoritarian rule. The declaration earlier this year of a provincial government to rule "Freeland Angola," as Unita's area is called, has merely tended to strengthen his authoritarian hand.

Internationally, Unita has thrown off, to a degree, the yoke of South African influence but remains unrecognized by either the Organisation of African Unity or the United Nations. Yet it was Margaret Thatcher that Savimbi called upon to assist in the process of Angolan reconciliation.

**W**ith its relations with black African states like Zambia, Zimbabwe and Nigeria, Britain is in a unique position to assist in national reconciliation for Angola," he insisted.

"I have written to Mrs Thatcher asking for her help. But so far she has not had the time to reply," he added, with a slightly insincere look of hurt on his face.

As I stood to leave, Savimbi's convoy of command vehicles was already running up and ready to move into the bush for a five-day back-breaking drive north along the Savimbi trail towards the fighting around Cuito Cuanavale.

As he left, Savimbi had the air of a man going to meet his destiny, in the knowledge that the next six weeks would decide the fate of his 26-year fight from the bush for independence of Angola.

□ SWA Territory Force commander Maj-Gen Willie Meyer told a media briefing at Oshakati this week that the entire Cuban 50th Division was deployed at Cahama and further south close to the Namibian border. It comprised three infantry regiments, a tank regiment, an artillery regiment and an air defence battalion.

LABOUR LETTER/Alan Fine

WMAIL 14-20/10/88

LETTERS



# Non-racial schools a soft option? No way, says mum

AS a parent who has removed her children from government schools, I wish to disagree with Jane (*Weekly Mail*, September 30 to October 7) who believes that sending children to the non-racial schools is a soft option.

Jane advocates staying in the government system and fighting to have the schools opened to all races. While my children were at a government school I was part of a group of parents who attempted to raise a number of issues related to apartheid education within the school. We were consistently blocked by the principal who would describe himself as open-minded.

We were not allowed to advertise meetings that he deemed to be politically sensitive; we were not allowed to use school premises. We arranged house meetings which were attended by the converted and found it difficult to establish debate with other parents. Speaking out on issues relating to sexism, racism or elitism, we were soon branded as the lunatic left and were marginalised.

While I support the efforts of parents who are attempting to effect change in government schools, I know how little room they have in which to manoeuvre.

Jane suggests that parents at the non-racial schools have opted out of the struggle by choosing elitism and privilege. She fails to recognise that the non-racial schools are confronting the challenges and problems associated with multi-racial and multi-lingual education.

At Woodmead, the school my son attends, parents, students and teachers are attempting to evolve democratic forms of participation and are trying deal with the complexities of open schooling.

The non-racial schools are slowly building up the expertise this country will need for post-apartheid education. If "liberal and left of liberal parents" choose not to send their children to these schools, then multi-racial education will suffer a severe setback. The non-racial schools will become black schools and government schools will remain segregated according to race.

This is not to say that my son is not privileged to attend a school like Woodmead. He is, but not for the elitist reasons that Jane suggests. At Woodmead he is able to gain a sense of what a freer South Africa might be like. Because progressive education is not simply about desegregation, he has escaped from the narrow constraints of state syllabuses and the rote memorisation of meaningless information. He is encouraged to have opinions of his own and to listen to the those of others. He is encouraged to question everything, including the school itself.

The non-racial schools have taken on the task of democratising education. This is in no way a soft option. — Hilary Janks, Craighall Park

STEVEN FRIEDMAN's column (*Weekly Mail*, September 23-29) regarding the effect of the Emergency in removing normal political leadership, the quelling of debate and the validity of

Church leaders filling the gap is pertinent and deserves comment.

Involvement in "politics" by the Church should not be seen as a temporary measure to fill the political leadership gap. Christ is God over the whole of creation and bringing His laws to bear in all areas of life is a necessary part of the Church's witness. It follows, however, that the Church's role is not to determine the will of the people but rather the will of God. This applies not only to moral issues as Mr Friedman cites but also to "political" issues.

While the Church's witness will often coincide with support for the poor and oppressed it is inevitable that at times it will find itself at odds with popular ideas and expedient tactics. At such times it would be helpful for those both within and outside the Church to remember this difference in roles and not try to impose on the Church a democratic ideal.

Using Mr Friedman's example, Archbishop Desmond Tutu has stated clearly in public statements that he is seeking to obey God rather than using political tactic. To participate in evil for tactical reasons would be a compromise on obedience to God.

Whatever the gains achieved, support would have been given to the evil affording its continued existence. Obedience to God may require that apparent gains be sacrificed in order that evil is opposed. — CRW Campbell, Irene

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WMAIL 14-20/10/88

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Star 17/10/88

Star 17/10/88

## Savimbi won't move Unita bases up north

The Star Bureau 3

LONDON — Dr Jonas Savimbi is adamant that he will not move Unita's bases and supply dumps into northern Angola and away from South African support.

But in an interview with the *Sunday Telegraph* he said Unita could hold its own militarily and would not appeal for renewed South African help even if the Cubans and Angolans broke through his lines.

Dr Savimbi told the newspaper that he had no intention of bowing to US pressure to move away, geographically and diplomatically, from South African support.

"We are not going to give up the infrastructure it has taken us 13 years to develop and move north to an uncertain future, whatever the pressure or promises the Americans make."

He said he was confi-



Dr Jonas Savimbi.

dent Unita could hold out against Angolan and Cuban forces, which are now keen for an outright victory against him.

There was no question of asking the South Africans to re-enter Angola to assist him, he said.

"We would rather deal with any situation ourselves than have to explain to the international community, and especially the Organisation of African Unity, why we were again relying upon South Africans."

## SA a 'camp of fear' churchman

Religion Reporter

South Africa has recently deteriorated into a "concentration camp of fear", the new president of the Methodist Church said at his induction in Queens-town at the weekend.

The Rev Stanley Mogoba said all South Africans had a moral responsibility to act positively and bring about a new country devoid of fear.

He was speaking at the opening of the annual Methodist conference.

Mr Mogoba, who was converted to Christianity during solitary confinement while serving three years' jail on Robben Island, pointed to the "victorious hope" that could flow from positive action.

### DUNGEON

He said that speaking from his own experience, he had come a long way from "the dungeon to this place, a long way from that flat mat which was my only bed ... a long way from being endorsed out of two urban areas and seeing my ministry being brought to a halt".

It had been the "amazing love of God" that had been his great transformer, he said.

"I know it because I have experienced it."

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# Air Force 'lost 42 planes last year'

From MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON. — The South African Air Force has lost 42 aircraft in the past year, according to an authoritative study by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). The study does not say if the losses are all due to combat.

The institute's study says fighting in Angola has drained South African military resources and diminished Pretoria's influence over the trade route around the Cape.

It lists South Africa's combat aircraft as 324. Last year's study said the SAAF had 366 fighter planes.

Commenting on the report last night, SADF spokesman Commandant Ian Buck said: "The SADF does not reveal its strength or force levels as a matter of policy."

The detailed breakdown of different aircraft categories shows that in some instances the SAAF has acquired rather than lost planes.

Capt Tint 19/10/88



**MIRAGE F-1CZ:** Two lost in battle

Last year South Africa had 46 Mirage F-1CZ and F-1AZ interceptor and fighter ground-attack aircraft. The new study separates the two, saying SA now has 31 Mirage F-1AZ ground-attack aircraft and 14 1CZ interceptors bringing the total to 45. The SAAF has admitted losing two Mirage F-1CZ in battle, which indicates that it has been able to replace one.

The section dealing with military transport aircraft indicates an overall gain of five planes. According to the study, the SAAF has acquired an additional C-

130B Hercules, bringing the total to seven, and five Douglas DC-4s. However, it has one less HS-125 Mercurius, leaving it with two.

The study says SA's total armed forces increased by 6 500 to 103 500, but that the number of navy personnel was reduced by 1 500 to 7 500.

"The SA Navy has reduced manpower by 1 500 and despite the commissioning of the locally built support ship Drakensberg, the retirement from service of the remaining maritime aircraft, Shackleton and Wasp, means that the ability of the SA Navy to exert influence on the Cape routes is markedly diminished."

At present South Africa has only three 20-year-old French Daphne-class submarines to patrol sea lanes, though these are scheduled for major overhauls.

The IISS said that by the middle of this year "casualties in men and equipment were mounting, with clear indications that the balance was tilting against SA".



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# Pretoria stalling on cease-fire — Angola

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Angola yesterday charged South Africa with delaying full implementation of joint cease-fire control posts along the Namibian border, but said it was optimistic the process would be completed within days.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, quoted Lieutenant-Colonel Asvaldo Van-Dunem, the officer responsible for the Angolan side of the border peace accord, as saying South Africa was showing "a certain resistance" to establishing the last four of 11 agreed control stations.

"But this is a task of co-operation and, as such, there must be consensus between the parties, namely the Angolan-Cuban side and South Africa," Angop cited Lieutenant-Colonel Van-Dunem as saying in a dispatch received in Lisbon. "For this reason we think that within days we will have completed the creation of the (cease-fire) posts."

He said the remaining four control posts should be set up along the sensitive eastern part of the border, along the Caprivi Strip, which he said Pre-

toria was using to funnel aid to the rebel Angolan Unita movement.

Under US mediation, South Africa reached agreement with Angola and Cuba for a cease-fire and troop disengagement in southern Angola last August.

The four-way negotiations continue over intertwined commitments for Pretoria to grant independence to Namibia, which it rules in contravention of UN resolutions, and for a withdrawal of some 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr Van-Dunem, Angop reported, said there had been "no negative reflex" in the working of the joint cease-fire commission due to delays in negotiating the timetable for the Cuban pullout because the commission had "a well-defined task".

In a second dispatch from Luanda Angop quoted a military statement as saying troops killed 97 Unita guerillas and captured eight others in "clean-up operations" last week.

The army said it suffered 13 dead and 35 wounded in the fighting and accused Unita rebels of killing 32 civilians and wounding 18 others.

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Star 21/10/88

# Pik said they're coming, but no Zaire VIPs arrive

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## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The planned visit of a Zairean delegation to SA yesterday was called off because of media speculation about Angola's Unita movement switching its logistical supply lines from SA to Zaire, according to informed sources.

However, Reuter reports that Zaire's official press agency, Azap, expressed surprise yesterday at reports that the visit to SA had been postponed and said no such trip had been scheduled.

The agency published its report after Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha announced that a Zairean delegation headed by Mr Nguza Karl-I-Bond was due in Pretoria yesterday. Mr Botha's office later said the visit had been postponed but gave no rea-

sons.

The Azap report said that nothing was known of the visit which was to have been headed by Zairean Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Karl-I-Bond.

In response, Mr Botha later said that he would not like to comment further beyond saying that "there must be some misunderstanding".

Earlier this month, President P W Botha met President Mobutu Sese-Seko of Zaire as part of South Africa's diplomatic offensive in black Africa.

Plans for a state visit later this year by the Zairean president are, however, apparently still under way.

According to sources yesterday, an overnight BBC news report — prepared by the BBC's

West Africa correspondent — speculated that Unita was currently in the process of reducing supply lines from SA and was favouring military dependence on Zaire.

This report, together with what was believed to be a similar French radio report, led to the cancellation of the visit of the Zairean delegation to SA, the sources said.

● The Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday that Mr Pik Botha will pay a one-day visit to Maputo on Tuesday.

A spokesman said the reason for the visit was to open the building which will house the SA mission and also to attend a service at the memorial to Louis Trichardt on the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek.

# Anglo bid 'could cut US influence'

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A former CIA chief says South African attempts to take over Consolidated Gold Fields could be an attempt to stymie US efforts to end apartheid.

Admiral Stansfield Turner, President Jimmy Carter's director of the Central Intelligence Agency, suggested links between Anglo American and the South African Government.

He wrote this week in *The Wall Street Journal* that just knowing South Africa controlled a third of the West's gold could hamper US efforts to end apartheid.

Admiral Turner, a former investments adviser to Gold Fields, is one of several US public figures who have sided with Gold Fields in urging caution against a takeover of the British Gold Fields company by Anglo's Minorco.

The merger would concentrate vital minerals and there would always be a threat of deliberate shortages at critical moments, he said.

"The more subtle approach the US would have to worry about, though, is that of manipulating prices of scarce minerals.

"By driving up the price of gold, Mr Oppenheimer at the behest of the South African Government could create inflationary pressures in the West and interfere in world currencies, trading patterns and overall economic stability," he said.

# US pledges to go on helping Unita

SKN  
By Alan Dunn,  
The Star Bureau  
25/10/88

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has given the assurance that it will continue supporting the Angolan rebel group, Unita.

Aid to Unita was "an important part" of US efforts to bring about dialogue and national reconciliation in that country, a US State Department spokesman, Mr Charles Redman, said yesterday.

The assurance was an attempt to allay the concern of some American senators who feared that Unita would be left out of ongoing peace negotiations involving South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the US.

It was also feared the

movement would, eventually, be left to the mercies of Angolan forces backed by Cuban troops.

Reagan policy towards Unita "just hasn't changed", Mr Redman said. It was a long-standing view that lasting peace could only come to Angola through genuine national reconciliation between Unita and the country's ruling party, the MPLA.

The US is believed to be supplying Unita with \$15 million (about R37 million) a year.

Forty-nine senators signed a letter to President Reagan last week insisting that Unita should be brought into the current negotiations for south-western Africa peace and Namibian independence.

(5)

# ROAD TO FREEDOM MOVE IS HELD UP Withdrawal of Cuban troops among the snags

THE November 1 target date for the start of the implementation of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence is to be shifted to January 1.

If final agreement has not been reached by this new date it will again be extended.

South Africa, Angola and Cuba have agreed to this and an announcement will be made soon, probably in Washington. Western diplomatic sources confirmed this yesterday. South African foreign

**SOWETAN**  
Correspondent

affairs spokesmen were tightlipped yesterday but a spirit of optimism about the negotiations remained.

The postponement of the initial target date is not seen as a setback to the South Western African peace efforts but as inevitable as details on many issues still have to be worked out.

The negotiations are said to be on track and another round of talks is due to take place

following the last Brazzaville negotiations earlier this month. Some of the matters to be sorted out are:

- A fixed timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. There has been a narrowing of positions on period of withdrawal which now varies between 24 and 30 months, but no final agreement has yet been reached;
- The composition of an international UN force of some 500 men. Untag, to supervise the implementation of an election in Namibia leading to independence;
- The financing of the independence plan. It has been estimated that the cost will run to R1,5 billion.

The new date of January 1 may in turn be put off till later if no final agreement on Cuban withdrawal has been reached. The parties involved in the negotiations are prepared for this. They are prepared for a long and drawn-out final agreement stage but are determined to continue with the peace efforts.

# ON PARADE

By Willem Steenkamp

# 42 planes down? Not so, say sources

CM  
T.M.S.  
26/10/88  
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HAS the South African Air Force lost 42 aircraft in the past year, as claimed in a recent overseas report to this effect? As far as I can see the answer is "no".

The figure was obtained by comparing the SAAF aircraft strength given in the 1987 and 1988 editions of the International Institute of Strategic Studies' publication "The Military Balance"; I do not believe losses can be determined by this method — my unofficial sources certainly do not confirm this.

Operational losses in the 1987-8 Angolan fighting — and cross-checking of official and unofficial figures do not reveal discrepancies — are as follows:

- One Mirage F-1 shot down (while interdicting a supply column heading from Menongue to Cuito Cuanavale).
- Two Mirage F-1s badly damaged as a result of enemy action (one actually managed to limp back to base but crashed on landing, but was not destroyed).
- One Bosbok light artillery spotter shot down (no details available).
- One light bomber hit (no details here either, but it was probably a Canberra engaged in photo-reconnaissance along the border).

An Impala ground-attack fighter was also lost during this period, but this occurred during a separate anti-Swapo sweep far from the Lomba River theatre.

Angolan/Cuban aircraft losses in the same period are reliably said to be:

- Nine MiG-23 fighters.
- Three MiG-21 fighters.
- Three SU-22 fighter-bombers.

According to my sources the Cubans-Angolans have also suffered some non-operational losses: For instance, I am told seven of the 10 SU-22s the Cubans brought to Angola a year ago have been destroyed in flying accidents — possibly the result of poor maintenance and unfamiliarity with local flying conditions.

What has emerged is that Fapa (the Angolan air force) is very much the second man on the totem pole. SAAF monitoring indicates that Cuban pilots lead formations and undertake interceptions, while Fapa pilots do the donkey work.

I suspect this is partly due to Cuban domineering and partly because Fapa has a very low efficiency level; in fact one high source describes it as "one of the worst air forces in Africa" — probably due to bad aircrew selection, poor training and bad maintenance rather than inherent quality of manpower.

All this has a bearing on the vexed question of air superiority. The SAAF's view is that it was simply not practical to dominate all of the airspace all of the time, inter alia because of the Angolan air defences and the fact that the Angolan combat zone was 18 minutes' flying time from the SAAF base at Ondangwa.

This could have worked in the other side's favour, but did not — thanks partly to a mindlessly rigid application of Soviet operational doctrine.

As a result, the SAAF analysts say, Cuban-Angolan pilots mostly tended to fly high and were tightly controlled from the rear; they had to stay inside their radar coverage and targets were chosen for them. Given this freeze on their initiative, it is not surprising that their target acquisition was poor.

The result was that the other side's numerical superiority and better equipment and air defence systems did not inflict the damage one might have expected: The most serious loss was the 12 troops killed by a single bomb at Calueque; for the rest, important damage was confined to one G-5 artillery piece, one Samil lorry and one water bowser.

### Calculated daring

The SAAF, by contrast, had to evade its technical lacks with calculated daring ("we were prepared to take operational risks but not foolish risks," as one source puts it). It did this with about 800 low-level strikes which were often far beyond its radar coverage. Target acquisition was good: Aircraft would adopt a very low attack profile, and at seven to 10km from the target would launch bombs which achieved an accuracy of about 200m.

Another interesting statistic that has emerged is that during the 1987-8 fighting there were 111 confirmed surface-to-air missile launches, but with a success rate of only 4.5%.

This is hardly surprising, since most of these were probably the obsolete manpack SA-7, which is relatively easy to evade, particularly by a high-performance fighter.

[Willem Steenkamp is a reservist of the Citizen Force.]



# SA and US still send Unita help — Savimbi

From the Argus Foreign Service in Washington

**S**OUTH Africa is still supplying aid to Unita in Angola, according to the movement's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

This emerged in an interview in the Angolan bush recently with the New York Times.

Dr Savimbi was reported to have said that the United States — which started backing Unita militarily early in 1986 — was also still sending him aid.

Referring to the recent withdrawal of all South African troops from his country, he said he thought allegations that Unita had become South Africa's surrogate would be "put to sleep" now that its soldiers had gone.

"The minute the South Africans left, it created a lot of sympathy for national reconciliation," Dr Savimbi said.

His remark is consistent with observations by top American and South African diplomats who are aware of several black African leaders heaping pressure on Angola to start some sort of internal peace process with Unita in an effort to end the 13-year-old conflict.

One well-placed American official described these efforts at persuasion as "unprecedented".

A State Department official said the United States supported all efforts, public and private, aimed at peace and genuine national reconciliation. "It is our opinion that lasting peace can only be achieved through talks between the MPLA (the Angolan ruling party) and Unita," the official said.

Dr Savimbi was also quoted in the report as saying that South African forces would not return to his aid in Angola because the country's whites objected to their soldiers dying there. Without their support, his army may be beaten by Angolan troops backed by Cuban forces.

## International pressure

But he believed that by holding on, Unita would win sympathy from other African countries and increase international pressure on the Cubans to leave Angola.

Dr Savimbi said he would not mind a residual force of Cubans in Angola after the bulk had withdrawn as long as they remained only a token and did not stay indefinitely. He suggested about 5 000 men — "they should not pose a threat to Unita and Namibia".

Noting that Cuban officials had assured Unita that they would not attack the rebels, he said: "A sizeable quantity of Cubans must leave during this period of Namibian independence."

Dr Savimbi was tackling the crux of negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba for independence in SWA/Namibia. The talks, mediated by the United States, are focused on total Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

Unresolved issues include:

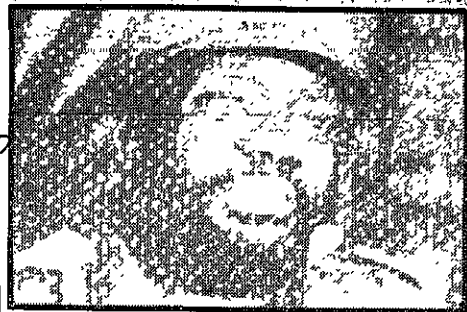
- How many Cuban troops, and how soon?
- The size of the residual force after SWA/Namibia achieves independence, and
- How far north, what distance from the border with SWA/Namibia, they are deployed.

"If they withdraw in two years and leave 5 000, I don't think

it would be a tragedy. But if Namibia is free, and there are still 20 000, that will not help the situation," Dr Savimbi said.

Dr Savimbi was describing an acceptance for a withdrawal system referred to in Washington as "front-end loading" getting the bulk out as quickly as possible and the remainder on a gradual timetable.

RIGHT: Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.



# Olivia may soon leave embassy sanctuary

The Star's Africa News Service  
Sty 27/10/88  
The former South African student holed up in the British embassy in Luanda, Olivia Forsyth, may soon be granted a visa to leave Angola, according to informed sources in the Angolan capital.

Sources in the British embassy in Luanda say officially that there

is no change in the situation, with Miss Forsyth claiming sanctuary in the embassy after saying she had escaped from an African National Congress (ANC) detention camp. But privately there is hope that the Angolan government may soon grant her an exit visa.

Miss Forsyth, brought up mainly in South Africa, is a British citi-

zen. It is alleged that she spied on the ANC for South Africa.

The Angolan press reports that the Angolan Minister of Justice, Mr Franca van Dunen, has delivered a private letter to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher from President Edwardo dos Santos. It is speculated that the letter concerned Miss Forsyth's future.

# Peace may be at hand for Angola, — US official

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Peace may be at hand for Angola and similar regional trouble spots simply because exhaustion has set in after years of brutal but inconclusive conflict, according to President Ronald Reagan's chief national security adviser, General Colin Powell.

"Statesmen have finally shown the wisdom to draw appropriate conclusions and the decisiveness to act on those conclusions," General Powell said in a rare public speech at Washington's National Press Club.

"In Angola, a true military stalemate had developed years ago as the Angolan regime's military offences to suppress Jonas Savimbi and Unita failed time after time.

"It was costing the regime's Soviet backers something like a billion dollars a year in weaponry with no productive result," he said.

"One lesson here is that sometimes leaders have the wit to see the futility of war and to seek diplomatic solutions.

"But I believe the deeper lesson is that effective resistance to aggression is what demonstrates the futility of war."

## FACTORS

General Powell, the highest ranking black official in the Reagan administration and a man tipped for a top job in a Bush administration, said there were a number of factors that promised settlement of regional conflicts around the world.

One was a recognition by the US that peace purchased at the price of surrender was not real peace or security.

"In Angola and Namibia, it was only after the US began giving military aid to the Unita freedom fighters in 1986 that the Angolan regime started to take seriously the idea of a negotiated settlement..." he said.

Another factor was the role played recently by the Soviet Union, that a constructive role in ending regional conflicts had to be acknowledged.

"This has contributed to the improvement in US-Soviet relations which, in turn, is another of the most important positive trends of the present period."

Soviet leaders, he said, were facing up to internal challenges and this was an incentive for them to seek "breathing space" internationally.

# Soviets 'push' Angolans

## Luanda is wary of big bear's hot hug

THE Soviet Union has thrown its weight behind the Angolan peace talks — for the first time publicly calling for a political settlement in the war-torn region of Africa.

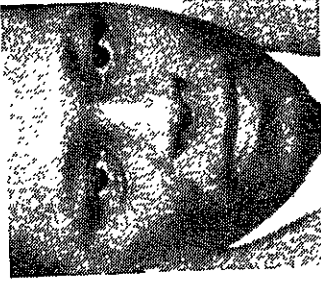
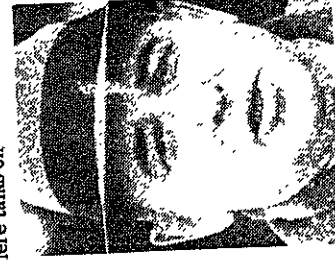
The intentions of the Kremlin became apparent this week when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev met President Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola in Moscow for talks on Africa.

It is understood the Angolan leader was urged to move more rapidly in reaching agreement on the phased withdrawal of Cuban forces so as to usher in the independence of Namibia.

The call is likely to be welcomed by the United States and in Pretoria where talks on the withdrawal of the Cuban forces have gone into slow-time.

The South African-determined deadline for agreement on simultaneous Cuban withdrawal from Angola and South African departure from Namibia expires on Tuesday.

All attention is now on Luanda and Havana. A decision in those two capitals to accept a recent US-inspired compromise — already accepted by Pretoria — could retain the symbolic starting date.



Kremlin hot box . . . Mikheil Gorbachev and Eduardo Dos Santos talk about the UN deadline for SWA

### Keen

The American compromise is based on a 24-month Cuban withdrawal from Angola. Diplomats believe Mr Gorbachev has heeded Western appeals for pressure on the Angolans and Cubans to be more flexible in the negotiations.

The fact that the Soviet Union is currently pushing about R2,000-million of weaponry into Angola every year is one that was unlikely to have been far from either man's mind.

Moscow is keen to apply its resources elsewhere and Luanda can't do without the aid.

Mr Gorbachev's use of the word "political" is particularly significant in diplomat-

ic terms.

It means setting aside violence, but more than that, diplomats are intensely keen to see if Mr Gorbachev deliberately left room to be interpreted as meaning a negotiated settlement between the governing MPLA and the UNITA rebels in Angola.

The progress of the peace initiative now depends on how Mr Dos Santos takes the matter up with Cuba's President Fidel Castro.

SA's Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glen Babb, said yesterday the role of Cuban surrogate forces in Angola was akin to "the tail wagging the dog".

Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, who is acting as chairman of the tripartite talks between SA, Angola and Cuba, is waiting for a written response from Luanda and Havana to the compromise withdrawal proposal.

November 1, the date proposed by Pretoria as the official kick-off for the implementation of United Nations resolution 435, is likely to pass unceremoniously — but with marked international prestige and repercussions — stake, neither party wants it to be seen to blame for sinking the peace process.

By LESTER VENTER, Political Correspondent

# Angolan

## leader in

### talks with

#### Soviets

*3/10/88*  
MOSCOW: Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos left here on Saturday for Minsk after talks with Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

The discussions apparently focused on ways to end the Angolan and Namibian conflict.

In a report on the talks, the official Tass news agency indicated that Mr Gorbachev had urged continuing efforts to find a political settlement to the fighting.

"It is necessary to intensify the negotiating process and the search for agreement that would promote stronger peace and stability in the region and on the African continent as a whole," Tass quoted the Kremlin chief as saying.

Talks are continuing at different venues between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States. The four-power negotiations are aimed at setting a timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and linked moves towards independence for Namibia.

Tass said Mr Gorbachev and Mr Dos Santos, who is expected to fly home from Minsk, agreed that the apartheid system in South Africa lay at the root of the problems in Southern Africa.

The two leaders condemned what they called Pretoria's "actions aimed at destabilising neighbouring states ... and its continued illegal occupation of Namibia". — Sapa-Reuter

# Hopes for Cuban pullout

31/10/88  
HOPE that European and African countries would co-operate and help SA get the Cubans out of Angola were expressed by President P W Botha at the weekend.

He told the Association of Former Italian Prisoners-of-War banquet at Bedfordview that a Cuban withdrawal was the only way in which peace and stability could be achieved in southern Africa.

Botha said that during his recent visit to Europe he had found that more European governments believed SA could

5  
play a positive role in southern Africa.

And he repeated his call for unity among the various communities in SA.

Botha praised the Italian community for its loyalty and achievements. He said the Italian community, which numbered about 70 000, had made a great contribution towards the development of SA during the past three centuries.

The banquet, held annually in honour of Italian PoWs at Sonderwater Prison, was also attended by Defence Minister Magnus Malan and the Italian ambassador to SA. — Sapa.

Choice of Bush or Dukakis to determine next step

# Angola, Cuba awaiting US presidential results

Star 3/11/84 (5)

WASHINGTON — Cuba and Angola are waiting to see who wins the US presidential election before they make concessions that could jump-start the stalled Angola/Namibia peace talks.

This is the view of some American officials who had been applying intensive diplomatic pressure in an apparently vain effort to win a settlement of the conflict before tomorrow's deadline.

By Neil Lurssen  
The Star Bureau

The negotiations will be affected profoundly by the choice made by Americans voters in just over a week.

The two contenders, Republican Mr George Bush and Democrat Mr Michael Dukakis have sharply different attitudes toward southern Africa policy.

Mr Bush supports aid to Unita and linking Namibia's independence to getting the Cubans out of Angola. Mr Dukakis will end aid to the rebels and believes Namibia's independence is a separate issue from Cuba's presence in Angola.

With American military assistance to Unita one of the key factors that sparked off the talks, and with the communist allies arguing vociferously against linkage, Havana and Luanda are clearly hoping that Mr Dukakis will be the next president of the US.

US officials still, however, believe that an agreement is possible before the Reagan adminis-

tration officially vacates office in mid-January.

If Mr Dukakis is the winner on November 8, a big question mark will form over South Africa's attitude toward the current negotiations.

According to reports here, the SA Government has told the Reagan administration that it is willing to make further concessions on the twin issues of a timetable and the phasing of Cuban withdrawal.

But some sources say Pretoria will be far less ready to deal with a Dukakis mediator because of Mr Dukakis's openly hostile attitude.

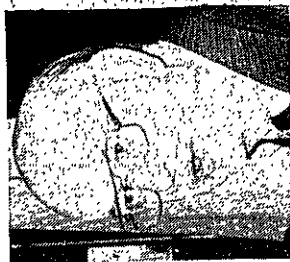
Gerald L'Ange of The Star's Africa News Service reports that any collapse of the Angola-Namibia talks would leave South Africa in a strong moral position because the fault would be seen to lie with the Cubans and Angolans.

Nevertheless, failure would not help South Africa's diplomatic drive in black Africa as much as if the talks succeeded.

SOWETAN, Monday, October 31, 1988

# Key to peace in Southern Africa says PW Botha **'HELP US GET CUBANS**

# **OUT OF ANGOLA'**



P W Botha

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, says he hopes European and African countries will co-operate and help South Africa get the Cubans out of Angola.

Speaking at the annual banquet of the Association of Former Italian Prisoners-of-War at

Bedfordview, Mr Botha said that a Cuban withdrawal was the only way in which peace and stability could be achieved in Southern Africa.

Mr Botha said that during his recent visit to Europe he had found that more European governments believed that South Africa could play a positive role in Southern Africa.

He repeated his call for unity among the various communities in South Africa.

He praised the Italian community in South Africa for its loyalty and achievements. He said the Italian community, which numbered about 70 000, had made a great contribution towards the development of South Africa during the past three centuries.



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## Defeat for SA claimed

The Star Bureau (S) had gained the impression from newspapers and that no "special intelligence" was involved.

WASHINGTON — One of Mr Michael Dukakis's top foreign policy advisers, Dr Joseph Nye, has claimed here that South Africa withdrew from Angola after suffering a military defeat by Cuba.

Dr Nye, a political science professor from Harvard, said the defeat was a factor in the peace talks, which have stalled over Cuba's withdrawal.

Challenged by a South African newsman to give the date and place of the defeat, Dr Nye said he

His impression was that after battles in southern Angola, Pretoria had come to believe it would be too expensive to have an exposed forward position.

Asked how he could justify using the word "defeat", Dr Nye said: "Let's say it is a battle which raised the costs and which led one side to change its position."

Star 1/11/88

## Dos Santos to meet Unita allies

LONDON — Angolan president Mr Eduardo dos Santos visits Morocco for one day today in what may be the first move to achieve an agreement with Unita.

Mr dos Santos will hold talks in Fez with King Hassan II, who has consistently supported the Unita movement.

The timing of the visit is significant. President dos Santos has just been in Moscow, where he met Soviet president Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, but far from coming away boosted in his determination not to deal with Unita, he is travelling directly to talk to one of their closest African allies.

Mr dos Santos has recently come under pressure from Western and African countries to make peace with Unita and the Angolan position has softened.

● Dr. Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, is reported to be furious that Angola and Cuba have refused to return to the conference table to continue the negotiations over Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

● Reports from northern Namibia say the SADF has continued to build up its forces along the Angolan border.

5) 01/11/83

**T**ODAY was supposed to have been historic, the day Namibia formally started moving to independence under UN Resolution 435. That the deadline is slipping by may principally be blamed upon the MPLA and Cuba.

SA has made all the concessions that could reasonably — and in some cases unreasonably — be expected of it. It has pulled out of Angola and resisted the urge to return. It has acknowledged that 435 is set in stone. Despite ramming bomb attacks domestically, it is grinding its teeth and waging peace throughout the region.

Even more significant in the specific context, it has accepted that there can still be Cubans in Angola when its flag comes down in Windhoek, and that the principle issue is not the final date of their departure but their redeployment in such a way that they will not be a ghost at the table of constituent elections in Namibia.

In short, the balance of forces within the SA government has altered in favour of statesmanship. Pretoria has grasped the nettle, or, at any rate, most of it.

**B**y contrast, the Angolan government cannot come to terms with the idea that, by not winning the civil war with Unita, it has lost it and must settle on terms that somehow incorporate Jonas Savimbi. Havana, too, seems to be having some difficulty coping with a new reality. Fidel Castro's Soviet patrons no longer have the use they once had for him. His days of empire are over and the time has come for his little island to return to banana republicdom.

# Unita lobby could turn old allies into new enemies

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

will work to kill it. If necessary, by refusing to authorise the US contribution to its implementation.

In varying degrees, they stand ready to fight for a Unita victory to the last drop of South African blood. A few even say that unless Pretoria co-operates, they are prepared to withhold their opposition to economic sanctions — opposition, it must be said, that has contributed to making 1988 a sanctions-free year on Capitol Hill.

Early last week, President Ronald Reagan received a letter signed by 50 senators, including not only the predictable conservatives like Jesse Helms and Steve Symms, but nearly every southern Democrat (an exception was Texas's Lloyd Bentsen, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate) and Intelligence Committee chairman David Boren.

The letter was written by Dennis DeConcini, the Democrat who heads the pro-Unita Senate Angola Task Force, and inspired by Black Manafort and Stone, Unita's main Washington lobbying firm, all of whose partners work in some capacity for Vice-President George Bush's election campaign, and at whose bidding on almost any subject DeConcini jumps. It called for Savimbi to be included in negotiations on Namibian independence and Cuban troop

withdrawal. Even more startlingly, it asked that "free and fair elections" in Angola be "synchronised" with implementation of 435 — both demands entirely beyond the ambit of every-thing agreed thus far in the quadripartite talks.

To give their case some heft, DeConcini with Helms, Symms and others, were meanwhile blocking the administration's request to reprogramme \$110m from Defence Department accounts so that it might have cash on hand for the UN Transitional Assistance Group, should it be deployed in Namibia before Congress returns to work next February.

**D**eConcini was only marginally mollified by a letter from Reagan's National Security Council adviser Gen Colin Powell, swearing blind that the administration had no intention of cutting supplies to Unita's "valiant freedom fighters" until national reconciliation had been achieved.

Powell used equally emotive language to describe the MPLA, calling its attempts to defeat Unita in the field "bankrupt", but he sidestepped the question of making Namibian independence and Angolan elections

concurrent. He simply insisted that once Luanda had lost its Cuban "umbilical", which could only happen if 435 was implemented, reconciliation was inevitable.

Besides, he continued, "everyone understands that Unita must be brought into the process as a full partner and that only Unita under Dr Savimbi can deliver a major percentage of the people and territory of his country into a new, unified Angolan nation".

In light of which, DeConcini said he would reconsider releasing the Unita contribution, but only if consulted once an overall settlement required it. Helms and the hardcore remained adamant, even after repeated telephone calls from Powell and White House Chief of Staff Ken Duberstein.

When they failed, Reagan himself telephoned Helms, possessing what one awestruck Bush adviser last week called "gonads the size of basketballs", told his leader no way he would not budge until personally requested to do so by Savimbi himself. His message was unequivocal. Mr President, you are being hoodwinked by your State Department and their friends in the SA Foreign Affairs Department.

not being somewhat more royalist than the king. The decision to leave Namibia was Pretoria's prerogative, after all, and SA surely should be granted more say on the terms than the Unita lobby.

To which came back a three-fold reply, which may be paraphrased as follows. First, Crocker and the Foreign Affairs Department were in cahoots to betray Savimbi and cut one of the last remaining legs from under the Reagan doctrine. Second, Pretoria was far from unanimous on the subject at least the military still had the right idea. Third, 435 was a bad deal that would result in the UN establishing yet another Marxist regime in the region.

Wild stuff, but it should not be dismissed as a quixotic election-season sidelay. These people are serious, and they do have the power to obstruct. More is going on than lobbying by Unita, and, regrettably, by certain SA military representatives. What is happening is that the approach of a settlement is redefining the issues at stake in southern Africa for US conservatives.

**S**ince 1975, they have looked to SA to fight the Soviets for them, just as they have looked to the Contras in Nicaragua and the Mujahideen in Afghanistan. That they have been able to offer almost nothing in return, beyond an often counter-productive rear-guard action against sanctions, is immaterial. They have expected SA boys to die for their cause and for Pretoria to spill its treasure — treasure that could have been spent building a better society.

Now that Pretoria is saying enough, we must reconcile ourselves with our neighbours and our own people, we must look to our own destiny, America's comfortable cold warriors are crying foul. SA must either keep up the fight — their fight to put Unita in power — or it can be written off and handed over to the sanctioneers.

Let me put it very simply. If the price of a Unita victory without SA is economic war against SA, and in the calculus of US politics it could well be, it is a price people like Helms might well be prepared to pay. Behold, a new enemy.

will be published in a document entitled

# SA ready for new SWA talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South African diplomats were preparing to leave for Geneva yesterday, for another round of international talks aimed at reaching agreement on January 1 as a new date for the implementation of Resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

Hopes that implementation would start today failed to materialise when Cuban and Angolan negotiators did not respond to a US draft agreement submitted at talks in New York early last month.

A statement is expected from the Americans today on why that target date could not be reached.

Diplomatic sources indicated yesterday that the South African negotiating team was waiting for a response from the Angolan and Cuban teams before heading for Geneva for the next round of talks. Some members have apparently already left for the talks.

The US mediators tabled the draft agreement at the conclusion of the New York talks on October 9. The various parties were asked to respond to the US draft, known as a "synthesis paper".

South Africa responded favourably before the October 13 deadline, but the Cuban and Angolan

To page 3

From page 1

representatives have still not reported back. Diplomats believe they may be awaiting the outcome of the US presidential elections next Tuesday before responding.

The draft agreement is believed to include January 1 as the starting date for the implementation of Resolution 435, with elections scheduled for August 1.

The UN has indicated that it will need at least six weeks to get its Untag transitional peace-keeping force in place. This would mean that if the new date for the implementation of 435 is to be reached, all sides have only two weeks in which to come to an agreement.

The draft agreement, made after extensive discussions between all parties, includes a total Cuban withdrawal from Angola over a two-year period. The Cubans previously insisted on withdrawing their estimated 52 000 troops over 30 months.

It is believed the latest US offer includes a stipulation that 4 000 troops should withdraw from Angola before the implementation of 435, considerably fewer than the 10 000 to 12 000 SA originally insisted on.

South Africa previously called for the repatriation of an additional 15 000 Cubans who arrived in Angola since the start of the peace initiatives in May.

According to local sources, the draft provides for half of the Cuban troops to leave Angola by the date set for Namibian elections, with the balance being withdrawn to the 13th parallel north of the Angolan-Namibian border in two stages.

Under the plan, about three-quarters of the Cuban forces will be withdrawn a year after the elections with the remainder withdrawn over the following year.

The Angolan government's ongoing war with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebel movement appears to remain the main stumbling block to a Cuban withdrawal and a regional settlement.

Cuba cannot be seen to be selling out the MPLA government and the Angolans in turn are concerned about containing Unita without the Cuban forces.

According to Sapa, South African sources say there is ground for hope that the negotiations will resume because of the active interest displayed by the Soviet Union, whose influence on Cuba is believed to be strong enough to bring them back to the negotiating table.

Angolan president Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos is currently making a visit to Moscow where the negotiations are likely to be discussed.

US National Security adviser Mr Colin Powell said in Washington last Friday that a diplomatic agreement to end the Angolan and Namibian conflicts was near. — Sapa-Reuter

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# Havana could hold key to success of new commission

CAF 11/15  
11/18  
S. STEENKAMP

The November 1 deadline set for the start of implementation of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council — providing for Namibian independence — has proved to be unrealistic. Differences remain unresolved between South Africa, Angola and Cuba about the timing of the departure of the Cuban forces from neighbouring Angola. But a joint military monitoring commission has begun to operate. Defence Correspondent WILLEM STEENKAMP reports.

THE establishment of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission has evoked a feeling of *deja vu* among South African observers, particularly those who served on its ill-fated predecessor, the Joint Monitoring Commission of 1984.

In some ways the JMC of 1984 and the JMMC of 1988 closely resemble one another. In other ways they do not — and the greatest difference is that whereas the failure of the 1984 model was a setback for regional peace, the failure of the JMMC would be a catastrophe.

The 1984 JMC was set up after an historic South African-Angolan meeting, sponsored by the United States, at Lusaka in February of that year. Its aim was to ensure that a large part of southern Angola was cleared of all "foreign presences", meaning specifically South Africans, Cubans and Swapo insurgents.

It did not work. The South Africans did not abandon their support of the Unita insurgents — being Angolans, the latter did not fall within the ambit of the JMC, and the fine distinction was good enough for Pretoria — and the Angolans did not try very hard, if at all, to prevent Swapo activities in the designated area.

## Hiatus

In hindsight the JMC could not have worked, the fatal defect being the same one that plagues the present peace negotiations: the on-going war between Luanda and Unita. The South Africans supported Unita because it prevented large-scale Swapo infiltration into the border area, and the Angolans supported Swapo mainly because they needed the insurgents' manpower to fight Unita.

In the end the JMC fizzled out and things went back to normal. Swapo insurgents trickled southwards, South Africans operated north of the border and Unita and the MPLA regime carried on with their struggle. Virtually the only ones to benefit were the South Africans, who took advantage of the temporary hiatus to carry out some vigorous counter-insurgency sweeps south of the border which reduced Swapo activities almost to a standstill.

The JMMC of 1988 is infinitely larger in scope. Its role, as defined by the Geneva Protocol, is to monitor for and prevent three types of violations:

- South African movement north of the international border.
- Cuban/Angolan movement south of the border.
- Swapo activity south of the so-called "Quiteve line", which runs east-west along the 16th parallel.

## Delegations

As with the old JMC, it consists of two national contingents, South African and Cuban/Angolan, camped in close proximity but each with its own logistic and medical support organization.

Six-man delegations which meet every morning at 10 to discuss such things as domestic logistical and procedural arrangements; common working procedures; the mounting of joint patrols; alleged violations; and the functioning of the various monitoring posts, of which 11 are being constructed from the Epupa falls in the west to Bagani military base in the east.

The ground rules are that delegates must achieve consensus on violations. If they cannot, the matter must be sent to the regional military commanders (who meet routinely once a week), and if it still resists consensus it is referred to the third level, the GOC

South West Africa territory force, Major-General Willie Meyer, and his Angolan opposite number who commands 5 Military Region, who meet once a month, alternately on Angolan and SWA/Namibian soil.

## Clarification

That is the theory of it. How well it is working in practice is not always easy to discern, thanks to the participants' (and particularly the South Africans') great caution about obstructing the overall peace negotiations.

It certainly works as regards clarification of minor misunderstandings, as when a small South African border-patrol force recently briefly crossed the Cutline (the actual border demarcation) into Angolan territory.

Their JMMC delegation promptly admitted it, adding there had been no hostile intentions; it had been a mistake caused by the fact that the Cutline was indistinct in the area concerned. This was unreservedly accepted.

Things are less clear when it comes to actual violations. I am told that while the Angolans/Cubans have not claimed any as yet, the South Africans have reported at least five violations by Swapo members, some wearing Cuban or Angolan uniforms, who were shot or captured and found to be carrying evidence that they had originated north of the Quiteve line.

JMMC-level consensus could not be reached on whether they were, in fact, violations, and the matter was then referred to a higher level: as far as I know it has not yet been resolved there either.

## Integrated

I have been told that one reason for the difficulty in reaching consensus is that, as in 1984, the Angolans either cannot exercise full control over Swapo movements or do not wish to do so — the explanation being the same one, namely that they cannot dictate to Swapo because it is an independent movement.

This excuse did not hold water then and does not hold water now, because Swapo exists by Luanda's grace: it is logistically integrated with the Angolan structure and thousands of its members serve full-time in the Angolan army.

The real reason, it would appear, is the same as in 1984: Luanda cannot see its way clear to clipping Swapo's wings while the insurgents are helping them to fight Unita.

If this is the case, it would seem that monitoring of Swapo violations will not really be feasible unless some sort of ceasefire is arranged between Luanda and Unita. A failure to reach such an agreement could seriously affect the functioning of the JMMC — and the entire peace process.

As one official told me recently in an unguarded moment: "If we can't monitor Swapo, what is going to happen with the 50 000 Cubans in Angola?"

The key to it all might be the Cubans. Reports reaching me indicate that the Cubans completely dominate the Angolans in their dealings with the South Africans, both on the JMMC and at the international meetings — hardly a surprising phenomenon, considering general Cuban "kragdadigheid" and the fact that without them the Angolan government would be seriously menaced by Unita and also unable to prevent South African incursions into its southland.

So perhaps the key to a really successful JMMC should be sought in Havana rather than Luanda, Windhoek or Pretoria.

SA team left high and dry as . . .

# Angola, Cuba fail to show up at peace talks

(S) 6/10/88  
2/11/88

GENEVA — A group of SA officials left Geneva yesterday after a three-day wait for fresh peace talks on south-western Africa with Cuba and Angola which did not materialise, diplomats said.

They said SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys and three aides arrived in Geneva last Friday for a possible resumption of US-mediated talks on independence for Namibia and a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

But, in spite of rumours of an impending meeting since last week, Cuba and Angola apparently never sent delegates.

The SA team, which would have been followed by higher-ranked officials, arrived even as hopes were fading that yesterday's target date for implementation of UN resolution 435 on Namibia would be met.

The plan called for SA withdrawal from Namibia and UN-supervised elections in an independent Namibia.

Pretoria has tied agreement to the withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops backing Angola's government. Negotiators have been unable to settle on a timetable for the Cuban pullout.

Sapa reported on Monday that Cuba and Angola had failed to respond to a US compromise plan calling for a three-stage withdrawal with half of the Cubans leaving before elections were held in Namibia.

The mediator, Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker, had asked for replies by October 12, but only SA had given one.

SA papers reported that President P W Botha was trying to postpone the target date to January 1.

□ PETER DELMAR reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday denied SA was to blame for the delayed implementation of Namibian independence and indicated that Angola and Cuba were responsible for the impasse.

Botha said SA believed enough progress was made at talks in New York early last month to allow agreement to be reached by November 1.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman confirmed yesterday that SA diplomats were still on standby, awaiting the go-ahead for a Geneva meeting from the US mediators.

□ It was reported from Lusaka that a Swapo spokesman said Swapo was still hopeful a settlement on Namibian independence and a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola could be reached by the end of this year.

He said Swapo was still maintaining a two-month-old ceasefire in its guerrilla war in Namibia.

Asked whether Swapo believed that the stalled negotiations on Angola and Namibia could reach an agreement by the end of this year, the spokesman replied: "We hope so."

□ It was reported from Lisbon that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said a November 1 target date for the start of an independence plan for Namibia was unrealistic, but he expected the process to begin before the end of January. — Sapa-AP-Reuter.



# Namibia: 'Significant differences' remain

ARGUS 2/11/88

5

WASHINGTON. — Significant differences remain on a peace settlement for Southern Africa, the United States says.

As Cuba, South Africa and Angola missed yesterday's target date for achieving agreement, State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman expressed confidence that an accord will be reached, but declined to suggest when that might happen.

He said the negotiating parties, South Africa, Angola and Cuba, had moved to close the gap between their original positions on the last remaining obstacle to an accord — a timetable for withdrawing Cuban troops from Angola.

"Substantial progress has been made at narrowing differences on a withdrawal calendar. However, there are still some significant differences to be resolved," Mr Redman said.

He confirmed that the US had put forward "several ideas" that might form the basis of a compromise.

Sources in Johannesburg said one of these calls for removal of 4 000 Cuban troops before the independence process be-

gins, of 36 000 troops in the first year of independence and the remaining 12 000 in the second year.

"We are confident that a settlement will be reached because peace in Southern Africa is an idea whose time has come," Mr Redman said.

He refused to blame any party for the failure to reach agreement by the November 1 deadline but noted that Angola, Cuba and the Soviet Union are "conferring actively on their next steps in the negotiating process".

## Pointed fingers

Pre-empting any pointed fingers, and pointing a few of his own, South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday said South Africa was not the cause of delay.

South Africa regretted that a settlement had not been achieved by yesterday, he said, and did not believe that the complexity and degree of difficulty of the negotiations had been the only reason for the lack of agreement.

Other South African sources said government negotiators were ready to fly to Geneva for what could be a final bar-

gaining session after hearing Cuba's response.

They said Cuba appeared to be awaiting the outcome of the US presidential election before giving the green light that could see an agreement signed as early as November 14. Cuba and Angola would expect more support from Democrat Mr Michael Dukakis than from Republican Mr George Bush for their battle against Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels, who now fight with US weapons. — Sapa-Reuter.



5/27/84

# SA is in fight for survival — Malan

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

South Africa was involved in a "struggle for survival", the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

He was addressing the Institute for Strategic Studies in Pretoria.

He questioned if the ultimate objective of Cuban forces in Angola was not Namibia, or even South Africa.

The struggle for survival facing South Africa was "potentially against organised, conventional armed forces". General Malan also warned that South Africa should show constant vigilance because of the ambiguous approach of the Soviet Union in southern Africa.

## TERROR

Our security interests demand that we take four matters into account, he said. They were:

- The fact that there was no visible evidence that the Soviet Union's more relaxed international relationships had permeated to South Africa's part of the world.

- Rapprochement between East and West — that in the long run could exclude South Africa.

- The Soviet weapons build-up in southern Africa, plus the presence of foreign forces.

- The sustained revolutionary and terror threat to South Africa.

General Malan also warned that should Angola and Cuba attempt to destroy Unita while negotiations on peace in the region were in progress, the talks would "immediately be in jeopardy". South Africa had not abandoned Unita.

Angola 'must  
make peace  
with Unita'

Political Reporter

A settlement between the Angolan government and Unita is of crucial importance to the four-party southern African peace talks, Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said yesterday.

Speaking at the Rand Afrikaans University, he said South Africa strongly favoured internal reconciliation in Angola, but Luanda "does not take note of foreign suggestions".

He said Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had until now been excluded from the talks between the US, SA, Cuba and Angola because they involved countries — not parties.

But the SA Government kept Dr Savimbi informed.

(S) (C) FIMAIL 4/11/88

## ANGOLA/NAMIBIA

### Bear squeeze needed

The November 1 implementation date for UN Resolution 435 on Namibia's independence has passed without response from Cuba and Angola on Cuban troop withdrawal. So at this stage in the south-western Africa peace search, it seems all hope rests with the Soviet Union to break the deadlock. That is the feeling in diplomatic circles, as Foreign Affairs Director General Neil van Heerden is on standby for the final phase in the talks.

As the *FM* went to press, Van Heerden and his team were waiting to hear from US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker on whether there had been any response from the other two parties. Pretoria had informed the American mediator about its flexibility towards the American "synthesis" paper produced after the recent New York talks.

It is also understood that US Secretary of State George Shultz asked his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze to exert pressure on Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos to respond positively to the American paper.

After an initial lukewarm approach to the peace talks, the Soviets now seem keen to become actively involved in the process. Crocker has confirmed their willingness to co-operate.

The Soviet factor has injected new hope that a solution may still be found. The Soviets are, the Americans believe, the only ones with enough clout to bring the Angolans and Cubans to heel.

The American paper proposes that 50% of the Cuban troops be out of Angola by the

proposed Namibian election day of August 1 1989. For the balance, the move north would continue in two stages: reaching the 15th parallel by April 1; and re-deployment north of the 13th latitude, near the Benguela line, on June 30.

The proposal calls for a high rate of withdrawal until 12 months after elections ("D plus 12" in the negotiators' shorthand), in which case there would have been a 75% Cuban withdrawal. Of the remainder (approximately 14 000 troops), 4 000 should be withdrawn by the end of the following six months after elections, with the last 10 000 leaving in the last six months of the two-year plan.

Diplomatic circles say the Angolans and Cubans initially rejected these proposals, saying that was not even a basis to take home to their respective governments.

US sources say SA responded positively within three days. However, it soon became clear that neither Angola nor Cuba was able to deal with the US plan. Various reasons were advanced, but according to Western diplomats it is quite clear that the position of Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement plays an important part in their reluctance.

Unita's position, as Stellenbosch's Willie Breytenbach warned when the talks began in May, is the weak link in the chain. While SA has made it clear that it has invested in Unita, it has also said it is not tied to the movement forever.

A reasonable basis to terminate the relationship, which will have to include a survival guarantee for Savimbi's people, would be acceptable to SA, diplomatic sources suggest. The message to Angola and Cuba is clear: if Unita is annihilated, it will not be possible for SA to continue with any talks.

SA is adamant about Unita's position.

(S) (C) FIMAIL 4/11/88

There can be no peace in the region unless a compromise is reached between the MPLA government and the rebel movement. SA diplomats feel that Savimbi is not dogmatic about his position in a future Angolan government. He wants free elections — which are not part of the MPLA agenda, they add.

Swapo's continued hostilities over the Namibian border are also a matter of concern to SA. They are causing a lot of friction and diplomats say even Angola has become embarrassed by them. At present SA is monitoring the situation and any further hostilities will be raised during the next round of talks. If there appears to be no solution, SA is said to have contingency plans. ■

# One is East and one is West

(5)  
8/26/11/88

This long-billed  
an aquarium in C  
times goes off its  
tificial environme  
be fed by li-

It is becoming increasingly clear that a reconciliation between the Angolan government and Unita rebels is the key which will unlock the peace talks and allow both Cuba and South Africa to withdraw from the region with honour in tact.

Two important questions therefore arise: first, what are the differences between the two parties? and, second, can the gap between the two be narrowed sufficiently to allow them to sit around the conference table and discuss a common future?

The usual simplification about the warring brothers has always held that the MPLA government was committed to Marxism, while Unita was committed to the free enterprise system — that one was East and one was West and never the twain would meet.

## Western-style economy

But recently there has been considerable movement away from a rigidly-structured Marxist economy by Luanda, while a close reading of what little literature there is on Unita's post-war plans for the economy, reveal a substantial proportion of socialist-flavoured thinking.

Last year the Luanda government formalised its move towards a more Western-style economy by applying to join the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the high temple of capitalism.

Admittedly this move, along with the imposition of IMF-styled austerity measures and a loosening of central control of the economy, is less of an ideological recantation than a practical response to the dire financial position of the country since the crash of oil prices in 1986 more than halved its foreign earnings.

The government remains tied to the Eastern bloc to which it owes more than half its foreign debt, mostly to Russia for arms purchases, and because the Russians have been usually sympathetic in rescheduling these loans when requested.

Unita has also said it is committed to a form of economic socialism, albeit a uniquely Angolan form — "co-ordinated and made up of private Angolan and foreign enterprise with the participation of the State".

As the Angolan peace talks resume in Geneva, crucial meetings are taking place aimed at effecting a reconciliation between Luanda and Unita rebels. But can the gap between the two be sufficiently narrowed to allow them to sit around the conference table. **KEN VERNON** of *The Star's Africa News Service* reports.

While it rejects the highly centralised control of the market-place in favour of market forces, it says that banking and finance must be under "the exclusive control of the State".

Economically, it is obvious the two sides are not poles apart, and are coming closer.

Politically, however, there are major ideological differences.

The MPLA is a small, close-knit Marxist-Leninist vanguard party which does not tolerate any opposition from without its ranks, while Unita says it is committed to a multiparty democracy and free elections.

But Angola has never had free one-man, one-vote elections in its entire history, and in the short term it is highly unlikely that such an event could be organised given the vast distances of the Angolan bush, lack of communication and the total unsophistication of the electorate.

Thus, it is unlikely that the differing conceptions of "democracy" of the two parties would be a major hurdle preventing reconciliations talks.

Finally, there is the question of the superpower backing of the two parties. The MPLA is tied securely to the Soviet bloc through trade agreements and a multitude of cultural and ideological ties, as well as depending upon it for the arms it has used to survive.

In the same vein, Unita is tied to South Africa and the US for arms and logistical support to carry on its resistance, as well as to a group of conservative African states.

Given superpower rivalry, this would have been an almost insurmountable problem, but in the post-glasnost era of co-operation, the problem all but disappears.

An example is the fact that it was Russia and the United States that jointly sponsored

the present rounds of talks.

Both superpowers know full well that independence for Namibia is impossible without an agreement in Angola.

At crucial times in the talks in both Brazzaville and New York, it has been the Soviets who have stepped in to put pressure on both the Cubans and Angolans to make concessions and continue the talks.

It can be taken for granted that the US and South Africa will place similar pressure on Unita if it raises objections to a possible reconciliation.

In a significant trip this month, Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos went to Moscow to discuss the progress, or lack of it, at the peace talks, with President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Equally significantly, after his visit he stopped off for talks in Morocco, the main backer of Unita after the US and South Africa.

It would be interesting to know where Dr Savimbi was at the time.

In June, just days after meeting President Omar Bongo of Gabon and President Denis Nguesso of Congo, President dos Santos for the first time suggested that talks with Unita might be a possibility — after years of publicly denouncing the idea.

This was a rare public indication of the pressure being put on Dos Santos to reconsider reconciliation by African leaders.

## Rivalry for power

Lastly, there is the question of the personalities and the possible rivalry for power that would result between presidents Dos Santos and Savimbi in any coalition government.

In the past Savimbi has said he would gladly step aside in the cause of unity, but the dour MPLA hierarchy must view with trepidation any daily comparison with the charismatic Unita leader.

However, it must be unique for the leaders of both the superpowers and a large number of African leaders to agree on anything, but if, as seems likely, they have all agreed that reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA is both desirable and necessary, it is doubtful that anything will be allowed to stand in its way.

# 'SA troops massing in Namibia'

## Singing, chanting as Maggie meets Lech

HARARE. — South Africa has started a military build-up along Namibia's northern border with Angola, say reports reaching here.

According to Zimbabwe's national news agency, Ziara, a Namibia Press Agency (Nampa) dispatch from Windhoek said: "Reports from the north indicate South Africa has in recent days deployed about 50 000 troops along the frontier with Angola.

"Observers note that the heavy concentration of troops in the north and the non-implementation of Resolution 435 on November 1, coupled with bogging down of the quadripartite talks, indicate sinister South African motives in ongoing efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Namibian conflict."

Asked for comment, an SADF spokesman said: "The Defence Force does not comment on such a poor attempt at disinformation."

### Promised aid

● Nampa also reported that a delegation of international youth has just completed a two-week visit to Swapo's provisional headquarters in Luanda, Angola. Members pledged material assistance, especially scholarships, to schoolchildren who have fled Namibia to join Swapo in Angola, the report said.

● And in Washington, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said talks on Namibia's future were "very much continuing". He told Voice of America radio that "all sides in the talks have reiterated to us their commitment to bring the negotiations to a rapid and successful conclusion". — Sapa

GDANSK. — Huge crowds of singing, chanting Solidarity supporters gave British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher a noisy welcome here yesterday and union leader Mr Lech Walesa called her "fantastic".

They cheered, sang and chanted "Solidarity, Solidarity" as Mr Thatcher and Mr Walesa laid a wreath of red and white roses at a monument to workers killed in an anti-communist uprising.

In an emotional climax to her three-day visit to Poland, Mrs Thatcher was almost mobbed as she plunged into a crowd of tens of thousands who welcomed her in the Baltic port city where the banned union was born in 1980.

"I am very grateful that fate let me get to know such a fantastic Mrs Prime Minister," Mr Walesa told reporters.

"It has been for me a very moving visit ... We have had very interesting and very wonderful talks."

## Pick 'n Pay 'not always cheapest'

JOHANNESBURG. — TV1 should get suppliers to state their side of the retail pricing argument, the president of the Housewives' League, Mrs Lyn Morris, said yesterday. She denied that League surveys had shown Pick 'n Pay to be consistently cheapest.

Mrs Morris was reacting to Thursday's "Network" TV debate between Mr Clive Weil of Checkers and Mr

Raymond Ackerman of Pick 'n Pay about pricing in the retail sector

Mrs Morris denied a claim by Mr Ackerman that League surveys showed "Pick 'n Pay prices were always the cheapest".

"Checkers has been challenging strongly and it and the other chains have in fact beaten Pick 'n Pay on occasions," she said. — Sapa

from the

# Unita kills 11 in clash on border <sup>(5)</sup>

LISBON — The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) claimed yesterday that its troops had killed 75 Angolan government soldiers in clashes around the country so far this month.

It said 11 of the soldiers were killed during clashes on the Angolan border

with Namibia last Thursday as government troops were preparing to attack rebel positions along the border.

During the attacks throughout Angola, 10 rebel guerilla fighters died, Unita said. There was no independent confirmation of the attacks. — Associated Press

7/11/67

# Peace talks to resume

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Peace talks between South Africa and Angola/Cuba resume in Geneva later this week for what is hoped will be the decisive round in clinching an agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the region.

The negotiations are proceeding in spite of the stalemate which has existed between the three countries for the past several weeks on the issue of troop withdrawal.

There has been a strong suspicion on the side of the South Africans that the Angolans/Cubans have been stalling the talks until after tomorrow's US presidential election.

## PRESSURE

If Mr Michael Dukakis wins there will be little pressure on Angola to make concessions as he has already said his administration will officially recognise the Angolan government and cut aid to Unita.

The South African negotiating team, under the leadership of the director-general for foreign affairs, Mr Niel van Heerden, and which includes SA Defence Force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and the chief of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard, is expected to leave for Switzerland on Wednesday.

## TALKS BEGIN

The talks are scheduled to begin on Friday.

At the top of the agenda remains what the President Mr P W Botha has termed the toughest nut to crack - a mutually satisfactory agreement on a timetable for the repatriation to Cuba of all of the its troops in Angola.

Without this agreement, South Africa will not allow the Namibian independence process to start.

Failure to reach an agreement has already resulted in the original target date of November 1 for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 to be postponed to January 1.

## AGREEMENT

If this week's talks fail to secure an agreement, it is doubtful that the new target date will be met.

The parties will resume discussions on the basis of a single document put forward by the US, which is chairing the negotiations.

The document seeks to find the middle ground between the positions of the two sides.

It involves the phased withdrawal of Cubans over two years from the start of the implementation of Resolution 435, with half of all troops back home by the time of independence elections and the other half confined to north of the Benguela railway line.

Until now only South Africa has told the US that it would be prepared to be flexible on these proposals. Cuba and Angola have not yet replied.

Jan 1 new Namibia deadline?

# Talks on Angola peace to resume in Switzerland

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Peace talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba will resume in Geneva from Friday until Sunday, with the United States mediators anxious to establish that a missed milestone in the negotiations will not derail them.

Friday will see the first face-to-face consultations since informal talks in New York early last month — and since November 1, the target date for a start to the United Nations independence plan for SWA/Namibia.

The chief mediator, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said the missed deadline would not damage the peace process as long as the parties could demonstrate they were serious about proceeding with follow-on meetings.

## Formal negotiations

Dr Crocker said it would be necessary at the new meeting for all sides to show they were prepared to take decisions.

The Geneva meeting was preparatory to a formal round of negotiations in Brazzaville. State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said yesterday.

He added that Dr Crocker would also meet Soviet deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoliy Adamishin in Geneva on Thursday.

January 1 is being widely reported as the next target date for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435, the independence plan for

SWA/Namibia, but it is understood this date has not been set or agreed to by the three parties involved.

Sources said January 1 was first mentioned as a possibility by the US mediators at the New York talks last month, but not discussed or settled.

Dr Crocker said intensive consultations had taken place between Angola, Cuba and South Africa between the New York meetings and November 1.

● A senior Unita official said in Lisbon yesterday that within the Angolan government there was a growing faction willing to accept peace and reconciliation with the rebels. Associated Press reports that Mr Antonio da Costa Fernandes, Unita's foreign affairs spokesman, said at a news conference: "A certain group (within the government) says we have to negotiate with Unita now and without conditions."



# More Angolans ready to accept us, says Unita

APGAS 8/11/88 (5)

LISBON — There is a growing faction within the Angolan government that is willing to accept peace and reconciliation with Unita, a senior official of the rebel movement has said.

Mr Antonio da Costa Fernandes, Unita's foreign affairs spokesman, said at a news conference here that "a certain group (within the government) says we have to negotiate with Unita now and without conditions", adding that the group was now in the majority.

"There has been an evolution ... because this group wants the Cubans to leave," Mr Fernandes said.

He said he based his assertions on contacts made in Paris, Lisbon and the United States with "certain personalities who live in Luanda". He did not specify who the personalities were.

## On course

From Washington the Argus Foreign Service reports that peace talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba will resume in Geneva on Friday with the US mediators anxious to establish that the talks are still on course in spite of the missed November 1 deadline for implementation of Resolution 435.

The chief mediator, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said the missed deadline would not damage the peace process "as long as the parties can ... demonstrate that they are indeed serious about proceeding with further meetings in the very near future."

Speaking on the Voice of America, Dr Crocker said it would be necessary at the new meetings for all sides to show they were prepared to take decisions.

The Geneva meeting was a preparation for a formal round of negotiations in Brazzaville, State Department spokesman Charles Redman said yesterday.

January 1 is being widely reported as the next target date for the implementation of the

UN independence plan for Namibia. But it is understood this date has not been set or agreed to by the three parties involved.

Meanwhile, rebel sources in Lisbon claimed that Unita forces had killed 119 government soldiers and lost 14 guerrillas in clashes in southern provinces.

They said that 46 soldiers died last Tuesday in the biggest battle in and around Caluquembe in Huila province.

Most were killed when the rebels seized Caluquembe barracks, although the fighting also spread to the surrounding countryside when the army sent in reinforcements, one statement said. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

creates his own.

served under presidents Nixon, Donald Hodel and former

# A boost for Angola peace hopes

Star 10/11/84 (S) (circled)

By GERALD L'ANGE  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

The Angolan peace talks resume in Geneva on Friday and should provide some indication of how the election of Mr George Bush will influence the negotiations.

South African hopes of ending the hiatus in the Angola-Namibia negotiations have been boosted by Mr George Bush's victory in the American presidential election.

The strengthening of the Democratic party's majorities in both houses of Congress could have a counter effect but analysts doubt that it will be strong enough to reverse the current of the negotiations.

The first indication of how Mr Bush's election will influence the negotiations could come this week as the South Africans, Angolans and Cubans meet again in Geneva to continue the talks under the chairmanship of the United States.

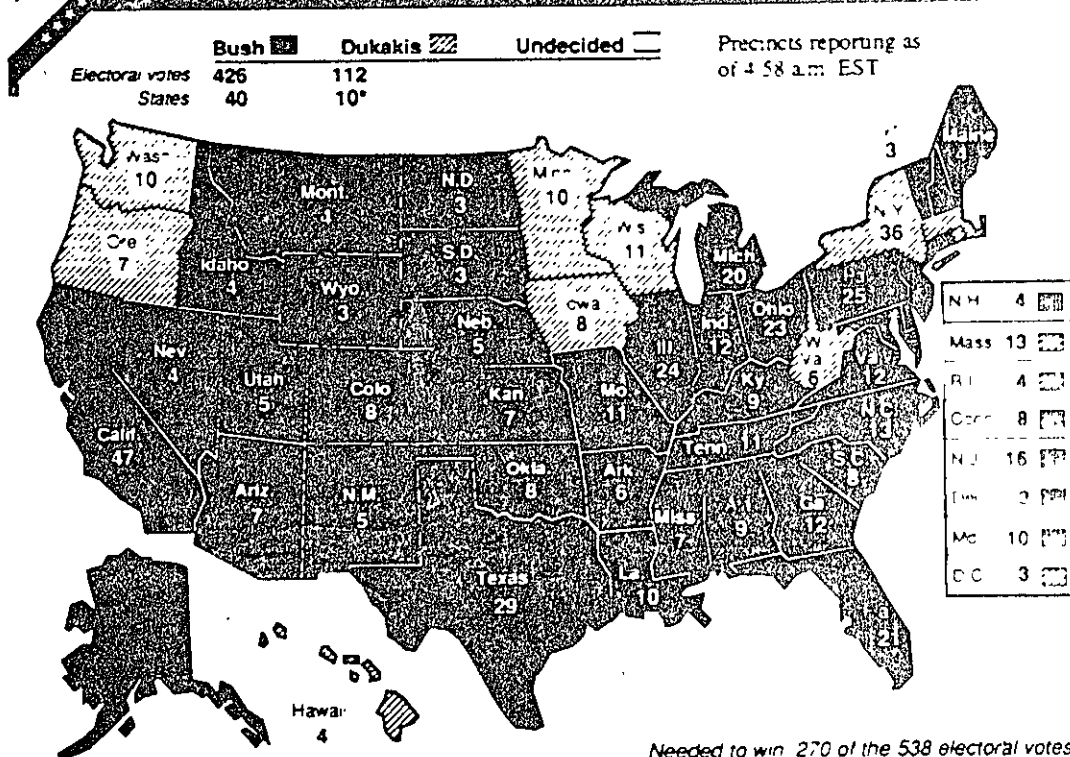
The Geneva meeting ends a long break in the negotiations that has been attributed to Angola and Cuba wanting to see if Mr Michael Dukakis would become US President.

Mr Dukakis had promised, if elected, to stop the American arms supplies to Unita. In addition, he said he would recognise the MPLA government in Luanda — which the Reagan administration has refused to do.

He would also reject the linking of Namibian independence to the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola, on which both the US and South Africa have insisted.

In the negotiations the Angolans and Cubans have accepted

## HOW THEY FARED



\*District of Columbia  
AP Access to name PRESMAF

the principle of a Cuban troop withdrawal but have jibbed at South African efforts to make it coincide with the granting of independence in Namibia.

When the talks resume in Geneva on Friday the parties will have before them a compromise American timetable that has already been accepted in principle by South Africa but not by the other side.

Mr Bush's victory will increase the pressure on the Angolans and Cubans to accept

the compromise. He is expected to support the negotiating position taken on behalf of President Reagan by Dr Chester Crocker, US assistant secretary of state for Africa.

Despite their stronger dominance of Congress, the Democrats will be unable to block the flow of American arms to Unita for some time. And, as nothing in the settlement proposals would require Congressional approval, the Democrats will be unable to exercise any

direct influence over the outcome of the talks.

With little prospect of Mr Dukakis's election promises being implemented through the congressional majority, the Angolans will now have a stronger incentive not only to compromise on the Cuban withdrawal issue but also to negotiate a political settlement with Unita, which some authorities believe may be inevitable in the absence of the Cuban troops.

## Soviets optimistic about Geneva talks

# 'Agreement can be reached on Cuban pull-out'

Star 11/11/88

By Sue Leeman,  
The Star's Foreign News Service

GENEVA — The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin said last night that he believes an agreement can be reached here between South Africa, Angola and Cuba on the thorny issue of a timetable for Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The South Africans, however, were somewhat more guarded in their prognosis for the three-party talks, saying they believed the Angolans and Cubans had not yet responded to the American "synthesis paper" drawn up at the last round of talks in New York in October.

### Directly involved

News agencies interpreted Mr Adamishin's remarks as an offer to become directly involved in the negotiations on independence for Namibia and the linked withdrawal of Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola.

Some observers believe that there will have to be a lot of flexibility if the parties are to seal an agreement in time to start the Namibian peace process on January 1, as tentatively scheduled in the American paper.

However, Mr Adamishin, who spent three hours yesterday talking to US mediator Dr Chester Crocker, said he believed the crucial timetable for the Cuban pull-out could finally be framed here.

The American compromise proposals suggest the pull-out of 4 000 Cubans before Namibia begins a seven-month independence process, tentatively scheduled to start on January 1 1989. The remaining Cuban forces would move progressively northwards from March 31 and 36 000 would be repatriated dur-

ing the first year of Namibian independence, the balance withdrawing during the second year.

But proposals tabled by South Africa and Angola in Brazzaville at the end of September showed distinct differences.

South Africa, which proposed a two-year timetable, said it wanted 8 000 Cubans to leave before the independence process began, with the remainder starting their move north by the end of the seven month transition phase. Ninety-five percent of the Cubans, it said, must be repatriated within the first year of the timetable.

Angola offered a 30-month pull-out, with 2 000 leaving before the start of the transition and a further 1 000 a month during the next seven months. The rest, they say, would be gone within the next few months.

Mr Adamishin said his mood was one of "cautious optimism" that these gaps could be bridged.

### No response

But South African officials, led by Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, were saying that while they had made it clear they were prepared to be "flexible" on the New York synthesis paper, they believed no response had been forthcoming from the Angolans and Cubans.

● South Africa was yesterday accused in the United Nations of increased "repression", shooting innocent civilians, looting their property and committing torture.

The charges came from Mr Peter Zuze, the chief delegate of Zambia in his capacity as president of the UN Council for Namibia, a body that South Africa does not recognise.

# 'Final' SA-Angola talks begin in Geneva

Cape Times  
11/11/88  
5

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — Delegations from South Africa, Cuba, Angola and the United States arrived here yesterday for what could be the final round of talks before the signing of an agreement to end hostilities in southern Angola and bring independence to Namibia.

Chief mediator Dr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State, was locked in talks with his Soviet counterpart Mr Anatoly Adamishin.

US officials believe the Soviets might now be prepared to exert pressure on the Cubans and Angolans to accept a US synthesis paper which sets January 1 as the target date for the beginning of the implementation of UN Resolution 435 to bring independence to Namibia.

The South Africans also believe that having hedged their bets at the beginning of the talks, the Soviets are now prepared to play a more influential role, now that a settlement is in the offing.

Although the South African delegation is unhappy with certain aspects of the synthesis paper, it has indicated that it is prepared to be flexible about it.

It has not yet been made public whether the US has received a response to the paper from the Angolans and Cubans, but the fact that the South Africans, led by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden, are here is an indication that there has been some movement on this question.

The South Africans have made it clear that without a substantive response from the other sides it will be difficult for them to attend further talks.

The synthesis paper, which will form the basis of the discussions which get under way today, calls for the withdrawal of 4 000 Cuban troops before January 1.

During the implementation of Resolution 435, SA troops in Namibia will be reduced to 1 500, based at Oshivello and Grootfontein, within three months.

To ease understandable SA fears as a result of this, the paper provides for the withdrawal of Cuban troops at a rate of 3 500 a month. In addition all Cuban troops are to withdraw north of the 15th parallel by March 31, 1989 and north of the 13th parallel, just south of the Benguela railway line, a month before August 1, which is the target date for elections. By this formula half the Cuban troops will have left by the time of the Namibian elections.

After the elections, the paper says, 75% of the remaining Cuban troops should be withdrawn in the first year and the rest in the following year.

The Cubans and Angolans have not made public the reason for their delay in responding to these proposals, but it is believed their main concern is for Angolan security.

Diplomats also believe the Cubans and Angolans were waiting for the result of the US elections in the hope that Mr Michael Dukakis, who had pledged to stop aid to Unita, would win.

SA,<sup>S</sup>

# Soviet rift at

Star 12/11/84

SUE LEMAN

GENEVA — The Angola/Namibia peace talks appear to be on track here, despite some early differences of approach between the Soviets and the South Africans.

Yesterday the South Africans were downplaying reports of a rift between them and the Soviets over remarks by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin.

At a press conference on Thursday night, Mr Adamishin stressed that he believed the gaps between the parties could be bridged in this round of talks.

But South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, who is leading the South African delegation, said Mr Adamishin had often criticised South Africa for not pulling out of Namibia.

South African officials made it clear yesterday that bilateral talks were going ahead and they expected joint talks to follow.

Mr van Heerden met US mediator Dr Chester Crocker early yesterday.

He said he was keen to hear from Dr Crocker whether the Angolans and Cubans had responded to the US "synthesis paper" on a timetable for Cuban withdrawal. The paper was issued after the last round of talks in New York in October.

The South Africans have said that they are "perplexed" at what they see as a lack of response from the other side. American sources have indicated that a response has been made, but are not saying what it entails.

Dr Crocker was also expected to meet the Angolan and Cuban delega-

tions yesterday, and a plenary session of all the parties is expected to follow.

Robin Drew reports from Harare that the Swapo secretary-general, former Robben Island prisoner Hermann Toivo ja Toivo, has said that a free Namibia will follow a socialist programme — but that this would take a long time to implement, as the territory's economy was so tied to South Africa's.

He said a Swapo government would work towards freeing the economy from South Africa and distributing the land to its rightful owners — the Namibian people.

His views were given in an interview in Harare with *The Herald*, which quoted him as saying: "We will negotiate agreements with the multinational companies — who are illegally exploiting Namibian resources — to train our people."

"In reality, all those who went into Namibia in defiance of Resolution 435 will have to pay reparations.

"These reparations may be in the form of their agreeing to train our people. If they don't agree, they can leave the country."

On the land question, he said a Swapo government would have to acquire land to the best of its ability.

"We have farms which are owned by foreigners, some of these lying idle or under-utilised. But we are not going to nationalise the land."

Mr Toivo ja Toivo is in Harare attending a meeting of east and southern African parliamentary officials.

TALKS

# Positive <sup>at</sup> mood <sup>at</sup> Angola <sup>12/1/68</sup> peace talks

GENEVA. — South Africa is set to go into a full round of talks with Angola and Cuba today which is aimed at resolving the vexed issue of a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

And there appeared to be a relaxed mood among delegates last night as the South Africans were invited by the Angolans to attend a reception to mark Luanda's Independence Day.

The director general for Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said his delegation was ready for a plenary session today after an indication from United States mediators that "there was now something to talk about".

He said this stemmed from a series of meetings yesterday.

Mr Van Heerden said yesterday's talks, which included a meeting with a senior Soviet official Mr Yuri Vasev, had been friendly. — Sapa

# Peace talks on track, says Crocker

The Argus  
Nov 14 1978

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From SUE LEEMAN

The Argus Foreign Service

GENEVA. — The Angolan-Namibian peace talks are on track and could be reaching a "decisive point", according to US mediator Dr Chester Crocker.

Dr Crocker told a briefing of journalists that the Americans agreed with the assessment of the Soviet Deputy-Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, that agreement could be reached now.

Referring to the long-awaited plenary session which had just been postponed, Dr Crocker said all the parties preferred working at a bilateral level, "because when you reach an end-game you don't do it in a plenary session."

He said the US had made no proposals in Geneva but had simply relayed each side's position to the other.

He said there was a definite indication from all the parties that they were willing for a settlement — but not at just any price.

There had been a narrowing of differences on three fronts: what would happen between now and the start of Namibia's transition to independence, the extent of Cuban withdrawal and the "rate and rhythm" of withdrawal at various points.

"It is an objective fact that we have never been closer to an agreement. But if people de-

cide they cannot go the extra mile you will see a rapid change of atmosphere."

● Attempts to set a timetable for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola are set to run into a fourth day here today amid signs that some progress is being made.

Another scheduled all-party discussion was postponed at the last moment last night and is now set for today.

But American sources said the delay was not to be considered an ominous sign.

## Common ground

It was Dr Crocker's wish to hold further bilateral meetings with the individual parties before getting them round the table. It is believed he wants to make sure there is as much common ground as possible before starting a joint session.

The Cubans and Angolans had earlier told Dr Crocker of their response to the compromise proposals tabled by the Americans after the last round of talks, in New York in October.

Dr Crocker communicated their position to the South Africans, who have responded in turn.

The South Africans are understood to have seen the Angolan-Cuban response as something on which further constructive negotiating can be based. Sources said the talks were still very much "in motion."

## Savimbi launches hit-and-run offensive

The Argus Foreign Service

LUANDA. — The Angolan rebel group Unita has launched a new offensive as the peace talks in Geneva continue.

Unita has perhaps most to lose from the talks, and in the past few months Jonas Savimbi's guerrillas have demonstrated their ability to strike in almost any part of Angola.

Last week a bomb in the second city, Huambo, killed three people and severely damaged two factories. Cubal in the coastal province of Benguela was also attacked, official sources said, and a number of people were abducted.

## HEAVY LOSSES

Even the area around Luanda is apparently unsafe. Diplomats say Funda, a few kilometres from the capital, was the scene of heavy government losses in a Unita ambush two weeks ago.

They quoted witnesses who saw truckloads of dead and wounded government Fapla soldiers coming back from Funda.

Official sources are playing down the Funda attack, but ministers admit the difficulties of dealing with Unita, given the continuing support for Savimbi from Washington and Pretoria.

The "fantoche" (puppets), they say, are putting on a show to keep their backers mindful of their importance and guarding against a deal that would leave them on the sidelines.

Since the departure of their South African allies in September, Unita's plans to establish a "liberated zone," either around Jamba in the south-east, or Quimbele on the Zairean border, appear to have been shelved. Instead, small guerrilla bands have spread throughout the country, attacking and then melting into the bush.

'Decisive point could be reached'

# Peace talks are on track, says Crocker

Star 14/11/88 (5)

By Sue Leeman, The Star's Foreign News Service

GENEVA — The Angolan-Namibian peace talks are on track and could be reaching a "decisive point", according to US mediator Dr Chester Crocker.

Dr Crocker told a briefing of journalists that the Americans agreed with the assessment of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin last week that agreement could be reached now.

Referring to the long-awaited plenary session which had been postponed yesterday evening, Dr Crocker said all the parties preferred working at a bilateral level "because when you reach an end-game you don't do it in a plenary session".

He said the US had made no proposals in Geneva but had simply relayed each side's position to the other.

There had been a narrowing

of differences on three fronts: what would happen before now and "D-Day" (the start of Namibia's transition to independence), the total length of Cuban withdrawal and the "rate and rhythm" of withdrawal at various points.

"On every aspect there has been movement. If all the parties continue to show flexibility, closure is within reach."

● Attempts to set a timetable for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola are set to run into a fourth day here today amid signs that some progress is being made.

## Talks postponed

The postponement yesterday of an all-party discussion for today was not to be considered an ominous sign, say American sources.

It was Dr Crocker's wish to hold further bilateral meetings with the individual parties be-

fore getting them all together around the table. It is believed he wants to make sure there is as much common ground as possible before starting a joint session.

The Cubans and Angolans had earlier informed Dr Crocker of their response to the compromise proposals tabled by the Americans after the last round of talks in New York in October.

Dr Crocker communicated their position to the South Africans, who have responded in turn.

The South Africans are understood to have seen the Angolan-Cuban response as something on which further constructive negotiating can be based. Sources said the talks were still very much "in motion".

The Angolans' chief negotiator, Chief of Staff General Ndalo was talking yesterday about "flexibility" and a belief that a settlement could be reached soon.



# Unita offensive as Geneva talks go on

LUANDA — The Angolan rebel group Unita has launched a new offensive as Angolans, Cubans, Americans and South Africans meet in Geneva to discuss the future of south-western Africa.

Unita has perhaps most to lose from the talks and, in the past few months, Dr Jonas Savimbi's guerillas have demonstrated their ability to strike in almost any part of Angola.

Last week a bomb in the second city, Huambo, killed three people and almost destroyed two factories. Cubal, in the coastal province of Benguela, was also attacked, official sources said, and several people were abducted.

ster 14/11/88  
5 DEAD AND WOUNDED

Even the area around Luanda is apparently unsafe. Diplomats say Funda, a few kilometres from the capital, was the scene of heavy government losses in a Unita ambush two weeks ago. They quoted witnesses who saw truckloads of dead and wounded government Fapla soldiers coming back from Funda.

Official sources are playing down the Funda attack but Ministers admit the difficulties of dealing with Unita, given the continuing support for Unita from Washington and Pretoria.

The prospects of that support ending seemed to have dimmed last week with the American presidential election. There is a strong feeling

that if it were up to the State Department rather than the White House, Dr Savimbi might now be in semi-voluntary retirement in Morocco with his erstwhile ally, King Hassan, leaving the way open for national reconciliation in Angola, recognition of the MPLA Government by the US and general political and economic liberalisation.

The incumbent in the White House is unlikely to want to antagonise his right-wing backers so early by dumping Dr Savimbi. Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos, meanwhile, visited Moscow recently to ensure that his main backers remained firm. Reassurance from Mr Mikhail Gorbachev is believed to have opened the way for the resumption of the peace talks in Geneva this weekend.

What President dos Santos may have brought back from Moscow is a guarantee of increased military and financial support from the Kremlin to weigh against the Cuban departure which is now an inevitable part of any regional peace settlement.

Since the departure of their South African allies in September, Unita's plans to establish a "liberated zone", either around Jamba in the south-east or Quimbele on the Zairean border, appear to have been shelved. Instead, small guerilla bands have spread throughout the country, attacking and then melting into the bush. — The Observer News Service.

# Fourth day for Namibia talks

APR 7 1978  
14/11/88

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — The four-nation peace talks under way here enter an unscheduled fourth day this morning as the delegations gradually edge towards a possible agreement that will bring independence to Namibia.

At this stage it seems highly unlikely the target date of January 1 for the beginning of the implementation of Resolution 435 will be reached, but the word from the US and Soviet mediators was that all parties were showing flexibility.

The SA delegation, led by the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, learnt for the first time late on Saturday afternoon what the Cuban and Angolan response to proposals put forward by the US mediators in New York was.

The South Africans had responded three days after the New York talks, saying that they were prepared to be flexible towards the proposals which call for 4,000 Cuban troops to be withdrawn by January 1 and half the present strength to be out of Angola a month before August 1, the target date for Namibian elections.

Mr Van Heerden warned there was still much ground to cover, but the fact that the South Africans have agreed to extend the talks by a further day is an indication that the Cubans and Angolans have shown some degree of flexibility towards the proposals.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin said before the talks that the differences in positions over Cuban troop withdrawals was not that great. He was "cautiously optimistic" that an agreement could be reached here.

# Slow pace at talks

Southern  
19  
11/18

GENEVA — The Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Neil van Heerden, yesterday expressed frustration with the slow pace of the Geneva peace talks on a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

He indicated that the Cubans and Angolans had not been very forthcoming with details on where they stood on a United States plan for a Cuban pull-out.

"We have had very little to work on, we need more," he said.

"What we don't need are optimistic translations — we need substance."

Mr van Heerden's comments followed an upbeat media briefing held on Sunday night by the US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr. Chester Crocker, who said an agreement could be reached in Geneva.

Dr. Crocker said the gap between the two sides had never been narrower and the talks had reached a "decisive point".

South African sources said the optimistic noises coming from the US, Cuban and Angolan camps was posturing to make their attitudes towards the negotiations look good.

The sources said the South African delegation was "frustrated" by the slow rate of progress in Geneva.

The delegation arrived last Thursday but it took three days before they were given the first indication of the Cuban and Angolan response to the US plan, said the sources.

"The talks are still on track, but it is a very slow track," said one South African source.

A plenary session between South Africa, Cuba and Angola, with Dr Crocker in the chair, was scheduled for later yesterday. Sapa.



Mr Neil van Heerden, left, head of the South African delegation, being interviewed by journalists at the Geneva talks.

## Talks team heads home — without agreement

From BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

AKG: 5  
15/11/88

PRETORIA. — The South African negotiating team in Geneva is to return home without agreement being reached, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today.

In a statement Mr Botha said it appeared that the gap had narrowed between the proposals of Angola and Cuba on one side and South Africa on the other.

"It is, however, too early to say whether an agreement is within reach," the statement said.

Mr Botha said the proposals by both sides would be studied in detail when the team returned.

### "DECISIVE"

He said the negotiations in Geneva were of decisive importance for the future of Southern Africa.

"After months of negotiations the stage has now been reached where an agreement can either be reached or fail to be reached," he said.

● From Geneva Michael Holman of the London Financial Times reports that efforts continued to close the gap over the terms for a withdrawal of Cuban troops as the talks looked set to enter their fifth day.

United States officials still believe it is possible to conclude a regional peace package in Geneva which will pave the way for Namibian independence.

The day ended with leaders of the delegations from Angola, Cuba and South Africa meeting around a table for the first time since the talks began last Friday, but without Dr Chester Crocker, the US mediator.

A South African official played down the significance of the meeting, saying the discussion had been about



Head of the Angolan delegation, Mr Antonio Francia Ndalu.

technical issues such as the monitoring of a withdrawal rather than the terms of the withdrawal itself.

There remains no public evidence that the gap between the parties over the timetable for a withdrawal of the 60 000 Cuban troops from Angola has been narrowed.

### FROSTY

Mr Neil van Heerden, leader of the South African delegation, began the day with a frosty rejoinder to an optimistic assessment of progress at the talks.

"We have had very little since we have been here," he said.

"We don't need optimistic characterisations. We need substance."

He emphasised: "We are ready to deal."

SA team returns from Geneva

# Peace plan formula eludes negotiators

5  
Star  
15/11/88.

## Political Staff

The South African team negotiating in Geneva for peace in south-western Africa will return home without agreement being reached, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha announced today.

Mr Botha said in a statement it appeared the gap between the proposals of Angola and Cuba on the one side and South Africa on the other had narrowed. "It is too early to say whether an agreement is within reach."

He said the proposals made by both sides would be studied in detail when the negotiating team returned.

Mr Botha's statement came as reports from Geneva continued to indicate optimism from the negotiating parties.

In New York, the General Assembly of the United Nations has again taken up a resolution condemning South Africa's 73-year rule over Namibia. Passage of the measure was considered certain, Associated Press reported.

## Optimism

Mr Botha said: "After months of negotiations, the stage has now been reached where an agreement can either be reached or fail to be reached."

Sapa reports from Geneva that hopes of an agreement on a Cuban troop withdrawal had strengthened.

The optimism stemmed from a day of intensive discussions yesterday.

All parties were keeping their negotiating positions secret, but the insiders said an agreement was now close.

The talks had originally been scheduled to end on Sunday and were moving slowly until ves-



## Pilot yelled at flight en

The Atlas Aircraft flight engineer who died when an Impala Mk 1 crashed near Jan Smuts yesterday apparently did not respond to his close friend and pilot's frantic warnings and failed to eject.

An Armscor spokesman identified the dead flight engineer as Mr Eddie J Boatwright (32), of 17 Pheasant Street, Atlasville, in Boksburg.

The test pilot, Commandant R Q F "Bob" Masson (46), of Dirk Viljoen Street, Hennospark, is in a stable condition in 1 Military Hospital after he managed to eject safely from the burn-

Mrs Gay Masson, said today Commandant Masson was test pilot in the SAAF until last year when he became chief for fixed wing aircraft at the Aircraft Corporation.

Mrs Masson said she had told her husband last night that flight engineer Mr Boatwright had been in a crash.

"He was very upset about the crash and said he had told him to eject if possible that he did not know yet."

Mr. Otha said: "After months of negotiations, the stage has now been reached where an agreement can either be reached or fail to be reached."

Sapa reports from Geneva that hopes of an agreement on a Cuban troop withdrawal had strengthened.

The optimism stemmed from a day of intensive discussions yesterday.

All parties were keeping their negotiating positions secret, but the insiders said an agreement was now close.

The talks had originally been scheduled to end on Sunday and were moving slowly until yesterday.

Earlier yesterday, the director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, expressed frustration with the slow pace of the negotiations.

He indicated that the Cubans and Angolans had been slow in coming forward with details about their position on a United States plan for a pull-out of Cuban forces from Angola.

But by late last night the position seemed to have changed significantly.

Mr van Heerden's comments followed an upbeat media briefing held on Sunday night by the US Assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, who said an agreement could be reached in Geneva.

Dr Crocker said the gap between the two sides had never been as narrow and the talks had reached a decisive point.

Some observers felt Dr Crocker might have made those comments in a bid to speed up the negotiating process.

There was a meeting last night between South African, Cuban and Angolan officials without the US in the chair, but they only discussed monitoring and other technical procedures for a peace deal.

### Approval

The format for today's talks was not clear, but could take the form of a plenary session.

If agreement is reached in Geneva, the details would be referred to the governments of South Africa, Cuba and Angola for approval.

Dr Crocker plans to call a ministerial meeting in Brazzaville before the year-end to get a deal formally signed.

The Cuban pull-out is tied to the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

Belgian Foreign Minister Mr Leo Tindemans, who visited Luanda during the weekend, discussed ways of reopening the strategic Benguela railway, the Angop news agency said yesterday.

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# Hopes kept alive at Geneva talks

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA — The South African delegation to the peace talks here last night cancelled plans to leave for home amid indications that the other parties were prepared to concede ground on Cuban troop withdrawals.

The apparent concession keeps alive hopes that agreement can be reached here to bring independence to Namibia.

The leader of the SA delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, said after meeting US chief mediator Dr Chester Crocker that his delegation would be working throughout the night. He would provide no further details as to what had persuaded them to stay.

However, an SA spokesman said the fact that the parties were hard at work was an indication that progress was being made.

"We have received an indication that progress can be made. That's why we are still here."

The SA delegation also met the Cubans and Angolans yesterday to discuss the verification of Cuban troop withdrawals and UN Resolution 435.

After Dr Crocker said on Sunday night that agreement had never been

closer, Mr Van Heerden yesterday morning dampened optimism by saying they had received little else besides "optimistic characterisations" and "upbeat prognoses" from the Cuban and Angolan camps.

Mr Van Heerden said he had booked to leave later in the day and would do so unless it seemed that concrete progress could be achieved.

But soon after he had spoken, a US official said the situation had changed and the talks were still on course.

Later Mr Van Heerden confirmed that the South Africans had cancelled their bookings. He would not say why, but given his earlier statements it would appear likely that the Cubans and Angolans had conceded ground.

The SA delegation leader said in the morning that he was frustrated because the talks had made very little progress since they had arrived here.

"We are ready to deal but we don't need optimistic characterisations, we need substance. We don't need these upbeat prognoses."

SA officials said the Cubans were past masters at putting out indications that settlement was near while delivering very little at the actual talks.

# Withdrawal negotiations extended

*Sowelen*  
15/11/88

(5)

# ANGOLA DEADLOCK



SAPA

THE slow-moving Geneva talks on a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola today goes into its fifth day — two days longer than originally scheduled.

The Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil Van Heerden, expressed frustration with the slow pace of the negotiations, but cancelled plans to fly back to South Africa yesterday. He indicated that the Cubans and Angolans had not been very forthcoming with details about their position on a

• To page 2

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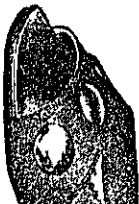
**ALLAN EDWARDS**  
177 BREE STREET, JOHANNESBURG

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# Cairo is new venue for peace talks

*Mr. Tavis 20/6/88*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE ailing Angolan peace initiative has received a shot in the arm with the resumption of talks, expected to last several days, in Cairo later this week.

The talks are a follow-up to discussions started in London last month by South Africa, Angola, Cuba and the United States on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The response of the South African and Angolan governments to proposals on the withdrawal is ex-

pected to be the major item on the agenda.

The build-up of Cuban, Fapla and Swapo troops close to the Angola-Namibia border in recent weeks will also be discussed, sources said yesterday.

Agreement on Cairo as the venue for the next round of talks — confirmed by Mr Pik Botha, leader of the SA delegation — follows weeks of bickering between the parties that threatened to torpedo the initiative.

Only last week South African officials were speaking of "a dark cloud" hanging over the prospect of

an early resumption of the peace talks which were described as being "bogged down for the moment".

Angola, after initially agreeing to Brazzaville as the venue of the third round of talks, began pushing for a European venue after it leaked out that President P W Botha was planning a visit to the Congolese capital.

The Cuban government also put pressure on Angola to insist on a new venue, apparently because of Pretoria's success during the last round of talks in cementing ties with the Marxist government in Brazzaville.

However, South Africa insisted on an African venue for the talks.

The fact that the other participants finally relented is seen by diplomats as a positive sign that the Cubans and Angolans are serious about talks.

Sapa-Renter reports from Cairo that diplomats said all sides in the Angolan peace talks accept that Egypt is qualified by neutrality and distance to act as a compromise host for their third session this week.

Egyptian officials declined to confirm the South African news reports, but said a Foreign Ministry

statement was expected today.

Diplomats said Egypt, in accepting South African government ministers for the first time, would be making an exceptional gesture in view of its hostility to Pretoria's race policies.

The two countries have no diplomatic relations and South African passport-holders are usually denied entry to Egypt.

But Cairo, which has a history of trying to help to settle disputes, was evidently prepared to make an exception at the request of the parties to the Angolan talks.

# 'SA spy' Olivia Forsyth is 'expelled' from Angola

MAGS  
16/11/88

## The Argus Foreign Service

LISBON. — The Angolan government has expelled Miss Olivia Forsyth, who has spent months as a refugee in the British embassy in Luanda.

In a dispatch from Luanda yesterday, Angop, the official Angolan news agency, said the Angolan government had accused Miss Forsyth, a former South African university student, of spying for Pretoria.

The agency said Miss Forsyth, 28, was "expelled today, Tuesday," but did not say if she had already left the country or where she would go.

The agency said she had entered Angola illegally, adding that she had been recruited by South African "intelligence services" in 1981 and held SADF number W 89853 and "agent" number R5407.

Meanwhile Britain has signalled its

annoyance at the Angolan government's handling of the Forsyth affair by suggesting that it would not allow a Minister to visit Luanda until the alleged South African spy was allowed to leave. Miss Forsyth holds a British passport.

A senior Angolan diplomat said yesterday Britain had told his country Mrs Lynda Chalker, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, would not visit Angola until Miss Forsyth was set free.

"We do not understand this link," the diplomat said. "Why should she (Chalker) fail to come to Angola only because of one person?"

A Foreign Office spokesman said no trip to Angola had been scheduled for Mrs Chalker anyway. But he added: "What we are saying is that it is difficult for a visit to go on in the present circumstances."

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# Angolans (5) expel Forsyth as 'SA spy' *star*

The Star's Foreign  
News Service *10/11/88*

LISBON — The Angolan government yesterday expelled Miss Olivia Forsyth, who has spent months as a refugee in the British embassy in Luanda, according to Angop, the official Angolan news agency.

Angop said the Angolan government had accused Miss Forsyth (28), a former South African university student, of spying for Pretoria.

"The activities of this South African spy are part of the political context and criminal and subversive practices of destabilisation by Pretoria against the Frontline states and southern African liberation movements, namely the ANC," Angop said, quoting a Luanda foreign ministry statement.

Observers in Lisbon viewed Angola's move as "a positive sign of progress within the framework of the latest push in the four-party negotiations for a regional settlement on Namibian independence and a Cuban withdrawal from Angola".

Angop made no mention of Miss Forsyth's lengthy stay in the British embassy where she had taken refuge. She holds a British passport.

# The Memo

# talks over a trowns

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16/11/88  
The Argus Foreign Service reports from London

In spite of having to gain final approval of the draft text from their governments, there is no doubt that the delegates to the Angola-SWA/Namibia peace talks in Geneva feel they have "broken the back of the negotiations".

However, he quoted an American official as warning that there was still much work to be done on the details of the accord. For instance, no date had been set for the start of the Cuban troop withdrawal or the granting of independence to SWA/Namibia.

South Africa's chief negotiator, Mr Neil van Heerden, speaking on BBC radio, explained why. "We are leaving that to see how we progress with the final agreement. And that will then automatically be determined in the final round."

No details of the agreement have been made public, but it is likely to have been based on a time scale suggested by the United States. This provides for a Cuban troop withdrawal phased over two years.

Achieving the compromise had not been easy, as the head of the Cuban delegation, Mr Carlos Aldana, explained through an interpreter. "It has been very laborious, sometimes very tense. We cannot say it has been an easy job."

All three delegations were cautious about predicting the political response of their governments. But if the draft text is accepted, there will be one more meeting in Brazzaville, Congo, to complete the details and to sign a formal and binding agreement.

"And should the settlement be followed by the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the detained ANC leader, Mr Botha will be better equipped to pursue his diplomatic forays into black Africa."

## Key political and military events in Angola and SWA

**KEY** political and military events in negotiations for peace in Angola and independence for SWA/Namibia:

- April 6, 1987: American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker meets Angolan Interior Minister Alexandre Koldrigues in Brazzaville resuming contacts suspended for 15 months.
- July 14-16: Dr Crocker and Angolan leaders in Luanda discuss southwestern Africa, independence for SWA/Namibia. United States says Angola has no new proposals.
- August 1: Angola and Cuba offer flexibility over Cuban withdrawal.
- August-September: Angolan offensive against Unita rebels.
- September-8-10: Dr Crocker in Luanda discusses SWA/Namibia independence, Cuban withdrawal.
- September 13: South African forces join Unita to halt Angolan offensive at Lomba River.
- January 15, 1988: Cuban and Angolan forces claim to repel South African assault on strategic south
- Angolan garrison of Cuito Cuanavale.
- January 29: Cuba joins United States-Angola talks in Luanda.
- February 1: United States says Angola accepts idea of total Cuban withdrawal.
- March: Cuban troops move south toward SWA/Namibia.
- March 10: Angola and Cuba propose phased Cuban withdrawal.
- May 3: South Africa, Angola and Cuba open peace talks in London with Dr Crocker mediating.
- May 13: South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha holds talks with Angolans in Brazzaville.
- June 2: President Fidel Castro confirms Cuban troops close to SWA/Namibia border. Western diplomats estimate Cuban strength in Angola reinforced to 50 000 from 40 000.
- June 24: Mr Pik Botha leads South Africans to stormy negotiations in Cairo, Angola and Cuba reject Pretoria's proposals.
- June 27: Fighting near South African-defended Calaqueque Dam just inside Angola.
- July 13: South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with United States mediating, agree principles at New York meeting for South African and Cuban withdrawal from Angola, SWA/Namibia independence.
- August 5: Negotiators in Geneva agree ceasefire in southern Angola, South African withdrawal by September 1, set November 1 as target to begin implementing United Nations blueprint for SWA/Namibia independence.
- August 26: South Africa, Angola and Cuba fail to set timetable for Cuban withdrawal at Brazzaville meeting.
- August 30: South African troops leave Angola.
- September 9: Negotiators in Brazzaville fail to agree timetable for Cuban withdrawal.
- September 21-24: United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar holds talks in Angola and South Africa.
- September 29: American-mediated talks in Brazzaville reported favouring compromise on Cuban withdrawal timetable.
- October 1: Parallel summits. President P W Botha meets President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire; Congo meet in Congo. Luanda rules out power sharing with Unita.
- October 2: United Nations officials in SWA/Namibia to study logistics of organising elections in proposed November 1-June 1 transition to independence.
- October 7: Angola, Cuba and South Africa hold informal talks in New York.
- October 20-29: Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos visits leaders of Communist China, North Korea and Soviet Union.
- November 1: Target date for starting SWA/Namibia independence passes without agreement.
- Sapa-Reuter.
- Only a few months ago the likelihood of South Africa surrendering the territory, its final buffer zone, was thought impossible. But the cost, human and economic, of holding on to this sparsely populated desert country has begun to tell.
- "The package agreed by the negotiators in Geneva has something for everyone, says Michael Holman of the Financial Times, in a lengthy article on the background to the breakthrough.
- "If it is ratified by the respective governments, Cuba will be able to claim that its force played a decisive role and its men will go home with honour. Angola will be closer to the peace it desperately needs. South Africa will lose a colony but will claim it forced the Cubans out of Southern Africa.
- "Swapo will almost certainly win office, although its authority will be severely constrained by economic dependence on South Africa. The US will take credit for a diplomatic triumph."
- Only two groups will have misgivings, he adds. "The African National Congress is likely to have its guerrillas excluded from both Angola and Namibia, and Unita will lose Pretoria's military support under the deal."
- Pressures from the superpowers, the growing cost of the war in northern SWA/Namibia and southern Angola, and the existence of a UN plan for SWA/Namibia's independence agreed in principle almost a decade ago, all played their part, says Holman.
- Holman says the prospect of tougher Western sanctions against South Africa may recede as Britain and the United States will doubtless use the settlement to argue that negotiated change is shown to be possible.
- "The news about a Cuban withdrawal from Angola coincided with confirmation in Moscow that Mr Gorbachev will be going to Havana next month immediately after a visit to the United Nations in New York and just before going to Britain."

# Peace hopes rise as gap on Cuban withdrawal narrows

Hopes are rising for a settlement in the peace negotiations between South Africa and Cuba/Angola following a tentative agreement reached yesterday by the negotiators in Geneva.

Their plan is to bring Namibian independence in early 1989 and a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola over a 27-month period, US officials say.

South Africa's Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in an interview last night that the latest round of peace talks in Geneva between the three countries had narrowed the gap on the issue of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"However, what is still needed is a certain amount of flexibility on both sides," he said.

Mr Botha said the South African delegation, under the leadership of the Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, was returning home to report to the Government.

The Government would need to consider a full package of proposals and counter-proposals before taking up any new position, he said.

The agreement was worked out during five

days of negotiations in Geneva involving officials from SA, Cuba and Angola. It is subject to final approval by their respective governments.

A joint statement issued yesterday following intensive negotiations said a final round of talks would be held in Brazzaville, Congo, though no date was immediately set.

Agreement on the Cuban withdrawal has been the main outstanding issue in the talks. But the latest round failed to produce an agreed starting date for the peace process, diplomats said.

No details of the plan were disclosed by Mr van Heerden, who said "all parties have agreed to take a document home to their governments".

He cautioned that dates for implementing various aspects of the peace package were not set, and said that "if all parties accept it", the plan would help form the basis of the final agreement.

But in Washington, US officials said the current plans call for the formal agreement to be signed early next month. The accord was mediated by US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker. — Political Correspondent and AP.

## Red Cross airlifts seed to war-torn area of Angola

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has just completed a three-month airlift programme to provide badly needed crop seed to people in the war-torn region of Angola known as The Planalto.

In its latest Bulletin, the ICRC said the seed distribution was intended to reach about 300 000 people living on The Planalto, a high plateau in the centre of the country.

According to the Red Cross, the region is "one of the areas worst affected by the conflict in Angola", and has seen large numbers of people displaced and a disruption of the normal agricultural cycle.

The ICRC programme to supply seed to the people in the region began in 1985, and this year's airlift, in advance of the year-end wet season, began in September, when a Hercules transport aircraft began ferrying seed from Atlantic coast ports to inland towns.

From there, smaller aircraft flew the seed to The Planalto.

The seed distribution programme had in the past provided the people with enough food for at least part of the year, although general food rations had to be supplied to tide them over the difficult period just before the harvest.

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CAPC Times 12/11/88 (5) [Signature]

## Champagne toast to a new accord

# CUB

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — Champagne corks popped as Cuba, Angola and South Africa met with United States mediator Dr Chester Crocker at a hotel here yesterday after the delegations accepted a draft agreement on Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola.

The agreement could lead to independence for Namibia.

At the end of five days of intensive talks on the timing of a Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence, SA delegation leader Mr Neil van Heerden said it was conceivable that enough ground had been covered here to produce a document which governments would formally endorse at the final round in Brazzaville.

The parties agreed to take the document — which outlines new US proposals for the redeployment, staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops — home for their governments' approval.

### 'Formal signing'

Asked about his country's troops in Angola, Cuban delegation leader Mr Carlos Aldana said: "We are ready to bring them home. It is time."

Mr Van Heerden said that "depending on the reaction of governments", this could open the way to a final round in Brazzaville. "The Brazzaville meeting would be more in the way of a formal signing sort of round."

The Brazzaville signing would be followed by a bilateral agreement between Cuba and Angola to provide for Cuban troop withdrawals.

SA, Cuba and Angola would also sign an agreement to "put into formal language (what) we have been negotiating about".

### 'Best shot'

Once these agreements had been signed, a date will be set for the implementation of UN Resolution 435 to bring independence to Namibia.

"We have done some fine tuning to narrow the gaps. All of this is embodied in a final document put forward by the Americans which represents their best shot at all the things which we, the Cubans and Angolans have been saying," said Mr Van Heerden.

In a statement the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said it was not yet possible to say whether the agreement reached in Geneva would be acceptable to the South African government. "There are serious and complicated implications at stake," the statement said.



Martti Ahtisaari

Chester Crocker

## Namibia deal

From MIKE ROBERTSON

GENEVA. — Formal recognition of the Geneva agreement by the South African, Cuban and Angolan governments was necessary before United Nations Resolution 435 for Namibian independence could be set into motion, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the UN special envoy to the territory, said last night.

Mr Ahtisaari said the UN would require at least two months after that agreement is signed to prepare its forces.

The most recent estimate of the cost of implementing Resolution 435 was \$600 million (about R1 440m), which the UN planned to raise by a separate appeal from development funds.

Mr Ahtisaari said the UN would only be charged with supervising elections for a constituent assembly. South Africa would be responsible for administering the elections.

Resolution 435 stipulated that it would take seven months from the beginning of implementation to the constituent assembly elections.

● Chief US mediator Dr Chester Crocker said that following the Brazzaville meeting a package of interlocking agreements was envisaged.

He said the US had been in regular contact with the Soviet Union throughout the meeting here — a contact he described as being "very constructive".

It had brought about a situation where the parties had now agreed to submit a single timetable for their governments' approval.

11/11/88  
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# Angola offers amnesty to Unita rebels

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — All members of the Angolan rebel group Unita, except its leader Jonas Savimbi, are free to return home, Angola's Interior Minister Mr Kito Rodrigues has said.

In an interview with Radio Mozambique, Mr Rodrigues said his government's policy offered the chance "to those who are still fighting against the legitimate government of the Angolan people to put down their weapons and come over to join us".

He said, however, that this policy did not apply to Dr Savimbi, although everybody who had left the country for political motives was now free to return.

"They can and should come back so that we can discuss and rebuild the country. The doors are open and we can do no more than that," he added.

The interview was carried shortly before the formal announcement that an agreement on a Cuban withdrawal had been reached at the Geneva peace talks.

Mr Rodrigues said that the deadlock had been due to the difference in timing for a Cuban withdrawal between the Angolan proposal for 30 months and that of the United States for 24 months. He gave no other details.

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Fate of 6 000 troops remains in limbo

# ANC bases in Angola to close if talks succeed

B/dec  
(7/11/88)

LONDON — ANC bases in Angola will be closed if proposals agreed upon by Angolan, SA and Cuban officials in Geneva this week are fully implemented.

The fate of the 6 000 ANC troops in Angola remained in limbo as the delegations focused on their narrowing differences on Cuban troop withdrawals.

But prior to departing for home the Angolan and SA delegation leaders agreed that if the governments approved the package they had negotiated, the two countries would get around to negotiating an agreement to close the ANC bases.

SA delegation leader, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, said that subject to the governments approving the proposals reached in Geneva, all agreements would be formulated with reference to the principles accepted in New York earlier this year.

The principles state that all parties must respect each other's sovereignty, may not interfere in each other's af-

MIKE ROBERTSON

fairs, nor allow their territory to be used for "acts of war, aggression, or violence against other states".

Angolan delegation leader General Antinio dos Santos Franca Ndalu said he inferred from this that SA's support for Unita should come to an end.

IAN HOBBS reports that Britain yesterday welcomed the outcome of the talks as a major step forward to peace in the region. It said it was ready to play a "full part" in the UN programme to monitor transition in Namibia.

There was similar warm acclaim from other EC governments.

In Lisbon, Unita welcomed the "progress" but said it awaited a full explanation of the implications.

ANO reports that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda welcomed the news of a likely agreement yesterday. But he said, there would be no meeting between Frontline state leaders and President P W Botha until SA proved it would free Namibia next year.

# Forsyth granted an exit visa

STW 17/11/84  
The British Foreign Office confirmed yesterday that Angolan authorities had issued an exit visa to alleged South African intelligence agent Miss Olivia Forsyth to enable her to leave the country.

Miss Forsyth (28), who has British and South African citizenship, has been in the British Embassy in Luanda since May 2, when she sought refuge after claiming to have escaped from an African National Congress (ANC) prison camp in Angola.

She told embassy officials she had been held in prison camps for 22 months and tortured by the ANC, which claimed she had been spying for South Africa.

The Foreign Office spokesman would not give details of Miss Forsyth's travel plans, at her request.

"I can say that she is coming to Britain, but as far as the timing and details of her manner of getting here are concerned, she

Own Correspondents

has asked us to keep those to ourselves," he said.

Miss Forsyth's mother, Mrs R G Brune of Pietersburg, declined to comment on her daughter's plans today.

On the granting of the visa, the Foreign Office spokesman said: "We obviously welcome this development which removes a major obstacle to the improvement of our bilateral relations with Angola."

The embassy had agreed to give her sanctuary because she was a "distressed British subject and we gave her help as we would have done for any Briton in circumstances of that kind", a spokesman said.

The spokesman said it was assumed the Angolans had granted Miss Forsyth an exit visa in the interests of improving British-Angolan relations.

US thinks latest plan weakens Cubans

# Unita 'safeguarded' in Geneva proposals

WASHINGTON — US officials believe the latest Angola/Namibia peace proposals would, if accepted, make it impossible for Cuban forces to attack Unita strongholds after South African forces are no longer in a position to help the rebels.

The Cubans would be too few and too far away from the Unita heartland in southern Angola to be a threat, US officials believe.

But American conservatives have serious misgivings about the fate of Unita after acceptance of the latest agreements hammered out in Geneva.

They charge that rather than rushing into the Geneva agreements, Dr Chester Crocker and his US mediating team should have given president-elect Mr George Bush time to study the situation so that he would be aware of what the conservatives consider to be serious pitfalls in the package.

Chief among them is that Cuban forces will still be in Angola — deployed in the north — after the with-

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

drawal of SA troops from Namibia. This, they fear, will put Unita at jeopardy and possibly lead to the destruction of the rebel movement.

While the terms of the Geneva agreement — yet to be accepted by the SA, Cuban, and Angolan governments — are still a closely guarded secret, it has been made clear here that the Reagan administration is confident that Unita's security will be protected by the agreement.

The US is hoping that the Geneva proposals will be formally signed in Brazzaville within the next few weeks.

The settling of Angola's internal conflict is not part of the Geneva agreement but US officials believe that the MPLA government will be under intense psychological pressure to move toward conciliation with Unita.

WORLD



NATIONAL

# Unita will be safe under new peace plan, says US

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — United States officials believe that the latest Angola/Namibia peace proposals would, if accepted, make it impossible for Cuban forces to attack Unita strongholds.

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## Withdrawal

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● From London it is reported that the Financial Times said today that now that there is a momentum for peace in south-western Africa, the time is ripe for the South African government and the African National Congress to explore new ways of ending the stalemate.

If the Geneva package is implemented, Angola will request the ANC to close its training camps. Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma has made it clear he will not allow the ANC to establish bases in an independent Namibia.

● In response to a report that Swapo had offered to sign a formal ceasefire with South Africa, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha stated that in terms of the present negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba there was already a ceasefire in existence.

# Mandela link in Cuban pullout?

CAF 6 Tom's  
19/11/88

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**EDINBURGH.** — The agreement on a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola contained a secret South African promise to free Mr Nelson Mandela, the Scotsman newspaper said yesterday.

And in another dramatic development, Angola and Cuba announced their approval of a regional peace plan for Namibia that will lead to the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and Namibian independence.

South Africa would give its decision next week, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Meanwhile, quoting sources close to the negotiators, the Scotsman said Mr Mandela would be freed within five months.

The paper said his release was "part of a cat's cradle of secret protocols and unwritten agreements attached to the accord".

It said the SA government was expected to capitalise on the Geneva accord by calling an election early next year, after which Mr Mandela would be freed.

The ANC, with Mr Mandela in its delegation, then would be urged by South Africa to enter talks with the government on the future of South Africa.

Diplomatic sources here said one of the stumbling blocks — a timetable for the pullout of the Cuban troops — was overcome with Havana accepting a 27-month period.

Before the draft agreement, Angola had insisted on a 30-month period and SA on seven months from the date of implementation. — Sapa-Reuter

CAF 6 Tom's 19/11/88

# Angola — what peace really means

by STANLEY UYS in LONDON

THE champagne corks popped in Geneva this week, but the sceptics will believe the news of an Angola/Namibia peace settlement when they see it. There have been too many false dawns already.

Assuming though that this time the mirracle really has happened and that a settlement now is only a matter of time, what will the implications be for South Africa — both for its internal and regional policies?

Withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will have profound consequences. The Cubans will have little to show for their 13-year presence in Angola. Their boast that they would not leave until apartheid itself had been defeated has been quietly buried.

Their protection, too, of the MPLA government against Unita will not endure. When the MPLA and Unita finally face each other in elections, Unita will secure its share in the Luanda government. The MPLA, urban rather than rurally based, does not have the extensive population catchment areas that Unita and (to a lesser extent) the other rebel movement, the Bakongo-based FNLA, have.

Angola will at last be recognised diplomatically by the United States, and inevitably it will be drawn more deeply into the Western financial system, as it becomes increasingly eligible for Western loans and aid. If, in addition, it then also has a Unita element in its government, Cuba will have nothing to crow about. All this will be highly satisfactory for South Africa.

Cuba's role not only in Angola but in Africa generally has been a macho one. Castro's purpose has been to enhance his standing, particularly in the Third World. For 13 years he succeeded, particularly this year when he pinned the SADF's ears back in southern Angola, but once Castro's troops leave, the gains will dissipate rapidly.

Castro, too, has been forced to accept what he said he would never accept — the principle of linkage, that there could be no independence for Namibia without total Cuban withdrawal. For Pretoria this is a considerable diplomatic achievement.

But the wider implications of an Angolan/Namibia peace settlement pose problems for Pretoria. Africa is now more receptive to President Botha than it has ever been, because he is engaged in peace talks that affect the whole of Southern Africa directly, and the whole of sub-Saharan Africa indirectly. The peace talks provided Botha with the cover for his recent sojourns into Black Africa.

A peace settlement in Angola/Namibia is incompatible with what is known as South Africa's policy of "destabilisation" in the region: gains accruing from the former will be cancelled by the effects of the latter. What a peace settlement will do, therefore, will be to force Pretoria to choose a more definite course between war and peace.

This is not as difficult as it seems. Pretoria has its "understanding" already with all its neighbours, with the exception of Zimbabwe, and to a lesser extent Zambia. Zimbabwe, unfortunately, might well become the turbulent focus of South African regional relationships in the post-Angola/Namibia period.

Similarly, if there is a settlement over Angola-Namibia, the effect will be to force Pretoria to choose a more definite course in its internal politics. Most analysts agree that if elections are held next year in Namibia, Swapo will win them. This means the flamboyant Sam Nujoma will be installed as president. Just think of the motorcade through Windhoek.

The impact on conservative whites in South Africa will be electrifying at a time when the right-wing is in the ascendant. If President Botha agrees to a settlement in Namibia, therefore, he will be taking on the right-wing in a full frontal confrontation. He will burn his bridges, forever, with them. Appeals to Andries Treurnicht for Afrikaner unity will no longer be even theoretically possible.

An Angola/Namibia settlement, therefore, could be the catalyst to force President Botha to make the emotional break with the white right-wing that he has shirked making so far. It will then be pointless for him to straddle the twin-track policies of reform and counter-reform as he has done so far.

The impact of Namibian independence on blacks in South Africa probably will also be fairly dramatic, just as the independence of Mozambique was in 1974. Again, this could be a catalyst for further reform. Giving Namibia its independence and releasing Nelson Mandela are pointless if Pretoria is not prepared to face the consequences as well.

A peace settlement in Angola/Namibia will change the whole scene in southern Africa. Negotiation, conciliation, reform — these will become Pretoria's only real options. Perhaps, for these reasons, a settlement will come later rather than sooner — the popping of champagne corks in Geneva may have been premature — but it's inexorable.

Governing South Africa, with one eye on reform and the other on the right-wing, will become a contradiction in terms now: the latter would simply nullify the former. In a way, therefore, an Angola/Namibia settlement will be a moment of truth for President Botha's government. Redrawing the political map, internally and regionally, is the only course left to it. All the other options are closed.

# ANC: We'll close bases in Angola if asked to

The Star's Africa News Service

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cause it has been given alternatives."

LUSAKA — The African National Congress is prepared to reduce or close its military bases in Angola if asked by the MPLA government or if it helps the peace initiative in the region, the organisation said yesterday.

But the ANC said it was not aware of the leaders of the Frontline states having agreed at their summit in Lusaka this week that the ANC should move its bases out of Angola.

This was reported after the summit by the Reuter news agency, quoting a source close to the meeting: "The ANC is already moving out of Angola be-

But the ANC denied that the organisation had begun moving its forces from Angola, though it had realised for some while that it might have to withdraw.

"We have expected to be approached by the Angolan government, and we will do whatever it wants us to do. If Angola asks us to reduce our numbers, or close our bases entirely, we will do so. We will do what is best for the peace initiative."

The ANC said there were several countries in the area which would be prepared to accommodate its military bases, but refused to name them.

8 Feb 21/11/88

# Forsyth plans <sup>(S)</sup> reunion with rest of family in SA

LONDON — Miss Olivia Forsyth, who claims she was imprisoned and tortured by the African National Congress in Angola, plans to return to South Africa soon.

In an interview with the *Mail on Sunday*, the British-born, former South African student and journalist spoke briefly about her 22-month spell in captivity and refused to discuss allegations that she was a South African spy.

She said: "I need time to study what's been said about me. What I have seen and heard of the publicity has obviously been limited.

"My immediate plans are to relax and have a holiday with my father. Then I'm looking forward to seeing the rest of my family in South Africa."

## ANXIOUS TIME FOR FAMILY

An elated Mrs Joan Brune, Miss Forsyth's mother, said in Pietersburg yesterday that the news about her daughter's planned return to South Africa had ended months of anxiety for her and the rest of the family.

Miss Forsyth (28) arrived in Britain last week after the British government secured an exit visa for her from the Angolan authorities.

She had spent months holed up in the British embassy in Luanda after her escape from the African National Congress, which accused her of being a South African spy.

Mrs Brune said her daughter would be taking a short holiday in Britain before returning to South Africa and details had not been finalised.

She said there were still many unanswered questions about the affair which only her daughter could answer. — Sapa.



Star 2/11/88

(5)

## Savimbi 'to meet PW this week'

# Unita / Cuba 'agree to secret ceasefire'

JAMBA (Angola) — Unita has concluded a secret ceasefire agreement with Cuba, according to a report in the London *Sunday Times* yesterday.

This will mean at least a temporary end to the fighting between the South African-backed rebels and Cuban forces.

It is hoped the agreement will pave the way for the full-scale withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

### Backed by Castro

The informal deal, apparently backed by Dr Fidel Castro, the Cuban president, was struck in the Ivory Coast in late August when representatives of Unita and the Cuban government met for the first time.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader, said: "We are making an effort not to attack them and they are making an effort not to attack us. The best victory is to allow the enemy to go."

Relaxed and confident in his underground bunker, Dr Savimbi pledged not to obstruct the peace agreement plan which has been agreed by South Africa, Cuba and the Angolan government. The plan is due for ratification next week.

Said Dr Savimbi: "We will maintain our support of the agreement, conditionally, that all the Cubans will leave Angola — all. The period for withdrawal is immaterial."

Dr Savimbi believes that once the 50 000 Cuban troops pull out, in just over two years, the military balance will shift decisively in his favour and the Luanda government will be forced to negotiate with Unita.

He said Unita had been stockpiling captured weapons and ammunition for the past 10 years, and his commanders were under special orders to add to this stockpile.

Dr Savimbi predicted that he could fight on for at least one year "without problems" with the supplies he already has. "I am not scared, I am smiling," he said.

He also revealed that he will meet President Botha in Pretoria on Wednesday at Mr Botha's invitation. "I will ask him where we stand — what is going on," said Dr Savimbi.

Unita is counting on continued support from the United States and is due to meet Dr Chester Crocker soon. Dr Savimbi is also planning a visit to London before Christmas to urge the British government to use its influence in English-speaking African countries to press for internal reconciliation between the warring Angolan parties.

Unita was pressing for direct talks with the government in Luanda to be mediated by an African country, probably Nigeria or Kenya, the London *Sunday Times* said.

## Cuba believes Angolan war is lost, says defector

Star 2/11/88

LONDON — The prevailing opinion within the Cuban military was that the war in Angola was lost, according to former deputy commander of the Cuban Air Force, General Rafael del Pino Diaz.

In an interview with the *Sunday Telegraph*, General del Pino — who defected to the United States 17 months ago — said Angola was considered a "dead end street — Cuba's Vietnam".

"Only Fidel and Raul Castro (the vice-president and Fidel's brother) had any faith in victory."

### WITHDRAWAL APPROVED

This week the Cuban government gave its approval to the timetable for a Cuban troop withdrawal agreed during the talks with the Angolans and South Africans in Geneva.

General del Pino, the most senior officer to have defected from Cuba, was in charge of Cuba's fighter plane squadrons in Angola at the time of his defection.

He said in Virginia, USA, that the anti-war feeling in Cuba was now more dangerous to President Castro than the social impact of bringing home more than 50 000 troops, although this was

### The Star Bureau

considered a major threat.

He said more than 10 000 Cubans had been killed, wounded or were missing in the conflict.

General del Pino said he believed the Cuban leader had shown brilliant timing in Angola in the mid-1970s.

"But he made one little mistake which proved fatal. He never thought that Savimbi would resist. I remember one of his phrases before we attacked Gago Coutinho. He said: 'Don't worry, we've already won the war'."

The general said that at one time Castro, high on his successes in Angola, believed he could bring about the end of South African rule in Namibia and the end of apartheid. But, by 1979, this feeling was beginning to dissipate as Dr Savimbi fought back.

General del Pino said his own departure followed a disagreement with the Soviets and the MPLA last year over plans for a single-pronged offensive against Unita. He fled into exile before the offensive began. A thousand MPLA soldiers died in the attack and Soviet equipment worth hundreds of millions of rands was lost or destroyed.

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# Savimbi poised to enter talks

CME Trib 3/11/88

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Dr Jonas Savimbi, the leader of Angola's Unita rebel movement, appears poised to enter the complex negotiations between South Africa, Cuba, and Angola leading to Namibian independence.

Speaking at the weekend from Jamba, his bush headquarters in south-eastern Angola, Dr Savimbi announced that Unita had secured an informal ceasefire with the 52 000 Cuban troops still positioned in Angola.

He also disclosed that he is to travel to South Africa this week for talks with President P W Botha on the progress of the peace process.

Pretoria will announce its response to the US-negotiated plan after meetings of the cabinet and all-powerful state security council this week.

Cuba and Angola have already indicated they will accept the deal, struck by high-level delegations in Geneva last week.

Until now, Dr Savimbi has been pointedly excluded from the lengthy negotiations about the timing of the withdrawal of the Cuban forces, who are backing up the MPLA government in Luanda.

The American, British and South African governments, as well as a number of African states, are urging the MPLA to negotiate with Dr Savimbi.

"We are making an effort not to attack (the Cubans) and they are making an effort not to attack us," Dr Savimbi said.

The agreement was apparently reached in the Ivory Coast, in August, when a Unita delegation handed over two captured Cuban pilots.

Our correspondent reports from Washington that well-placed US sources revealed yesterday that

## Mandela 'not issue'

**PRETORIA.** — Reports that the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola depended on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela were false, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pk Botha, said at the weekend.

Mr Botha said the matter of Mr Mandela's release did not arise in peace negotiations with Cuba and Angola in Geneva.

He repeated his statement that the government had not yet tak-

en a decision on the latest proposals, which Angola and Cuba have approved, for peace in south-western Africa and for the independence of Namibia.

The linking of Mr Mandela's release and the Cuban withdrawal arose from a report in Glasgow's "Scotsman" newspaper which was subsequently reported in a number of newspapers.

Mr Botha said the reports were "devoid of all truth". — Sapa



Dr Jonas Savimbi

Cuba had agreed not to attack Unita under the terms of the Angola-Namibia settlement package.

The sources stressed that the US would continue to arm the rebels and would veto any attempt by the UN Security Council to include a ban on such aid as part of the "enabling resolution" needed to fund the package into effect.

"The resolution would not prevent us from doing anything we want to do. Any such resolution would be vetoed," a senior official said.

But Unita spokesman Mr Marcos Sembede said his movement remained "concerned" that the Cubans would not abide by their undertakings once implementation of UN resolution 435, the Namibian

independence plan, was under way.

These concerns were shared by a former White House security adviser, Mr Constantine Menges, who was overheard yesterday warning South African military attache Colonel Fred Rindel that US conservatives might lift their opposition to South African sanctions if Pretoria accepted the Geneva package.

Mr Menges charged that Pretoria's negotiators were abandoning Unita and ensuring the installation of a Marxist regime in Namibia.

Hoping to allay the rights fears that the agreement would leave Unita defenceless, a senior US

official involved in the negotiations briefed the conservative Heritage Foundation yesterday.

While declining to reveal specifics, the official said the formula accepted in Geneva provided for Cuba's "rapid" redeployment north, "would prevent any attack on Unita's heartland by Cuban forces" and "effectively eliminated Cuba as a threat" to the rebel movement.

At the same time, no end is in sight to fighting between Angolan government forces and Unita.

Dr Savimbi reported a major exchange last week with MPLA soldiers close to the Namibian border. He also predicted that the MPLA would redouble its efforts to wipe out Unita "as soon as the ink was dry" on the formally ratified agreement.

A Western diplomatic source in Pretoria said last week that Unita and the Angolan government will engage in some kind of talks, reports Sapa-AP.

Although there is nothing in writing in the peace agreement, the subject has been dealt with at length during the negotiations, the source said.

Dr Savimbi believes that after a peace agreement is signed and UN forces in Namibia set up posts along the border with Angola, his supply routes from South Africa will be severed as part of an Angolan government attempt to cripple Unita.

"I have withdrawn forces from the front because I want to be ready," he said. "We are prepared to intensify our guerrilla warfare in the whole country."

Unita's intelligence chief, General Peregrino Wambo, said that in the past month 48 Unita soldiers had died, while the Angolan government had lost 531 men and the Cubans 12.

# Savimbi's 'private citizen' plan for peace

By JOAO SANTA RITA, Argus Africa News Service

THE Angolan rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, is ready to become a private citizen and recognise President Jose Eduardo dos Santos as the leader of Angola for a four-year period leading to national elections, says a leading American expert on African affairs, Miss Gillian Gunn.

This little-known concession by Dr Savimbi, leader of Unita, has been given new significance by the agreement reached in Geneva which opens the way to independence for SWA/Namibia and the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

If the agreement is ratified by the South African, Angolan and Cuban governments, Dr Savimbi's attitude will largely dictate whether it will lead to an end to the civil war between Unita and the governing MPLA.

Miss Gunn, an African affairs specialist with the Washington-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies, said in a review of the current peace negotiations between South Africa and Angola that Dr Savimbi's offer to recognise President dos Santos had been made in an interview she had with the rebel leader and in a message he had sent to the Luanda government.

Miss Gunn said that in the interview Dr Savimbi had elaborated on the peace plan he presented to President Ronald Reagan earlier this year.

His plan included a ceasefire and a four-year interim MPLA-Unita-FNLA government working under an adjusted "MPLA programme" during which the Unita and MPLA armies would be merged.

Dr Savimbi had also told the current Organisation of African Unity chairman, President Mousa Traore of Mali, that during the four-

year period he would be a private citizen and President dos Santos would be recognised as the leader of all Angola. Dr Savimbi would not necessarily be part of any delegation sent to meet the MPLA.

But in spite of these concessions, the Angolan government has not yet indicated that it is ready to negotiate with Dr Savimbi.

At the same time it is clear that Unita will be in a weakened position if the agreement reached in Geneva between Angola, South Africa and Cuba is approved by all the governments.

A previous statement signed by the three countries specifically forbids them from allowing their territories to be used for actions against each other and to respect each other's territorial integrity.

SWA/Namibia's independence would also make it difficult if not impossible for South Africa to continue its aid to Unita, leaving the movement dependent on American help.

Unconfirmed reports said there had already been strong disagreements between Unita and the United States on the ways to end the internal conflict in Angola. In September Dr Savimbi strongly criticised the American negotiator, Dr Chester Crocker, accusing him of digging the graves of America's friends.

Subsequent reports said that Dr Savimbi had been angered by suggestions that he should go into exile to facilitate an internal agreement.

Earlier this month President dos Santos went to Morocco for talks with King Hassan, one of Unita's African allies. Dr Crocker himself had been to Morocco the previous month and the London newsletter *Africa Confidential* said this was part of a peace initiative aimed at achieving internal reconciliation.

"As the result of United States, British and Nigerian prompting, Morocco has been greasing negotiations behind the scenes by offering Savimbi and his close followers a safe haven," the newsletter said.

Recently Angola's Interior Minister, Mr Kito Rodrigues, told Radio Mozambique that all Unita members except Dr Savimbi were free to return home and take part in rebuilding Angola.

The Angolan government thus seems to be in no hurry to negotiate with Unita's leadership and appears to be convinced that it can divide the movement.

Whatever the MPLA's strategy may be, it is clear that Unita's immediate future now depends on whether the agreement signed in Geneva will be ratified by the governments involved.

The South African govern-

ment itself has been cautious in spite of the optimism expressed by Angola, Cuba and the United States. Knowledgeable observers have pointed out that even if what is agreed in Geneva is ratified, there are still obstacles in the way.

There has to be an agreement on the composition of the United Nations force to be sent to SWA/Namibia and it is understood that South Africa has already objected to the possibility of Nigerians being included.

At the same time it is unclear whether the South African government has accepted the guarantees given by the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, that the UN will be strictly neutral during the transitional period. The question of UN impartiality has been raised several times by the South Africans.

In her review, written before the agreement reached in Geneva, Miss Gunn warned that if South Africa should end up by stalling on implementing resolution 435, Cuba and Angola could be expected to declare the cessation of hostilities no longer valid.

"Cuba could resume its military build-up on the Angolan border, assist Swapo infiltration and perhaps even launch long-range artillery barrages from new bases in southern Angola into South African bases in Namibia," she warned.

ARGUS 21/11/88

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# Mudge confirms right-wing fear of 'another Zimbabwe'

THE Democratic Turnhalle Alliance's Dirk Mudge did not impress the assortment of conservative congressional staff members who assembled to hear him in the Senate Treaty Room last Friday afternoon. One went so far as to compare him, to his face, with a man who has jumped off a skyscraper and halfway down finds consolation in the fact that he has yet to hit the ground.

That was Senator Orrin Hatch's Michael Pillsbury, a firebreather who was sacked from the Pentagon back in 1985 and nearly prosecuted for gloating to a reporter that the CIA had begun arming Unita.

The rest of the audience enjoyed his mot and chuckled approvingly. It included at least three members of Senator Jesse Helms' heavy brigade, Jim Lucier, Cliff Kiracofe and Phil Christenson plus the lonely voice of reaction on the House Africa subcommittee staff, Saul Singer. And, of course, the relentlessly energetic Riva Levenson of Black, Manafort and Stone, the Unita lobby. A broader tranche of opinion had been invited, but it did not show up.

Mudge seemed only dimly aware of whom he was addressing and spent a lot of time defending himself against the Left's slander that he is a complaisant lackey of Pretoria. The present company might have preferred him if he had been, so this was a waste of breath.

He then spoke earnestly of how his country would soon be independent and how he would do his best to put together an effective parliamentary opposition to its inevitable new Swapo government. Which was exactly what his listeners did not want to hear. They were looking for an Ian Smith circa 1965. Instead, their worst fear — "another Zimbabwe" — was being confirmed.

Politely, but firmly, the Namibian noted he was "not concerned about your problems". The game finally was up and there was nothing he and his fellow internals either could or would do to alter it. An all-party conference before UN Resolution 435 went into effect might be nice, but the world would not end if there wasn't one. "Nothing," he said in summary, "could be worse than prolonging the agony."

Regrettably, many in the room that afternoon seemed determined to do just that.

## Panel

The previous day, the same crowd had spent its lunchtime at the Heritage Foundation listening to a panel discussion on the Geneva breakthrough.



**Washington Letter**  
by SIMON BARBER

The panelists were Ambassador Herman Cohen, the National Security Council's senior Africa specialist and a participant in most of the talks, Unita Washington representative Marcos Samondo and Constantine Menges, late of the CIA and the NSC during the Irangate mess, and currently a colleague of Jeane Kirkpatrick at the American Enterprise Institute.

Cohen (who incidentally is now a favourite to succeed Dr Chester Crocker) did his accomplished best to defend the settlement, stressing in every way he knew how that Unita was not going to be abandoned. The deal in no way precluded outside support for the rebels, and the US would veto any effort by the UN Security Council to amend that as part of the "enabling resolution", putting the agreement into effect.

The Cubans had agreed not to engage Unita once the settlement process was under way and, besides, would be so far north and west of Dr Jonas Savimbi's heartland before the next dry season that any assault would be imprausible. Considering they were the only force in the region that could pose any serious threat to the rebels, surely even the most die-hard fan of the Reagan doctrine had to see merit in their withdrawal.

Samondo saw it, albeit with hesitation. Menges did not: the whole thing was a "major mistake". SA would find it far more difficult to arrest the implementation of 435 — an international obligation — than would the Cubans to renege on what, effectively, was nothing more than a



**MR DIRK MUDGE . . . did not impress the conservative staff members.**

pact between two Marxist regimes, itself and the MPLA. The South Africans who negotiated the deal were soft-headed. The only hope was that the "realists" in their government would call it off in time.

## Geneva

In the unhappy event that Pretoria heeded his warning, Menges suggested starting entirely from scratch: first, force MPLA to expel the Cubans immediately and implement the 1975 Alvor Accords calling for free and fair elections. That done, let some non-UN entity organise elections in Namibia.

Which, Menges continued, would almost have certainly have been George Bush's policy had not Crocker sneaked off to Geneva "the day after the election" on November to force the president-elect's hand with a fait accompli. In short, it was all part of the State Department's ongoing conspiracy to betray the US to the godless Communists.

By this stage, the groupies were positively salivating. William Pascoe, Heritage Africa analyst, demanded to know whether Bush was aware of what was happening. Cohen pointed out that the vice president was a member of the national security council and

had been fully briefed. "Oh really" shot back Pascoe, suddenly sounding like Senator Edward Kennedy at the Democratic convention in Atlanta: "how many NSC meetings had Bush attended where the subject had been discussed? Where was George?"

As the meeting broke up, the analyst eureka-ed to a colleague that here, before our very eyes, was the first State Department "end-run" of the Bush administration.

Across the room, an even stranger scene was being played out as Menges intoned a dire warning to SA military attache, Colonel Fred Rindel: if SA accepted the deal, the conservatives would see to it that Congress enacted further sanctions by next August.

How the colonel took this was unclear. I asked him whether he shared Menges' view of the agreement. He replied, enigmatically, that as a sol-

der he restricted himself simply to listening. Perhaps he was merely being diplomatic. But as a soldier, he might usefully have shown a little anger. There is after all a certain impotence in an American armchair warrior threatening to punish SA for no longer wishing to fight his crusade with his lives and treasure in its own balliwick.

I like to think, however, that in keeping his counsel, the attache was merely treating Menges with the contempt he deserves, and that by the time this is published, P W Botha and his Cabinet will have done the same.

Assuming this is the case, it remains to be seen whether the hard Right will try to hamper the settlement as it proceeds. They have various levers at their disposal. Senator Helms can be expected to try and block US funding for the UN transitional assistance group and may well exert a little blackmail by holding up the nomination of Crocker's successor — as he did with Crocker himself seven years ago when he went to the extraordinary lengths of enlisting Transfrica and the pro-sanctions Left as his accomplices.

Dr Savimbi's acceptance of the deal at the weekend is unlikely to lessen conservative criticism. The Mengeses of this world seem perfectly capable of declaring him a sell-out too. Instead the focus will be on how the State Department and the SA Department of Foreign Affairs hoodwinked everyone into accepting a Marxist government in Namibia.

## Cuba denies deal with Unita

HAVANA — Cuba denied yesterday that a ceasefire had been informally agreed by Cuban troops and pro-Western rebels in Angola. Star 22/11/88

It denied that an agreement had been signed during secret talks in the Ivory Coast.

"These affirmations are absolutely untrue and talks about any informal agreement between Cuban troops and Unita can only form part of a propagandistic manipulation," a Cuban foreign ministry spokesman was quoted as saying. (S)

Cuba approved a regional peace plan on Friday for the withdrawal of its 50 000 troops from Angola and independence for Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter.

## SA team in US to air Angola peace plan

JOHANNESBURG. — A South African technical team has arrived in New York to discuss details for a settlement plan for Namibia with Angolan and Cuban delegations, SABC TV news reported last night.

The plan was drawn up in Geneva by negotiators from the three countries in conjunction with the United States and was submitted for consideration to the governments of the countries involved.

The plan includes the timetable for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as part of the peace process in the area and the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 on independence for Namibia.

Cuba yesterday denied that a ceasefire had been informally agreed by Cuban troops and pro-Western rebels in Angola.

The denial follows a statement in the Johannesburg Sunday Star by Dr Jonas Savimbi, head of the South African- and US-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), that an agreement had been sealed with a Cuban delegation during secret talks held in August in Ivory Coast.

Cuba approved a regional peace plan on Friday that would lead to the withdrawal of its 50 000 troops from Angola and to independence for South African-ruled Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter

56/10/78



Foreign Minister Pik Botha and negotiator Neil van Heerden. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# Way to peace 'clear' as SA accepts Cuban timetable

PRETORIA — SA had accepted the timetable proposed at the recent Geneva talks for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night after yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

"This means that the hard nut that had to be cracked has now been cracked," Sape-Reuter reports from Washington that the US said SA's acceptance cleared the way for the signing of a peace agreement for southern Africa.

"With this step all three governments involved in these talks have signalled their acceptance of the Geneva understandings," State Department spokesman Charles Redman said. Botha, who declined to give details of

GERALD REILLY

the withdrawal plan, said a joint commission, probably consisting of SA, the US, Russia, Angola and Cuba, was envisaged. This would adjudicate any alleged violations of Namibian independence and withdrawal procedures.

Botha stressed a vital element was the composition of the Cuban withdrawal verification and monitoring structure to be set up and now being discussed by the SA team in New York.

The first protocol on the tripartite agreement could be signed within a week or two in Brazzaville. He said a lot of work remained to be done. Government's conviction remained that peace in Angola was out of

reach unless there was national reconciliation and an agreed internal settlement. This, however, was a matter for the Angolans.

"The US government shared this view, and there was reason to believe so: too did important African leaders.

The presence of the UN in Namibia and how it would function remained to be settled. "My government still does not know where the funds will come from to pay for the implementation of the Namibia plan."

The Security Council would meet to discuss and formulate decisions that would be the mandate for the UN secretary-general to go ahead with the implementation of the settlement plan.

Botha said SA was confident the secretary-general would fulfil the undertaking of complete impartiality in the UN's involvement in Namibia.

He added: "We are at the foot of the mountain and it has not been easy getting there. I cannot say at this stage precisely where we are in the ascent to the top."

Botha said UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi had discussions yesterday afternoon with President P. W. Botha, Defence Minister Magnus Malan and himself.

Savimbi indicated at the meeting if the timetable for Cuban withdrawal could be adhered to and genuinely implemented, this would contribute greatly to peace and stability in the region.

# SWA SWA NEWS VIEWS

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## Namibia on road to freedom after 73 years

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

The South African government, in a dramatic announcement, last night declared that it had accepted an internationally-negotiated peace plan for Angola and Namibia.

The agreement, if it is eventually implemented next year, will be the beginning of the end of 73 years of South African rule over Namibia. It will also end the civil war in Namibia which has been waging over the past 22 years as well as pave the way for peace in Angola which has been racked by civil war since it gained independence from Portugal 12 years ago.

### 'A long, long road'

The accord — scheduled to be signed within the next two weeks at Brazzaville — will enable 50,000 Cuban troops to withdraw from Angola over the next 27 months, and allows for Namibian independence. "This means that the hard nut that had to be cracked has been cracked," the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said at a news conference last night in Pretoria. Mr. Botha added: "A major and very important step has been taken on a long, long road." The peace agreement, the product of many months of hard negotiation in different parts of Africa, Europe and North America between South Africa,

Angola, the United States and the Soviet Union, will have far-reaching consequences in Southern Africa and the rest of the world. Last night, the acceptance of the peace accord was widely welcomed in the rest of the world. In Washington, the US State Department said South Africa's acceptance of a schedule for Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola cleared the way for the signing of a peace agreement for Southern Africa.

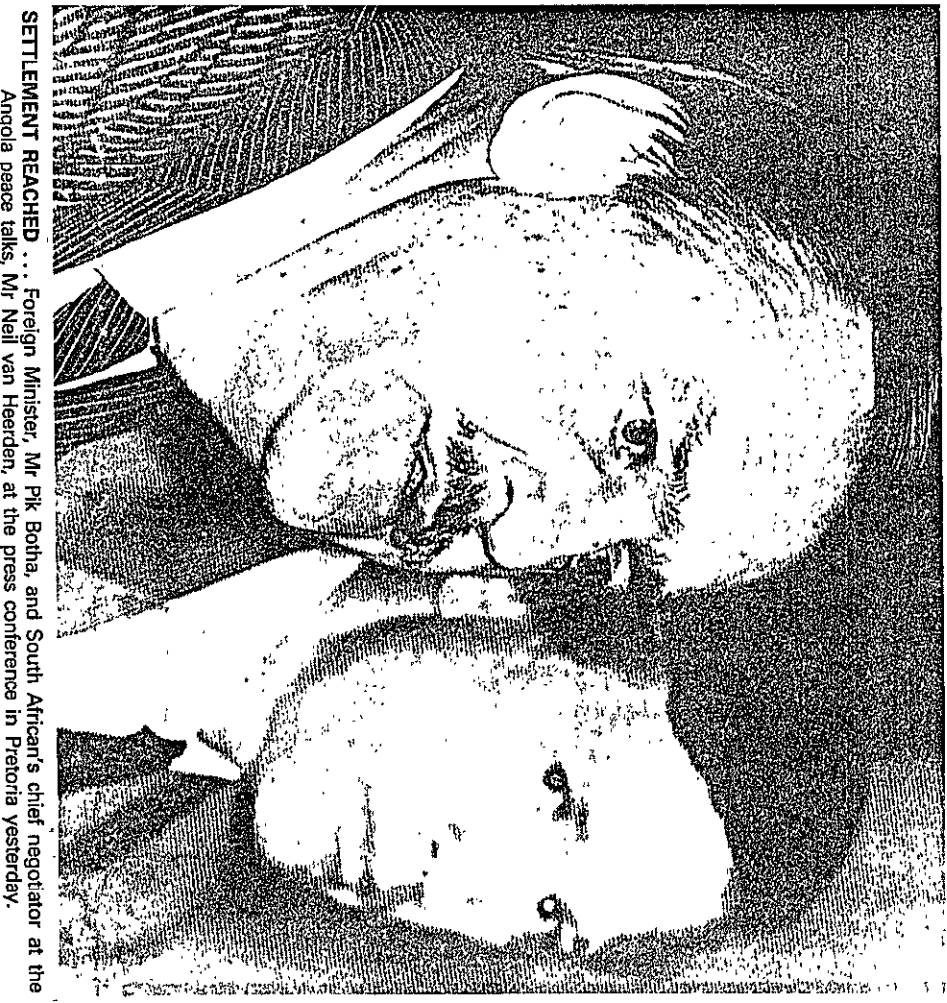
### 'Signalled acceptance'

"With this step all three governments involved in these talks have signalled their acceptance of the Geneva understandings," the State Department spokesman Mr. Charles Hedeman said. The way is now clear to completion of the negotiations and the signing of the interlocking set of agreements the parties have agreed to conclude, he said. The Brazzaville meeting was needed so the parties could test and approve what Mr. Nedman called "detailed documentation."

However, at last night's press conference Mr. Botha warned: "There is still a lot of work to be done. Discussions on the implementation of this process." South Africa still did not know if the required funds from the United Nations were available to pay for the implementation of the Namibian independence plan, he said. Mr. Botha said he could not disclose details of the timetable but he

## UN urges final SWA settlement

NEW YORK — UN Secretary-General Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday urged the parties to reach a final settlement for Namibia. His statement, issued through a spokeswoman, came after South Africa had confirmed its acceptance of United States-mediated proposals setting a timetable for the withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola. Pretoria had made this a condition for implementation of a 16-year-old independence plan for the South African-occupied territory of Namibia, embodied in Security Council Resolution 435. The UN had previously affirmed their acceptance of the proposals. Then, however, the UN spokesman said that the secretary-general is glad to note that all the parties had agreed to the decisions reached in Geneva last week to facilitate a settlement in south-west Africa." The secretary-general urges all the parties to redouble their efforts to achieve a final settlement in order to facilitate the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia," she stated. The next step is expected to be a signing ceremony at Brazzaville, the Congolese capital, where some of the negotiations took place. — Sapa-Mentzer



SETTLEMENT REACHED . . . Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, and South African's chief negotiator at the Angola peace talks, Mr. Neil van Heerden, at the press conference in Pretoria yesterday.



Mr Botha 23/1/80

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### From page 1

stressed that the with-  
drawal of Cuban forces  
north of certain paral-  
lels would be monitored.  
Troops would be with-  
drawn on a monthly ba-  
sis.

Mr Botha said the Un-  
ita leader, Dr Jonas Sa-  
vimbi, told him and the  
Minister of Defence,  
General Magnus Malan,  
in Pretoria yesterday  
that if the Cuban troop  
withdrawal was proper-  
ly monitored, the accep-  
tance of the proposals  
would contribute to  
peace and stability in  
the region.

Peace would not be  
achieved unless there  
was national reconcilia-  
tion inside Angola, he  
said.

Asked whether the ac-  
ceptance meant that  
"everything would be  
downhill from here", Mr  
Botha replied: "Nothing  
is ever downhill."

January 1 was not a  
feasible date for the  
implementation of Reso-  
lution 435, he said, but it  
was up to the parties to  
change this date and  
agree to an implementa-  
tion date.

There would ultimate-  
ly be three parties in-  
volved in the Angola-Na-  
mibia peace process,  
namely Untag, to moni-  
tor the Namibian elec-  
tions, a second body to  
monitor the withdrawal  
of Cuban forces, and a  
joint committee prob-  
ably consisting of South  
Africa, the US, the Sovi-  
et Union, Angola and  
Cuba.

This committee would  
function as an overall  
umbrella or "appeal"  
body to which the viola-  
tion of anything could be  
reported.

Mr Botha said he did  
not have any faith in the  
UN in general, but the  
South African govern-  
ment had faith in the UN  
Secretary-General, Dr  
Perez de Cuellar.

Mr Botha's caution  
should not be ignored:  
12 years ago, in 1976, the  
then US Secretary of  
State, Dr Henry Kis-  
singer, came to Pretoria  
in the first Western at-  
tempt to encourage a set-  
tlement in both Namibia  
and Rhodesia.

Various peace plans  
have foundered since  
then.

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# March 1 new starting date

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

**IMPLEMENTATION** of a Namibian independence plan and the phased withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola over 27 months could begin in March.

Following the South African government's announcement that it had agreed to sign a peace agreement, foreign affairs sources today confirmed March as the new starting time for the independence plan.

Earlier, November 1 and then January 1 had been set as target dates.

A formal protocol embodying the agreement — reached after months of hard bargaining between South Africa, Angola and Cuba with the US acting as the mediator — will be signed in Brazzaville in the next week or two, but the main details are leaking out.

The Administrator-General of Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, has confirmed that the Cuban withdrawal will stretch over 27 months and that half of the estimated 52 000 Cubans will be out of Angola by the time Namibians go to the polls in the elections called for in United Nations Resolution 435.

An initial 3 000 Cubans will have to be out of Angola by the time the implementation of the UN plan begins. This will be quid pro quo for South African withdrawal of troops from Angola.

After this there will be a phased withdrawal of Cubans northwards.

Three months after the start of the UN plan they will have to be at the 15th parallel, 240km north of the Namibian border. After six months they will have to be at the 13th parallel, about 400km north of the border.

Twelve months after the start of the plan 75 percent of the Cubans will have to be out of Angola. The remainder will have to leave in the remaining 15 months.

Technical talks about the verification procedures are still being held in New York and there could be American as well as Russian involvement in the monitoring of Cuban withdrawal.

Besides a UN monitoring body there will be a "super commission" consisting of the United States, Russia, South Africa, Cuba and Angola, which will serve as an appeal body while the peace process is being implemented.

## **No clarity on Savimbi**

There is no clarity about the position of Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita movement and it is unlikely that this will be dealt with in any peace agreement.

In terms of the timetable for Cuban withdrawal they will eventually fall back to positions north of Dr Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba.

Dr Savimbi had talks in Pretoria yesterday with President Botha, Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan — but he did not speak to journalists.

At a Press conference Mr Pik Botha said he had welcomed the agreement as being essential to peace and stability in Angola, provided that the procedures for verifying the withdrawal of Cuban troops were adequate.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman, welcoming South Africa's nod to the timetable of Cuban troop withdrawal, said: "With this step, all three governments involved in these talks have signalled their acceptance of the Geneva understandings."

Asked what details still had to be thrashed out, Mr Redman said a comprehensive settlement would involve a complex, interlocking set of agreements. "Detailed documentation needs to be edited and approved."

## **Business boom spin-off for Western Cape**

Staff Reporter

**WESTERN** Cape business is set for a boom when the independence process begins.

The United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag), consisting of nearly 10 000 troops and officials, will move in to monitor proceedings and will need huge supplies.

Untag has already advertised for "expressions of interest" from businesses in Cape Town capable of fast deliveries of large quantities of a host of commodities and services including food, fuel, building materials, electrical and communications equipment, prefabricated buildings and tents and a wide range of vehicles.

# Cubans will have 27 months to quit

AR 66 3 23/11/88

# SA accepts plan for SWA and Angola Cubans

AR665  
23/11/88

By PETER FABRICIUS of The Argus Political Staff



**T**HE government has agreed to the Geneva agreement for SWA/Namibia independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, announced in Pretoria yesterday that the Cabinet's decision had been conveyed to the United States government and that a formal protocol would be signed within the next week or two, probably in Brazzaville, Congo.

Mr Botha said at a press conference at the Union Buildings that the "hard nut" of the long negotiation process for SWA/Namibia independence had at last been cracked but emphasised also that there was still "a lot to be done".

He said the South African negotiating team was in New York to discuss the very significant matter of procedures for verifying and monitoring the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr Botha would not say if disagreements over these verification procedures could still undermine the settlement, but he emphasised that South Africa would sign no "blank cheques". South Africa would ensure that the other side fulfilled its side of the bargain before signing anything.

Mr Botha confirmed that Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita resistance movement, had visited Pretoria yesterday to meet President Botha, himself and the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, to discuss the Geneva agreement.

Dr Savimbi had welcomed the agreement as being essential to peace and stability in Angola — provided that the procedures for verifying

the withdrawal of Cuban troops were adequate.

Mr Botha said no date had yet been set for the start of the process of implementing United Nations resolution 435 for SWA/Namibia independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops, but he thought the speculated date of January 1 was too early.

It was possible that the territory could be independent by the end of next year but he would not say if this was probable.

Mr Botha said South Africa envisaged three structures for verifying troop withdrawals:

• Untag — the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group — consisting of military and civilian components, which would monitor the election process in SWA/Namibia;

• A new monitoring group, probably supervised by the UN, to monitor the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola under the Geneva agreement; and

• A third umbrella group which would act as a form of "super appeal court" to supervise the other monitoring bodies consisting of South African, American, Soviet, Angolan, Cuban and UN elements.

Mr Botha said that once the protocol had been signed the UN Security Council would have to pass a resolution to implement it.

General Malan was asked at the press conference if South Africa would withdraw troops from the enclave of Walvis Bay under the settlement plan.

He said that under UN resolution 435 South African troops would withdraw to "South African territory" but would not say if this included Walvis Bay.



The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, accompanied by the Minister of De-

# The Border War — has a decade ~~some~~ to waste?

ART-TIPS 24/11/81

By GERALD SHAW

**SOUTH AFRICA'S withdrawal from Namibia and its military disengagement from the region are events of momentous significance, although this is only slowing dawning on South Africans.**

Assuming that all goes according to plan, South Africa will for the first time in a decade be free of "the Border" and a huge commitment of men and material resources across its frontiers.

The impact, proportionately, could be comparable with the American experience in getting out of Vietnam and it promises to be greatly beneficial, economically and otherwise.

For 10 years much of South African life in the white community has revolved around its young men going to "the Border".

Conscription into the armed forces to combat the insurgency of the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation (Swapo) in Namibia and in Angola — and to fight on the side of the Unita rebels in that war-ravaged country — has loomed large.

The South African cross-border presence was on the point of escalating into a manning military conflict against a well-equipped and powerful opponent when Pretoria decided to call it quits.

Has this been a wasted decade, in which huge resources have been squandered across the border to no good purpose? Resources which could have been usefully deployed at home?

It was not only a matter of the SADF's own massive logistical costs, fighting with greatly extended lines of communication. The tally to be picked up by the South African taxpayer also includes covert support to Dr Jonas Savimbi, supplying and resupplying the Unita rebels with weaponry and the material sinews of war.

When the SADF took over Unita a decade and more ago, it had all but disintegrated. Pretoria built it up into a formidable force, presenting a serious threat to Luanda and, in so doing, drawing the Cubans ever more deeply into the sub-continent.

The Angolan involvement was kept secret from South African taxpayers for much of the time — and so the people of this country may never know precisely how much this indulgence of Pretoria's strategic enthusiasts has cost them.

In keeping someone else's civil war going, Pretoria helped reduce southern Angola to a wasteland, rendering thousands upon thousands destitute and homeless.

But what was it all about? What was the whole exercise supposed to achieve?

Initially, the aim was to make life difficult for the forces of Swapo, who were based on Angolan soil and were infiltrating over the border into Namibia to pursue their campaign of insurgency against the South African administration of that territory.

By backing Unita, Pretoria hoped to bring pressure to bear on the MPLA government in Luanda to withdraw its support from the Swapo guerrillas. And by devastating southern Angola and turning it into a no man's land, it was hoped to deny Swapo its infiltration routes.

At one point the SADF seemed to bestride Southern Africa like an imperial colossus, holding sway far beyond its borders, wielding its power through the Renamo rebels in Mozambique and Unita in Angola and extending its clandestine arms far and wide in the region.

While eventually abandoning Renamo, which is now running out of control and devastating Mozambique, the Pretoria government came to regard Unita's battle as its own. The SADF's strategy sought to win a share for Dr Savimbi in the Luanda government. As South African backing to Unita increased, Luanda turned to Cuba to step up its military assistance — and the stage was set for a dangerous confrontation on the Namibian border and in central Angola.

As succeeding intakes of young men were conscripted into the SADF, the justification they were offered for their involvement in Namibia/Angola was the "total onslaught" and the need to keep communism at bay.

But what had caused Swapo to take up arms in the first place? And why was South Africa involved anyway?

SWA-Namibia is not South African soil. It is a former German colony which South Africa was asked to administer on behalf of the world community after World War I. After World War II, the UN took over supervision of these so-called mandated or trusteeship territories, which one by one were led to independence.

Eventually only South West Africa remained under trusteeship, while representatives of the indignant people of the country petitioned the UN year after year for their country to be removed from South African control and led to independence — as had been envisaged all along.

When the UN and the West failed to persuade Pretoria to bow out, Swapo launched its guerrilla campaign for Namibian independence.

The Pretoria government had at first played for time, hoping to incorporate SWA but eventually conceding its international character and, in Mr John Vorster's time, finally agreeing to Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council, providing for Namibian independence. But then the SADF-dominated Botha government came along. The chance to settle the dispute under Western diplomatic auspices was frittered away in favour of achieving military victory over Swapo.

The SADF counter-insurgency campaign in Namibia was stepped-up from year to year and eventually as many as 30 000 troops were believed to be engaged. The war dragged on, although Swapo seemed pretty well knocked out militarily speaking.

Yet Pretoria had bitten off more than it could usefully chew — and the prospect of a Swapo government in Windhoek no longer seemed so fearsome anyway.

Was it all worth it? And what will be the effect of withdrawal in South African politics? Talk of the "total onslaught" will fade, although some die-hard cold war zealots still cast Zimbabwe as a communist menace to South African security and no doubt will continue on this theme.

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# Provisos to Angola peace

(5)  
C.A. Times  
24/11/88

LUANDA. — A senior Angolan official has said Angola will not lay down arms until the independence process for Namibia has begun and Angola's security is guaranteed.

The official Angolan news agency yesterday quoted Mr Paulino Pinto Joao, the government's chief spokesman, as saying that a UN independence plan for the South African-ruled territory was the central factor in a US-mediated peace process involving South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Meanwhile, Unita yesterday vowed to continue its guerilla war despite the peace accord. Unita condemned Angola's refusal of direct negotiations. It pledged to continue the guerilla war until the Luanda government holds talks with their leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi. — Sapa-  
Reuter

● Special reports, pages 8 and 9

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# Peace in Namibia?

## Malan still shady about Walvis Bay

THE South African Government has accepted the Geneva agreement for Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha announced yesterday that the Cabinet had approved the plan and had informed the United States government of its decision.

He said at a Press conference at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, yesterday that a formal protocol would be signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola over the next two weeks, probably in Brazzaville.

The agreement has already been ratified by the Cuban and Angolan governments which means that in principle it will go ahead. Mr Botha said that the "hard-nut" of the long process of negotiating a Namibian settlement had now been cracked.

But he stressed that "a lot still had to be done". He said that at the

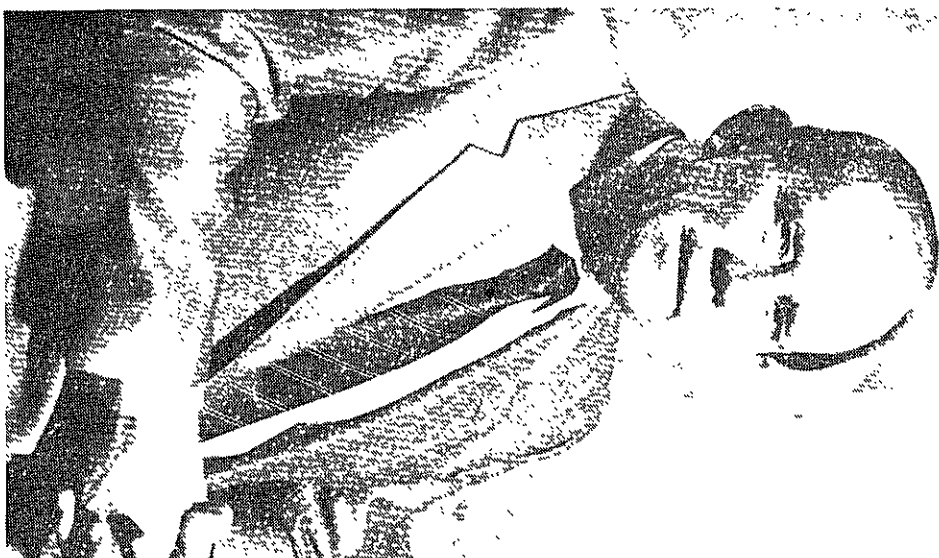
moment a South African team was in New York discussing a very important element of the settlement — the procedures for verifying and monitoring the timetable for withdrawing Cuban troops from Angola.

He was not prepared to say if disagreements about these procedures could still undermine the settlement. But South Africa was not prepared to "sign a blank cheque. We will sign as we become sure that the other parties will pay their dues," he added.

### Savimbi

He confirmed that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had met President Botha, himself and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the Geneva settlement.

Dr Savimbi had "welcomed" the settlement as vital for the stability of Angola, Mr Botha said. But he added that Dr Savimbi had stressed that adequate verification of Cuban troop withdrawal was a critical factor in the process.



GENERAL MAGNUS MALAN

"He told us if the process unfolded, then timetable was genuinely the agreement would adhere to and troop movement was monitored step by step as the Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said no date had been set for the twin processes of Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal to be set in motion, but that the speculated date of January 1 was probably too early.

He said it was possible that Namibia could be independent by the end of next year, but would not say if this was probable.

Mr Botha said South Africa envisaged three structures for verification.

- Untag — the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, comprising military and civilian elements to monitor the civilian procedures leading to elections in Namibia;

- A few structure probably under UN supervision to verify the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola according to the timetable agreed to in Geneva;

- And a new joint commission consisting of South Africa, the United Nations, the Soviet Union, the United States, Angola and Cuba which

would act as a "super appeal court" overseeing the whole verification process on both sides of the border.

Asked if South Africa thought Untag would be impartial, Mr Botha said that UN Secretary-General Dr Perez de Cuellar had already assured President Botha that it would be completely impartial and that South Africa had "enough faith in Dr de Cuellar to believe he would meet this commitment."

### Walvis

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan was asked at the Press conference if South Africa intended withdrawing its troops from the South African enclave of Walvis Bay as well as Namibia itself.

He said the troops would be withdrawn "to South African territory" according to the dictates of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence, but would not specify if this included Walvis Bay.

Mr Botha said the South position of the South West African territorial force and the special

police unit Koevoet during the Namibian independence process had still to be "ironed out" during further discussions.

He said after the signing of the first protocol the United Nations Security Council would then have to convene to pass a resolution to implement it.

Mr Botha would not say if South Africa would continue to provide military assistance to Unita after the signing of the protocol. "But naturally our relations of friendliness and good neighbourliness will continue," he added.

The precise terms of the Geneva agreement have not been publicised. But it is widely believed they include a large-scale withdrawal of Cuban troops northwards from the Namibian border during the first three months of the pre-election period specified by UN 435, with a further withdrawal to north of the Benguela railway line during the next three months and complete withdrawal from Angola after 27 months.

**What now for Unita?**

The arrival in SA this week of Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi for talks with President P W Botha, who requested them, spot-

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FMMCL  
25/11/88

(S) FMMCL 25/11/88

lights the question of Unita's fate following the south-western African draft peace accord finally wrought in Geneva on November 15.

Cuba and Angola officially accepted the proposals last Friday. SA was due to give its formal assent this week after a meeting of officials of the three countries in New York — "informally" and under US mediation — to "fine-tune" certain technical details. These include verification procedures of the Cuban troop withdrawal, and possibly also the question of the four ANC bases in Angola. The final protocol is to be signed in Brazzaville on a date (within the next two months) yet to be announced.

Once that is accomplished, it leaves the way open for the other leg of the peace plan — Resolution 435 and Namibian independence — to be implemented. This will entail Untag forces taking up their monitoring posts at 16 points along the Namibia-Angola border, including five in the Caprivi Strip, thus sealing off Savimbi's supply line from SA.

Where will this leave Unita, ostensibly the big losers in the entente? Savimbi said he'd be asking Botha "where we stand, what is going on." However, at a press conference at Jamba last weekend, Savimbi did not appear at all discomfited by the peace developments. Once the Cubans are out of the way, he believes the military balance will shift in his favour and so force the MPLA government to negotiate a domestic deal.

According to the SA Institute of International Affairs, Savimbi wants to get the ball rolling on negotiations aimed at the formation of an Angolan government of national unity which would include Unita, but not necessarily himself. Apparently, he would prefer a governorship, as he sees himself playing a kind of Frans Josef Strauss role from his regional base in the south of the country.

Both Savimbi and SA want an African-brokered settlement of the Angolan civil war. Savimbi has reiterated his call for Nigeria and the Ivory Coast to play this mediating role. Given the crucial involvement of the US and Soviet Union pressing their respective clients, Unita and the MPLA, towards a deal, it is therefore thought that Savimbi's stock is not as low as it looked a few months ago — everybody wants to see a settlement in Angola.

For SA, the attraction is primarily economic. It stands to save more than R1bn a year made up of: direct contributions to the Namibian budget (R467m in 1987), indirect assistance and loans (R85m in 1985-1986), and defence spending, which ranged between R350m-R500m in 1983 and an estimated R700m last year.

Savimbi's visit follows reports claiming that Unita and Cuba reached a "secret ceasefire agreement" at a meeting in the Ivory Coast back in August. The Cubans denied this and described the claim as "manipulative propaganda." According to one observer, however, there was indeed a Cuban-Unita meeting in Cape Verde recently at which some kind of ceasefire agreement was worked out. This would explain why there has not been a renewed Fapla thrust on Jamba, which could normally be expected around October/November. ■

# SA warns Angola and Cuba against bid to 'crush' Unita

Star 25/11/88  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa has told Angola and Cuba that any attempts to crush Unita militarily will wreck peace efforts.

This emerged in a television interview with the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, broadcast in the US last night.

"We have told Angola and Cuba that if there is any effort to annihilate Unita militarily, the negotiations will be off," said Mr van Heerden, who led the South African negotiating team in seven months of peace talks.

Mr van Heerden was appearing on Christian Broadcast Network, interviewed by US evangelist and former Republican presidential candidate, the Rev Pat Robertson.

Mr van Heerden's assurance may come as a relief to conservatives in Washington who are highly suspicious that Unita and its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, are being left to the mercies of Angola's Marxist government.

But Dr Savimbi said he supported the announced South Africa-Cuba-Angola agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal

Speaking to Mr Robertson while in South Africa this week, Dr Savimbi said his meeting with the President, Mr P W Botha, had gone very well. The only concern Unita had was how the withdrawal of 52 000 troops from Angola would be verified.

Dr Savimbi said he did not know details of this, but suggested that the United Nations might take part. He also wanted South Africa involved: "It will be good that all those who have negotiated agreement will be part of verification."

He said the US should not halt its military aid to Unita now that the goal of SWA/Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal from Angola was in sight. Unita wanted to keep both the US and South Africa as allies.

# SA equips Maputo to defend lines

Star 25/11/88  
The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — South Africa is to deliver an unspecified amount of "non-lethal" military equipment to Mozambique on Monday, it was announced here yesterday.

The Mozambican news agency, AIM, said a South African ship would dock in the central Mozambique port of Beira on Monday with "a cargo of non-lethal military equipment" but gave no details about the kind of equipment to be supplied.

It said the military equipment would be used to provide logistical support for the defence of the power lines that run from the Cahora Bassa Dam in the northwestern province of Tete to the South African border.

The supply of the equipment was part of the agreement reached in Lisbon in June between South Africa, Mozambique and Portugal on the repair and protection of the power lines.

# Left-wing still talks of unity

Star 25/11/88  
By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The leaders of the three left-of-Government parties which are engaged in unity talks today expressed hope that their initiatives would bear fruit, but reiterated their conditions for a political realignment.

The Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement shared a platform at a congress held by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in Johannesburg.

The involvement of extra-parliamentary groups in a realignment received much attention, especially from IP leader Dr Denis Worrall and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan.

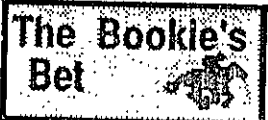
Dr Worrall said that with an early general election probable, every attempt should be made to influence white public opinion to facing up to demographic, economic and po-

litical realities. Mr Malan said parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups which could decidedly influence political developments should be involved.

PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer expressed pleasure at the prospect of co-operating with the IP and the NDM.

● In an editorial, the Government-supporting morning newspaper *Beeld* today encouraged the formation of a new liberal political party.

"No fault can be found with the principle of an alliance to the left of the National Party. It can bring balance to a debate which mainly focuses on what happens to the right of the NP."



Gosforth Park tomorrow.  
Best bet — Hatch, Race 9.  
Best eachway — Fire of Life, Race 5.



# 'Any effort to crush Unita will wreck peace' — SA

ARGUS 25/11/88 5

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — South Africa has told Angola and Cuba that any attempts to crush the rebel movement, Unita, by military action will wreck the advanced efforts for peace in the region.

This emerged in an American television interview with the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, broadcast here last night.

"We have told Angola and Cuba that if there is any effort to annihilate Unita militarily, the negotiations will be off," he said in an edited interview.

Mr van Heerden, who led the South African negotiating team in seven months of intensive and complex peace talks, was appearing on Christian Broadcast Network, interviewed by the well-known US televangelist and former Republican presidential candidate, the Rev Pat Robertson.

## Satellite

The interview was screened on the cable television network via satellite as Mr Robertson pursued his travels this week through South Africa.

Mr van Heerden's assurance may come as a relief to conservatives in Washington who are highly suspicious that Unita and its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, are being betrayed.

But Dr Savimbi said he supported the announced South Africa-Cuba-Angola agreement.

Speaking to Mr Robertson while in South Africa this week, Dr Savimbi said his meeting with President Botha had gone very well. The only concern Unita had was how the withdrawal of 52 000 Cuban troops from Angola would be verified.

● Development Ministers of European Community countries say they are ready to help Angola rebuild its economy after the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the end of civil war in the country, Sapa reports.

EC Development Commissioner Mr Lorenzo Natali told a meeting of the Ministers in Brussels that Angola's economic requirements were vast. He said he had held preliminary discussions on a European aid package with the Angolan government.

Star 25/11/84

(5)

# UN official, Cuba/Angola confer

NEW YORK — The official in charge of UN peacekeeping operations, Mr Marrack Goulding, has begun talks with Angola and Cuba about arrangements for verifying the withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, a UN spokesman said yesterday.

"Angola and Cuba have informed the secretary-general (Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar) that it is their wish that the United Nations should verify withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola," the UN spokesman told reporters.

"Discussions on how that should be done are going on in New York and Mr Goulding is having discussions at the

## Special Correspondent

military level."

Mr Goulding, a former British ambassador to Angola, will also have the task of mounting an estimated 7 500-strong UN force that will go to Namibia for the transition of the territory to independence.

But the UN spokesman said this would need an "enabling resolution" from the Security Council.

That is not expected to happen for some time — certainly not before the relevant agreements are signed in Brazzaville.

# Peace talks resume next week

BRAZZAVILLE — Negotiations between Angola, Cuba and South Africa on peace in south-western Africa will resume next Tuesday in the Congolese capital.

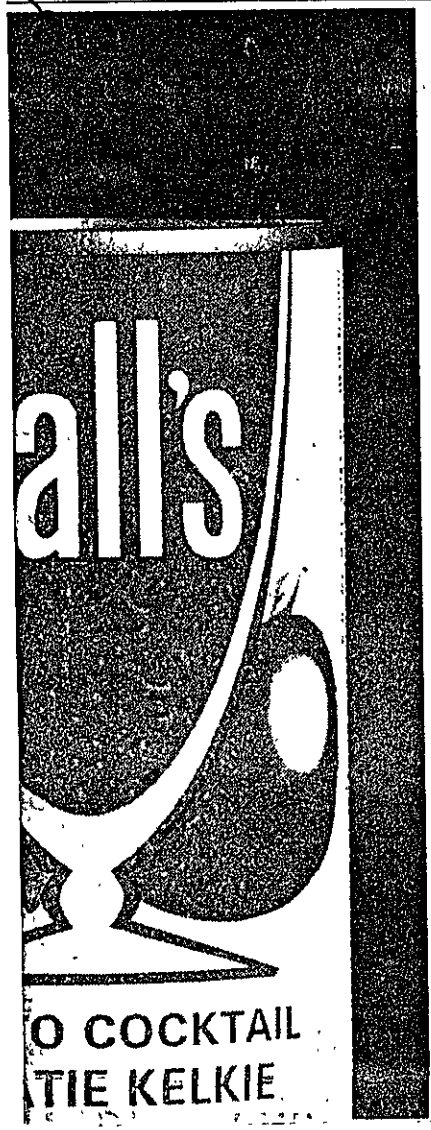
The meeting follows six months of talks on a plan to end the war in Angola and achieve independence for Namibia.

South Africa, Cuba and Angola agreed on November 15 in Geneva to a timetable for the withdrawal of an es-

timated 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola which had been the final problem holding up an accord.

The Geneva agreement has now been ratified in all three countries and South Africa said last Thursday it was ready to sign a first protocol in Brazzaville in early December while a second accord could be signed on January 15 providing an agreement was reached on how to verify the Cuban pull-out. — Sapa-Reuter.

INDONESIA



Hall's Tomato Cocktail.  
A matter of good taste.

**Hall's**  
The Factory in the Orchards

concern that an independent Namibia would go "the Africa way" with an unsound economic policy that could include nationalisation and expropriation of property, he said.

*CAF TWP 28/11/88*

# US 'ready to recognise Angolan government'

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — The United States, the only major Western country with no diplomatic ties to Angola, is reportedly preparing to recognise the MPLA government as part of peace negotiations.

According to a report in the Portuguese weekly paper Primeira Pagina, at the weekend, Washington's change of heart would be tied to the total removal of the Cuban-Soviet military complex from Angola and the enlarging of the MPLA's narrow ideological power base to include non-communists.

The paper, which cites Portuguese and other diplomatic sources, says Washington's reassessment has been in the air for "many months". The US administration is reportedly preparing to reclassify the MPLA as a "radical nationalist" rather than a "communist" movement.

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# SADF chief to pacify Unita lobby

9/11/88  
29/11/88

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From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The chief of the SA Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, is expected to make a rare visit here today to reassure congressional supporters of Unita that the Angola-Namibia settlement plan will not endanger the rebels.

He arrived in New York at the weekend for talks at the UN on verification of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. The talks were continuing yesterday and were said to be proving more complicated than originally envisaged.

Among SA's concerns was that the elite Cuban forces that began arriving in Angola late last year be the first to leave under the 27-month withdrawal timetable.

The general's trip to the American capital was urged by ambassador Dr Piet Koornhof amid mounting threats by conservatives to obstruct the agreement unless Unita was formally made party to it.

As a matter of protocol, the embassy requested and received State Department approval for the visit. US travel by SADF officers above the rank of colonel is generally restricted.

General Geldenhuys was due to meet Senator Dennis DeConcini, the Arizona Democrat who heads the pro-Unita Senate Angola task force, and others who have threatened to block US funding for implementation of UN Resolution 435, the Namibian independence plan.

It was unclear yesterday whether he would be able to take time from the New York talks.

Also on the general's schedule was a breakfast meeting at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace chaired by Dr Pauline Baker, an influential policy analyst with close ties to the Democratic Party.

# Angola accuses SA of 'complications'

LUSAKA. — Angola has accused South Africa of creating new complications to peace in south-western Africa.

The two countries, with Cuba and the United States, are due to meet in Brazzaville today to finalise details of a series of accords on independence for Namibia and withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

But Angola's ambassador to Zambia, Mr Luise Neto Kiambata, said on Sunday night his country was losing confidence in South Africa's will to abide by the proposed accord.

"We are expecting to meet this week but, according to information received this weekend, it may be a little bit difficult for us to sign the Brazzaville protocol by the end of November, because of some last-minute difficulties created by South Africa," he said.

Mr Kiambata did not elaborate, but said Angola was ready to sign the agreement.

South Africa, Cuba and Angola agreed in Geneva on November 15 to a

timetable for a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in exchange for Pretoria granting independence to Namibia.

South Africa said last week the second and final peace accord could be signed on January 15 if certain conditions were met.

These were that agreement must be reached on how to verify the withdrawal of the Cubans.

The ambassador ruled out reconciliation with Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita.

He also said Dr Savimbi had shifted his bush headquarters in Jamba, southern Angola, to Cheto on the Caprivi strip in Namibia.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria reacted to the accusations by saying the Angolans "have no reason to issue such statements".

The spokesman added the statements could "prove counter-productive to the pending (peace) negotiations". — Sapa-Reuter

## UN Resolution 435 'difficult' to effect

WINDHOEK. — The Minister of Finance in the transitional Namibian government, Mr Dirk Mudge, said yesterday that for practical considerations it would be "extremely difficult" to implement UN Resolution 435 in Namibia before March 1 — even if the outstanding issues were resolved smoothly.

That was the impression gained from the special UN representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, in discussions held in the United States, Mr Mudge said.

"Politicians have probably mentioned other dates, but he (Mr Ahtisaari) sees it from a practical point of view of what is possible for him," Mr Mudge told a news conference.

The March 1 implementation date in turn "depends on a resolution that must be adopted before the end of this year by the UN Security Council".

Mr Mudge said he had requested Mr Ahtisaari to take action to eliminate, before the UN-supervised elections in Namibia, the prevailing perception that the UN would prefer a Swapo-based government for the territory.

Mr Ahtisaari "wholeheartedly agreed" and emphasised that he could not afford to arrive in Windhoek while his team of UN supervisors was seen as being allied with a particular political group. —

## Savimbi: 'Bush has promised support'

JAMBA. — The leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, said US president-elect Mr George Bush has assured him of his support.

Dr Savimbi said Mr Bush had contacted him directly and said Unita would have unwavering US support until Cuba left Angola and Moscow stopped backing the Angolan government, the SABC reported.

Dr Savimbi said in an interview with a newspaper in Jamba that he relied on support from the South African government to some extent, but that a withdrawal of Cuban troops and less Soviet support for Angola would increase his organisation's self-sufficiency.

Dr Savimbi also criticised the Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Duram Barosa.

He said Mr Barosa had tried to persuade the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, that Unita had no meaning in the Angolan civil war and that the American backing of Unita was wrong.

Dr Savimbi dismissed as "ridiculous" a recent proposal by Portugal for an economic plan for Angola.

He said the war was still claiming lives on both sides and that what was really needed was peace instead of economic proposals. — Sapa

## Final round of talks to start today

BRAZZAVILLE. — A final round of US-mediated talks between South Africa and an Angolan-Cuban delegation will begin today, the Congolese Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced yesterday.

A source close to Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso said a protocol agreement may be signed on Thursday.

The pact, which was expected to be drafted into a formal treaty agreement for signing in January, will end hostil-

ities between South Africa and the Angolan government.

The Congolese statement said the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, architect of the treaty, was due here last night.

The other delegations are scheduled to arrive this morning. — Sapa-AP



SAVIMBI... stumbling  
block. (S)

## Dream *sowetex* may *29/11/88* become reality

LONDON — It has taken two weeks for the initial scepticism to wear off, but the caution most diplomats showed when Cuba, Angola and South Africa struck an outline deal in Geneva has given way to optimism:

The impossible dream of Cuba's departure from Angola and South Africa's from Namibia may become a reality.

The changed mood stems from a reassessment of the Soviet Union's role in assisting Mr Chester Crocker, the tireless American mediator. It is now clear that Moscow intervened to an unprecedented degree to persuade its allies to accept his overtures.

### Crucial

What General Secretary Gorbachev said to President dos Santos of Angola when they met shortly before the Geneva accord may never be known. But the British Government, among others, is convinced that it was crucial.

Moscow's continuing support will be essential if the agreed timetable for a Cuban withdrawal is to be realised and if the run-up to independence elections in Namibia is to begin early next year.

But the task of turning the Angola accord into peace could be hampered by Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita which last week announced its intention to continue the 13-year war.

If South Africa withdraws from Namibia and elections are held after a seven-month transition period, Swapo could be the main beneficiary. It enjoys UN recognition as 'the sole and authentic representative' of the Namibian people.

# SA team <sup>5</sup> leaves for <sup>STEV 30/11/88</sup> vital talks in Brazzaville

CAPE TOWN — The Director General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, leaves for Brazzaville today with a team of senior negotiators to finalise an agreement on Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola.

It is expected that a final agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa will be signed by the weekend if the negotiators succeed in ironing out a last-minute hitch.

The final obstacle in the way of an agreement is apparently dissatisfaction with the verification aspect of the withdrawal.

Once this is removed, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, will go to Brazzaville to sign a formal protocol on the withdrawal. It is expected that this will take place on Friday.

If the withdrawal protocol is successfully concluded, a tripartite agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa will be signed on January 15, formalising the full agreement.

• Cuban troops are already starting to leave Angola and are pulling back from the border with Namibia, according to sources in Washington.

Between a quarter and a third of the Cubans from the crack 50th Mechanised Brigade have already pulled back above the 13th parallel, the sources said.

— Sapa-The Independent News Service.

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# Hope of agreement as talks begin today

APC 1/15 30/1/87 (5) (1/20)

THE last lap of the protracted Angolan-Namibian peace talks kicks off in Brazzaville today with final agreement possible by the end of the week.

South Africa's negotiating team, headed by the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, is expected to leave for the Congolese capital early today.

Angola said yesterday that it hoped South Africa and the United States would agree to stop supporting Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

Diplomats said the issue of aid for Unita and pressure on the Angolan government to negotiate with the rebels could still derail the delicate US-mediated

**NAIROBI.** — An independent Namibia would boost resistance to South Africa's policy of apartheid and also increase its isolation internationally, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said here yesterday.

"Certainly the independence of Namibia will create an atmosphere of confidence in the people of South Africa to resist apartheid," Mr Nujoma told reporters.

He also said an independent Namibia — which would not be economically dependent on South Africa — would strengthen the so-called frontline states and the Organisation of African Unity to further isolate South Africa internationally.

Mr Nujoma said he expected Namibia to be independent in December next year. — Sapa-AP.

peace process for Angola and Namibia.

A commentary by the official Angolan news agency Angop, which usually reflects government thinking, appealed to Washington and Pretoria to show flexibility and good sense in the Brazzaville meeting.

Negotiators from

South Africa, Angola and Cuba are to initiate a protocol on a United Nations independence plan for Namibia and a timetable for the departure of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

A final accord is scheduled to be signed on January 15. Political Staff and Sapa-Reuter



## Unita claims 81 MPLA deaths

The Argus Foreign Service

MPLA 1/12/88



JAMBA (Angola). — Unita rebels claim to have killed 81 MPLA soldiers in the past few days and say they have lost only five in the fighting.

Chief of Staff Demostenes Amos Chilingutula said the heaviest casualties were inflicted on Monday, when Unita forces killed 56 men of the 51st Brigade.

More than 50 AK-47 rifles, two 82mm mortars and a "large quantity" of bombs and ammunition were captured, he claimed.

On Saturday, he said, Unita attacked the MPLA's 585th Battalion near Cusse, 30km north-east of Caconda. Seventeen MPLA soldiers were killed and two, Lieutenant Antonio Agostinho and Sergeant Manuel Joaquim, were captured, with 23 AK-47s.

On Sunday, he said, an MPLA convoy was ambushed on the Zairean border. Eight MPLA soldiers were killed.

# Angolan gem sales increase

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Angola's diamond-mining and marketing company will sell one million carats of rough stones worth \$180 million this year, compared with 750,000 carats worth \$100 million in 1987, its London consultant says.

The selling procedure used by Endiama has enabled it to obtain high prices and achieve a significant premium over the price set by the Central Selling Organisation, which controls about 80 percent of the world's rough diamond trade, says Mr. Martyn Marriott of Diamond Counsellor International.

Endiama's sales dropped to 250,000 carats worth \$15 million in 1986 but since then production has increased — particularly since the state company is now allowed to contract out some of its mining operations. The quality of the stones has improved and world prices have risen sharply, says Mr. Marriott.

Endiama is disclosing sales figures in view of "recent inaccurate reports" suggesting its executives have been selling stones to favoured traders at below market prices.

# Race against time to sign protocol

2310  
stev 1/12/88 (5)  
BRAZZAVILLE — South African, Angolan and Cuban negotiators are racing against time to iron out remaining differences before the expected signing of a US-brokered peace protocol on Angola and Namibia.

Congolese Foreign Minister Mr Antoine Ndinga-Oba told reporters yesterday the protocol, the fruit of seven months of sensitive negotiations, was due to be signed at 5 pm SA time today.

Delegates and diplomats said they believed this was too optimistic because a number of differences still had to be thrashed out.

"There are still some aspects to be seen to. We hope they can be solved here," South African delegation chief Mr Neil van Heerden told reporters when he arrived last night.

Delegates said, however, they saw no reason

why the so-called Brazzaville protocol could not be signed by the weekend.

The protocol will formalise a series of steps leading up to implementation of a United Nations plan for independence for Namibia, including an agreement for the withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola over 27 months.

Among the details still to be settled were South African concerns about verification of the planned Cuban troop withdrawal.

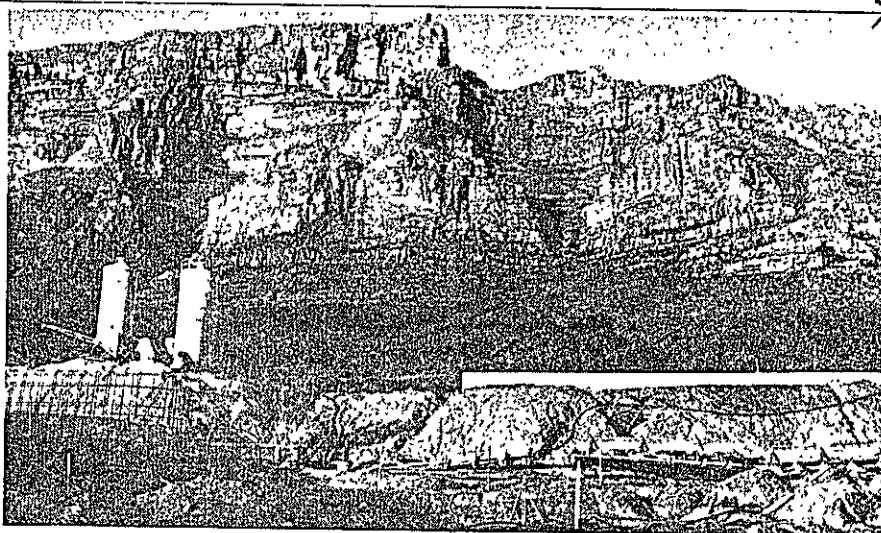
"The system of verification is still a prominent outstanding issue," Mr Van Heerden said.

Diplomats said Angola wanted South Africa to agree to move its troops back from Angola's south-east border before the Namibian independence plan started. — Reuter.



# Angolan peace: Will SA bring the boys home?

ARGUS  
18/7/88



Picture: DANA le ROUX, The Argus.

**DAM WALL:** Residents of Glencoe Road, Oranjezicht, yesterday had to contend with a flood of muddy water from this reservoir dam which is still under construction.

## Oranjezicht homes flooded: Councillors call for report

By ANTHONY DOMAN and ANDREA WEISS  
Staff Reporters

THE city engineer has been asked to submit a full report on the Oranjezicht flooding which damaged houses and gardens.

In a cloudburst yesterday, houses in Glencoe Road were hit by muddy floodwater from a reservoir being built on Table Mountain.

City councillor Mr Louis Kreiner said he asked for the report.

Mr Kreiner said he contacted people affected by the flooding immediately he heard of it.

Council staff cleared up the mess and sandbags were used to contain the water.

"My fellow-ward councillor, Mr Llewellyn van Wyk, and I will be visiting the area later today to see if there is anything we can do to help," Mr Kreiner said.

Asked if there had been problems in the past, Mr Kreiner said: "There have been people who have complained." However, he understood their complaints had been dealt with.

Contractors Murray and Roberts were obliged to protect properties as part of their contract conditions, he said.

But it was possible their precautions had not taken into account unforeseen heavy rain.

"The way it rained yesterday there was a large amount of run-off from the mountain, but I'm not using that as an excuse," Mr Kreiner said.

### ANKLE-DEEP MUD

Mrs T Heyer, owner of property at 33 Glencoe Road, is away in Germany but the tenant of the downstairs flat, Mrs Jenny Francis, was home when ankle-deep mud and water poured through her home shortly before noon yesterday.

"The water poured in the back windows. I managed to stop it going into the kitchen, bathroom and my bedroom," Mrs Francis said. Three rooms in her flat were flooded.

Dr Frits Gaum of 31 Glencoe Road said it was the second time the area had been flooded. Last week one of his downstairs rooms was flooded.

"Yesterday it was a curtain of water pouring down the paths. Fortunately the rain stopped, but if something is not done there could be an even greater problem," he added.

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

**SOUTH AFRICA** faces a tough decision today on whether to pull troops out of Angola as a first step towards the independence of SWA/Namibia and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The State Security Council meets today to consider the latest proposals for a peace settlement in Angola and Namibia.

A two-page document, spelling out the basic grounds for peace, has to be ratified this week.

A final decision is likely to be taken today by the Government and its response relayed to the United States.

The Security Council is expected to be given a full briefing by the delegation to the meeting in New York last week which negotiated the agreement over three days.

### Senior level

The delegation was led by Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden, accompanied by SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and National Intelligence Service director Mr Neil Barnard.

The close co-operation and agreement between these three wings of the South African administration at such a senior level was seen in New York as an indication that South African approval was likely to be a formality.

But a South African source at the talks warned: "You can never be sure what the politicians will do."

If all parties agree on the document it is likely to be published before the next round of talks, scheduled for the first week of August.

### Progress

Although it appears that South Africa is prepared to accept withdrawal from Angola to start the process, the parties are still a considerable way from reaching agreement on the timed implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

But in Maputo, Angola's Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura said a peace agreement on Angola could be signed before the end of the

year, Argus Africa News Service reports.

Mr de Moura, who arrived in Maputo at the weekend to brief President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique on the peace talks with South Africa, said progress now depended on South Africa keeping up the preliminary agreement reached in New York.

Mr de Moura was cautious about the possibility of future progress in the negotiations.

"In negotiations there are always differences. It is not easy to harmonise the different positions especially if you are dealing with South Africa," he said.

But, he added: "Since there is a political will in both countries (for an agreement) everything will be done in order that an honourable peace can be achieved."

"It is necessary that Pretoria conforms with United Nations Resolution 602/87 which calls for an immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Angola," he said.

"I think this will happen so that the number of principles agreed upon in New York can be implemented," he said.

## Elections in SWA unlikely — Mudge

**WINDHOEK.** — United Nations-supervised elections in SWA/Namibia were unlikely to materialise in the near future, said Mr Dirk Mudge, the Minister of Finance and Governmental Affairs.

Addressing a Democratic Turnhalle Alliance political rally at Waterberg at the weekend, Mr Mudge said he did not foresee an early breakthrough in negotiations to resolve the Angolan conflict and bring recognised independence to SWA/Namibia.

The four negotiating parties — Angola, South Africa, Cuba and the United States — had such wide-ranging and conflicting interests in the issue that agreement did not seem a realistic prospect at this stage.

"The transitional period will therefore still last a considerable time."

Mr Mudge said a more feasible proposition was non-racial municipal elections in the near future. — Sapa.

## Tiger grabs boy's head in its jaws

The Argus Foreign Service

**LONDON.** — A tiger cub grabbed a boy's head in its jaws as it was being led through crowds at a British wildlife park.

People at Sparkwell Wildlife Park near Plymouth were horrified as the tiger leapt at seven-year-old Robert Gardner and pulled him screaming to the ground.

They tried to pull him free of the Labrador-sized cub, a six-month-old Siberian tiger called Zircon, but it held him firmly in its mouth.

A keeper forced his hand into the tiger's jaws and eased Robert's head out. Robert had 30 stitches to his wounds.

# Pik, Magnus fly to Brazzaville to clinch Cuban withdrawal

Star 2/12/88

(5)

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan have flown to Brazzaville earlier than scheduled in an attempt to wrap up a peace agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

If an agreement is reached — and most indications are that it will be — then South Africa is expected to be able to make further diplomatic breakthroughs in its Africa initiative, according to sources.

## Spin-off bonus

One spin-off is expected to be a visit by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to the President of Congo, Colonel Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

Such a visit was planned earlier this year, but was put on hold when the peace talks in Brazzaville appeared to founder.

Sources say the clinching of an agreement in Brazzaville will open the way for a meeting between the two presidents.

The two South African Ministers were supposed to have gone to the Congo merely for the signing of

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

a protocol between South Africa and Angola/Cuba.

However, diplomatic sources said last night they had decided to go earlier to take part in last-minute negotiations.

The Ministers are lending their weight to the South African team in an attempt to overcome the last hurdle in the way of an agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and the independence of Namibia.

This hurdle is a dispute on who should be party to a separate agreement on the verification of the withdrawal.

South Africa insists it should be satisfied by the verification agreements.

Angola and Cuba say it had been agreed to earlier in New York that verification procedures need be agreed to only by them and the United Nations.

The earlier departure of General Malan and Mr Botha is an attempt to break the impasse on this issue.

*Cape Times 2/12/88*

# New party accuses LP of 'radical' approach

11A

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE newly established Democratic Reform Party (DRP) yesterday accused the Labour Party leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, of opting for a radical strategy that would result in the Conservative Party gaining power.

The DRP, which has seven MPs and a member of the President's Council, all former Labour Party members, intends applying to the Speaker for recognition as the official opposition in the House of Representatives.

The party's interim chairman, Mr Carter Ebrahim, said at a press conference yesterday, at which the formation of the DRP was announced, that its goal was to take control of the House of Representatives.

He said a number of MPs, whose

names he would not disclose, had met DRP officials and indicated they would make up their minds about whether to join once they had seen the party's constitution.

Mr Nic Isaacs, one of the seven DRP MPs, said there had been ongoing discussions with the United Democratic Party (UDP), at present the official opposition in the House of Representatives.

"They are busy falling apart. There is definitely discussion with them," he said.

However, the party has suffered early setbacks. One of the original break-away MPs, Mr Collie Koeberg, has returned to the Labour Party and another, Mr Hansie Christians, has not joined because "he is not sure where he stands".

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# A VIEW FROM HARARE: WE CAN THANK GORBACHEV FOR THE ANGOLA PEACE

By SHAUN JOHNSON

WE all know the hidden hand behind progress toward Namibian independence and peace in Angola belongs to United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester Crocker.

But we're all dead wrong.

In the view of Zimbabwean Eddie Cross, Managing Director of the Beira Corridor Group, the true shaper of our sub-continental destiny is none other than Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev — and his interventions in the coming year will profoundly influence developments within South Africa itself.

Far from being a harbinger of doom, said Cross, this fact allowed for "more optimism about southern Africa than at any time since 1948."

Cross, a white Rhodesian who was detained under the Smith regime and is now a confidante of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, made the intriguing claim in an address to Idasa's "Strategies for Change" conference in Johannesburg last weekend.

In the speech — a remorseless indictment of white South Africans — Cross attacked those who dismiss the role of the international community in the process of change. "There have been dramatic changes in the West and East," he said, "and particularly in the Soviet Union. Moscow's foreign policy has altered, make no mistake."

"The real power player over Angola/Namibia has been Gorbachev, not squandered Crocker. Gorbachev has moved the Soviet view away from support for violent change toward negotiation, and he has been in direct communication with Pretoria."

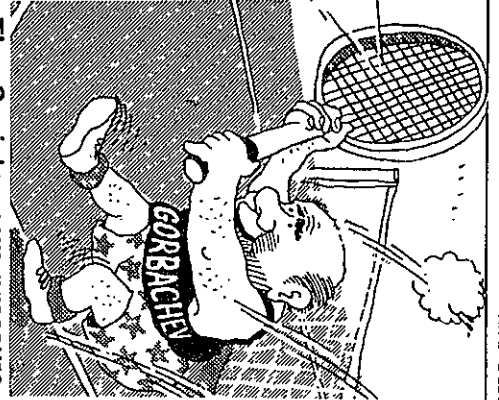
As a result, Cross predicts, "we are about to see the Gorbachev-Bush-Thatcher shuffle on South Africa."

"There will be a big power summit in the new year with South Africa high on the agenda. Then, for the first time, Pretoria will feel the combined weight of the West and the East to make a deal. Pretoria is going to be driven to a solution."

The intervention would far outweigh all other factors in the lengthy struggle between state and resistance in South Africa, said Cross. And he compared South Africa's situation to the Zimbabwean experience — "from which you (South Africans) are not learning any lessons."

"What changed Zimbabwe was the simple fact that (US Secretary of State Henry) Kissinger, with the help of (SA Prime Minister John) Vorster, put a Magnum to Smith's head. Now the Soviets have just done the same to the Argolans."

"Their softer policy on South Africa — a tentative acceptance of the need for the protection of minority interests, for example — will in fact give Pretoria a breathing space and, if used properly, will open a window of opportunity which must not be squandered."



**The Soviets: new pressure**  
shift was underscored recently by the "extraordinary fact that the Soviet foreign ministry felt the need to reassure the ANC that they were not abandoning them."

According to Cross' scenario, the agendas of the superpowers as well as Britain and her European allies are in harmony for the first time — and could translate into an irresistible force.

From Pretoria's point of view, he said, a response required swift economic restructuring toward an "open market with crash manpower training programmes", significant "social and political change" and, critically, a spell-out "vision of the future".

Cross said profound changes in the world economy, primarily "a move away from the commodity produc-

ers", meant that "South Africa's prosperity is as thin as a wafer."  
"You're always saying South Africa is Africa's one success story — in fact you're just one of Africa's disasters. You, as a country, are heading nowhere."

Describing South Africa's economy as "inefficient and unproductive" and the recent local surcharge on imported goods as a "testament to failure", Cross said the only solution was the intensive development of human resources. This was a fundamental world trend, and would affect the South African political struggle more than any other dynamics, he argued.

The South African government had no choice to respond to economic forces and to intensifying international outrage, said Cross. This meant a shift away from reliance on the "total onslaught" theory, and the "horrendous, systematic destruction of neighbouring economies; destabilisation which reached a peak in the period 1981 to 1984."

As evidence of this shift, he cited "crucial growth in trade between South Africa and the Frontline States, which will approach US\$300-million by the end of the year. Pretoria has the prospect of enjoying regional hegemony" if it plays its cards correctly, said Cross. "This may not be very comforting to us in Zimbabwe, but it is acceptable to both the East and the West, and it will allow us at least some economic life."

WMAK 2-8/12/88

# Angolan border about to become toxic?

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2/12/88

KEN POTTINGER

LISBON — A Swiss arms dealer and former Kenyan mercenary has signed a \$2m contract with the Angolan government to turn tracts of the Angolan/Nambian border into a toxic waste desert.

Arnold Andreas Kuemzler, 47, who claims he served with British troops in Kenya 30 years ago, said he signed a four-year deal on November 5 to ship some five-million tons of toxic waste from Western European countries to the south of Angola for burial.

The weekly paper, O Independente,

reported yesterday that Keunzler and his Swiss associate and Zug lawyer, Roland Straub, would use the Swiss company Landis and Gyr to despatch the incinerated waste for burial in the desert some 200 km north of the Nambian border.

The contract was due to start in March.

The paper said Swapo guerrillas had been paid \$2m to carry out a feasibility

study in the area for the waste disposal.

The two associates told the paper they would make between \$5m-\$10m profits from the contract in the next four years.

The Angolan government has made no official comment on the reports.

Earlier efforts to ship European toxic and radioactive waste to West African countries, among them the former Portuguese territory of Guinea Bissau, were abandoned after ecological and other groups launched a storm of protest at the idea.



INTEREST RATES

# Peace deal: Delay over who will sign

*Cape Times 3/12/88 (5)*

From ORMANDE POLLOK

**BRAZZAVILLE.** — South African attempts to involve President P W Botha in the signing of the final Angola-Namibia peace agreement are understood to be one of the issues holding up current talks.

Earlier indications were that deadlock had been reached about a South African demand that it had to be "satisfied" with procedures to monitor the Cuban troop withdrawal.

However, according to some sources this was not the only reason. They said the Cubans and Angolans did not want to involve heads of state and wanted

the final agreement signed as early as mid-December, not mid-January as proposed by South Africa.

It is understood the South African government believes the agreement to be so important that it should be signed by heads of state and may even have offered to host the signing in South Africa.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha met US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker yesterday afternoon and there was speculation that Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin would be asked to deal with the Cubans.

Wind blows

11:00

# Angolan hitch — but talks still on track

From BRIAN POTTINGER in Brazzaville

THE South African delegation to the Angolan talks flew home last night without signing the Brazzaville Protocol.

The Protocol — the next major step in the South West African peace process — was within an ace of being signed when it ran into difficulties.

A major problem was the question of verifying Cuban troop withdrawals.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan visited President Mobutu Sese Seko in neighbouring Zaire yesterday and met Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoli Adamashin in Brazzaville.

It was the first official contact between SA and Soviet government leaders in more than 40 years.

Mr Botha said the decision to return home without signing the documents should not be seen as a setback.

"We simply want time to return home, report to the President and weigh up various outstanding issues."

*S/ Times 4/12/80*  
**Victim**

He believed the talks may have been the victim of raised expectations.

Early speculation was that the verification issue would cause problems in the discussions between SA, Angola and Cuba, but as bilateral talks between the parties and US mediator Dr Chester Crocker proceeded, there seemed to be broad agreement on the Protocol.

It is understood the talks advanced better understanding and that significant agreement was reached on a draft document which would deal with Cuban withdrawal, steps to implement UN Resolution 435 and monitoring of the peace process.

The verification issue, however, became critical in the final stages as South Africa pushed for an adjudication clause in the Protocol.

It is understood, however, that the Angolans objected to the proposal, as they saw it as an insult to their sovereignty and claimed the UN should be responsible for verification.

Although SA sources insisted that the failure to sign was not a setback, a strong response is expected from Cuba, Angola and the US.

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# WHAT NOW PRESIDENT CASTRO?

## Overwhelming ambition may scuttle <sup>(S)</sup> peace plan

By Sue Elias

**T**HE diplomatic accord reached on November 15 among the governments of Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States raises the question of President Fidel Castro of Cuba's future moves in Southern Africa.

South Africa is ready to sign the agreement on Cuban withdrawal from Angola by mid-January next year if the outstanding issues are finalised in the interim.

South Africa is also ready to sign the Brazzaville Protocol - maybe even in the next few days - which would formally signify its acceptance of the US proposal on Cuban withdrawal.

South Africa would also be ready to sign the tripartite agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa by January 15 next year, if agreement was by then reached on unresolved issues concerning Cuban troop withdrawal.

Speaking at the recent 'Cuba Africa: Quo Vadis?' symposium in Pretoria, Dr Alberto Coll, a Cuban-born consultant on Cuban-Soviet relations, said: "If Cuba withdrew its combat forces within the next 27 months, leaving in Angola only small contingents of trainers and advisers, South Africa's future security options will have to be enhanced.

"Castro will continue to post advisers and trainers in Angola. If Swapo comes to power in Namibia the Cubans will try to gain influence over the new regime by offering assistance in the training of a Swapo army."

Coll said the Soviet Union seemed to be undergoing a reorientation of foreign and economic policies.

"This might put pressure on Castro to liquidate much of his involvement in Africa and settle down to increasing the efficiency of his ailing Cuban economy."

However, it would be difficult to predict Castro's response to such developments. It was believed that he would try to maintain a stronghold in Africa because his power was deteriorating visibly on a national level but increasing internationally.

The Cuban economy was as dependent today as it was in 1959 on the export of sugar (81 per cent of total exports). There was chronic bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption, an ever thriving black market, cynicism among the younger generation, and a general sense that the country was falling rapidly behind the cultural and technological advances of the civilised world, said Coll.

"To combat this Castro has, for decades, propped his domestic legitimacy by resorting to the myth of his indispensability to the worldwide revolutionary process. The revolution could never stop because, if it were to stop, the revolutionary leader would no longer have a reason for being, nor would his people need him."

**O**UTLINING Angola's recent history, Coll said: "It was in late 1987 that Castro persuaded the Soviet Union to escalate the Angolan war by engaging in an all-out direct offensive against the South African forces in southern Angola.

"The Cuban-inspired offensive of early 1988 was a military and political success. With Soviet logistic support Castro transported by air about 10 000 elite troops from Cuba directly into southern Angola, increasing the number of Cuban forces in Angola to some 55 000 men. Several hundred of Cuba's finest pilots were also brought in.

"The Soviets flew in massive quantities of military hardware, including surface-to-air missiles to neutralise the South African Air Force, anti-tank artillery and a large number of Mig-23s, to be piloted by Cubans.

"This turned the tide. South Africa lost air control and with it the ability to target artillery

effectively against the Cuban-Angolan held positions."

South Africa retreated. During May and June 15 000 Cuban troops made a southern thrust advancing close to the Namibian border. They attacked the Calueque Dam which provides water and hydro-electrical power to much of northern Namibia.

**S**OUTH Africa agreed to withdraw all its forces from Angolan territory. Castro could now claim that it was Cuba that had pushed South Africa out of Angola.

In Cuba, Castro used this as evidence that the war was worth fighting. His moves surprised observers, including South Africa, said Coll.

"South Africa should have known better but, like the rest of the Western World, South Africa underrated his political will, tenacity and extraordinary flair for boldness."

Coll described Castro as "an enormously egotistical tyrant who will rank someday as one of the 20th Century's most formidable political figures. The most significant dimension of Castro's personality is his consciously nurtured self-image as a great man of history with an appointed task of truly historical and universal proportions."

Historians have traced Castro's fierce anti-American views to his upbringing as the son of a disgruntled Spanish soldier who resented American intervention in Cuba's war of independence from Spain in 1898.

Castro's early failures in Latin America only served to broaden his self-defined historic mission to include Africa.

By the time he was elected leader of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1979 Castro saw himself as a Third World leader of global stature who might aspire to greater historical recognition for his impact on the African stage than even any individual African revolutionary could claim.

Castro's historical mission has gone hand in hand with two other character traits: glorification of military violence and an obsession with revolution as the all-consuming

end of political life.

Coll's advice to South Africa was: "Try and anticipate Castro's future moves - which will be better guides than any premature expectations of his withdrawal from the African scene or from world politics".

Dr Leon Gouré, Director of the Center for Soviet Studies in McLean, US, also sounded a warning about the self-confessed revolutionary Leader of the Third World.

He said: "Castro has to be taken seriously by the Western World." The 63-year-old Cuban leader would probably remain a key international player for another 20 years.

Given Cuba's exposed position so close to the US, Castro's anti-American stance, and Cuba's impoverished economy, it was not surprising that Castro sought out the Soviet Union as Cuba's patron and protector.

The Soviet Union, in turn, was delighted with the opportunity to have a communist state in what it called the "backyard" of the US.

**C**ONSEQUENTLY, Castro was able to extract vast amounts of economic and military assistance from the Soviet Union.

When Castro became involved in Angolan affairs he had four aims in mind, said Gouré. These were to help ensure the survival of the MPLA regime, to strike at the US and South Africa by helping to defeat Unita, to make South Africa give up control of Namibia, and to lend support to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and thereby to its revolutionary transformation.

Soviet foreign policy seemed to have entered a new stage when Gorbachev became General Secretary in 1985. Gorbachev said the Soviet Union needed a period of peace and stability, which would perhaps explain its willingness to seek a settlement in southern Africa.

Tass, the Soviet News Agency, however, said that as long as apartheid existed there could be no comprehensive settlement in Southern Africa. Dr Gouré explained that perhaps Gorbachev wanted peace after the countries concerned were converted to

Marxism.

Nevertheless, the shift in Soviet policy could bode ill for Castro's ambitions and for his free-wheeling economic management in Cuba.

Gorbachev is due to visit Cuba this month. It was believed Gorbachev would try to manoeuvre Castro into a better alignment with Soviet policies - to demand more efficient and effective use of Soviet economic assistance to Cuba.

**G**OURÉ warned, however, that it would be premature for the Western World to relax its vigilance and believe that a new communist assault led by the Soviet Union and solidified by Cuban troops was a threat that no longer needed to be guarded against.

Another speaker, Dr Vladimir Ramirez, a psychologist and ex-Cuban political prisoner, predicted the world would still see a clash between Castro's ambition and the superpower struggles.

The Soviet Union gives Cuba about R7.5-million a day for political reasons and Cuba's debt with the Soviet Union had reached R55-billion. The Soviet Union would not apply pressure to collect the debt, so it would go on increasing.

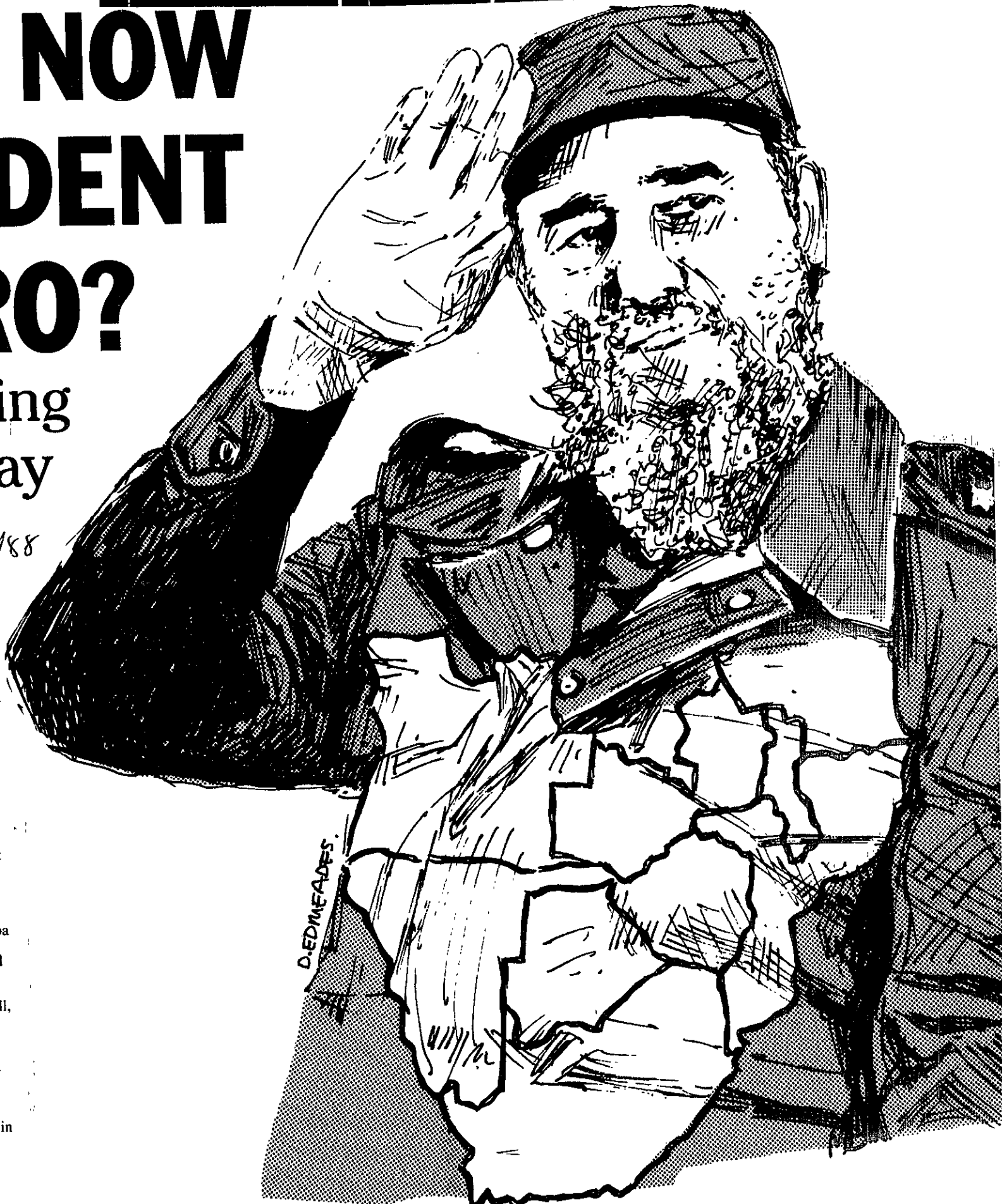
Ramirez warned: "Castro will not withdraw his troops in Angola without tying the hands of Namibia's independence under Swapo control.

"On the other hand, the Soviet Union will not pressure Castro to end the war in Angola until military disaster threatened their interests."

Eric Morris, a consultant political analyst based in the United Kingdom, said: "Castro will not give up a foothold in Africa despite the recent Angola agreement. Castro believes implicitly in 'wars of national liberation'."

The Cuban economy would undergo a severe strain if it had to absorb a large number of soldiers discharged from Angolan commitments and seeking employment.

All the Cuban experts at the symposium agreed the 15 November agreement was so delicately balanced it could collapse at any time.



polarisation which existed in their own church.

South African sunshine Circuit: in favour of the US.

He added that PGA president Denis

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pl.

# US confident Cubans will go

WASHINGTON — <sup>(S)</sup> The United States government believes that Cuban troops will withdraw from Angola on schedule and that a verification system will be established to satisfy South Africa.

Confidence that the Cubans will go once the Angola/Namibia accords are signed was expressed here by General Colin Powell, President Reagan's national security adviser, shortly before the South African delegation packed its bags and left Brazzaville without signing the agreements hammered out this year in drawn-out talks.

"I have every reason to believe that, if and when the various accords are signed, the Cubans will withdraw according to (the agreed timetable) and we will have a verification regime in place to see that the terms of the agreement are met with respect to withdrawal," General Powell said.

The Angola/Namibia issue is to be

<sup>Star</sup> 5/12/88  
By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

raised when Mr Reagan meets President Gorbachev in New York this week with President-elect Mr George Bush sitting in.

If the verification stumbling block has not been removed by the time they meet on Wednesday, it is likely that the leaders will seek ways to use their influence to ease South Africa's misgivings and to persuade the Angolans and the Cubans to be more flexible.

While Mr Reagan will be the host at the lunch meeting, Mr Gorbachev will focus his attention largely on Mr Bush and it is probable that he will seek opportunities to please the new American leader.

Co-operation on the US-mediated Angola/Namibia negotiation could provide one of those opportunities.

● See Pages 3 and 17.

# Heartbreak for Crocker again

Star 5/12/88

5

By GERALD L'ANGE  
The Star's Africa  
News Service  
Dr Chester Crocker's mara-  
thon of negotiations has been  
frustrated once again.



Dr Chester Crocker... more frustrations.

BRAZZAVILLE — Dr Chester Crocker must be feeling as though he is running in a marathon race in which they move the finishing line whenever he gets near it.

The United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa must have this feeling especially strongly after what happened on Saturday at the latest round of Angola-Namibia negotiations in Brazzaville.

Instead of triumphantly culminating in the signing of an agreement to get the Cubans out of Angola and give independence to Namibia, the three days of intense negotiating ended with little more than an agreement by the parties to keep trying.

Instead of breaking out the champagne to celebrate the end of nearly 40 years of international dispute over the future of Namibia, the South African delegation and the large contingent of journalists who had accompanied them found themselves climbing wearily back on to their aircraft in the dead of night to return home to

await yet another round of negotiations.

For Dr Crocker the failure to reach agreement was particularly disappointing, for he would like to see his long and patient efforts to resolve the Namibia dispute crowned with success before the new American president takes office next month and possibly appoints a new assistant secretary of state for Africa.

Several times over the past seven years Dr Crocker has seen looming success vanish into a Skeleton Coast fog.

His disappointment was shared by the South Africans, although they are not as anxious as Dr Crocker to get a settlement wrapped up before Christmas.

What prevented the parties from reaching the widely-anticipated agreement has not been disclosed by the negotiators.

But it does appear as though the blockage was caused by the refusal of the Cubans and Angolans to meet the demands of the South Africans for machinery for verifying that the Cuban troops leave Angola, as they have undertaken to do in terms of an earlier sub-agreement.



Mr Pik Botha... envisages more talks next month.

There are other areas of disagreement but the verification dispute is the main one.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha has expressed hope that agreement can still be reached and has envisaged another round of talks later this month.

These talks would almost certainly be Dr Crocker's last chance to get the triumph he is widely felt to deserve.

What he wants to see take place at the next meeting is the signing of a protocol defining the terms of the Cuban withdrawal and its verification.

The Brazzaville Protocol (it is expected to be signed in Brazzaville if it is signed at all) will embrace and supersede the previous protocol signed in an earlier round of talks in Geneva and the principals accepted earlier in New York.

The Brazzaville Protocol would in turn be overtaken by a tripartite agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, an agreement that will be registered with the United Nations as an official and binding treaty.

Mr Botha expressed the hope here that the sticking points can still be ironed out to clear the way for the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol.

There appears to be wide agreement that the process of granting independence to Namibian in tandem with the Cuban troop withdrawal has now gone passed the point of no return, that all the parties are locked into it and cannot change their minds.

If this is so, it is now a matter of timing rather than substance. And if that in turn is so, it cannot lessen the agony of Dr Crocker.

# 'Pretoria is not serious'

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Sowetan's 1/12/88

**BRAZZAVILLE — US-mediated peace negotiations on Angola and Namibia were in suspense yesterday after the South African delegation decamped for consultations at home.**

Angola and Cuba reacted angrily to the surprise departure of the South Africans and accused Pretoria of not being serious about the peace process.

Diplomats in the Congo capital said they hoped the latest hitch in the seven-month-old negotiations would only delay but not block final agreement which they said was tantalasingly close.

"Unless there are basic changes of policy on decision this thing is still on track," a senior member of the US mediating team said.

The hasty South African exit on Saturday night occurred when the

parties were finalising details for signing a long-awaited peace protocol covering a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and independence for South African-ruled Namibia.

South Africa, with US backing, had made the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola a condition for granting independence to Namibia, a former German colony bordering Angola which Pretoria has ruled since World War One.

Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada described the behaviour of the South Africans led by Foreign Minister Pik Botha as a "second rate movie show".

"The reason for their escape from Brazzaville is that they are not ready to sign a peace agreement and not ready to implement the Namibian independence process," he said.

⑤ 511ms  
17/7/88

# Angola: Good chance for peace

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

AN Angolan peace plan could be translated into action "very soon" if negotiations keep going according to plan.

This is the assessment of a senior South African diplomat.

And the basic elements of the peace plan could be made known shortly.

This would follow the acceptance of the New York document next week by the governments of South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The basic principles of an agreement were put to paper in New York earlier in the week by experts representing the three parties in the conflict.

A senior South African source spelled out the two basic elements of the agreement: all parties accept that the Cubans must leave Angola; and all parties accept United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

Precisely how these two streams of the agreement will be synchronised and implemented will be the subject of the next round of talks expected to take place next month.

South African diplomats hope the talks will be somewhere in Africa, but Rio de Janeiro and Geneva have also been mentioned.

Sources in London said there was discussion around an undertaking that an independent Namibia would not offer bases to the ANC.

## Confident

A well-placed source in Pretoria said it was too early for agreement on such specific issues.

Senior officials are expected to meet in Cape Town, probably on Wednesday, to discuss the plan that could lead to an end to the Angolan war.

Meanwhile, Cuba's delegate at the talks, Mr Jorge Risquet, met senior Zimbabwean officials on Friday to brief them.

He told newsmen he was confident about peace prospects.

"The South Africans are serious about peace, perhaps because they have to be: the balance of power has changed."

He was asked whether he detected a political schism within the South African hierarchy over Angola, but he said he was not qualified to judge that.

He said, however, that during the peace talks the South Africans would agree to the resolution to an issue one day and then go back on their decision the next day, and so on.

He added that it was perhaps indicative of a lack of unanimity on their part.

He praised United States Under-Secretary of State Chester Crocker and said, regardless of other differences Cuba might have with Washington, America had played a positive role in the current peace initiative.

And he said it would be morally indefensible to delay the initiative because of the possibility of United States Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis making the White House.

# SA tackles new plan for pullout

5/12/88 (S) B/Boya

ORMONDE POLLOK

A NEW plan was being devised to solve the impasse over "verification" of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, which prevented the signing this weekend of the Brazzaville accord.

It remains the last major "unresolved issue" and Foreign Minister Pik Botha remained optimistic about a settlement. He said he thought the peace process was irreversible.

"I think progress has been made on the issue and also with the Joint Commission on which the US and Russia will be invited to participate as observers," he said on his return from Brazzaville.

Botha rejected suggestions that SA was to blame for the Brazzaville protocol going unsigned. SA had not created the expectations it would be signed, he said.

He also flatly rejected reports that the possibility of President P W Botha being involved in the signing of the final trilateral agreement had posed problems.

SA now appeared to be taking a completely different line about ensuring that complaints or suspicions it might have about withdrawal procedures could be raised in a forum of standing, but Botha rejected suggestions that SA's stand on verification was a new development and

said its negotiators had insisted since March that it had to be satisfied with the monitoring procedures.

He said this did not mean SA wanted to participate in the monitoring, but only to be satisfied there was an efficient body to which appeals could be made and which could check withdrawal schedules were being met.

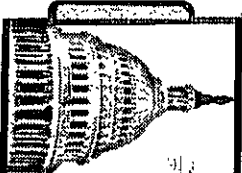
Botha would not spell out the details of the new plan to resolve the verification issue, but said he was taking home a document handed to him by the US mediator and Under-Secretary of State Chester Crocker, shortly before the SA delegation left Brazzaville.

Cuba has insisted that withdrawal is a matter between it and Angola and the UN, while Angola believes the presence of a UN monitoring team roving the country would be an insult to its dignity as an independent country.

□ Sapa-Reuter reports that Angola said yesterday SA's abrupt departure from the delicately posed negotiations was arrogant, disrespectful and a setback to peace. Havana Radio is also understood to have criticised the SA move.

● See Page 3





**Washington Letter**  
by SIMON BARBER

*get Trip  
6/12/88*

**D**R CHESTER CROCKER had a pretty good idea that the latest talks in Brazzaville would not be the "last round", as his spokesmen in Washington kept insisting.

Similarly, at the Marriott Hotel talks in New York last October, he knew full well that the November 1 deadline set for the implementation of Resolution 435 was an impossibility, yet baldly maintained it could still be achieved.

His purpose in all this has been to keep up the momentum toward a settlement on the theory that so long as the parties keep peddling they must eventually get there. At the same time, he has sought to make it increasingly difficult for any of them to prevaricate by deliberately creating the illusion, which none dare deny, that more progress has been made than is actually the case.

The tactic has worked well, culminating in last month's Geneva Agreement on a timetable for Cuban redeployment north and embarkation west. The problem is, it may have worked too well. In the clinking of the champagne glasses, it appears to have been forgotten that a timetable by itself, however splendid the achievement, does not inevitably a settlement make.

It is extraordinary that so much store should have been set by the withdrawal agreement when the means of

# Savimbi cannot be left out of Angolan settlement

verifying it remained undecided.

The Americans, Angolans and Cubans left Brazzaville muttering in ill-concealed irritation that South Africa had planted a booby-trap. Even taking into account Pretoria's rich record of bad faith, this seems unfair. South African officials, including P.W. Botha himself, have been raising the verification issue since well before Geneva. Besides, it is scarcely a minor detail.

And white South Africa's demands may well be excessive, it was perverse to start calling Brazzaville the "last round" simply be-

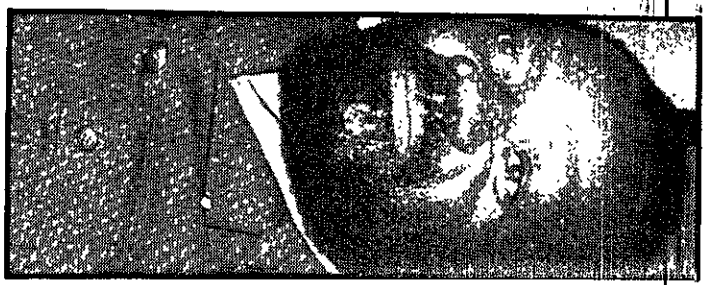
The practicalities of verification and of implementing Resolution 435 (another set of hurdles still be crossed), should be easily resolved. Their difficulty lies in the fact that they cannot be treated as discrete matters, try as the US mediators might to have it otherwise.

Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal now stand or fall on whether the MPLA agrees to a form of reconciliation with Unita that includes and is approved by Dr. Jonas Savimbi. This has become the great unspoken truth of the entire negotiation, and the sooner it is spoken and accepted, the better for all.

Brazzaville failed because efforts to end the Angolan civil war are foundering. They are foundering because President Eduardo dos Santos still hopes he can achieve a peace that incorporates Unita into the MPLA hierarchy while sending Savimbi to join the likes of Ferdinand Marcos and baby Doc Duvalier in exile.

Dos Santos has been encouraged by the apparent conversion to his point of view of Gabon's President Omar Bongo, until recently one of Savimbi's most loyal African boosters. Bongo appears to have been persuaded by the more neutral President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of Congo, with whom he craves a closer relationship.

It is now generally accepted here that Bongo approached Morocco's King Hassan, another staunch Unita loyalist, with a proposal from Dos Santos that Hassan should prevail on Savimbi to take early retirement, by one



**NO VILLA BY SEA...** Dr Jonas Savimbi vital to settlement.

account in a villa on the Mediterranean which the king, sweetened by \$800 m (from the MPLA), would make available.

As these intrigues have come to light, Savimbi has not only rejected mediation by Gabon and Congo but has changed his mind on the Cuban withdrawal plan. His man in Washington, Unita vice president Jeremias Chitunda, who recently replaced the more circumspect Tito Chingunji, has begun to pour scorn on the deal. He has done so in a manner calculated to incite congressional conservatives already convinced that Crocker is selling out Unita for the dubious benefit of handing Namibia to Marxist control, and determined, quixotically, to stop him.

Chitunda is warning that the Geneva Agreement grossly underesti-

mates the number of Cubans in Angola, and that as a result, some 30 000 will remain even after Cuba has fulfilled the requirements of the 27-month withdrawal schedule. More telling, he contends that the agreement is unworkable, especially given Cuba's ability to "camouflage" its personnel.

There is no reason to suppose that Chitunda is going "off the reservation", as some here have been tempted to believe. He is accurately echoing his master who in turn is worried that his African friends are about to trade him away and who therefore wants all the support he can get. There can be no doubt, either, that Savimbi has conveyed exactly the same message to Pretoria.

Having compromised — commendably — on almost everything else, P.W. Botha cannot justly be expected to countenance the removal of a man whom he regards as a hero. If Savimbi is uncertain that the agreement will be properly verified, the State President will be uncertain too. And though the Department of Foreign Affairs, which so skilfully brought the negotiations to their present moment of truth, may have its doubts, this is one point on which the State President is right.

If the MPLA proposes to pursue a Savimbi-less peace, then SA has every right to demand assurances that its own agreement with Angola and Cuba is not abused in such a way that Unita is forced to capitulate to the MPLA's terms.

Pretoria is correct, therefore, to require proof that the first Cubans out are the elite



**KEEP PEDALLING** ... Dr Chester Crocker "keeping momentum going".

forces which began arriving late last year and which would pose the main threat to Unita in the event the MPLA chooses to continue pursuing the military option. Equally fair is concern that even as it reduces its aggregate presence, Cuba may replace inferior units with superior ones in the course of continued routine force rotations. The purpose of the withdrawal agreement is not, I believe, to permit Havana to create a lean and mean fighting machine in the place that, until recently, has been a fairly motley collection of conscripts.

I am not arguing that Savimbi should have been given a seat at the table or that he should be at the table now. What I am saying is that unless his interests are fully taken into account, there will be no settlement. And the fact is that in the rush to close the overall deal, his interests are being insufficiently noted: it is not enough to say that Cuban redeployments will obviously benefit him.

The bottom line is this: either the MPLA and its African interlocutors stop all the nonsense about putting Savimbi in a seaside villa and set to work on a realistic reconciliation, or disputes over verification and the like are going to drag on interminably. After Brazzaville, it is no use pretending that mere momentum will do the trick.



FLASHBACK Cuban soldiers disembark from an Angolan airliner in the central city of Kuito where South African-backed Unita rebels launched a major offensive along the strategic Benguela railroad.

**Angola and Namibia on the agenda when US and Soviet leaders meet in New York this week**

# The Cubans to go soon

*Sowetan 6/12/88*

**FOCUS**

**SOWETAN Foreign Service**

WASHINGTON - The United States Government believes that Cuban troops will withdraw from Angola on schedule and that a verification system will be established to satisfy South Africa on that score.

Confidence that the Cubans will go once the Angola/Namibia accords are signed was

expressed here by General Colin Powell, President Reagan's national security adviser, shortly before the South African delegation packed its bags and left Brazzaville without signing the agreements hammered out this year in drawn-out talks on three continents.

"I have every reason to believe that, if and when the various accords are signed, the Cubans will withdraw according to the agreed timetable and we will have a verification regime in place to see that the terms of the agreement are met with respect to withdrawal," General Powell said.

**Gorbachev**

The Angola/Namibia issue is to be raised when President Reagan meets Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in New York this week with president-elect George Bush sitting in on the session

If the verification stumbling block has not been removed by the time they meet tomorrow, it is likely that the super-power leaders will seek the Angolans and the Cubans to be more flexible.

While President Reagan will be the host at the lunch meeting, President Gorbachev will be focussing his attention largely on Mr Bush and it is probable that he will seek opportunities to please the new American leader. Co-operation on the US-mediated Angola/Namibia negotiation could provide one of those opportunities.

**Nicaragua**

US sources say that both the White House and the Kremlin view the Angola/Namibia agreements — along with diplomatic progress in Afghanistan, the Middle East and other regional conflict areas — as important symbols of the easier relationship that had developed this year between the US and the Soviet Union.

Both sides are anxious to maintain the momentum of friendship — the Soviets because it will give them time to focus

on serious economic and political domestic problems, and the US because they hope will lead to Soviet help in settling other regional conflicts such as the communist domination of Nicaragua

President Gorbachev is to fly to Cuba after his meeting with President Reagan and President-elect Bush and after addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York City

While his agenda in Cuba has not been disclosed, it is thought likely here that we will discuss both the Angola and Nicaragua situations with President Fidel Castro and that he may try to use his influence in easing both problems

Analysts here will be watching the Havana meeting with intense interest, looking for signs that will help them assess the relationship between the Soviet and Cuban leaders

Castro is known to be displeased with the Gorbachev policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) and the island country which costs them billions of dollars a year in economic assistance

The US Government openly acknowledges that Soviet help has brought the Angola/Namibia talks to the point where settlement is just a South African signature away

"In Angola/Namibia, diplomacy is succeeding — and the Soviet role has been a positive one," General Powell said here, adding that it had "contributed, I think, to the present upturn in East-West relations"



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg

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(S) B/day 6/12/88

**C**HESTER CROCKER had a pretty good idea that the latest talks in Brazzaville would not be the "last round," as his spokesmen in Washington kept insisting they would be. Similarly, at the Marriot Hotel talks in New York last October, he knew full well that the November 1 deadline set for the implementation of Resolution 435 was an impossibility, yet baldly maintained the fiction that it could still be achieved.

His purpose in all this has been to keep up the momentum toward a settlement on the theory that, so long as the parties keep pedalling, they must eventually get there. At the same time, Crocker has sought to make it increasingly difficult for any of them to prevaricate by deliberately creating the illusion, which none dare deny, that more progress has been made than is actually the case.

Thus far, the tactic has worked well, culminating in last month's Geneva agreement on a timetable for Cuban redeployment north and embarkation west. The problem is, it may have worked too well. In the clinking of the champagne glasses, it appears to have been forgotten that a timetable by itself, however splendid the achievement, does not inevitably a settlement make.

**I**ndeed, it is extraordinary that so much store should have been set by the withdrawal agreement when the means of verifying it — surely the heart of the matter — remained undecided.

The Americans, Angolans and Cubans left Brazzaville muttering in ill-concealed irritation that SA had planted a booby-trap. Even taking into account Pretoria's rich record of bad faith, this seems unfair. South African officials, including P W Botha himself, have been raising the verification issue since well before Geneva. Besides, it is scarcely a minor detail.

And while SA's demands may well be excessive, it was perversely optimistic to start calling Brazzaville the "last round" simply because the parties intended to sign protocols giving the Geneva agreement official status.

The Americans knew there was trouble. It had been brewing for nearly a fortnight in New York, where technical level delegations had been consulting on verification with each other and the UN Secretary General's staff. Nonetheless, Crocker and his team clearly thought that momentum

# No settlement on Angola if Savimbi's interests ignored

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

alone would sweep the remaining obstacles away.

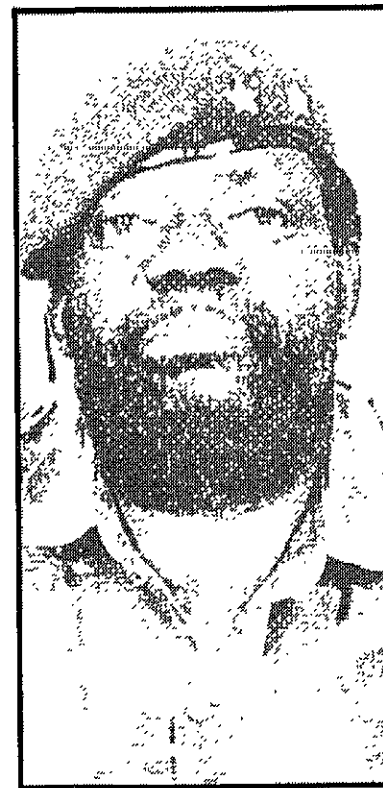
It won't, and the chief reason why not is that, in order to create the facade of progress, the obstacles have been misidentified.

In and of themselves, the practicalities of verification and of implementing Resolution 435 (another set of hurdles still to be crossed), should be easily resolved. Their difficulty lies in the fact that they cannot be treated as discrete matters, try as the US mediators might to have it otherwise.

Very simply, Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal now stand or fall on whether the MPLA agrees to a form of reconciliation with Unita that includes and is approved by Jonas Savimbi. This has become the great unspoken truth of the entire negotiation, and the sooner it is spoken and accepted the better for all concerned.

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Dos Santos has been encouraged in this hope by the apparent conversion to his point of view of Gabon's President Omar Bongo, who until recently was one of Savimbi's most loyal African boosters. Bongo appears to have



□ SAVIMBI ... impotent exile?

been persuaded by the more neutral President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of Congo, with whom, for dynastic reasons of a curiously medieval nature, he craves a closer relationship.

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Santos that Hassan should prevail on Savimbi to take early retirement, by one account in a villa on the Mediterranean which the King, sweetened by millions of dollars from the MPLA, would make available.

As these intrigues have come to light, Savimbi has not only rejected mediation by Gabon and Congo but has changed his mind on the Cuban withdrawal plan.

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**C**hitunda is warning that the Geneva agreement grossly underestimates the number of Cubans presently in Angola, and that as a result, some 30 000 will remain even after Cuba has fulfilled the requirements of the 27-month withdrawal schedule.

More tellingly, he contends that the agreement is unverifiable, especially given Cuba's ability to "camouflage" its personnel — a skill, one might note, which the Americans discovered to their cost in the 1983 invasion of Grenada.

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his master, who in turn is worried that his African friends are about to trade him away and who therefore wants all the support he can get. There can be no doubt, either, that Savimbi has conveyed exactly the same message to Pretoria.

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If the MPLA proposes to pursue a Savimbi-less peace, then SA has every right to demand assurances that its own agreement with Angola and Cuba is not abused in such a way that Unita is forced to capitulate to the MPLA's terms.

**P**retoria is correct, therefore, to require proof that the first Cubans out are the elite forces which began arriving late last year and which would pose the main threat to Unita in the event the MPLA chooses to continue pursuing the military option.

Equally fair is concern that, even as it reduces its aggregate presence, Cuba may replace inferior units with superior ones in the course of continued routine force rotations. The purpose of the withdrawal agreement is not, I believe, to permit Havana to create a lean and mean fighting machine in the place of what, until recently, has been a fairly motley collection of conscripts.

I am not arguing that Savimbi should have been given a seat at the talks or that he should be at the table now. What I am saying is that unless his interests are fully taken into account, there will be no settlement. And the fact is that, in the rush to close the overall deal, his interests are being insufficiently noted: it is not enough to say that Cuban redeployments will obviously benefit him.

The bottom line is this: either the MPLA and its African interlocutors stop all the nonsense about putting Savimbi in a seaside villa and set to work on a realistic reconciliation or disputes over verification and the like are going to drag on interminably. After Brazzaville, it is no use pretending that mere momentum will do the trick.

President Fidel Castro has announced in Havana that Cuban troops should be ready to stay 20 more years in Angola rather than accept demands by South Africa on troop withdrawal.

His defiant stance puts a big question mark against the apparent acceptance of a peace settlement for southern Africa, agreed recently by all parties to the negotiations, but still awaiting ratification.

The South African delegation left the Brazzaville talks abruptly on Saturday, sparking immediate speculation of a setback or doubts here about South Africa's will to settle.

President Castro's speech has been followed by a threat from Swapo to resume military action in Namibia unless an agreement is reached by January in the current South African-Cuban-Angolan peace talks.

But the United States mediators to the peace talks are still claiming the settlement process "remains on track".

State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said: "We still look forward to resolving the issues that remain and concluding a final settlement as quickly as possible."

Asked if the US was disappointed at not achieving agreement in Brazzaville, he said: "It's a worthwhile effort. We've made a lot of progress. We're going to stick at it."

#### Verification

Mr Redman denied that the issue of verifying the withdrawal of about 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola was a problem.

President Castro, speaking to an estimated 500,000 people in Revolution Square in Havana, said Cuba would never tolerate any South African role in verifying the withdrawal of Cuba's 50,000 troops from Angola, a matter he said was to be dealt with exclusively by Havana and the United Nations.

"If they try to impose inadmissible demands, violations of Cuba's principles, we are ready to stay (in Angola) five more years, 10 more years, 15 more years, 20 more years," he told the crowd assembled for the 32nd anniversary of Castro's landing from Mexico in his homeland to launch the Cuban revolution.

US-mediated negotiations between Angola, Cuba and South Africa were suspended at the weekend in Brazzaville after the South African delegation hastily left for consultations at home.

The verification issue held up signing of the protocol covering the 27-month pull-out of Cuban troops and independence for South African-ruled Namibia.

Castro said that if no solution was reached, Cuba would bear no responsibility for the failure.

"We must be prepared to stay (in Angola) the time necessary. Without firmness, there can be no peace. Without firmness, there cannot even be negotiations," he said. — The Star's Africa and Foreign News Service and Reuter.

# Shock threat by Castro

SW 6/27/88

(5)

'We will stay in Angola for another 20 years if necessary'

Star 6/12/88

### Dutch journalists freed by Angola

AMSTERDAM — Two Dutch journalists who were arrested after crossing into Angola from Namibia have been freed.

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Frank Wuters and Gerhard Mol, who travelled to Namibia more than two weeks ago, apparently wandered across the border and were captured by an Angolan Army unit.

Their release was negotiated by the Dutch embassy in Pretoria.

ONE TIMES 7/12/75

# Pik's plan to end impasse at peace talks

PRETORIA. — South Africa would return to the peace talks with suggestions that would solve the "stumbling block" of verifying the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

He told a news conference the issue of verification had been the biggest stumbling block to South Africa.

"I think we can return to the talks with suggestions that would solve the problem."

He did not elaborate on the suggestions.

Mr Botha said he could not comment on reports that President Fidel Castro told Cuban news agency that he would "never" allow South Africa to verify Cuban troop movements because this would reveal strategic information.

President Castro said: "If there is no signed solution yet, it is the fault of South Africa, because of its bad faith, its lack of seriousness."

Mr Botha said he had to work according to what was discussed at the negotiations.

"I do not want to comment because I do not know exactly what Mr Castro said."

"This very difficult question is receiving the serious attention of ourselves and other governments and I have reason to believe that it can be resolved."

South Africa, which last week walked out of US-mediated talks seeking the withdrawal of foreign forces from south-western Africa, has reportedly assured the United States it will sign the settlement.

The Washington Post reported in Tuesday's editions that South Africa had resolved an internal conflict over terms of the accord and that US officials expect at least that the protocol to the settlement will be signed later this month and perhaps the full document as well.

"It looks as though they have worked out what was bothering them," the newspaper quoted an unidentified US official as saying. "They will go ahead."

The walkout had prompted speculation that South Africa would not sign the agreement, but the newspaper said the delay appeared to be caused by internal South African political dynamics and not terms of the accord.

State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman has denied suggestions that a problem had developed in the talks over the process by which the withdrawal of Cuban troops would be verified.

Mr Botha also denied that the talks were at an impasse.

"The process is irreversible. We continue to progress step-by-step."

He said the talks could be resumed within a few days.

The UN Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Bernt Carlsson, said he was "very optimistic" that despite a "temporary delay" in negotiations, the talks would reach a successful conclusion.

Speaking at a press conference in London, he dismissed the hold-up in the signing of a formal accord as "psychological hesitation" on South Africa's part.

"Perhaps they are not fully used to normal diplomatic standards."

"They feel isolated, both internationally and at home. And there are also exaggerated fears of what might happen if Namibia achieved independence."

Meanwhile Swapo's representative for Western Europe, Mr Shapua Kungua, has accused South Africa of not being serious about Namibian independence.

"We are not in the least surprised at the latest breakdown."

Swapo has also threatened to resume the war. It has been observing an informal ceasefire since September. — Sapa-Reuter

CAH 7/12/88  
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## Malan tells of 'Soviet build-up'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The frontline states had 400 000 military personnel, 2 700 tanks and 330 fighter aircraft and were disturbing the balance of power in Southern Africa, the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, said last night.

He told senior associate members of Assocom that while South Africa was preparing for a new spirit of understanding in Southern Africa, the Soviet Union was continuing with its destabilising and offensive weapons' build-up in the region.

Soviet weapons destroyed in Angola had been replaced "with interest", and Soviet military support to the frontline states continued.

"In Angola the number of tanks — mostly T54s and T55s — rose from 531 to 1 590 between September last year and September this year."

South Africa could not, against this background, scale down the expenditure and manpower of the security forces, Gen Malan said.



# SADF ivory deals

QNB 6 Times 8/12/84

## — 'no evidence'

PRETORIA. — A board of inquiry convened by the Defence Force to investigate alleged ivory smuggling from Angola by its members has concluded that there was no evidence upon which disciplinary action against personnel could be taken.

The allegations were made by a Mr Van Note in a report submitted to the US Congress. The story received wide coverage in the media, here and overseas.

"The board found that there was no evidence to prove that the SADF was responsible for or involved in the killing of elephants," a statement by the public relations department at SADF Headquarters said yesterday.

"However, small quantities of ivory, captured by Unita from poachers and others in Angola, were transported by the Defence

Force on behalf of Unita over an 18-month period from mid-1978 to the end of 1979.

"The board also found that the amount of ivory transported over this 18-month period was less than 0,25% of the amount which Mr Van Note claimed.

"This practice was stopped by the Defence Force and Unita at the end of 1979."

The board of inquiry was convened a "few weeks ago" and handed its report to the chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, for forwarding to the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

The statement said the board, in the course of its investigations, travelled thousands of kilometres and interviewed "scores of witnesses" both in the SADF and civilians, including leading conservationists, wild life experts and elephant specialists in

an effort to prove or disprove Mr Van Note's allegations.

The statement said to date Mr Van Note has consistently refused to reveal his sources of information.

"Furthermore, a study of court records in Namibia showed that nine members of the Defence Force were convicted and sentenced for illegal possession of ivory during the period 1979 to date," the statement said

"The board also found that the figures given for the elephant population in Angola in Mr Van Note's report could not be substantiated. Leading conservationists placed the elephant population at no more than 12 400. In addition, they doubted the logistic probability for the world market to have absorbed the quantity of ivory implicit in the report and to have moved it through the alleged channels described in the report." — Sapa

Angola lost 9 planes  
to SA's one SAAF

PRETORIA. — The Angolan Cuban air force had lost nine aircraft compared to a loss of one plane by the South African Air Force in the "last big fights" between the two air forces, says the latest edition of the SAAF magazine, Ad Astra.

The magazine's editor, Major F P Brand, said in an editorial that, contrary to press speculation, the SAAF had not lost its superiority over the Namibian border.

During the Angolan war "the enemy only became involved in fights when they were in an extremely favourable position or superior in numbers".

He said: "The South Africans fought in theoretically unfavourable conditions and still achieved almost 10 bulls-eyes for each one by the enemy."

Taking into account the advanced MiG 23 fighters and support system supplied by the Cubans in Angola, the SAAF's achievement was unequalled, Ad Astra said. — Sapa

# New talks expected in Brazzaville this month

The Star's Africa News Service  
**BRAZZAVILLE** — Another round of negotiations is expected to be held in Brazzaville this month in an effort to get agreement leading to independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Despite high expectations, the negotiators from South Africa, Angola and Cuba failed to reach agreement at the weekend that would have enabled them to sign a protocol clearing the way for a final treaty.

The South African delegation, led by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, flew back to South Africa early yesterday.

The expected agreement is understood to have been frustrated by the refusal of the Angolans and Cubans to accept machinery requested by South Africa for verifying that the Cuban troops have left Angola.

Mr Botha denied this was a setback and said he had never predicted that agreement would be reached in Brazzaville this week.

"I have no reason to believe the problems cannot be ironed out," he said.

The latest round started last Wednesday with the arrival of the South African delegation under Mr Neil van Heerden, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Botha flew in on Friday, saying difficulties had been encountered that required the presence of himself and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

While in Brazzaville, Mr Botha met President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

Diplomatic sources said that although no protocol was signed, some progress was made.

● See Page 17.

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# Angola deal part of Cold War 'thaw'

8/12/88 The Star Bureau (5)

WASHINGTON — A successful settlement of southern Africa's regional conflicts has become an important element in the steadily warming relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The two superpowers are ready to do whatever it takes to end the fighting in the region, thereby reducing the dangers of themselves being drawn into a conflict that neither wants.

This has become clear following yesterday's mini-summit in New York where, over lunch, Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev had a wide-ranging discussion about world problems with President Ronald Reagan and president-elect Mr George Bush.

When the topic at lunch turned to world trouble spots where the Soviets and the Americans have been backing opposite warring sides, President Reagan spoke with appreciation of the co-operative efforts the superpowers were making to end the Angola/Namibia conflict.

Later, in a briefing session for reporters, the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, singled out southern Africa as an example of the new relationship that has developed between the White House and the Kremlin.

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# Dutch TV man says Angola 'like war movie'

Star 9/12/88

The Star's Foreign News Service

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UTRECHT — Dutch television journalist Gerard Buters, captured by Cubans and the Angolan army after straying from Namibia a week ago, has described southern Angola as "like the set of a first-rate war movie".

He said yesterday: "It has been totally devastated by South African Air Force bombardments. Not a building has been left standing."

Buters was captured six days ago with a colleague while working "undercover" in Namibia for a televi-

sion programme to be broadcast on December 18.

"We were captured by Cubans at the Namibian border and from there were taken to a camp in the war area where we were briefly questioned. We were transferred to Segongo, 150 km to the north and kept captive for two days in ruins of bombed-out houses. After that, we were transferred to the provincial capital city Lubango," he said.

"Physically we were treated very correctly but we were questioned very thoroughly because we had strayed across the border illegally."

A SETTLEMENT in Angola and Namibia would be the most positive development of the past decade in Southern Africa, the British Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Robin Renwick said yesterday.

Addressing the Wil-

# The most positive development

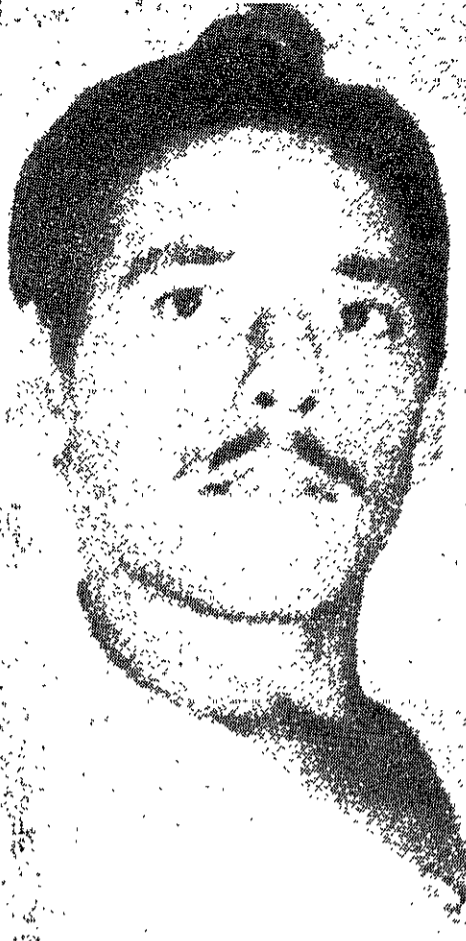
waterstrand branch of the Secretary of State for Southern African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, for his contribution in dealing in Johannesburg. Mr Renwick paid tribute to the United States, Namibia and Angola

He said: "Dr Crocker has been attacked and criticised in the past for failure to accomplish miracles. I would like to know who could have

done better... no one could have shown more determination, tenacity and staying power in dealing with this problem. His efforts had

the total support of the British Government". He said Namibia had already gone through many of the changes leading to a multiracial

society. "Now the people of Namibia must be enabled to elect a government of their choice," he said. Mr Renwick said the outside world, including Britain, would go on pressing for internal change in South Africa.

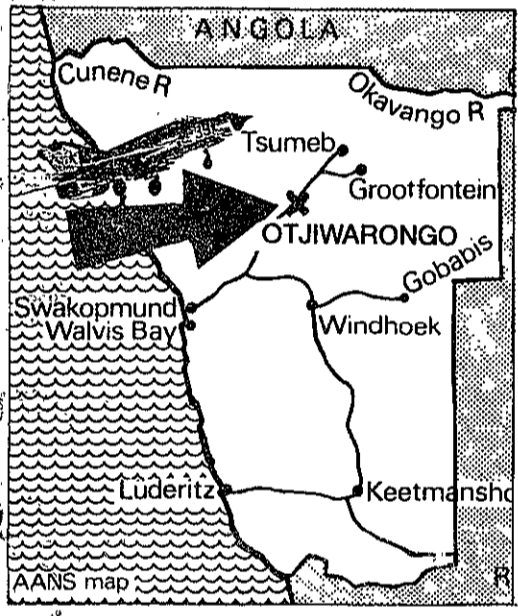


# MiG pilot

# SWOP offer

Sergeant Johan Papenfus, the South African soldier held in Cuba.

ARCUS 14/12/88 5



SOUTH Africa today offered to exchange the Angolan pilot and the MiG-21 which made an emergency landing in Namibia for Sergeant Johan Papenfus, the Defence Force soldier held in Cuba.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today the government had made the offer in the spirit of goodwill created by the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol yesterday.

Mr Botha said the pilot had not asked for political asylum.

Two Angolan MiGs were lost in heavy cloud, he added. One turned back to Angola but the other ran out of fuel and made an emergency landing.

The pilot landed on a maize farm 70km from Otjiwarongo. The aircraft was only slightly damaged.

To demonstrate South Africa's sincerity in wishing to establish peace in south-western Africa, the government was prepared to exchange the pilot for Sergeant Papenfus, captured by the Angolans this year, said Mr Botha.

Angola would be told of the offer today.

### During signing ceremony

He would propose that the exchange take place during the ceremony at the signing of the agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba on December 22.

The agreement will be a formal peace treaty between the three countries, giving authority to the Brazzaville Protocol for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and for the independence of Namibia.

Mr Botha said that in the same spirit of goodwill and peace the government would be prepared to return the aircraft.

Mr Hinrich Schneider-Waterberg, 26, the farmer on whose property the MiG landed, said yesterday: "I couldn't believe what I was seeing when I drove up to the plane in our hayfield."

He followed the MiG in his car when he saw it circling at 2pm. With its landing-gear down, it headed for a field 3km away.

"Seeing this oke come out of this plane was quite something I had never met a black pilot in this country."

After they spoke in languages the other did not understand — English and Portuguese — he took the pilot to the farmhouse and gave him a meal.

"He looked very pleasant, but we couldn't understand a word he was saying. It was quite embarrassing.

"The man was not injured but obviously had no idea where he was.

"We called the police and they contacted the big brass in Windhoek."

During the night soldiers moved on to the farm to guard the MiG, which had lost a wheel in the landing in cloud and light drizzle.

An excited Mr Frank Papenfus heard last night that his prisoner-of-war brother in Cuba could be returned after the peace agreement had been signed.

"We're hoping Johan will be home by Christmas," he said.

• See page 27



THE SIGNING: Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha makes history as he signs the tripartite Brazzaville Protocol to bring independence to Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

# Angola deal part of Cold War 'thaw'

8/12/88

The Star Bureau

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WASHINGTON — A successful settlement of southern Africa's regional conflicts has become an important element in the steadily warming relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The two superpowers are ready to do whatever it takes to end the fighting in the region, thereby reducing the dangers of themselves being drawn into a conflict that neither wants.

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When the topic at lunch turned to world trouble spots where the Soviets and the Americans have been backing opposite warring sides, President Reagan spoke with appreciation of the co-operative efforts the superpowers were making to end the Angola/Namibia conflict.

Later, in a briefing session for reporters, the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, singled out southern Africa as an example of the new relationship that has developed between the White House and the Kremlin.



# Angola tank build-up poser: 'Who will operate them?' (5)

Star 9/12/88

LONDON — British military analysts agree there has been an increase in the amount of Soviet arms supplied to Angola in the past year, but they are not sure that the same applies to the other five Frontline states.

"Certainly, Angola is one of the areas where we do see an increase, although keeping tabs on this is very difficult," said analyst Mr Andrew Duncan, of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (ISIS). "We would hope that this is more or less the last spurt of Soviet armaments — probably things which were ordered a couple of years ago."

He said he could not be as specific as Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan on the increase in Angola's tank strength because the institute had a smaller number of sources of information.

"I couldn't comment on the numbers at all, but it is obvious that they have been much strengthened. However, an increase of 1 000 or so in a year does seem, on the face of it, a bit over the top."

"But what we did see was a very good increase in the air defence capability in Angola. Basically, they have got in some efficient radar and have produced a more sophisticated area defence system. This is what made it that much more dangerous for South African aircraft to operate over southern Angola."

He said he would not necessarily agree with General Malan that there had been an increase in Soviet arms supplies to the Frontline states. "There may well have been, but it is not something that has struck me."

Mr Chris Foss, military editor of *Jane's Defence Weekly*, said he had no way of verifying General Malan's figures on the increase in Angola's tank strength. But if they were accurate, the problem was: Who would man the tanks?

"I understand that when South African forces en-

THE STAR BUREAU reports on British reaction to statements made by General Magnus Malan in a speech at an Assocom meeting.

gaged them last time, they were not manned by Angolans but by Cubans. They certainly cannot effectively man that quantity of armoured vehicles."

He said the only tanks the SADF had engaged in Angola were T-54s and T-55s, although later T-62s had been seen. It had been reported that Angola also had the latest T72s.

He said the SADF was well aware of the latest air defence systems deployed in Angola because it had captured some of the weaponry in the past year. This had included man-portable missiles. But not all the captured material had come from the Warsaw Pact — there had also been "brand new trucks from Brazil".

Mr Foss said it was possible that increased Soviet arms supplies had reached other Frontline states, but he was unaware of this. "But even if they have been, the problem of operating and maintaining them remains."

● In its annual review, *The Military Balance*, published in October, the ISIS reported that Angola's armed forces totalled 100 000 men (including about 10 000 guerilla forces). Its 91 500-strong army had 500 main battle tanks. Its air force had 133 combat aircraft.

The armed forces in the other five Frontline states (Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania) totalled 142 200 men, 413 main battle and light tanks and 203 combat aircraft.

*The Military Balance* said South Africa's armed forces totalled 103 500: Its army had 250 main battle tanks (Centurions and Olifant) and its air force had 324 combat aircraft.

# New Angola-SA talks on Monday

<sup>Star 10/11/88</sup>  
BRAZZAVILLE — Talks between Angola and South Africa would resume on Monday, diplomatic sources said yesterday. <sup>(3)</sup>

South Africa has tied the Cuban withdrawal to independence for Namibia.

Meanwhile, in a report monitored yesterday in Lisbon, the Angolan official news agency ANGOP quoted Angola's ambassador to Zambia as saying South Africa was threatening Angola by concentrating large numbers of soldiers in northern Namibia.

According to the ANGOP report, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata told a meeting of African diplomats in Lusaka that some 56 000 South African troops were based in northern Namibia.

Mr Kiambata added that the South African Government, after pulling out of the Brazzaville talks, was seeking ways to legitimise new acts of aggression against Angola, ANGOP reported.

The Angolan state newspaper *Jornal de Angola* reported the story on its front page.

A South African Defence Force spokesman said in Pretoria: "The Defence Force does not comment on such a poor attempt at disinformation." — Sapa-AP.

# Deal set for Cubans to move out of Angola

THE Brazzaville Accord, providing for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, is expected to be signed in the Congolese capital tomorrow.

Barring last minute hitches, Foreign Minister Pik Botha will meet with his Angolan and Cuban counterparts to seal the deal that will ensure the return of an estimated 52 000 Cubans within 27 months.

According to diplomatic sources the complex issue of verification that threatened to scuttle the lengthy negotiations at the last moment have now been settled to South Africa's satisfaction.

The United Nations Security Council with its five permanent members, including the United States and the Soviet Union, will now play an important role to ensure that the withdrawal takes place according to the fixed timetable.

South Africa has been adamant all along that the two superpowers should act as the guarantors of the agreement to prevent the Cubans reneging on the deal.

A previous proposal that the US, the Soviet Union, South Africa, Cuba and Angola should form a joint monitoring committee was flatly rejected by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

It is also expected that UN

By DRIES van HEERDEN

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar will play an important role behind the scenes to ensure that the run-up to the election in Namibia — expected in August or September 1989 — progresses to the satisfaction of all the parties.

Mr Botha has been at pains to point out in the last few weeks that although South Africa is still deeply distrustful of the United Nations as a body, it places great trust in the integrity and impartiality of Mr De Cuellar.

The Brazzaville Accord will now provide for two separate bodies to oversee the Cuban withdrawal: A joint South-African-Cuban-Angolan monitoring committee to which complaints on violations can be directed and the Security Council acting as the broad guarantor.

Diplomatic sources said the signing of the Accord will take place tomorrow if all the delegations can arrive in Brazzaville on-time.

## Treaty

The Accord will formalise the earlier agreements reached in New York and Geneva providing for the phased withdrawal of the Cuban troops and their temporary re-assignment to positions north of the Benguela railway line.

The Brazzaville Accord will now be followed by a formal tri-lateral treaty between South Africa, Cuba and Angola which will probably be signed early in 1989.

A special session of the UN will then be convened to ratify the agreements and to start the implementation of Resolution 435 of 1978 that provides for a seven-month run up to an election.

# SA team to fly to Brazzaville for big signing

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. W. Botha, announced today that a South African delegation would leave for Brazzaville tomorrow to sign the protocol which deals with the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, its verification and other related matters.

However, the Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Cuba's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Ricardo Alarcon, said the issue now facing South African, Cuban and Angolan negotiators was when to sign the accord.

He expressed puzzlement at South Africa's abrupt departure nine days ago from talks in the Congolese capital, Brazzaville, describing a question on why South Africa refused to sign a preliminary agreement as "a very good one".

Mr. Alarcon speculated that the reason for South Africa's move was perhaps that it did not want to commit itself to the part of the deal bringing independence to SWA/Namibia. He said Cuba feared that the SA government now wanted to shift signing to beyond parliamentary elections in South Africa.

## PAID HIGH PRICE

He admitted in an interview on CBS that Cuba had paid a high price in keeping troops in Angola for more than 12 years — "But the costs would have been higher if Angola had been occupied by South Africa and become a sort of colony like Namibia."

"I think that the Angolans are certainly better off even having suffered a very cruel war," he said.

Swapo, meanwhile, already recognised by the UN General Assembly as the sole, authentic representative of the Namibian people, has scored a diplomatic success in obtaining the right to distribute its documents at the UN just as if it were a member state.

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## Protocol expected on Cuban pullout

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The South African delegation to the tripartite talks on the future of south-western Africa was scheduled to leave for Brazzaville early this morning for the signing of a protocol laying down a timetable for Cuban withdrawal and the means by which this will be verified.

The Brazzaville protocol, the result of talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba under the chairmanship of the United States, will also clear the way for the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

The protocol was to have been signed at the end of last week but problems arose concerning the withdrawal of the estimated 50 000 Cubans. This issue has now been resolved.

It is understood the Cubans will leave Angola over a 27-month period and that the five permanent members of the UN security council will monitor the withdrawal.

Elections in the territory, if everything goes according to plan, are now expected to take place in August or September next year.

Sapa-AP reports from Brazzaville that South Africa will sign a peace agreement with Angola and Cuba tomorrow. The report quoted a source close to Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

# Conservationist blasts SADF

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Mr Craig Van Note, the American conservationist who told the US congress that the SA military was helping smuggle massive quantities of ivory from southern Angola, has blasted the SADF's inquiry into the charges as a "whitewash".

He said his information had come directly from SA soldiers who had "witnessed" the illegal trade which he charged was being "coordinated" by Jose Lopes Ferreira, a former Portuguese colonist in Angola now living "outside Johannesburg".

He also raised new allegations that as elephant herds had been poached out, SA and Unita forces had turned their attention to black rhino. He claimed to have evidence that members of the SADF were machine-gunning the highly endangered species from helicopters.

SADF Major Marius Meiring, his wife Pat and Sergeant-Major Waldemar Schutte were last month indicted by a Connecticut grand jury for smuggling rhino horn, leopard and cheetah skins and captured AK-47 rifles into the US.

In testimony to a congressional committee last July, Mr Van Note said that Unita had "ruthlessly liquidated perhaps 100 000 elephants" since 1976 and that the SADF had trucked or flown "most of the tusks" to warehouses at Rundu in the Caprivi Strip.

## SADF denies charges

The SADF instituted a board of inquiry whose findings were sketched in a press release last Tuesday. The release made no mention of the alleged Rundu staging post. It said that the SADF had stopped transporting ivory for Unita after 1979.

The SADF also denied involvement in the killing of elephant, a charge Mr Van Note insisted was true. The press statement said that the Swiss-based convention on international trade in endangered species (Cites) "only came into existence in 1982". Mr Van Note said Cites went into effect, and was signed by SA, in 1976.

"Who did they talk to?" Mr Van Note asked. "They did not talk to the inhabitants of eastern and southern Angola, who would verify the massacre, or to the pilots and truck drivers, or to the SA and Unita poachers. They did not interview Jose Lopes Ferreira. The recent indictment of two SADF officers was ignored."

(5)  
13/12/88  
2 men in  
court over  
184 tusks  
of ivory

By JIM FREEMAN

TWO men appeared in the magistrate's court at Grootfontein in Namibia yesterday for allegedly smuggling 184 elephant tusks in a false compartment of a truck.

The two men, a Portuguese citizen and a Tswana, were remanded after being arrested at a roadblock at the town on Sunday.

Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said the weight and value of the ivory had not yet been determined. The ivory would have to be sent to experts from the Namibian directorate of nature conservation for grading before a value could be established, he said.

Inspector Du Rand added that the ivory was on its way to South Africa from either Zambia, Botswana or Zimbabwe.

He said the police diamond and narcotics branch, which also dealt with ivory and rhino horn smuggling, had been tipped off at Katima Mulilo that a large consignment of tusks would be smuggled into Namibia.

Inspector Du Rand said the ivory had not been poached in Angola, nor had the SA Defence Force been implicated.

A nature conservation spokesman in Windhoek, Mr Jan Joubert, said Namibia was a smuggling conduit into South Africa. Its vast borders meant smugglers could enter easily, while border controls between South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe were far stricter.

Sowetan 13/12/88

# Soviet arms <sup>(5)</sup> poser - British analyst

LONDON — British military analysts agree there has been an increase in the amount of Soviet arms supplies to Angola in the past year but they are not sure that the same applies to the other five Frontline States.

They were reacting to statements made by General Magnus Malan in his speech to an Assocom meeting.

"Certainly, Angola is one of the areas where we do see an increase, although keeping tabs on this is very difficult," said analyst Andrew Duncan, of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (ISIS). "We would hope that this is more or less the last spurt of Soviet armament — probably things which were ordered a couple of years ago."

## Radar

He said he could not be as specific as General Malan on the increase in Angola's tank strength because the institute had a smaller number of sources of information.

"I couldn't comment on the numbers at all, but it is obvious that they have been much strengthened. However, an increase of 1 000 or so in a year does seem on the face of it, a bit over the top.

"But what we did see was a very good increase in the air defence capability in Angola, they have got in some efficient radar and have produced a more sophisticated area defence system. This is what made it that much more dangerous for South African aircraft to operate over southern Angola."

## Problem

He said he would not necessarily agree with General Malan that there has been an increase in Soviet arms supplies to the Frontline States. "There may well have been, but it is not something that has struck me."

Mr Chris Foss, military editor of *Jane's Defence* weekly, said he had no way of verifying General Malan's figures on the increase in Angola's tank strength. But if they were accurate, the problem was: Who would man the tanks?

"I understand that when South African forces engaged them last time, they were not manned by Angolans but by Cubans. They certainly cannot effectively man that quantity of armoured vehicles. You can get the tanks down there, but can you man and maintain them? — That's the question."



# SA, <sup>(S)</sup> Cuba, Angola sign today

WASHINGTON — South Africa, Angola and Cuba will sign a peace protocol for southern Africa today and sign a final agreement in New York later this month, the US State Department announced yesterday.

Spokesman, Charles Redman said U.S.-mediated peace talks which reconvened in Brazzaville, Congo yesterday would end today.

"All parties are now prepared to move forward to wrap up their agreement with a signature of the Brazzaville protocol and the formal settlement accords later this month in New York," he told reporters.

"We don't believe there are any remaining obstacles and we expect the protocol to be signed," Redman said.

South Africa, Angola, Cuba and their mediator, the United States, will meet in New York later this month to sign the final agreement, he said, adding that a specific date and time must still be decided. — Sapa-  
Reuter.

# Signings of peace protocol welcomed

*Qwe Tim 14/12/98*



*5*

WINDHOEK — The Brazzaville peace accord was welcomed yesterday by political leaders in Namibia, by foreign governments and the Argolan rebel movement Unita, the key player excluded from the talks. Unita, however, vowed to step up its guerrilla war unless Angola agreed to negotiate.

"The Brazzaville protocol is an important step for peace in Southern Africa because it means the withdrawal of foreign forces from the region," Unita's Lisbon spokesman Mr Alcides Sakala said.

"Now a national (Angolan) solution has to be achieved. Talks must

come sooner or later between Unita and the MPLA... if not, we will intensify our armed struggle, we will continue the war."

Unita rejected an Angolan government amnesty offer for rebels to lay down their arms, surrender and be re-integrated into Angolan society.

"We vehemently denounce this law as a manoeuvre of the MPLA which is aimed at confusing national and international opinion. The real question is the democratisation of Angola. We want to exist as a political party in Angola," said Mr Sakala.

Asked if rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi would be willing to step aside to facilitate talks with the Luanda government, Mr Sakala replied: "Never, never."

Britain and West Germany both welcomed the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol as a "decisive step" toward independence for Namibia and peace in the region.

The West German Foreign Ministry said: "This encouraging outcome was made possible by the constructive attitude of those involved in the conflict and by the successful mediation of the US."

The Southern African branch of the International Freedom Foundation yesterday welcomed the signing of the protocol and expressed hope that all parties involved would ratify the protocol at the soonest opportunity.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) welcomed the signing of the protocol and its chief secretary, Mr Johan de Waal, said the DTA trusted that nothing would now block the way to "a peaceful and meaningful" independence for Namibia.

"April Fool's Day. I don't trust

that date. But we'll accept it," said Mr Andreas Shipanga, chairman of the cabinet in Namibia's transitional government.

Mr Ben Ulunga, leader of the pro-independence National Union of Namibian Workers, said Namibians would remain sceptical about independence until the "last South African troops leave the country".

"The possibility of independence still has a dream-like quality about it," Mr Ulunga said. "Once we see the first United Nations troops, then the people will wake up." — Sapa-AP

# Signings of peace protocol welcomed

*CME Tim P 14/12/88*

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# Crocker's finest hour

5 19/12/88

Argus

In the end, it took Dr Chester Crocker only eight months to achieve what he tried to accomplish in the eight years he has been in charge of America's Africa policies — independence for SWA/Namibia and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

During those eight months Dr Crocker shuttled between Africa, Europe and America, keeping close contacts with Soviet officials and proving in the end that "constructive engagement", although now banned from the political vocabulary, could indeed have its constructive side.

While the first breakthrough occurred in January this year when the MPLA regime in Luanda told Dr Crocker it would agree to a schedule for a Cuban withdrawal, it was only in May that the quadripartite negotiations got under way.

In that month representatives from Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States met in London for what was to become the first of a series of meetings in Europe, Africa and the United States over the next eight months leading to the treaty signed in Brazzaville, Congo, yesterday.

The London meeting was significant in that for the first time Cuba, Angola, South Africa and the United States formally sat around a table to talk about a Cuban withdrawal and independence for SWA/Namibia. "Linkage" had been finally and formally accepted.

For many foreign observers the fact that the south African Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, was accompanied by top-level military personnel was also of significance.

The perception had been that in South Africa the "doves" were the Foreign Affairs officials whose efforts were sometimes sabotaged by the "hawks" in the military. Foreign analysts interpreted the presence of military officials in Mr van Heerden's delegation as a sign that he was also speaking on their behalf.

It was in fact to become a characteristic of all the South African diplomatic efforts around the Angola-SWA/Namibia question that the military would always be present whenever statements were made about the negotiations.

Subsequent accounts of the London meeting disclosed that the chief of the Defence



Mr Neil van Heerden



General Jamie Geldenhuys

## 'Constructive engagement' has finally paid off

Force, General Jamie Geldenhuys, talked privately for 90 minutes with the Cuban armed forces chief of staff, General Ulises de Toro, and told him that the proposal for a four-year period before total Cuban withdrawal was too long.

The reported response was that Cuba was open to offers, convincing many that it was ready to negotiate. At that meeting Angola scaled down its rhetoric about Cuban withdrawal being linked to an immediate end to all aid and to the rebel movement, Unita.

But while the London talks were surrounded by great publicity and hope, it was clear that there was still some some tension on the ground and South Africa remained suspicious of the United States, now openly seen to be working with the Soviet Union in putting an end to regional conflicts.

Thus shortly after the London talks a South African delegation met top-level Angolan officials in Brazzaville.

South Africa was then at the beginning of a diplomatic offensive in black Africa and the Brazzaville meeting was seen by many analysts as an attempt to get the talks to be seen as part of African diplomacy and not of the super-powers.

Cuba was said to have been furious at its exclusion from the talks and the Angolan government then refused to hold any more discussions in Africa for fear of being used as "a Trojan horse" for the South African offensive in Africa.

It took Dr Crocker a lot of effort to arrange the next round of talks in Cairo, a compromise between South Africa's stand of "no talks" unless they are held in Africa, and Angola's refusal to use an African country. As an African and Middle Eastern country, Egypt was seen as a compromise which was accepted by all parties.

The Cairo talks achieved little more than to show that the Soviet Union was now actively involved in behind the scenes efforts to put an end to the war in Angola.

Soviet foreign affairs official Vladilen Vasev was reported to have been sent to Cairo to cool down the Cuban delegation after verbal combat with the South Africans had threatened to disrupt the talks.

The tensions that were so evident in Cairo, however, resulted in an armed clash at the end of June in which 12 South Africans and an undetermined number of Cubans and Angolans were killed. It was another triumph for

Dr Crocker and proof that the military situation was a stalemate. All parties agreed to meet the following month in New York where the first breakthrough was achieved when the parties involved signed a set of 14 "principles for a peaceful settlement in south-western Africa".

Although the 14 principles were stated in vague language, for the first time South Africa agreed in writing to implement United Nations Security Council resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia while Cuba and Angola agreed to a supervised withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

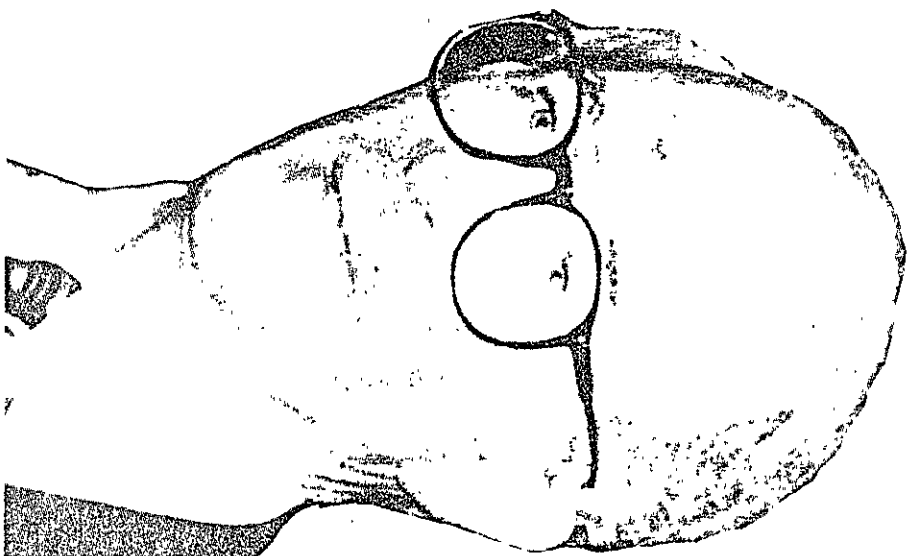
These principles were soon to be translated into the first practical measures of the talks when in Geneva a ceasefire was signed at the beginning of August and a date for the implementation of resolution 435 — November 1 — agreed on.

While Cuba, Angola and South Africa then agreed to form a joint military monitoring commission, at the end of August in Brazzaville the most difficult problem — a timetable for a Cuban withdrawal — began to be discussed.

For Dr Crocker the question was, to use one of his favourite phrases, "to narrow the gap" between the Angola-

It took years of fighting and negotiation to bring agreement on independence for SWA/Namibia. But when it finally came, it came in a rush.

JOAO SANTA RITA of the Argus Africa News Service reports.



The United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker ... efforts crowned with success at last.

## The Brazzaville Protocol

# Pik gets praise on race stance

CAF Links 14/12/88

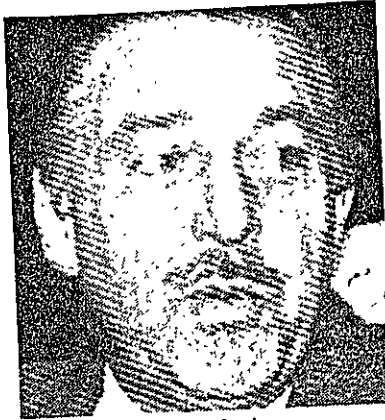
**BRAZZAVILLE.** — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday drew two sustained ovations when he told the Congolese president the South African government was removing racial discrimination and wanted to be accepted by its "African brothers".

He drew the applause from a large gathering of African dignitaries who attended the official signing of the Brazzaville Protocol in the Palais de Peuple.

He was one of the four delegation leaders to address President Denis Sassou Nguesso after the signing, following immediately after the US mediator and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

Mr Botha repeated his analogy of a zebra and said it was futile to think that if one shot the animal in the white stripes it would not die.

"A new era has begun," he said. "We are removing race discrimination." (Loud applause).  
"We want to be accepted by our



Mr Pik Botha

African brothers (more applause). We need each other," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha spoke at length on the difficulties which had faced the negotiators and praised Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko for having encouraged him and General Magnus Malan to sign the accord for Africa's sake.

"I am not sure what role the Soviet Union played... but whatever it was, it was not disturb-

ing," he said.

Mr Botha said African countries had to stand together economically and South Africa stood ready to play its role.

"Africa needs peace and understanding. We were never given the opportunity to catch up with the industrialised powers."

He said the industrialised powers had determined the prices of Africa's commodities and products and made Africa pay for technology.

"The time has come to stand together economically... if we don't we will never catch up with the industrialised nations, who will not worry about us either."

"I appeal to you as a brother," he said.

Mr Botha, who as a young advocate helped fight South Africa's case on its League of Nations mandate over South-West Africa in the World Court 30 years ago, said that experience had now proved that "might was right". He said though South Africa had won its case legally, world opinion and politics had decided the matter against it. — Sapa-Reuter

1975 1/2/80

## Partition of Angola seen as possible

THE withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola could open the way for the partition of Angola, says a Portuguese newsletter specialising in African affairs.

The newsletter, *Africa Confidential*, points out that under the agreements the entire Cuban contingent in Angola will have to be north of the 13th parallel by the end of October next year and by that stage the Cuban troops in Angola will number about 25 000.

The 13th parallel effectively divides Angola in half and *Africa Confidential* says that even Cuban analysts have no doubt that the Angolan armed forces will be unable to control the areas left by the Cubans.

"There is no doubt whatsoever among the Cuban analysts that Fapla (the Angolan army) will be unable to keep the positions vacated by the Cuban troops."

Partition was thus regarded by Havana as the only way Cuba would not lose all its interests, *Africa Confidential* said. If there were no partition, it said, the only solution would be national reconciliation with Unita and this could lead to a decrease in Cuban influence in Angola. — Argus Africa News Service.

# Amnesty to end civil war

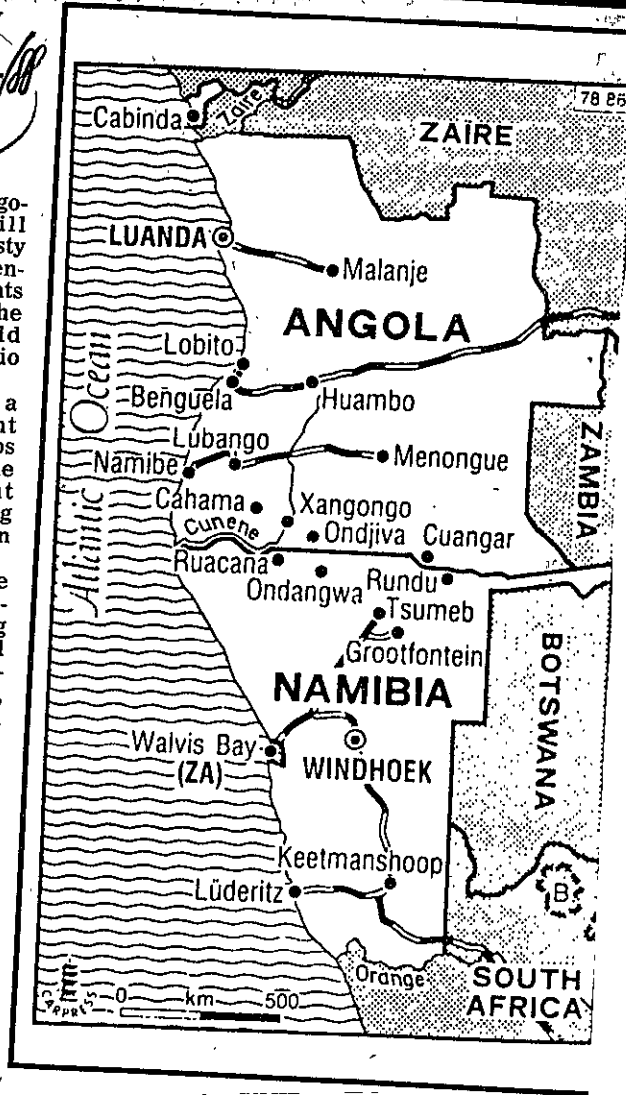
LUSAKA. — The Angolan government will soon declare an amnesty and commute death sentences for its opponents in an attempt to end the country's 13-year-old civil war, Angolan radio said yesterday.

The radio quoted a speech by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on Monday, in which he said the government would be concentrating on restoring peace in Angola.

Mr Dos Santos said the government would promulgate a law granting amnesty to political opponents who renounced violence, turned themselves in and swore loyalty to the MPLA government.

It would also commute death sentences already passed.

The MPLA has refused to negotiate a power-sharing agreement with Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels — a solution favoured by the US, South Africa and several pro-Western African governments. — Sapa-Reuter.



*Cape Times 14/12/88*  
**SWA, Angola:  
Count-down to  
regional peace**

**DECEMBER 22:** Agreement to be re-affirmed at a formal treaty-signing in New York. An unspecified prisoner exchange will take place.

**JANUARY 21, 1989:** The parties agree to form a joint commission within 30 days of the signing of the tripartite agreement in New York. The commission will facilitate the resolution of disputes with regard to the interpretation and implementation of the agreement.

**APRIL 1:** South Africa implements seven to 12-month UN plan for Namibian independence. Cuba withdraws 3 000 of its 50 000 troops from Angola.

**MID-MAY:** The UN plan requires the repeal of all discriminatory legislation in Namibia by this time.

**JULY 1:** South African military withdrawal from Namibia to a maximum of 1 500 troops.

**JULY:** All Cuban troops will be north of the 15th Parallel — a line running from the harbour at Namibe to Tlo, about 300km north of the border.

**OCTOBER:** 25 000 Cuban troops withdrawn from Angola. The rest of the Cuban troops will be north of the 13th Parallel — the Benguela railway line — about 550km from the border.

**NOVEMBER 1:** Elections for a constituent assembly in Namibia charged with the adoption by a two-thirds majority of an independence constitution.

**APRIL, 1990:** More Cuban troops out of Angola.

**OCTOBER, 1990:** More Cuban troops withdrawn.

**JUNE 30, 1991:** Last Cuban troops leave Angola



Spec. Times 12/12/88

# Angolan MiG lands on Namibia farm

PRETORIA. — An Angolan MiG-21 fighter pilot yesterday landed his aircraft on Namibian territory of his own accord, Defence Force headquarters said last night.

An SADF spokesman said the pilot landed the jet on the farm Okosongomugo owned by Mr H R Schneider-Waterberg about 70km outside Otjiwarongo.



A MiG-21

The pilot was safe and uninjured, but the aircraft was slightly damaged in the landing, the spokesman said.

The jet was tracked on radar flying at high level above cloud cover at about 500 knots, he said.

The spokesman said if further details concerning the landing might be released today. — Sapa

88/2/88  
14/12/88  
(S)

# D E F E N D

It's agreed:  
Freedom  
for Namibia,  
Cubans to go

APR-  
7m 15  
14/12/88

(S) 271

## Own Correspondent

**BRAZZAVILLE. — South Africa, Cuba and Angola yesterday agreed on the historic Brazzaville protocol which will bring independence to Namibia and the withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola.**

Namibia could become independent as early as November next year. Describing the accord as a triumph for negotiation over war, the Minister of

Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said: "We want to be accepted by our African brothers. We need each other."

Angola's chief negotiator, General Antoino dos Santos Franca, said: "This will pave the way to a new era of peace in southwestern Africa."

In terms of the agreement, the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435, which will place Namibia on the road to independence, will start on April 1 — "D-day" — and all Cuban troops will be out of Angola within 27 months of this date.

The colourful signing ceremony took place in the Palace of the People in front of Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

### On Page 3

- Pk gets praise
- Signing of protocol welcomed
- Amnesia to end civil war

The formal signing of the tripartite agreement will take place in New York on December 22.

Before that time, Cuba and Angola must have reached agreement with the secretary-general on verification arrangements which will be approved by the Security Council. In addition, the parties also agreed to ex-

change prisoners of war after the tripartite agreement had been signed.

In terms of the agreement which was signed yesterday 3 000 of the 50 000 Cuban troops will leave Angola before D-Day.

Thereafter:

● All Cuban troops will be north of the 15th parallel — a line running from the harbour at Namibe to Tio about 300km north of the border — four months after D-Day.

● All Cuban troops will be north of the 13th parallel — the Benguela railway line — about 550km from the border — seven months after D-Day.

The phased withdrawal will see 25 000

Cuban troops withdrawn seven months after D-Day, another 8 000 out of Angola 12 months after D-Day, another 13 000 withdrawn 18 months after D-Day, and all 50 000 out after 27 months.

The UN plan also requires the repeal of all discriminatory legislation in Namibia by mid-May and a South African military withdrawal from Namibia to a maximum of 1 500 men by July 1.

Finally the parties agreed to establish a Joint Commission consisting of Cuban, South African and Angolan officials who would facilitate the resolution of disputes

To page 3

P.T.O.

# Peace

*Thurs 14/12/85*

With regard to the interpretation and implementation of the agreement, it will begin its work once the agreement is signed and be properly constituted within 30 days of the signature. Elections will be held on November 1 for a constituent assembly charged with the adoption of an independence constitution. Diplomats expect Swapo, officially recognised by the UN as the sole authentic representative of Namibia's 1.2 million people, to dominate the assembly. But South African government sources have said they expect to be able to prevent Swapo gaining a two-thirds majority.

"But we have seen that what was previously thought to be impossible now appears to be possible."

No formal mention was made in the accord of Dr Jonas Savimbi's signing ceremony, the chairman of the talks and US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, said the ceremony marked the end of a "sad chapter in African history and the beginning of a new chapter".

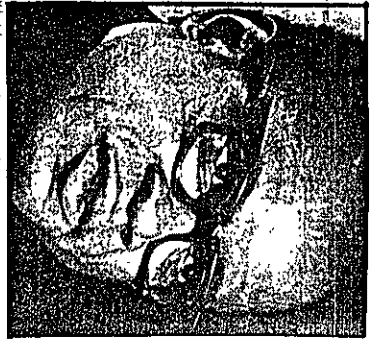
Mr Botha said the agreement was fundamentally an African wish to salute the Congolese president for the role he had played.

Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko has also played a pivotal role, he said.

Mr Botha said 30 years of conflict, war and isolation had not produced a solution and it had only been when negotiations started that there had been "light at the end of the tunnel".

"South Africa, he said, was ready to play its role in Southern Africa and is moving away from discrimination," he said, to loud applause.

Mr Botha told news



President Mobutu Sese Seko

Zaire's financial problems are frightening Utafa's Dr. Jonas Savimbi and his supporters, including South Africa, according to the Economist.

In a leading article on the Angola-SWA/Namibia talks, it points out that South Africa supplies for Utafa will have to stop when South Africa withdraws from the Caprivi Strip, leaving Utafa dependent on American supplies received through Zaire.

But Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko is deeply in debt and in default on his foreign loans.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London

"The Americans have long held their noses and subsidised his erratic regime," says the magazine. "Last week Mr Pk Bohra found Mr Mobutu more unsettled than usual because of a row with his main European supporters, the Belgians."

"Belgian newspapers have been saying that Mr Mobutu is a dictator which he is, and that he pockets aid money, which may also be true. The enraged president therefore refuses to service his Belgian debts."

On the wider issue of peace in Southern Africa, it concludes: "The South Africans' aid rules will disbar him from further American aid. If he were not paid, Utafa's guns would not get through Zaire. That scares Dr Savimbi and his supporters, especially South Africa."

The journal adds that Dr Savimbi has been getting American help since 1974 and is liked in America's Congress. Recent visitors have noted that fewer of his supplies are South African and more American.

"The United States and Russia want to show that cooperative peacemaking can be pulled off in this part of the world. Namibia can yet be free of South African soldiers, and all Southern Africa of Cuban ones."



Dr. Jonas Savimbi

## Signing is 'best news in a long time'

THE signing of the Brazzaville protocol is "the best news I have heard in a long time," said the chairman of the Cabinet in Windhoek's transitional government, Mr Andreas Shipanga.

Mr Shipanga, Minister of Mines in the administration, said he believed independence for SWA/Namibia was closer now than at any other time in the past.

The Finance Minister and DTA leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, said Namibians should be under no illusions that resolution 435 was not going to happen.

In Washington, the signing has been hailed by the United States government as a choice for peace.

Officials made a point of praising Moscow's help in clinching the peace deal and expressed the hope that the Russians would help reconcile Angola's MPLA regime and the Utafa movement.

The officials also sought to reassure conservatives in Washington that they would not end military support for Utafa as long as the Soviet Union continued to send huge arms supplies to the MPLA.

"It has been a long and often frustrating effort, but the reward — peace in south-western Africa — has been worth the extraordinary effort and dedication of those who have brought this

## negotiation to a successful conclusion."

The Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, sent a message of congratulation to the chief American mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, stating that Dr Crocker and his "superb negotiating team" achieved the agreement through creativity, energy and patient persistence.

Mr Shultz is expected to attend the ceremony in New York next Thursday when a formal tripartite agreement is signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola, and a separate agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops by Angola and Cuba. — Argus Africa News Service



Picture: PETER MOSEY, The Argus

**FLOWER POWER:** Posing with bouquets after the signing of the Brazzaville protocol are, from left: General Magnus Malan, South African Minister of Defence; Mr Pk Bohra, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dr Chester Crocker, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa; Mr Ricardo Alarcon, Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister; and General Antonio dos Santos Franca 'Ndatu, Angolan Minister of Defence.

## All systems go — UN man

ALL outstanding obstacles to the implementation of resolution 435 on SWA/Namibia independence have been resolved and the plan is ready to swing into action on April 1.

This is the view of the United Nations special representative, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, who said the April Fools' Day start to the job for which he has waited

10 years did not worry him.

"I'm not superstitious," said the Finnish UN man at yesterday's signing of the Brazzaville accord, which will activate his long-postponed role.

His view was later echoed by Foreign Minister Pk Bohra, who said any delays would not come from South Africa. — Argus Africa News Service

ment to be reached between Angola and Cuba and in consultation with the UN Secretary-General. It must

north of the 13th parallel, 550 km from the border seven months after implementation.

## 'Extraordinary effort and dedication'

for  
14/12/88

BY NEIL LURSSSEN  
The Star Bureau

(5)

WASHINGTON — The signing of the Brazzaville Protocol by South Africa, Cuba and Angola has been hailed by the United States government as a choice for peace.

US officials made a point of praising Moscow's help in clinching the peace deal — and expressed the hope that the Soviets would help reconcile Angola's MPLA regime and the Unita rebel movement.

The US officials also sought to reassure conservatives here that they would not end military support for Unita as long as the Soviets continued to send massive arms supplies to the MPLA.

"It has been a long and often frustrating effort, but the reward — peace in south-western Africa — has been worth the extraordinary effort and dedication of those who have brought this negotiation to a successful conclusion," US spokesman Mr Charles Redman said here.

The Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, sent a message of congratulations to the chief US mediator, Dr Chester Crocker, stating that Dr Crocker and his "superb negotiating team" accomplished the agreement through creativity, energy and patient persistence.

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gola, and a separate agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops by Angola and Cuba.

Dr Crocker is the hero of the Reagan administration this week for engineering a significant foreign policy success in the administration's closing weeks — but many in the American conservative movement do not share in the adulation.

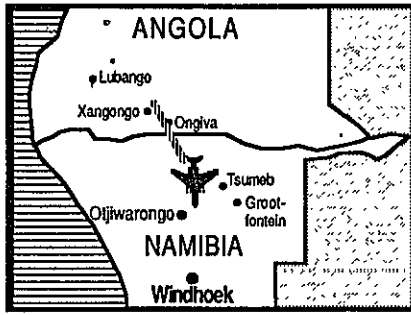
In a policy document issued this week, the Heritage Foundation, an influential Washington think-tank, accused Dr Crocker of naivete in trying to wean Mozambique's Frelimo regime away from Marxism, and urged the new Bush administration to support Unita until the MPLA and its Soviet and Cuban patrons realised the Angolan civil war was unwinnable.

Some conservative analysts are especially disturbed by the part of the agreement that leaves the withdrawal of the Cuban troops to an annexe signed by Cuba and Angola. They ask how these two communist regimes can be trusted.

In an apparent effort to ease the conservative fears, Mr Redman said here that Angola and Cuba had reaffirmed in the Brazzaville Protocol their commitment to reaching final agreement with the United Nations on a verification regime for the withdrawal of the Cuban troops by next Tuesday.

"Our policy of support for Unita remains unchanged ... it was never a bargaining chip on the negotiating table."

# I couldn't believe what I was seeing — farmer



By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

"I obviously could not believe what I was seeing when I drove up to the plane in our hayfield," said Mr Himrich Schneider-Waterberg, the Namibian farmer on whose farm a Soviet MiG 21 jet fighter landed yesterday afternoon.

Mr Schneider-Waterberg (26), who farms on his father's cattle ranch, Okosongomingo, 70 km from Otjiwarongo, followed the MiG in his car after he noticed it circling the farmhouse at about 2 pm before heading for a field 3 km away with its landing gear out. "Seeing this oke come out of this plane... Well, I had never met a black pilot in this country until then," he said.

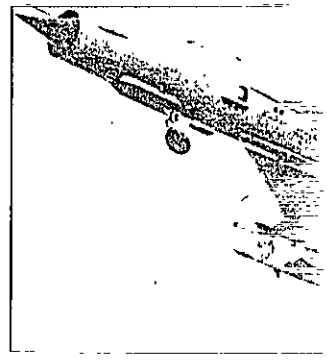
Mr Schneider-Waterberg found the pilot, a

bearded man aged about 30, walking along a farm road, and after the two spoke in mutually incomprehensible languages — English and Portuguese — he took the pilot to the farmhouse and gave him coffee and a meal. "He looked very pleasant, but we couldn't understand a word of what the other was saying. It was quite embarrassing."

The man was uninjured but "obviously had no idea where he was," said Mr Schneider-Waterberg.

Disbelieving local policemen were summoned, and they in turn called "the big brass in Windhoek," said Mr Schneider-Waterberg.

During the night soldiers moved on to the farm to guard the MiG, which lost at least one wheel in the emergency landing.



Jet fighter . . .

## Pik's offer to Angola made 'in spirit of peace, good'

# SA proposes pilot-for-POW

Star 14/12/88

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

South Africa offered today to exchange the Angolan pilot and the MiG-21 Russian strike aircraft which made an emergency landing in Namibia yesterday for Sergeant Johan Papefus, the South African soldier held in Cuba.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in an interview today the Government had made the offer in the spirit of goodwill created by the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol yesterday. The MiG pilot had not asked for political asylum.

Mr Botha said the South African Government would in the same spirit of goodwill and peace be prepared to arrange with the Angolan authorities for the return of the aircraft.

The pilot, accompanied by another MiG of the Angolan Air Force, had been lost in heavy cloud.

The second aircraft had turned back to Angola but the other had run out of fuel and been forced to make an emergency landing on a maize farm about 70 km from Otjiwarongo.

The landing was apparently fairly smooth and the aircraft was only slightly damaged.

Mr Botha said that to demonstrate South Africa's sincerity in wishing to establish peace in south-western Africa, the Government was prepared to exchange the pilot for Sergeant Papefus, who was captured by the Angolans while on military operations in that country earlier this year.

### Botha's triumph

Mr Botha said the Angolan government would be informed of the offer today.

He said he would propose that the pilot and Sergeant Papefus be exchanged during the ceremony at the signing of the Tripartite Agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba on December 22.

The agreement will be the formal peace treaty between the three countries, which will give authority to the Brazzaville Protocol for the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and for the independence of Namibia.

Senior South African diplomatic sources today described the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol as South Africa's biggest diplomatic triumph in modern times.

The accord was the fruit of months of intensive negotiations on three continents and of eight years of the constructive engagement policy of the Reagan administration.

South African diplomats were particularly excited at the way Mr Pik Botha's speech to a large audience of African dignitaries at the signing ceremony had been received.

One senior diplomat said the Minister had been rapturously received both in public and in private.

The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister in charge of southern Africa, Mr Anatoli Adamishin, is also understood to have complimented the Minister privately for his speech.

Diplomatic sources said today the signing of the protocol and Mr Botha's speech had opened new doors for South Africa in Africa.



Goodbye to the Cubans . . . Angolan Defence Minister General Ndolu signs the protocol that will result in the departure of Cuban troops from Angola.

## Namibia still faces problems

Star 14/12/88

Political Correspondent

The way has been cleared for Namibia's independence, but huge administrative problems still have to be overcome, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today.

South Africa had completed its work with regard to the process of independence for the territory, and it was now up to the United Nations to set up the mechanism for achieving independence, he said in an interview.

"Unless something unforeseen happens, Namibia will get its independence," he said, speaking after yesterday's signing of the Brazzaville Protocol.

The agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola regulated the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and set the start date for United Nations plans for Namibian independence at April 1 next year.

The protocol will be formally concluded in a peace treaty to be signed by the three countries in New York on December 22.

The United Nations plan for Namibia's independence, embodied in Security Council Resolution 435, provides for independence elections in the territory seven months after he start date — which would put the election late at November 1 1989.

In the run-up to the elections, South Africa would be required to begin its withdrawal of troops from the territory.

According to South African



Historic moment . . . Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha signs the Brazzaville Protocol.

## Finance Minister was asked to help Vermaas

Star 14/12/88

Pretoria Correspondent

Lawyer Mr Albert Vermaas of Pretoria asked Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis last month to intervene in Reserve Bank investigations into his financial activities.

The Harms Commission was told in Pretoria yesterday that the interview between the two was organised by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha at Mr Vermaas's request.

A statement by Mr Botha, which was read to the commission, said he had used Mr Vermaas and his overseas contacts to combat economic boycotts against South Africa.

Mr Vermaas's aircraft from Chieftain Air — he owns the company — were used for official trips by Department of Foreign Affairs officials and to carry State guests. On three occasions, Chieftain Air planes were used to transport delegates to Brazzaville for

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# hat I was seeing — farmer

By Claire Robertson,  
Pretoria Bureau

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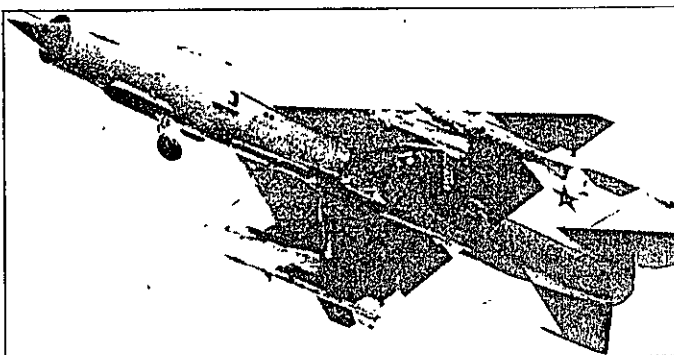
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Jet fighter... a version of the MiG 21.

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Star 14/12/88

By David Braun,  
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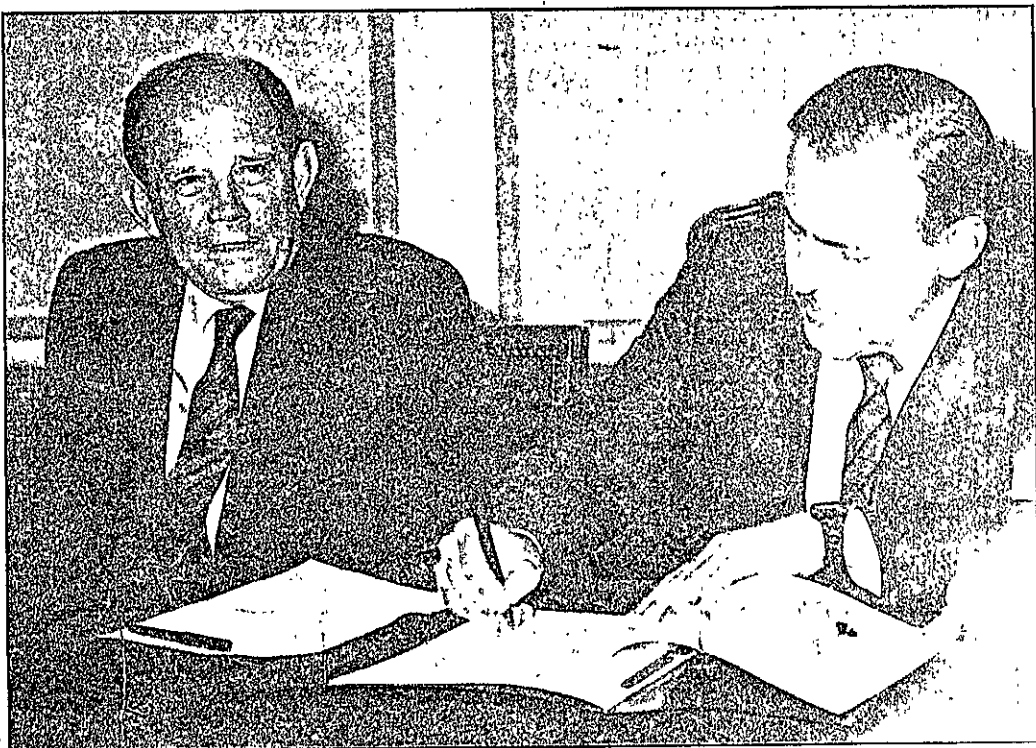
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Historic moment... Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha signs the Brazzaville Protocol, watched by General Magnus Malan.

## Finance Minister was asked to help Vermaas

Pretoria Correspondent

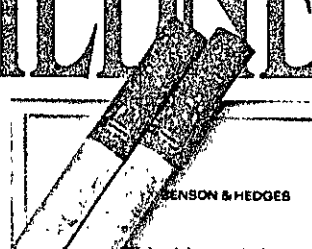
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# MOVE TO MILDNESS



# SA signs protocol that sets April 1 as date for the freedom of Namibia

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Sowetan  
14/12/88

# D-DAY

## Countdown to independence

● From Page 1  
invitation to be extended to any independent Namibian government to join as a full member.

Under an annex to the agreement, the joint commission is designed to "facilitate resolution of any dispute over either the interpretation or implementation of the tripartite agreement by any of the parties establishing the joint commission."

Under the timetable agreed for the Cuban

withdrawal, 25 000 troops, 50 percent of the total Cuban force, is to be out of Angola by the date set for UN supervised elections to be held in Namibia, seven months from the 'D' Day trigger date.

Twelve months after 'D' Day 33 000 Cubans, 66 percent of the total, should be withdrawn with 38 000 having left 18 months after "D' Day.

All the Cubans are scheduled to have left by 27 months after "D' Day.

In addition 3 000

Cubans are scheduled to leave before "D" Day.

All the Cubans are to be withdrawn northwards to above the 15th parallel, roughly 300km from the Namibian border, within four months of "D" Day, and above the 13th parallel, 550km from the border after seven months from "D" Day.

The protocol was signed for South Africa by both the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

### SOWETAN REPORTER

#### BRAZZA VILLE

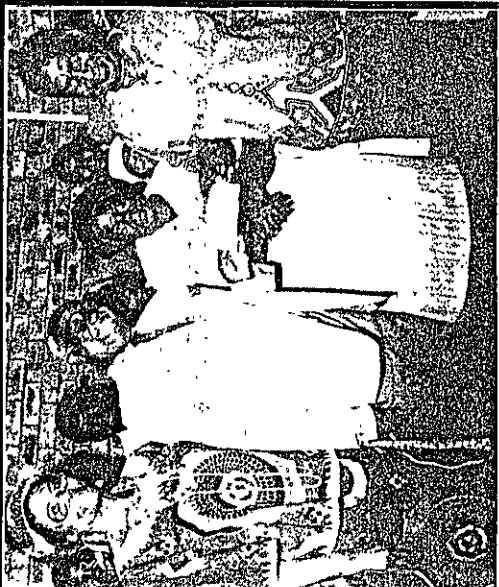
— South Africa yesterday signed a four-point protocol here with Angola and Cuba that set April 1 as the trigger date for implementation of UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

The protocol detailed a timetable for a complete Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola within 27 months of the trigger date.

### Invited

The three countries agreed to meet in New York on December 22 this year to formally sign a tripartite agreement, on which date they will also exchange "prisoners of war." A joint commission is to be set up consisting of South Africa, Angola, Cuba, and with the US and USSR invited to join as "observers," with an

● To Page 2



Mr ZEPHANIA Mothopeng, the Pan Africanist Congress leader who was recently released from jail, yesterday donated R2 000 to the Soweto Old Age Home. Mr Mothopeng, (extreme right) and his wife, Urbama (left), presented the cheque to the residents of the home.

The money donated was given to Mr Mothopeng by the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Gataha Buthelezi, as the "cleansing" money on his visit last week to Johannesburg. On donating the money, that was a gift to him, Mr Mothopeng said: "I am giving the aged this money because they need it more than I do."

Zeph Mothopeng donates R2 000

Sowetan 14/12/88

to aged

**CHRISTMAS BARGAINS**

**SUPER SMART**

FOR FRAMEUP & MART

**ECONOMY ENAMEL PAINT**  
(5 litre - white)

**75**

**Park Avenue Glasses**  
Set of 6

**KITCHEN STOOLS**

**Baby Walking Ring**

**Baby Walking Ring**



# Peace pact will spark chain of actions in five countries

By GERALD L'ANGE of the Argus Africa News Service

THE signing of the Brazzaville Protocol will have a domino effect, triggering a chain of actions in South Africa, SWA/Namibia, Angola, Cuba and America.

These events will culminate in SWA/Namibia gaining its independence next year and in the departure from Angola of the Cuban troops, who have had a major impact on the military balance in Southern Africa and the politics of the sub-continent.

The key date now is April 1, the start of the independence process set out in Security Council resolution 435. Nearly all the other actions will be tied to that date.

But before then several important preliminaries must be dealt with.

The next move will be a meeting in New York on December 22 at which South Africa, Angola and Cuba will sign a tripartite agreement putting the final seal on the Brazzaville pact.

By January 22 a five-nation joint commission will be set up to monitor implementation of the agreement.

Possibly before then, but certainly shortly thereafter, the UN Security Council will meet in New York to endorse the pact.

By February at the latest, and possibly as early as next

month, the blue-helmeted United Nations troops who will monitor the implementation of resolution 435 and their backup civilian group, Untag, will start flying to Windhoek before dispersing throughout SWA/Namibia. They will need at least six weeks to get into position to begin their job on April 1.

They will immediately start monitoring the first stage in the 435 implementation process, which is a "general cessation of hostile acts" and the confinement to base of all South African forces in SWA/Namibia and all Swapo forces which are said to be based in the territory.

The UN force will also start patrolling the border with Angola to prevent infiltration, which has never been specified but is presumed to include stopping unauthorised deployment of Swapo combatants in SWA/Namibia.

At the same time there will be a general release of political prisoners, presumably including the several hundred dissidents reported to be held by Swapo in Angola.

The Cubans will evacuate a token 3 000 of their 55 000-odd troops in Angola before April 1. From that date the South Africans will start withdrawing their estimated 50 000 troops and by May 14 the

number will be down to 12 000.

The UN special representative, Mr Maarti Ahtisaari, who will establish himself in Windhoek from April 1, and will publish the rules for the independence election.

SWA/Namibian exiles will start returning under UN supervision. All racially discriminatory laws will be repealed. Citizen Force, commando and ethnic military units will be disbanded and their arms and ammunition placed under Untag's control.

The Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, Mr Louis Pienaar, will be working closely with Mr Ahtisaari in implementing 435. They will jointly decide whether any commandos or other local armed forces will be deployed for any reason necessary for the implementation of 435.

By June 11 the South African Defence Force presence will be down to 8 000 men and all political prisoners will have been freed.

By June 25 the SADF forces will have been reduced to 1 500.

All SADF bases along the border will by now be "deactivated" or put under civilian control and UN supervision.

By the end of July all the Cuban troops in Angola will have been moved north of the 15th parallel, about 300 km north of the border.

On June 25 the election campaign will officially begin and will continue for about four months, taking it up to about October 15.

By the end of October the Cuban troops will have been moved north of the 13th parallel, 550km from the border, and by the date of the election 25 000 of the Cuban troops will be out of Angola.

The actual date of the election, which will be for a constituent assembly, will be decided on by Mr Pienaar in consultation with Mr Ahtisaari. A week after the certification of the election result the constituent assembly will be convened to start drawing up a constitution for SWA/Namibia.

The timetable for the independence process is vague at this point but appears to envisage no more than two months for the assembly to produce a constitution.

Formal independence for the country will follow immediately thereafter but there is still uncertainty on several important points, notably whether the majority group in the constituent assembly will automatically form the

government or whether another election will be held to elect a parliament.

In some South African circles the view is that a second election will be necessary. Either way, SWA/Namibia's independence is now assured and by next Christmas it could already be a member of the United Nations and of the Organisation of African Unity.

The Cuban troop withdrawal will continue after independence. By April, 1990, 33 000, or 66 percent of the total, will have been withdrawn and by September of that year the number withdrawn will have reached 38 000.

The last Cuban troops will be out of Angola by March, 1991, by which time SWA/Namibia will have been independent for more than a year.

In the meantime, however, Angola's MPLA regime will have had to wrestle with the problem of what to do about Unita, whose challenge to the MPLA was what brought the Cubans into Angola in the first place and which has vowed to keep fighting until the MPLA agrees to peace talks.

The international attention that has been focused on getting independence for SWA/Namibia, will now switch increasingly to effecting reconciliation in Angola.

# Protocol — stand by for domino effect . . .



Mr. Maarti Ahtisaari



Mr. Louis Pienaar

# The MIG 21 which crashed in Namibia



Staff Reporter 5  
15/12/85

This is the first picture of the Angolan Air Force MIG 21 fighter plane which landed in a farm near Otjiwarongo in northern Namibia on Tuesday — several hundred kilometres from the Angolan border.

The pilot, a black man, was not injured and it is hoped he will be taken to New York on December 22 for a possible prisoner swap for Sergeant Johan Pappentus, now being held as a POW in Cuba.

The peace treaty between Angola, Cuba and South Africa is expected to be signed in New York on the same day.

According to Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, South Africa did not shoot down the Mig, one of two lost Angolan planes, because the Air Force was acting in the "spirit" of the Brazzaville Protocol, the forerunner of the formal peace agreement.

General Malan said both planes were monitored on radar.

Star 15/12/88

(5)

## Dos Santos offers amnesty to rebels

LUSAKA — The Angolan government will soon pass an amnesty law and commute death sentences for its opponents to try to hasten the end of the country's 13-year-old civil war, Angolan national radio said on Tuesday.

The radio, monitored in Lusaka, quoted a speech by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to the country's Defence and Security Council on Monday in which he said the government would be concentrating its attention on restoring peace to Angola.

The broadcast coincided with the signing of the Brazzaville peace protocol.

In a clear reference to Unita rebels, who have fought a guerilla war against his government since Angolan independence from Portugal in 1975, Mr dos Santos said:

"There is a group of Angolans who have turned to arms and war to overthrow the government with outside help. But practice and history have proved that this choice is wrong."

He added: "It is not too late to correct this error."

Mr dos Santos said the government would promulgate a law granting amnesty to political opponents who renounced violence and turned themselves in to the authorities.

It would also commute death sentences already passed.

The statement was one of the most detailed made by the Angolan president on how his government intended to achieve national reconciliation after making peace with South Africa.

Mr dos Santos said the amnesty would be open to those who agreed to respect the country's laws and constitution and pledge allegiance to his MPLA government.

The Soviet-backed government has refused to negotiate a power-sharing agreement with the Unita rebels led by Dr Jonas Savimbi — the solution favoured by the United States, South Africa and several pro-Western African governments.

Mr dos Santos has already said that his administration, like many others in Africa, favours a one-party system.

Dr Savimbi says there will be no peace without an agreement to incorporate Unita.

The Angolan government is pressing Washington and Pretoria to halt their military support for the rebels.

The US administration says it will continue to aid Unita as long as the Angolan government receives arms from the Soviet Union. — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 15/1/88

## Praise for choosing the 'path to peace' (5)

LONDON — The southern African accord on Angola and Namibia received widespread welcome yesterday with the signatories praised for choosing the "path of peace".

"This is a further welcome step in the long road to a settlement in south-western Africa," Britain's Foreign Office said.

The Brazzaville Protocol "culminates years of hard work", US State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman said.

"The parties have chosen a path of peace and the way is now clear for the signature of the tripartite agreement which will bring to an end the international conflict in south-western Africa," he said.

West German Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher said the accord marked "decisive progress in Namibia's movement towards internationally recognised independence. The Soviet Union also used its influence for a positive outcome of the negotiations."

The Angolan rebel movement Unita, the key player excluded from the peace talks, welcomed the pact but vowed to step up its guerilla war unless Angola agreed to negotiate.

The agreement is to be ratified at a formal meeting in New York on Thursday next week.  
Sapa.

MGWS 18/12/88

# Angola agreement big blow to ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has been dealt a heavy blow with the signing of a peace agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The price South Africa had to pay for this appears to be the severing of direct military support for Unita.

An informal understanding between South Africa and Angola concerning the ANC and Unita apparently formed an integral part of the Brazzaville Protocol agreed to by the two countries and Cuba this week.

According to diplomatic and security sources it is clearly understood that an implicit part of their agreement is ending all direct aid by Angola to the ANC and by South Africa to Unita.

## Understanding

The understanding is apparently embodied in the New York Principles agreed to earlier by the three countries and which is ratified by the Brazzaville Protocol.

Diplomatic and security sources say that although this agreement does not say it explicitly, all the parties understand that it means direct support for Unita and the ANC must be

cut once the trilateral agreement formally adopting the Brazzaville Protocol is signed by the three countries in New York next week.

South African security sources say the understanding reached with Angola is a major setback for the ANC. Angola is expected to honour the understanding for fear that Pretoria could retaliate by giving Unita bases in South Africa.

● At the United Nations talks resumed on measures for verifying the withdrawal of Cuban troops. A UN spokesman said details still had to be worked out for the signing of the final agreement.

The Security Council is expected to be called into session next week to consider sending UN military observers to Angola.

● In Luanda, Swapo welcomed the signing of the Brazzaville agreement and pledged its readiness to play its part in Namibia's transition to independence.

It was ready to proceed with the implementation of Resolution 435 and to play its "leading role" in moves to independence. — Political Correspondent, The Argus Foreign Service and Argus Africa News Service.

## Angolan pilot 'inexperienced, lost'

The Argus Correspondent  
PRETORIA. — The Angolan pilot of the MiG21 jet fighter which landed in Namibia this week was clearly inexperienced, probably completely lost, and had no hostile intentions, according to the South African Defence Force.

Asked whether the Air Force had been prepared to intercept the MiG21 as it strayed more than 300km into Namibian airspace on Tuesday afternoon, a SADF spokesman said:

"The Defence Force knew he had exceeded the operating range of his aircraft. Therefore he could not have returned to Angola because of insufficient fuel.

"The Defence Force was fully aware of the movements of the aircraft, including its flight path, because it was tracked on radar for a long time and the pilot's radio transmissions were monitored.

"From this it was clear he was inexperienced and probably completely lost and confused because of the thick cloud base.

"From all these facts it was obvious that the aircraft posed no threat, had no hostile intentions and would be forced to land."

The plane landed in a hay field on a cattle ranch about 70km from Otjiwarongo in northern Namibia.

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# Brazzaville Pact seen as heavy blow to ANC and Unita operations

star 15/12/88  
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By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The African National Congress has been dealt a heavy blow with the signing of a peace agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The price for this, however, appears to be the severing of direct military support for Unita.

An informal understanding between South Africa and Angola concerning the ANC and Unita appears to have been an integral part of the Brazzaville Protocol agreed to between the two countries and Cuba earlier this week.

### CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD

According to diplomatic and security sources, it is clearly understood by the three countries that an implicit part of their agreement is a cessation of all direct assistance by Angola to the ANC and by South Africa to Unita.

The understanding is apparently embodied in the New York Principles agreed earlier by the three, and is ratified by the Brazzaville Protocol.

South African security sources say the understanding reached with Angola is a major setback for the ANC, provided that Angola can be relied upon to carry out its part of the bargain.

Effectively, they say, Angola and South Africa have come to an Nkomati Accord-type agreement which prevents either side from supporting actions or movements aimed at undermining each other's security.

South African security sources say

the ANC moved its most important forward training bases to Angola after the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

According to South African intelligence, the ANC operates at least eight bases or facilities in Angola.

Not all of them are used for the direct training of insurgents but include transit bases for political indoctrination and for accommodation for trainees en route to East Germany, detention camps for dissidents and suspected South African agents, creches, stores, a hospital and a farm supplying pork and vegetables to the other bases.

Security sources say the loss of these facilities would undoubtedly be a blow to the ANC as Angola currently accommodates the movement's most important training and forward bases.

They say the understanding between Angola and South Africa excludes the normal international conventions regarding refugees, and bases accommodating such people would remain.

### EASILY MONITORED

South Africa would easily be in a position to monitor Angola's commitment to the understanding, they say, because the high capture rate of ANC operatives in SA would soon yield updated information with regards to their origin and places of training.

South African sources expect Angola will honour the understanding for fear that Pretoria could retaliate by giving Unita bases in South Africa.

● See Page 6.

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THE ERA OF PRAGMATISM DAWNS OVER THE CONGO RIVER ... ALBEIT, ONLY FOR A DAY

# The other reality behind the effusive Soviet praise

JUST before the French champagne began to flow and the calypso band struck up in celebration of this week's signing of the Brazzaville Protocol, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin stood up to speak. It was a key moment in the proceedings.

Addressing the assembled celebrants in the Congo's Palace of the People, he lauded the "brilliant achievements of our friends from Angola and Cuba" — as well as United States mediator Chester Crocker — in securing the promise of peace for Angola and independence for Namibia. More surprisingly, he praised the South African government. His brief eulogy contained an unmistakable *double entendre* but his words nonetheless spoke eloquently of the seriousness of recent geopolitical shifts in the sub-continent and beyond.

The era of pragmatism over regional conflicts in Africa came of age on Tuesday, hastened along by a sudden meeting of minds between the superpowers. Both are simply sick and tired of expensive, internationally inconsequential local conflicts, and have agreed to put an end to them.

Cold War point-scoring has given way to co-operative cost-cutting, making obduracy too expensive for regional adversaries.

There's still no love lost between Southern Africa's erstwhile antagonists but all have accepted that they have to deal with each other. Hence

the grudging mutual praise all round. "I cannot fail to point out," said Adamishin, "the reasonable position finally adopted by the Republic of South Africa." The sub-text of his message was surely that a recalcitrant Pretoria had been successfully forced to the negotiating table — but now it was time for business.

South African Foreign Minister Pk Botha responded in kind: "One can hardly imagine two governments that differ so much as those of South Africa and Cuba," he said, "and yet eventually we sat around the same table and talked until today there is a Protocol that could be signed in Brazzaville."

Then, after thanking the US, Congo and Zaire for their "major efforts", he added: "We are not yet certain what role the Soviet Union played but whatever it was, it was not disturbing." The praise may have been faint but it was not damning.

Angola's defence chief and government minister, General Antonio dos Santos Franca N'Dalou, also believed a "new era of peace in southern Africa" beckoned; and Cu-

plenty of people were taking the praise for peace in Angola this week, but the real credit must go to the new cost-cutting philosophies of the superpowers.

*Own Correspondent, Brazzaville*

ban signatory Riccardo Alarcon, Havana's vice-minister of foreign affairs, said "we can begin to look at a new future ... not because it is due to our diplomatic skills but for far deeper reasons". He too was aware of the shifts which have occurred with such extraordinary speed.

N'Dalou added that: "We have also succeeded in fostering conditions so that members of the Southern African community will (accept the principle) of sovereignty and non-interference in the region."

Alarcon said the Protocol "means a people (the Namibians) with so much courage will finally be allowed to be free and live a life in peace. And the

people of Angola, who have been subjected to the forces of oppression for centuries and for 13 years to a cruel war, only now will be able to enjoy peace."

But was United Nations Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari, who has been pursuing Namibian independence for 10 years, who came straight out with the key to this sudden, across-the-board and apparently durable sense of confidence about a regional settlement.

"I thank (Congolese) President Denis Sassou Nguesso for keeping the pressure on the people who are standing here in front of us today," he said. No-one doubted that he was using Nguesso as a symbol of the broader, pivotal international pressure which has brought conflict to within sight of resolution.

Thus whatever the problems — and they will be manifold — cropping up between now and the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 in Namibia next year, the seal on something irrevocable was set in Brazzaville on Tuesday.

Crocker called it "a case study in

co-operative superpower effort to solve regional conflicts", and returned the praise of "our Soviet counterparts" ... although "there were some differences between us, and we played different roles."

"We have been realists," he said, "accepting that solutions can only be based on the concrete historical realities of the situation. This is the approach that gives confidence. It is the approach that works."

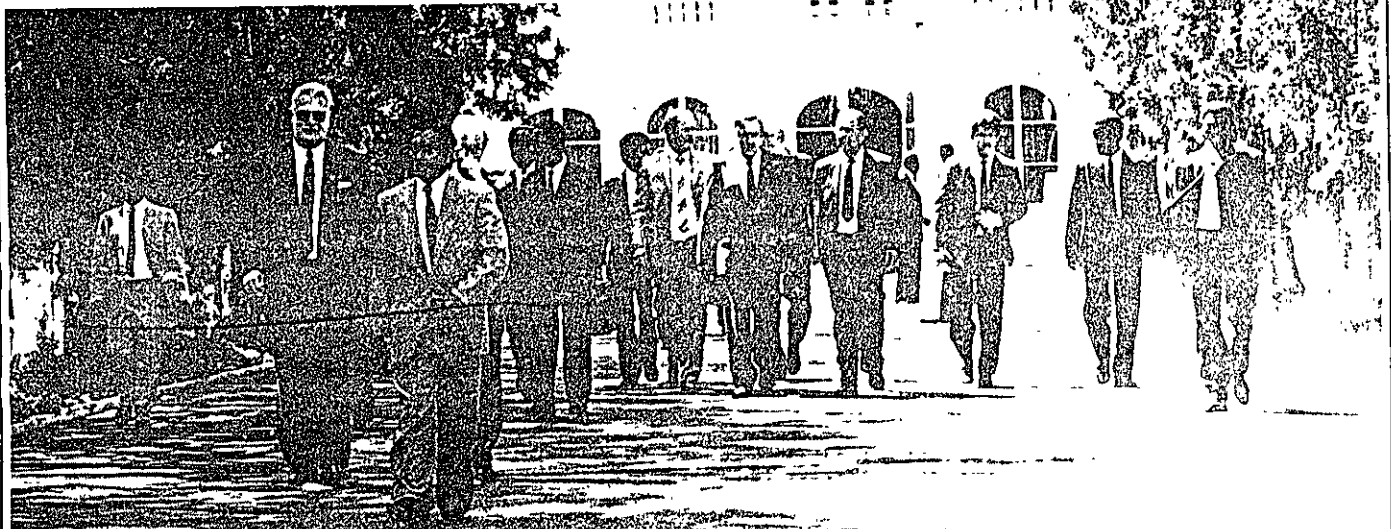
● In terms of the Brazzaville Protocol signed on Tuesday, April 1 1989 has been set as "D-Day" for the beginning of the Namibian independence process in terms of UN Resolution 435 of 1978.

The negotiating parties will meet in New York later this month to sign the formal tripartite agreement, and the verification of the Cuban troop withdrawal will be finalised in conjunction with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

In addition, prisoners of war will be exchanged, and a "joint commission" will be established to deal with problems which may arise from the "interpretation and implementation" of the tripartite agreement.

The schedule for the withdrawal of the 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola falls into five stages which will take 27 months from "D-Day".

Namibian independence elections can confidently be expected towards the end of next year, November being the likeliest month.



Champagne and calypso time: Foreign and Defence Ministers Botha and Malan stroll to a garden party after signing the Brazzaville Protocol

IF Pk Botha has a favourite city outside South Africa, it's just gotta be Brazzaville.

It was in the first city of the Peoples' Republic of the Congo this week that South Africa's Foreign Minister made his bid for acceptance in Africa — and for a reputation as an international statesman.

What he later described as "one of the most memorable days of my life" began with a dramatic announcement over the public address system of the appropriately named South African Airways Boeing 737 "Limpopo".

"This is Foreign Minister Pk Botha," he told journalists high above Lumumbashi in Zaire, and proceeded to read out the historic peace protocol to be signed on arrival in the Congo.

"This was considered to be impossible some eight months ago," he said, with unmistakable delight at the ending of South Africa's troublesome 73-year-old administration of Namibia.

Subsequent events served only to improve the humour of the Nationalist politician most insistent about his "Africanness".

The signing ceremony made diplomatic bedfellows of the most incompatible of governments; and gave Botha a platform he could only have dreamed of before. And he set out to exploit it to the full.

Brazzaville was a fitting symbolic setting for Botha's *intermezzo*. Indeed, the city can lay persuasive claim to the title of Africa's capital of compromise.

The laid-back, steaming, franco-phone sprawl on the northern bank of the Congo River hosted the partial, and probably temporary, rehabilitation of Africa's most loathed government. Never mind the fact that this had more to do with *realpolitik* than with a change of African hearts, it was an experience which Botha will long savour.

The stylish ambience of the Congo gave him the opening. Even the political banners which festoon the highway leading into the capital have a nonchalant air. One reads (in French): "Apartheid is a scourge, and

## Brother Pik soars above the Congo

As one foreign correspondent remarked, watching Pk Botha dance around Brazzaville, 'bet he wishes there was an election this week'.

*Own Correspondent, Brazzaville*

must be eradicated before the end of the twentieth century." As a journalist was quick to comment, even the Commonwealth countries set the time limit at six months.

When his turn came to speak at midday on Tuesday, Botha laid it on thick to the variety of African dignitaries at the signing ceremony. Pausing meaningfully between impassioned intonations, he gazed across the Palace of the People, an elegant, understated former French governor's residence.

"This is fundamentally an African agreement," he said.

Africa "needs peace and understanding," he went on, "we all have tremendous problems. We were never given the opportunity to catch up with the industrialised powers. The time has come for all of us in Africa to stand together economically."

"Mr President (Congo's Denis Sassou Nguesso), if we don't, we will never catch up and the industrialised nations won't care. I predict it here today as your brother."

The Namibian problem had "started with the Germans," Botha informed the audience, "but it will not help us to dwell in history."

He brought Africa the "good wishes" of the State President of South Africa. "My country stands ready to play its role in southern Africa and in Africa. We know a very important conference takes place in Casablanca tomorrow. We know that our brothers there will struggle and wrestle with our (African) problems. "My president sends his best wishes to that conference."

Then he made his direct plea for inclusion. "A new era has begun (in South Africa). My government is removing racial discrimination."

He was inspired by the applause: "We want to be accepted by our African brothers ... And Mr President, for this wonderful opportunity to be with my African brothers."

Defence Minister Magnus Malan, towering above the Angolan and Cuban signatories, remained impassive.

Botha clung to the initiative right up to the end of proceedings. The final speaker, a Congolese minister, ended his speech with a shout of "Vive la *Indépendance de Namibia!*"

With the applause still ringing around the palace, Botha strode purposefully up to the grim-looking Angolans and Cubans, and shook their hands. It was the first — and only — direct contact between the parties to the protocol, and Botha could claim it as his own.

"Bet he wishes there was a presidential election in South Africa next week," remarked a foreign correspondent.



# Savimbi <sup>5</sup> urges truce — will not attack Cubans

ARGUS 16/12/88

The Argus Foreign Service

LISBON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has pledged that his forces will not attack Cuban troops withdrawing from Angola and has called for an immediate ceasefire and negotiations with the government in Luanda.

"We guarantee that our armed forces will not attack the Cuban forces leaving our country on condition that we are not attacked," Dr Savimbi said in a statement distributed in Lisbon.

Angola, Cuba and South Africa reached agreement on Tuesday on a US-mediated accord linking independence for Namibia to a pullout of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Dr Savimbi's Unita rebels are not a party to the agreement. Dr Savimbi, who has fought the country's Marxist government for 13 years, called for an immediate ceasefire accompanied by direct talks between the warring Angolan sides.

The Luanda government has promised amnesty to rebels who surrender but has repeatedly said it would not negotiate with Dr Savimbi.

Calling for the formation of a "transitional government of national unity" to prepare for elections within two years, Dr Savimbi reaffirmed Unita's commitment to a multi-party democratic system of government with a "parliamentary political opposition and a free Press", the statement said.

In another development, the government of Portugal — Angola's former colonial ruler — yesterday welcomed the Brazzaville accord as a decisive step towards peace.

● Angola has claimed that Angolan troops killed 62 Unita rebels for the loss of 12 men in the week leading up to Tuesday's peace settlement. The claim was made through Angop, the official Angolan news agency.

# Bases not part of deal, says ANC

The Star's Africa News Service

Star 10/12/87

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has denied any knowledge of a pact or understanding between South Africa and Angola that would lead to the dismantling of ANC bases in Angola following the signing of

the Brazzaville Protocol. The ANC in Lusaka said that while there had been many rumours to the effect that ANC bases had been sacrificed as part of the Brazzaville deal, the organisation had yet to be informed of any such deal by the Angolan government.

# Castro confirms accord <sup>Star 1/12/88</sup> 5

MEXICO CITY — Cuban President Fidel Castro yesterday confirmed that 3 000 Cuban troops will leave Angola by April 1 and that the 50 000-strong Cuban force will withdraw within 30 months under a US-brokered peace accord, according to the Prensa Latina news agency monitored in Mexico City.

President Castro said 3 000 troops would be pulled out of Angola between December 22, when the South-West Africa independence agreement is to be signed, and April 1, when independence takes effect.

Angola, Cuba and South Africa on Tuesday

signed an agreement to withdraw the troops over a period of 30 months, half of them before November 1 — the date set for electing a national assembly in South-West Africa.

The agreement will be formalised in treaty form on December 22 in New York.

"We have negotiated in all seriousness to reach a serious accord," President Castro was quoted as saying at the close of a Communist Party Central Committee meeting in Havana.

President Castro added that "if the results achieved in the military field were great, so too were those achieved in

the diplomatic field, constituting one of the most important accomplishments of the year."

Under the treaty, Cuba obtained "sought-after objectives without spilling more blood that would have been needed to resolve the difficult military situation".

"Now, we have to think of attending to those comrades who are returning and pay them the homage that they deserve," President Castro said.

Cuba sent troops to Angola in 1975 to help the Marxist government fight invading South African troops and US-backed rebels of Unita. — Sapa-AP.

# South-West Sambo!

BRAZIL is to play a leading role in Namibian independence and the phased withdrawal of the 50 000 Cubans from Angola.

The Brazilian Government has accepted a request by UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar to lead the special commission which will supervise the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as from April 1 1989. It was announced here.

The Brazilians will send a total of 16, including a brigadier general who will take up the command of the international commission.

Informal sources have also revealed that Brazilian president Jose Sarney will probably go on a four-day official visit to Angola during the second half of January to discuss stronger economic relations between the two countries now the war has ended.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday that representatives from Spain, Sweden, India and the Congo would form the bulk of the monitoring team. In the UN Secretary-General's staff will also start behind-the-scenes discussions on the composition of the 6,000-member UN force which will move into Namibia on D-day, April 1 1989, to oversee the Namibian elections.

Since UN resolution 435 was passed in 1974, two UN tag commanders-in-chief - General Hans Philipp, of Austria, and General Prem Chand of India - have been appointed, but both required



Cuban President Eduardo dos Santos, with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, on arrival at Havana airport for a four-day visit to Cuba.

## By BRIGS VAN HEEDEN in Pretoria and WIM VAN VOULSEM in Rio de Janeiro

before they could lead their forces into Windhoek. Unlag must still be one of the hardest nuts to crack in the next few months.

A senior diplomat said it was obvious South Africa should be satisfied with the countries from which Unlag members would be drawn. It was expected objections would be raised against the

inclusion of soldiers from the East and African countries such as Nigeria, which had been openly hostile towards SA.

The joint UN operations in Namibia and Angola will be among the most comprehensive and costliest ever undertaken by the world body.

Ten years ago it was estimated the budget for the seven-month operation would exceed R25-million. The UN has asked for a R1-billion today. Member countries will have to foot the bill.

What distinguishes Namibia from similar UN tasks - forces in Lebanon or Cyprus - is the vastness of the territory that has to be monitored, the difficult terrain, the scarcity of water and inadequate infrastructure.

A UN advance team has already visited Windhoek to scout out possible accommodation and draw up a preliminary map of the area. UN forces are expected to take over most of the military facilities vacated by the withdrawing SA military.

Unlag will have military and civilian components. It should be fully deployed by June 24 - four months before election day.

The military component will monitor the cessation of hostilities by all parties, the restriction of SA and Swapo armed forces to their bases and the phased withdrawal of most of the SA soldiers.

## Soviets softening their stand on SA

Sunday Times Reporter Moscow

In the light of President Mikhail Gorbachev's proclaimed policy of gradual withdrawal from Third World trouble spots, official Soviet attitudes towards southern Africa have become notably more pragmatic and ideologically flexible.

Aratoli Adamshin, a Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister who handles sub-Saharan Africa, epitomized the new pragmatic approach in a speech in South Africa) are also expressed by the apartheid regimes, by their isolation from most other countries, and are looking for ways of ending it."

His remarks came close to an appeal for ending an all-round boycott of South Africa, though he said that diplomatic and trade links would remain out.

Speaking enthusiastically about the recently signed agreement designed to end South Africa's rule over Namibia, remove 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, and end the civil war there, he said the regional settlement of a peaceful political resolution of South Africa's internal problems.

Although Mr Adamshin gave no indication that the Soviet Union was contemplating an early withdrawal from Africa and asserted his government's total opposition to apartheid, he endorsed the new Soviet policy of encouraging personal contact with white liberals.

He mentioned an unprecedented recent visit to South Africa by an L'Espresso reporter, who wrote three balanced articles.

Boris Asoyan, a Soviet expert on African affairs, received a stream of South African visitors, including some close to the Government, during an assignment in the summer of 1987. He was to Lesotho earlier this year, implying that part Soviet

## No threat so SADF just kept track of lost Migs

By DE WET POTGIETER

SOUTH AFRICAN fighter planes remained on the ground this week while two Angolan Mig 21 fighters invaded Namibian airspace.

One of them eventually flew at low level for more than 20 minutes before landing on a farm near Otjivero.

Claiming that there was no reason for SA Mirage's to intercept the enemy plane, a SADF spokesman said a large number of the aircraft were intercepted and showed no hostile intentions.

Soon after the Angolan pilot was captured, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha announced that he would be taken to New York for talks on a prisoner exchange if China agreed to discuss the position of Private Johan Pappas held in Hanan SA prison.

Although the SADF spokesman declined to give any details of its early warning intercept.

The spokesman also claimed the Mig had exceeded its operating range and therefore could not return to Angola because of insufficient fuel.

He declined to confirm whether South African planes were put on standby or had any orders for a possible interception.

## Patrol

It will also patrol the Namibia/Angola border and take over the protection of installations such as hospitals, roads, water works and power lines now guarded by the SA military.

Unlag will consist of seven command battalions, engineering, logistic and air support elements.

ARGUS 19/12/81

# Angolan pilot terrified of capture by Unita troops

Argus Africa News Service  
WINDHOEK. — The Angolan pilot who crash-landed his MiG-21 jet fighter on a farm in northern Namibia last week at first feared he was in Unita territory and that he would be tortured and killed.

A Windhoek newspaper, the Times of Namibia, reported that the Angolan flyer, First-Lieutenant Domingo Jose de Almeida Vinez, had expressed his fears to a fellow Angolan and former Unita fighter who now works on the farm where the aircraft landed.

The former Unita man, Mr Johannes Nampolo, spoke to the Angolan in the Otjimbundu dialect and told him he was in Namibia.

Lieutenant Vinez then apparently became even more scared and asked if there were Unita soldiers in the vicinity. After assurances that there were no Unita people in the

area, the Angolan asked about the Schneider-Waterberg family, the owners of Okozongominja farm, on which he landed.

The pilot told Mr Nampolo he was not afraid of the "ozomburu" (white people) but only of Unita.

The Angolan flyer, who is due to be married soon, said he took off from the Lubango air base in southern Angola about 9am on Tuesday, bound for Benguela where he was to refuel.

He became lost in heavy cloud, his radio was not functioning and neither was his compass, he told Mr Nampolo.

The aircraft itself is understood to be still at the SAAF air base at Grootfontein, and Lieutenant Vinez is somewhere in South Africa, awaiting possible exchange for South African prisoner-of-war Sergeant Johan Papenfus.

# Norwegians to monitor Cuban pullout

OSLO — Norway is to send seven officers to help monitor the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola under the Brazzaville peace protocol, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

"The United Nations has informally requested Norway to participate in a UN observer group in Angola, and we have agreed to send seven officers," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The first Norwegian observers will arrive in early January. Sapa-Reuter.

# Castro puts out feelers in Ghana

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Ghana may provide a new base for Cuban troops when they withdraw from Angola, it is suggested here.

President Fidel Castro is due to visit Accra in the New Year, fuelling speculation that he will finalise a secret deal enabling his troops to retain a foothold in Africa.

The British Foreign Office is studying reports from Havana which indicate that Mr Castro is anxious to retain his high-profile role as the "scourge of the imperialists" in Africa, reports James MacManus of the *Sunday Telegraph*.

He says Mr Castro is known to have strong reservations about the accord calling for the phased departure of his 50 000 troops in Angola and independence for Namibia. "He suspects Pretoria will renege on its side of the bargain, and has been casting around for a convenient base from which to re-enter the Angolan fray if the agreement unravels."

# Castro 'not happy' at ending

HAVANA — There were no evident celebrations in Havana over the weekend at the impending return of 50 000 servicemen from the African conflict.

News of the Brazzaville accords with Angola and South Africa was relegated to a brief official agency despatch in newspapers.

Despite the presence of President Dos Santos of Angola in Havana to thank the Cubans for their 14 years of "internationalist" military help, bringing the boys home is at best a mixed blessing for President Castro.

Government officials have been emphasising the withdrawal as the satisfying conclusion to a painful but necessary mission.

"It is a good thing," said one Foreign Ministry man.

"I don't think it's a victory for Cuba: Its a victory for humanity."

A tribute by President Castro to the homecoming troops was relegated on Friday to the end of a report on a plenary session of the Communist Party Central Committee.

He said: "Thus one of the most glorious pages in our history has come to a successful end."

Many non-Communist diplomats here see the withdrawal as the result of Soviet pressure on a reluctant President Castro.

The end to an African adventure launched under Mr Brezhnev is more the result of President Gorbachev's understanding with the Americans to curb regional wars than the fruit of Cuban achievement.

## REMOTE

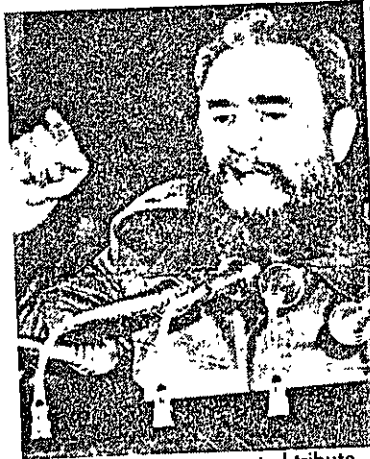
From several points of view, including the maintenance of President Castro's influence on the world stage, it has not hurt Cuba to maintain its expeditionary armies.

"Gorbachev wants them out and Castro's going, but he is not happy," said one diplomat.

Private citizens say word of the accord spread quietly in Cuba, stirring widespread relief, particularly among parents, that the country was ending its long, far-flung engagement. "It was so remote, so far," said a waitress.

The consensus among diplomats is that popular resentment has mounted as the foreign adventures have dragged on. Many Cuban field commanders saw Angola as a "dead-end street".

But at the same time Cubans appear to take pride in what they are encouraged to believe is their part in a morally just crusade against "Imperialism", a cause they are told enjoys in-



President Castro . . . muted tribute.

# No hurrahs

(S) Star 19/12/88  
as 50 000

# start home

Gorbachev wants Cuba out, following agreement with the US that regional wars should be curbed, Western diplomats believe. Charles Bremner of The Times reports.

ternational admiration.

Until President Castro suddenly hailed the triumph of Cuban arms this year, little was known of the foreign war.

Officially, casualties were no higher than 1 000 among the 300 000 troops who had seen service in Angola, and most of those were said to be the result of accidents and disease. Foreign estimates put casualties higher but not a great deal.

Service in Angola or Ethiopia, where there are still an estimated 10 000 Cubans, is seen as a route to success in other fields. Returning veterans are guaranteed priority in everything from better housing to the best jobs available.

Next to come home, say the experts, will probably be the Ethiopian contingent.

Moscow is said to have privately warned President Mengistu that he had one last chance to defeat the Eritrean and Tigre rebels, and that Soviet aid would be cut drastically should he fail.

According to the Pentagon, there are 250 000 Cubans under arms and another 1.5 million in militia units. Only Brazil, 13 times Cuba's population, has comparable forces.

● Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, calling Cuban-Angolan friendship indestructible, has awarded President Castro the Agostinho Neto Order, Angola's highest civilian medal.

# MORE TALKS ON CUBAN PULL OUT 5

NEGOTIATORS from Cuba and Angola are holding a series of meetings in New York with the United Nations deputy secretary general, Mr. Marrack Golding, to complete arrangements for the verification of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Mr. Golding, who is in charge of most United Nations peace-keeping and observer operations, is to produce his report later today.

The plan to monitor the troop pull-out will then go before the Security Council.

The subject is also being discussed in Havana by President Fidel Castro and President Eduardo Dos Santos from Angola.

The signing ceremony is to be held in New York on Thursday. At the same time there are plans to set up a special committee of American and Soviet observers to deal with complaints. — Sapa.

AP/WIDE WORLD



# Angola signs R2-bn deal for dumping of toxic waste

*sta 20/12/88*  
BRUSSELS — Angola could become the world's biggest waste-dumping place, Mr Francois Roelants du Vivier, president of the European Environment Agreement, said yesterday in a press interview.

According to Mr Roelants, a member of the European parliament, the Angola government signed a draft contract with a Swiss businessman on December 5 which would allow the annual treatment of 5 million tons of toxic waste on the coast of Angola.

The \$2 billion (about R4,4 billion) contract was scheduled to be finalised on December 26. In Luanda, Mr Roelants said that waste would be stored 200 km north of Namibia in a 50 000 sq km semi-desert.

The Belgian ecologist said two US banks were part of the project, the Texas Halley Bank and the Milley Bank, both from Houston, Texas, as well as investors from Brunei.

The Swiss businessman, a geologist who had links with Idi Amin, according to Mr Roelants, reportedly would build on the site a deep water harbor, a city and an airfield which could employ 15 000 Angolan workers.

— Associated Press.

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Tea  
Star 20/12/68 (3)

# Rooibos brews up hefty sales increase

CAPE TOWN — Rooibos tea sales are booming and by the end of the year a record 3,8 million kg will have been sold by the Rooibos Tea Board.

This will be the third consecutive year in which sales have broken previous annual records.

The chairman of the board, Mr Abraham van Zyl, says the Rooibos tea industry is growing at a cracking pace and he is confident that sales will continue to show strong growth.

December sales have reached 540 000 kg, a monthly record. Fourth quarter sales for this year of 1,2 million kg are also a record.

## INCREASE

The increase in Rooibos sales is linked to a swing towards healthier lifestyles, he says.

The product is gaining wider acceptance, particularly in the important northern market.

"The board had a very active promotion team in the Transvaal and this was the key to the success achieved this year," Mr van Zyl says.

One of the more striking developments this year has been the increase in sales of this herbal tea to certain European and American countries.

Sales in the first six months rose by 32 percent, compared with the previous year, and prospects for further increases in exports are very good. — Sapa.

Spain may monitor peace

# SA, Angola 'coming to terms' on ANC bases

South Africa and Angola appear to be reaching an understanding on the existence of ANC military bases and training camps inside Angola, according to US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker.

"It is a bilateral matter between those governments and we have the impression that they are reaching understanding on this very important question," he told an international news conference in Washington.

Dr Crocker said the future of the ANC camps in Angola was not an explicit part of the overall Angola/Namibia accord — to be signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba in New York on Thursday — but extensive discussions on the issue were continuing.

All the parties would gain something from the agreement and they would not be signing it unless that were the case, he said.

● The Security Council scheduled a meeting today to discuss setting up a United Nations observer unit to monitor the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, a UN spokesman said.

Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar has proposed that the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem) should comprise about 70 military observers and 20 civilian support personnel.

The Spanish Foreign Ministry said yesterday that Spain had agreed to an informal proposal by Dr de Cuellar to help monitor the peace process in Angola and Namibia.

The proposal would depend on the countries involved — Namibia, Angola and Cuba — agreeing to the monitoring group, a ministry spokesman said.

A Spanish spokesman said Madrid could send light aircraft and crews and maintenance workers, but details had not yet been worked out.

## Police arrest 3 robbery suspects

West Rand Bureau

West Rand police arrested three people and recovered stolen clothes and a car hours after a Delarey man had been robbed at the Maraisburg Dam last night.

A police spokesman said Mr L W J Swanepoel (48) was approached by three people, two men and a woman, who pretended they were members of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, who stole his car, R30 in cash and a suitcase containing clothes.

● Two of the factors which have helped make the south-western Africa peace pact possible could provide the basis for a fresh international initiative designed to encourage South Africa's blacks and whites to meet at the conference table.

This is the view of the *Financial Times*, which says the two factors are co-operation between Washington and Moscow, and a sagging South African economy burdened by a futile war. — The Star's Washington and London Bureaux-Sapa-Reuter.

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# Unita claims 21 kills

*CAF Times 20/12/88 (5)*  
LISBON. — Unita claimed that its forces killed 21 Angolan government soldiers and "liberated" the north-western town of Ucuca in two attacks.

In a statement monitored in Lisbon yesterday the rebels said 13 government troops died on Saturday in a battle for Ucuca.

Unita also killed eight government soldiers in an attack on a military column in the southern province of Huila, the statement said.

Its forces destroyed 12 tons of military material carried by the column, Unita said.

One Unita soldier died and seven were injured in the fighting, the statement said. — Sapa-AP

# Fresh bid for peace

CAL Times 21/12/88 (5)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Brazzaville peace pact due to be signed in New York this week could provide the basis for a fresh international initiative aimed at getting black and white South Africans to the conference table.

This is the view of the influential Financial Times, which said in an editorial yesterday that the implications of the pact extended far beyond South Africa's commitment to independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"For over a year now the Soviet Union has been sending a series of signals, both to the government in Pretoria and to the African National Congress at its headquarters in Lusaka.

"Moscow no longer believes that a guerilla overthrow of white rule is either possible or advisable. Africa's experi-

## Brazzaville pact paves way for conference in SA

ments with socialism have frequently proved disastrous, and provided a lesson to be avoided in South Africa. A new constitution must take full account of the fears of the white minority," the newspaper said.

These "pragmatic" views were shared by US president-elect Mr George Bush and British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

The state of the economy — currently growing at about half of the 5% required to absorb new job seekers, let alone reduce existing unemploy-

ment — was "helping to concentrate the minds of many South African politicians on the need for reconciliation".

"The broad framework for such a process, on which all outside governments should be able to agree, has already been set out by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group," said the newspaper.

Urging the West to adopt the EPG concept, the newspaper noted that while it was "most unlikely" that President P W Botha would respond to a fresh approach, the West should encourage the ANC to

break the stalemate.

"A formal commitment by the organisation to this formula (drawn up by the EPG), as well as a pledge to end attacks on civilians in South Africa with immediate effect, should be enough to persuade Mrs Thatcher to drop her ban on talks between British cabinet ministers and ANC officials."

Such a move by the "Western leader for whom Mr Botha has the most respect" would, the Financial Times contended, provide a salutary jolt to a government which has slowed reform to a snail's pace.

"And at the same time the West should set out incentives for South Africa outlining the financial assistance that could help pave the way to reform. An internationally-backed programme for the training of black South Africans abroad could be set in motion.

"There is no reason to think that these and other measures would not win the support of the Soviet Union."

## SA delegation leaves to sign peace accord in New York

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, left Jan Smuts Airport for New York last night to sign a trilateral peace accord which will bring independence to Namibia and remove Cuban troops from Angola.

The accord is to be ratified by the United Nations at its signing by Cuba, Angola and South Africa tomorrow.

It will incorporate the Brazzaville and Geneva Protocols signed during eight months of negotiations since talks began in London during April this year.

Another matter that will receive attention on Thursday is the

exchange of Sergeant Johan Pappas, who is being held in Cuba, for an Angolan fighter pilot being held in South Africa.

Accompanying the two ministers are the two chief South African negotiators, the Director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, and the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys.

This will be the fourth time that the two ministers accompany their negotiating team and, if all proceeds according to schedule, it should be the last time cabinet members will be involved in the peace process.

The signing will put the final

seal on an agreement which provides for the UN to implement its Namibian independence plan (Resolution 435/76) from April 1, and for Cuban troops in Angola to redeploy northwards and finally withdraw from Angola within 27 months of that date.

The trilateral peace accord also makes provision for a system of verification of the withdrawal by a United Nations body, the UN Angola Verification Mission, Unavem, for an exchange of prisoners, and the establishment of a Joint Commission to deal with disagreements between the parties on the interpretation and the implementation of the agreements. — Sapa



General Malan



Mr Pik Botha

# Pik and Malan fly off to signing

A SA delegation headed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan arrives in New York today for the final phase of the seven-month-old peace negotiations on Angola and Namibia.

In a statement as he left from Jan Smuts last night, Botha said the State Security Council, under the chairmanship of the State President, yesterday approved the text of the tripartite agreement to be signed tomorrow.

The agreement, to be signed by SA, Cuba and Angola, will officially set the

ROBERT GENTLE and  
CHARLOTTE MATHEWS

seal on the withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and bring the eventual independence of Namibia one step nearer.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday that the final agreement was a mere formality and that, barring unforeseen mishaps, there was no real reason why the SA delegation should not return home with a formally signed peace accord.

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# Wrangle over size of peace force

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The UN Security Council has taken the first step to implementing the peace accord to be signed in New

York tomorrow, amid disagreement over the size of the peacekeeping force to oversee elections in Namibia.

At the request of Cuba and Angola, the Security

Council decided unanimously yesterday to establish a mission that would verify the departure of Cuban troops from Angola.

The body — Unavem — will fall under UN Secretary General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, and will be based in Luanda during the 31-month withdrawal period.

While the establishment of the 70-officer Unavem has gone smoothly, the establishment of another UN force, Untag, that will oversee Namibia's elections, has become controversial because of an American attempt to reduce its size.

The US wants to cut the military force by about half to save costs, but Third World countries, especially the Africans, object on the grounds that a reduced force would encourage South Africa to interfere in the elections.

Behind the American plan is an expected budget squeeze in 1989. The US Congress will have to authorise funding to pay for 30 percent of Untag's costs, and this could be a political problem.

## Briefing

# Diplomatic gains for all concerned

By ALAN DUNN,  
The Star's Foreign News Service

Academies at a conference in the US this week reckoned SA will benefit most from a south-western Africa peace pact.

NEW YORK — All parties to the south-western Africa accords to be signed at the United Nations in New York today were winners, prominent US observers of the region have agreed.

Some of America's top academic experts on Angola and Namibia said at a symposium in Miami, Florida this week that all signatories emerged with greater or lesser diplomatic victories.

But they differed at a University of Miami conference on new Soviet thinking and Soviet/Cuban strategies in the region on which country emerged with the biggest prizes.

Some argued that South Africa had gained most by depriving the African National Congress of its bases in Angola, forcing 50 000 Cuban troops out of that country, having another "fatally weak" country on its borders and buying time for more necessary internal South African reforms.

South African-born Professor Owen Khan, a political scientist at the University of Miami, warned however that the international community would not allow South Africa much respite for agreeing to sign this accord.

"This will give South Africa only brief relief," he said of world demands for the country to change its own policies.

A leading Soviet academic on South Africa, Dr Apollon Davidson of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Moscow State University, said procrastination in negotiations had been South Africa's fault.

The progress and success of the talks had been due to Soviet intervention, he claimed. Dr Davidson also said South Africa had, in dealing with the Soviet Union, been trying to play a diplomatic card against the ANC and South Africa's Western allies.

### CRYING OUT FOR AID

He noted that recent talks between Soviet and South African officials on the sidelines of the peace negotiations in Brazzaville and Cairo had been purely about Angola and Namibia. "There is no chance of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union," he said in broken English.

Dr Davidson was joined by a few other academics in predicting that if the Angola-Namibia agreements were to be broken, it would be by South Africa.

All agreed that a newly independent Namibia would be weak and poor, crying out for foreign aid.

The new country would be beholden to any source of assistance, said Professor John Marcum of the University of California. He felt that South Africa would retain control of Walvis Bay, the territory's key port.

Professor William Griffith, political scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, likened Namibia's future economic and military relationship with South Africa to that of Botswana or Mozambique.

Most of the observers, while optimistic that today's agreements on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and independence for Namibia would be fulfilled, cautioned that 27 "tortuous" months lay ahead.

They forecast a tricky process that would face many obstacles and tests, particularly on verification and interpretation of the rules. At least one predicted that the definition of who were Cuban settlers — now naturalised Angolans — and who were Cuban forces merely disguised as civilians would present a major problem in the months ahead.



# Caution urged over accord

Star 22/12/88

A former US Secretary of State, Dr. Henry Kissinger, has urged caution in dealing with the Soviet Union on the eve of the historic signing of the Angola/Namibia accord.  
ALAN DUNN reports

MIAMI — Dr Henry Kissinger yesterday advised a watertight verification agreement to ensure all 50 000 Cuban troops left Angola, warning against American euphoria at the so-called new thinking introduced by Soviet president Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Dr Kissinger, held in the highest regard by foreign policy analysts and widely considered a model for modern-day US secretaries of state, was speaking at a University of Miami conference on new Soviet thinking and Soviet/Cuban strategies in Angola and Namibia.

Drawing on his first-hand experiences in trying to settle the Vietnam conflict, he said the Communist members of the verification panel would never find a violation of the agreement, no matter how egregious.

"Therefore the viability of any agreement depends on penalties for non-compliance or reward for compliance," he said. "That is something to which we have to pay attention."

Dr Kissinger posed the question of whether the gradual Communist encroachment in Vietnam could be prevented in SWA/Namibia.

Peace required equilibrium between the superpowers, he said. The question now facing the US was how to define that equilibrium with the Soviets and how to maintain it.

Dr Kissinger said it would affect the settlements in Afghanistan and Angola.

Dr Kissinger cited two noteworthy developments in this connection last year: The US Congress decided there should be peace negotiations in central America, the Soviet Union decided there could be peace in southern Africa.

The US had thus halted aid to the rebels fighting the Marxist Nicaraguan regime to give peace a chance. The Soviets, however, promptly sent 16 000 of the best Cuban troops into Angola. They moved close to the SWA/Namibian border, drew South Africa into battle and won it or, at least, exposed South Africa to losses it was not prepared to take.

Dr Kissinger also said the US infatuation with Mr Gorbachev was dangerous for everybody, including the Soviets. One man alone could not guarantee peace.

Dr Kissinger said history showed that Americans perceived every decade that Soviet leaders had finally grasped the need for economic change in their state, that Communism was at an end.

The US needed to conduct foreign policy by long-range planning and projections, he said, not applying temporary solutions to immediate problems on personal, emotional or anecdotal levels.

# No one defeated — Crocker

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Lowering grey skies and rain showers have failed to dampen the sense of satisfaction and achievement here as delegations from South Africa, Cuba and Angola come together at UN headquarters for today's historic signing of the accords which promise Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

"No one is being humiliated here," Dr Chester Crocker, the chief United States mediator in the negotiations between the

three countries, said yesterday. "No one is being defeated here, no one has been defeated here. And that is the way diplomacy ought to be done," he added with a smile.

Dr Crocker added that he hoped an environment had been created in which the MPLA government and the Unita rebels could "reach out to each other like brothers — and find peace".

The US would continue to aid Unita as long as the Soviet Union sent military supplies to the MPLA.

● See Page 12.



Dr Crocker



Mr Botha

# S Africa, Cuba and Angola will sign historic pacts today

From NEIL LURSEN of The Argus Foreign Service in New York

LOWERING grey skies and showers have failed to dampen the sense of satisfaction and achievement in New York as delegations from South Africa, Cuba and Angola come together at the United Nations headquarters for the historic signing today of the accords that promise independence for SWA/Namibia and the departure of 50 000 Cuban troops from Southern Africa.

"No one is being humiliated here," Dr Chester Crocker, the chief American mediator in the negotiations involving the three countries, said on the eve of the signing.

"No one is being defeated here, no one has been defeated here. And that is the way diplomacy ought to be done," he added with a smile.

Dr Crocker said he hoped an environment had been created in which the MPLA regime in Angola and the Unita movement could reach out to each other like brothers and find peace. In the meantime, the United States would continue to aid Unita as long as the Soviet Union sent military supplies to the MPLA.

The South African delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, arrived late yesterday. "This is an important and historic occasion," a cheerful-looking Mr Botha told reporters.

Two agreements are to be signed today in the UN's economic and social conference hall in the presence of the American Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The first is a tripartite agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola

setting out in treaty form the various principles and accords negotiated in New York, Geneva and Brazzaville on ending the conflict in the region, withdrawing foreign forces from Angola and starting the process of independence for SWA/Namibia.

The second is a bilateral agreement between Cuba and Angola on the withdrawal of the Cubans.

The delegations will celebrate the signing at a gathering where Mr Shultz will preside.

The Americans, obviously delighted by a bold diplomatic success that came to fruition in the last stages of the Reagan era after many years of patient effort, are full of praise for the parties — and for the Russians, too, who they concede played an important role in bringing Cuba and Angola to the negotiating table.

"These are delegations that have conducted themselves with great skill, and they committed themselves to the path of peace without losers," Dr Crocker said.

The United States intended to maintain its role as a mediator to ensure that the agreements turned into peace without losers, he added.

One of the first beneficiaries will be Sergeant Johan Papenfus, the captured South African soldier who is being held in Havana after being treated for injuries.

South African and Cuban officials are discussing a prisoner swap which is expected to go into effect soon. At one point there was speculation that the exchange would take place in New York to mark the signing of the agreements.

Also taking place behind closed doors are discussions between South Africa and Angola on African National Congress camps in Angola and South Africa

can support for the Unita guerrilla movement.

Dr Crocker said the United States believed there had been substantial progress in the South Africa-Angola talks which, he said, derived from principles agreed on in New York in July.

Once signed, the two documents will set in motion a series of UN activities and international groups designed to monitor the implementation of the agreements and to head off any disputes that could crop up.

One of the most important will be a joint monitoring commission to hear complaints. It will have members from South Africa, Cuba and Angola and, by invitation, the United States and the Soviet Union. As soon as it is independent, SWA/Namibia will also have a seat.

Already set up is a 70-member international force known as Unavem whose job is to make sure that Cuban troops do leave Angola in terms of the 31-month departure timetable.

Still to be decided is the final composition of the UNTAG force to monitor SWA/Namibia's elections in terms of UN Security Council resolution 435 — the 10-year-old plan to bring, in the words of Dr Crocker yesterday, "self-rule to Africa's last colony and an end to its white domination".

Prompt action is expected in the UN Security Council to pave the way for these bodies to start their work and change the face of Southern Africa.

But the size of the Untag force is still the subject of a dispute with the United States asking that its seven battalions be reduced by about half to save costs.

But African states, suspicious of South Africa's intentions in SWA/Namibia, object to any reduction in the size of Untag's military component.

## Henry Kissinger warns against euphoria

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Miami, Florida

FORMER American Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger has on the eve of the historic signing of south-western African settlement pacts urged caution in dealing with Russia.

He advised a watertight verification agreement to ensure that all 50 000 Cuban troops left Angola and warned against American euphoria about the so-called new Soviet thinking introduced by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Dr Kissinger, held in the highest regard by foreign policy analysts, was speaking at a University of Miami con-

ference on Soviet thinking and Soviet-Cuban strategies in Angola and SWA/Namibia.

Referring to his experiences in trying to settle the Vietnam conflict, he said the communist members of the verification panel would never find a violation of the agreement, no matter how egregious. They had refused to see 15 divisions of North Vietnamese troops infiltrating South Vietnam.

Consequently, there was no unanimity in the verification process, and there was never a formal finding of any

violations.

"Therefore, the viability of any agreement depends on penalties for non-compliance or reward for compliance. That is something to which we have to pay attention."

Peace required equilibrium between the superpowers, he said. The question now facing the United States was how to define that equilibrium with the Soviet Union and how to maintain it. It would affect the settlements in Afghanistan and Angola.

# Angola: POW swop at NY talks

5/1/81

APR TWIX 22/10/81

**NEW YORK**—The United States Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, and the foreign ministers of South Africa, Cuba and Angola will today sign accords here declaring that the independence process for Namibia will begin on April 1, after 73 years of South African rule.

An hour later, Cuba and Angola will sign an agreement with the United Nations to have 70 UN military observers monitor the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola over a 30-month period, beginning in January.

South Africa is hoping that Sergeant Johan Papepius, the prisoner-of-war being held in Cuba, will be handed over at the signing ceremony for the Angolan pilot who landed his MiG fighter in Namibia last week.

The South African soldier's freedom has been a matter of intense diplomatic activity here in recent days.

The South African delegation arrived in New York yesterday for the ceremony which will be held in the hall of the UN economic committee today.

The ceremony will be attended by, among others, Mr George Shultz, his assistant secretary, Dr Chester Crocker, and the secretary-general of the UN, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The American state department announced that Dr Crocker's Soviet counterpart, Mr Anatoli Adamishin, had also been invited to attend the ceremony.

In addition to the signing ceremony, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, will also attend a lunch hosted by the Americans and the talks with Dr De Cuellar. The South African delegation leaves for home tonight.

Mr Shultz will chair the meeting at which the Angolan, Cuban and South African ministers will first sign the agreement on Namibian independence.

Its text has not yet been published, but according to a preliminary protocol signed in Brazzaville last week it sets April 1, 1989 as the start-up date for a 1978 UN plan leading to elections and independence.

Each of the signatories will sign three copies in each of four books, one of which will be handed to Dr De Cuellar.

Mr Shultz will then make a brief statement, to be followed by the Angolan, Cuban and South African foreign ministers, who will each speak for about 10 minutes.

A statement is also expected from Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoli Adamishin, who played a major role while the agreements were being brokered.

Some 50 minutes into the ceremony, the accord on the Cuban troop pull-out, to be completed by July 1991, will be signed by Angola and Cuba at a table in front of the rostrum where the first phase of the proceedings takes place.

"It will be separate, therefore, from where the first agreement was signed," the UN spokesman said, literally putting distance between the two parts of the package.

Asked to explain why, if there was no connection between the Cuban pull-out and Namibian independence, the Security Council had set up a UN observer mission to check on the Cuban withdrawal, the spokesman replied: "Because it has been asked to do so by the governments of Angola and Cuba." — Sapa-Reuters

Star 23/12/88  
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## 'Goodwill gesture' to Namibian independence

# Police cuts and Koevoet may go

NEW YORK — South Africa is ready to disband the Koevoet police counter-insurgency unit in Namibia as a gesture of goodwill during the transition to independence, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told a news conference here.

And the number of policemen in the territory would be reduced from 8 300 to roughly 7 000, he added. The Foreign Minister was responding to a question about the number of security personnel in Namibia during the election process next year and allegations that abuses and ill-treatment of civilians had occurred.

Mr Botha said that wherever there were police and security operations, rumours and allegations would be made — sometimes true and sometimes distorted. There had been isolated cases in Namibia but anyone who was aware of the operations and style of the SADF would know that these were not tolerated.

The SADF had not hesitated to take action against any members of the security forces acting improperly.

Mr Botha said the questioner was probably referring to the unit known as Koevoet because of the bad publicity surrounding this unit. As a gesture of goodwill, this unit would be disbanded and the total number of police in Namibia reduced.

There was frank speaking and some humour at the ceremonial signing yesterday of the historic Angolan/Namibian peace accord at the United Nations headquarters in New York. NEIL LURSEN of The Star Bureau reports.

The size of the police force has become an issue at the UN because of an American effort to reduce the size of the international Untag force to monitor Namibia's elections in terms of Resolution 435. The Americans say that the current Untag plan to send seven battalions is too big and too expensive, but Third World nations say the force as originally envisaged is necessary to monitor possible police intimidation of voters during the elections.

### Financial burden

Mr Botha said he supported the US plan to cut the Untag force and suggested that the savings could be used to promote essential development in the region.

During his address at the signing of the tripartite agreement yesterday, Mr Botha made it plain that South Africa could no longer be expected to carry the financial burden of Namibia. In recent

years, he said, South Africa's contribution to the territory's budget had exceeded R4 billion, and it demonstrated the country's vital interest in the well-being of Namibia.

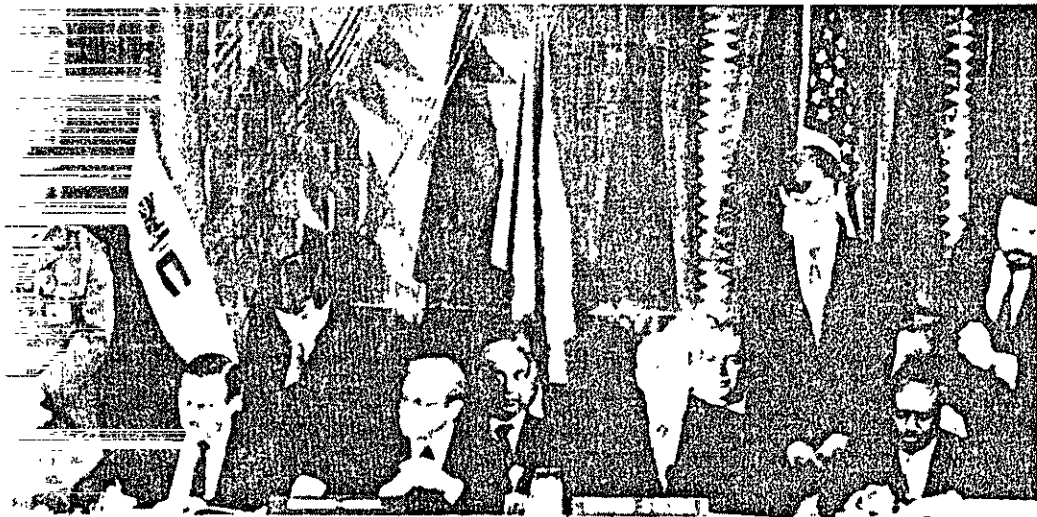
"Namibia represents an onerous financial burden on the taxpayer of South Africa — and it must now end." South Africa would remain a willing neighbour, prepared to assist the fledgling country, but he called on the international community to recognise the need for tangible assistance for Namibia.

### Rightful place

Mr Botha said that the people of Namibia deserved their independence but that achieving it would require good faith and understanding. "In the same way in which we have endorsed an African solution to an African problem," he said, "my country stands ready to address its challenges in an African mode."

"And we look forward to assuming our rightful place in Africa amongst the nations of Africa," Mr Botha added.

He said the SA Government hoped that the fundamental concept of abandoning violence and a commitment to peaceful negotiation would form the basis for solving other problems in southern Africa. "I would like to express the hope that what happened here today will serve as an encouragement to all the leaders of southern Africa to resolve the problems of the region," he concluded.



South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Alfonso van Dunen (right) sign the accord, watched by UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar and US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz.

## Accord will prove a triumph for UN

NEW YORK — The tripartite agreement handed yesterday to UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar has eight provisions that aim to end conflict in the south western region of Africa.

Specifically, they seek to end the conflict by paving the way for Namibian independence and by removing all foreign forces from Angola — namely Cuban and South African.

The first provision is that the three parties — Angola, Cuba and South Africa — ask the Secretary-General to proceed with implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 which sets out the UN sponsored procedure for Namibia's independence.

The second commits SA forces to withdraw from Namibia in accordance with Resolu-

tion 435. Other provisions cover an agreement by South Africa and Angola to cooperate with the Secretary-General to ensure Namibia's independence through free and fair elections.

They commit the signatories to respect Namibia's borders and not to allow their own territories to be used for acts of war, violence, and aggression against any other state.

One provision says that the parties will respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the region's states. Another commits them to a course of negotiation and a spirit of cooperation in settling disputes in a peaceful manner.

The agreement went into effect the moment it was signed by Mr Pik Botha for South Africa, Mr Alfonso van Dunem for Angola, and Mr Isidoro Malmierca for Cuba, their flags on display behind the podium where they sat, next to the blue-and-white UN flag.

### HONOUR

When it was time to hand the signed document to Dr Perez de Cuellar, US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz asked Dr Chester Crocker to take centre stage. It was an honour that Dr Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, had earned through patient effort to bring the parties together for yesterday's historic event at the UN headquarters in New York — The Star Bureau

### PROPAGANDA

General Malan forecast an intensified propaganda campaign against South Africa — that it would be accused of introducing delaying tactics and of providing clandestine assistance to Unita.

An effort would be made to drive a wedge between Unita and its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi. General Malan said South Africa would respect the agreement in spirit and in content — The Star Bureau

# I respond to attack on Unita — Malan

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At a news conference, Mr Botha said the agreement was clear.

No guerilla organisation or person might operate from Angolan territory against Namibia or South Africa.

### TRANSGRESSION

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Mr Pik South Africa, the Gov- the tripar-

The same thing applied to South Africa. South Africa agreed not to assist Unita in any way that was contrary to the terms of the agreement.

But South Africa would continue to be sympathetic to Unita. The movement was entitled to form part of the Angolan government — and friendships could not just be terminated in this manner, Mr Botha said.

General Malan said that the agreement signed yesterday stipulated that territories must not be used for aggression or violence against any of the parties — which curtailed the activities of the ANC and Swapo.

South Africa would honour the agreement in the same way it was honouring the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, and it was on record as saying it would provide no assistance for the Renamo movement.

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## Malan

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... accord, watched by UN Secretary-General Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar and US Secretary of State Mr. George Shultz.

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# SA would respond to attack on Unita — Malan

NEW YORK — South Africa would respond if Cuban forces launch an attack on Unita now that the tripartite Angola/Namibia agreement has been signed, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said.

In comments made by a member of his staff to the media in New York, General Malan did not specify what form the response would take.

But, he said: "Should... the Cubans launch a new offensive against Unita, South Africa would not sit back and look on with folded arms."

General Malan, and Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha emphasised that, in terms of South Africa's relations with the Unita movement, the Government would respect and abide by the tripartite

the agreement.

At a news conference, Mr. Botha said the agreement was clear.

No guerrilla organisation or person might operate from Angolan territory against Namibia or South Africa.

## TRANSGRESSION

If the African National Congress was allowed to infiltrate through Botswana to kill civilians in South Africa, that would be a transgression of the agreement.

The same thing applied to South Africa. South Africa agreed not to assist Unita in any way that was contrary to the terms of the agreement.

But South Africa would continue to be sympathetic to Unita. The movement was entitled to form part of the Angolan government — and friendships could not just be terminated in this manner, Mr Botha said.

General Malan said that the agreement signed yesterday stipulated that territories must not be used for aggression or violence against any of the parties — which curtailed the activities of the ANC and Swapo.

South Africa would honour the agreement in the same way it was honouring the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, and it was on record as saying it would provide no assistance for the Renamo movement.

South Africa and Unita remained friends, General Malan said, and he was confident Unita could not be crushed by Fapla, the Angolan government's military force, without Cuban assistance.

## PROPAGANDA

General Malan forecast an intensified propaganda campaign against South Africa — that it would be accused of introducing delaying tactics and of providing clandestine assistance to Unita.

An effort would be made to drive a wedge between Unita and its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi. General Malan said South Africa would respect the agreement in spirit and in content. — The Star Bureau.

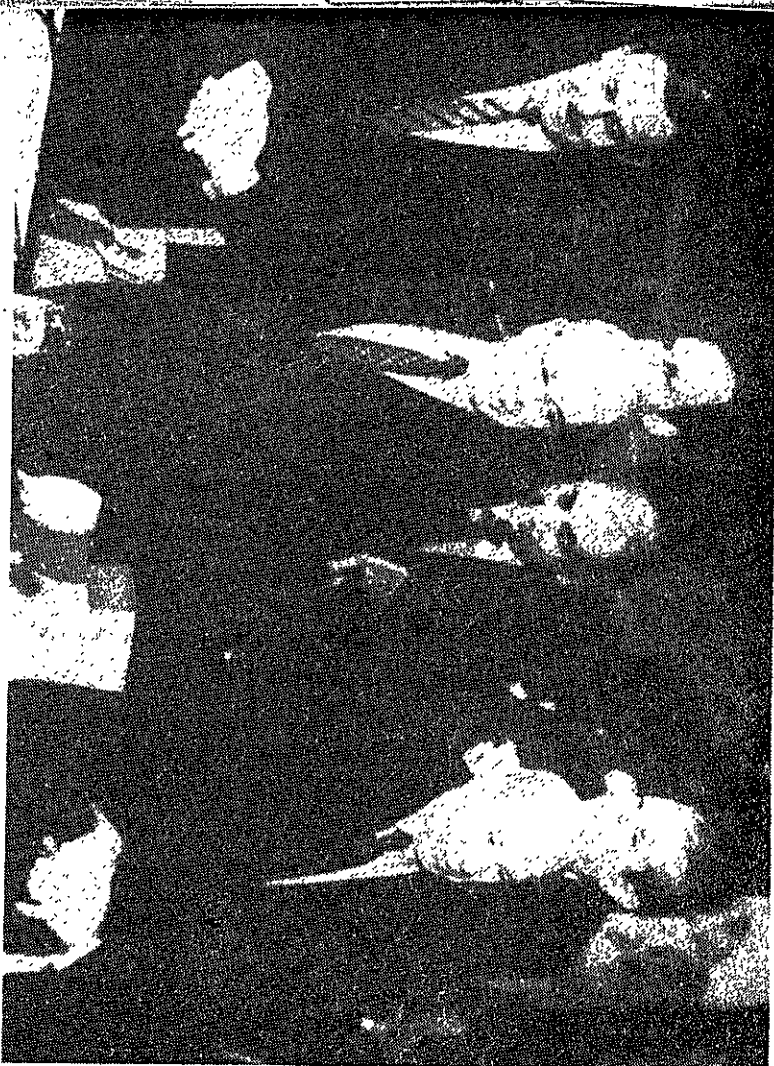
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# Accord

NEW YORK, 2/21/88 — South Africa, Cuba and Angola signed a historic accord yesterday to bring independence to Namibia, the former German colony ruled by Pretoria since World War One.

A second agreement, between Cuba and Angola, calls for the withdrawal of Cuba's estimated 50,000 troops from Angola by July 1, 1991. This meets a condition set by South Africa for putting in motion a UN independence plan for Namibia beginning on April 1.





**PEACE AT HAND:** Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha shakes hands with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar after signing accords for the independence of Namibia. On the right is US Secretary of State George Schultz.

# Aggressive Cuba strikes sour note during signings

From NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service

**NEW YORK.** — An aggressive attack by Cuba on South Africa's internal policies and on American policy in southern Africa provided one of the few jarring notes at the ceremonial signing of the Angola/Namibia accords at UN headquarters here.

It gave advance notice that future meetings by the Joint Commission to resolve difficulties that may arise from the agreement — which paves the way for UN-sponsored independence for Namibia and the phased withdrawal of all Cuban forces from Angola — could be tense events. In sharp contrast to state-

ments at the signing ceremony by the representatives of South Africa, Angola, the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cuban representative, Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, was confrontational.

He accused South Africa's "racist regime" of having imposed a cruel war on Angola, illegally occupying Namibia and destabilising the sub-continent with apartheid.

## "Interfering"

In an apparent reference to the United States undertaking that it will continue to assist the Unita rebels as long as Angola's regime received weapons from Moscow, he said the possibility of peace was being hindered by the US, which had taken over the "interfering role" now given up by South Africa.

Mr Malmierca's remarks earned him a rebuke by the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, who said he did not appreciate them, and a challenge by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who offered to spend the rest of the day debating human rights in South Africa compared with the situation in Cuba.

Mr Malmierca tried to respond to the South African challenge but was waved into silence by Mr Shultz who called on the Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, to speak.

Mr Adamishin said his government was satisfied by the fruitful end of the protracted Angola/Namibia negotiations which proved that in today's world, even the most difficult

issues could be settled by political means.

He said he wanted to stress the "spirit of realism" displayed by the South African government and hoped this would be continued.

Mr Adamishin said the positive outcome of the negotiations was to a large extent a result of the new understanding between the US and the USSR — "the world situation is changing fast, and these changes are for the better".

The Soviet Union wished the people of Namibia peace, prosperity and happiness and was ready to help with practical deeds to establish peace and tranquility on the basis of respect for the rights of all the people in the area.

# UN to monitor Swapo bases in southern Angola

APR TIMES 10/3/89



General Prem Chand at his press conference in Windhoek yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has received an assurance from the commanding officer of the United Nations supervisory forces in Namibia, General Prem Chand, that Untag is responsible for monitoring of Swapo bases in southern Angola.

In a statement, Mr Botha confirmed, on inquiry, that he had contacted General Chand after a report broadcast yesterday morning had claimed that General Chand had said it was not the UN peacekeeping force's responsibility to monitor Swapo bases.

General Chand, meanwhile, said a firm schedule for the build-up of Untag (United Nations transitional assistance group) personnel in Namibia could not be provided in view of the complexity of deploying more than 5 000 UN military and civilian personnel in the country.

He said, though, that the mili-

tary component of Untag had carried out an extensive reconnaissance of Namibia last week.

His staff were working on a plan for monitoring the withdrawal of the SADF and the demobilisation of Namibian military units.

National servicemen of the SWA Territory Force are to be demobilised on April 30 to comply with the requirements of Namibian independence.

The officer commanding the SWATF, Major-General Willie Meyer, said yesterday that servicemen would be paid a lump sum as partial compensation for their earnings in the remainder of this year.

SA troops have to withdraw from Namibia within 12 weeks of implementation of the settlement plan. A residual force of 1 500 men will be confined to bases at Grootfontein and Oshivelo. They have to leave upon certification of the election results in the first week of November.

General Chand said the advance parties of the Kenyan battalion were already in Namibia. Advance parties of the Finnish and Malaysian battalions, and of the Australian and British logistical units were due to arrive today. The battalions from Kenya, Malaysia and Finland will be stationed in Windhoek, north-western Namibia and north-eastern Namibia respectively.

## Military service

Gen Chand said the UN director of the elections unit and the legal official had been in the country for the past 10 days and would be returning to New York soon to report to the UN's special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Compulsory military service in Namibia will be suspended in the transitional period before independence, General Meyer said yesterday.

"It is clear that in terms of the spirit and intention of the negotiated settlement plan, national service cannot be legally enforced during the transitional period," he said in a statement.

The administrator-general had been asked accordingly to determine in terms of the Defence Act that national service periods set down for members of the SWATF after April this year were to end on April 30.

General Meyer said SWATF members who wanted to do so could complete their military courses at institutions of the SA Defence Force. — Sapa

# War of words breaks out at UN ceremony

Star 23/12/88

NEW YORK — An aggressive attack by Cuba on South Africa's internal policies and on American policy in southern Africa provided one of the few jarring notes at yesterday's ceremonial signing of the Angola/Namibia accords at the United Nations here.

It gave advance notice that future meetings by the joint commission to resolve difficulties that may arise from the agreement — which paves the way for UN-sponsored independence for Namibia and the phased withdrawal of all Cuban forces from Angola — could be tense events.

In sharp contrast to statements at the signing ceremony by the representatives of South Africa, Angola, the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cuban representative, Foreign Minister Mr Isidoro Malmierca, was confrontational.

He accused South Africa's "racist regime" of having imposed a cruel war on Angola, illegally occupying Namibia and destabilising the sub-continent with apartheid.

In an apparent reference to the US undertaking that it will continue to assist the Unita rebels as long as Angola's regime received weapons from Moscow, he said that the possibility of peace was being hindered by the US which had taken over the "interfering role" now given up by South Africa.

Mr Malmierca's remarks earned him a rebuke by the US Secretary of State,



Mr Pik Botha is congratulated by UN chief Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar while mediator Mr George Shultz congratulates Mr Alfonso van Dunem.

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

Mr George Shultz, who said he did not appreciate them, and a challenge by South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who offered to spend the rest of the day debating human rights in South Africa as compared with the situation in Cuba. He also offered to provide a list of African leaders who wished Cuba to leave Africa.

Mr Malmierca tried to respond to the challenge but was waved into silence by Mr Shultz who called on the Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, to speak.

Mr Adamishin said his government was satisfied by the fruitful end of the

protracted Angola/Namibia negotiations.

He said he wanted to stress the "spirit of realism" displayed by the South African Government.

The Angolan representative at the signing ceremony, Foreign Minister Mr Afonso van Dunem, praised the US role in the negotiations and said he hoped for normalisation of relations between Luanda and Washington.

Mr van Dunem pledged that his government would honour the agreements and said there was a need for further "mechanisms" to support a dialogue that would end all the regional conflicts in southern Africa.

● See Page 11.

# It's Over, PW tells Savimbi

Capl Tm B 24/12/88

JAMBA — South African aid to Unita rebels was cut off this week.

President P W Botha told Dr Jonas Savimbi that as from Thursday all South African military and civil aid to the rebel leader's Unita movement would be stopped.

Dr Savimbi said at his bush headquarters in south-east Angola that the South African decision became effective from the moment of the signing of the New York accords on Namibia and Angola.

President Botha gave his decision to Dr Savimbi when the two men met secretly in Pretoria this week.

"President Botha told me that South Africa would no longer be able to do anything for us, because he wants to observe the spirit and the letter of the New York agreement," said Dr Savimbi. "The decision is total and categorical from today onwards."

Dr Savimbi who has fought a 13-year guerrilla war with South African support against Angola's ruling Marxist MPLA government and its Cuban allies, said he anticipated no early settlement of the Angolan conflict.

Though a ceasefire between Unita and the 55 000 Cubans, who must leave Angola by 1991, was holding, the signs were that the MPLA was preparing for another big armoured thrust into Unita's territory. The last MPLA offensive in late 1987 was beaten back only after intervention by

## Papenfus home before New Year?

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE South African prisoner-of-war being held in Cuba, Sergeant Johan Papenfus, could be freed before the New Year.

Sgt Papenfus is expected to be exchanged for the Angolan pilot of the MiG-21 which made a forced landing in northern Namibia last week.

Sgt Papenfus was captured by the Angolans earlier this year and transferred to Cuba for medical treatment. He was subsequently released from hospital and has been held by the Cubans ever since.

The probable release of Sgt Papenfus, a Pretorian, was raised by

the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, at the signing of the peace accord between South Africa, Angola and Cuba in New York on Thursday.

General Malan confirmed that the matter had been discussed but that because of practical considerations it would not be possible to have Sgt Papenfus home by Christmas.

However, his exchange could be expected soon after that, General Malan said.

It had been hoped that the exchange would be completed before this weekend so that he could spend Christmas with his family. Meanwhile, representatives of

the International Red Cross officially visited Angolan MiG-21 pilot Lieutenant Domingo Vinez on Tuesday, a Foreign Affairs spokeswoman, Ms Madeleine Gericke, said in Pretoria yesterday, according to Sapa.

"They were granted full facilities to interview him and afterwards expressed themselves as being fully satisfied with the treatment he had received," she said.

"They confirmed that Lt Vinez had 'no complaints'."

Lt Vinez is understood to be held in the Pretoria district, but the Department of Foreign Affairs has declined the news media access to him.

South African tanks, armoured cars, heavy artillery and warplanes.

Dr Savimbi said he expected the offensive to begin next April or May. Without Cuban support for the MPLA, he claimed that Unita forces could stem the offensive even though they had lost their South African ally.

American arms are being ferried by air into Dr Savimbi's main landing strip, which has lights for night flights, presumably from a US military base at Kamina in Zaïre.

At least one CIA officer is permanently posted at Jamba to supervise the delivery of weapons

which are rapidly moved by trucks up logistics lines to the warfronts further north.

The 54-year-old Dr Savimbi in unusually subdued form said he regretted that the MPLA had not responded to Unita requests for internal peace talks.

"The MPLA line has hardened against us," he said. "We think they will attempt again a military solution, and only after that will they begin to come to their senses."

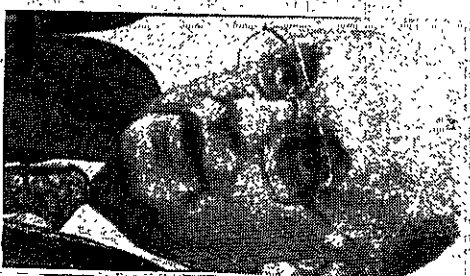
The Unita leader appealed to Britain to urge Nigeria to play "a very positive and constructive role" in achieving Angolan peace. Britain was better informed than the Americans on Southern African complexities. He went on: "I think Britain should not abdicate from a role of influence, now that South African and Cuban troops are leaving this area."

Dr Savimbi expressed alarm at the disparity in sizes of the UN forces which will supervise the seven-month South African withdrawal from Namibia, and the 27-month Cuban pull-out from Angola.

While 7 500 UN troops have been allocated to Namibia, 70 will be in Angola. "I doubt that 70 people can ensure that 55 000 Cuban troops will leave Angola," he said. "Much of the country will be without observation."

He added that the US said its satellite monitoring of Cuban troop locations would render the United Nations force merely symbolic.

"If the Americans honour this commitment, it will help us tremendously."



Mr P W Botha



Dr Jonas Savimbi

W.L. ARGUS 24/12/88

(5)

# Cuba hails peace pacts

HAVANA. — Cuba hailed the signing of peace accords on Angola and Namibia, saying the history of Africa will never be the same again.

"History of Africa will be different before and after Cuito Cuanavale," the official daily newspaper Granma said in a front page headline yesterday, echoing a statement made by President Fidel Castro this year.

Cuito Cuanavale was the site in southern Angola of a major battle in January during which Cuban troops stopped a South African offensive.

Cuba has said that joint Angolan-Cuban military pressure forced South Africa to go to the negotiating table and finally sign an historic accord at the United Nations on Thursday for UN-supervised independence for Namibia.

## TRANSCENDENTAL MOMENT

Angola and Cuba signed a separate accord calling for the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola in stages until mid-1991.

Granma said in a long editorial that "mankind will justifiably see this event as a transcendental moment of contemporary history and of the struggle of African people for their total independence after centuries of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation."

"Pretoria could not elude the inexorable march of history," it added.

Granma stressed that difficulties remained ahead, including the implementation of the accords.

Cuban troops first went to Angola in 1975 to support the Marxist government in its fight against Western-backed rebels and 300 000 Cubans have been stationed in the African country since then.

It is reported in Brussels that the European Community is to give Angola aid worth R165,6 million following the signing of the accords.

The EC's executive commission said the money would be used to help repatriate refugees and people displaced by civil war in Angola, for rural and infrastructure development projects and job-creation and training schemes.

A commission spokesman said four EC countries — Spain, Italy, Portugal and France — had already said they would be contributing extra money to the refugee programmes, a move also being considered by other members of the 12-nation bloc.

He said Angola had asked the EC that the money due to it under the Lome Convention (the trade and aid pact with African, Caribbean and Pacific developing countries), should be targeted to cope with the problems of rebuilding an economy ruined by civil war.

## NEW APPOINTMENT

● Brigadier-General Pericles Ferreira Gomes of Brazil has been appointed chief military observer of the UN Angola Verification Mission, to monitor the pullout of Cuban troops from Angola.

Ferreira Gomes, 67, has served in a variety of posts in the armed forces of Brazil since he joined the army in early 1952.

In 1967, he was a member of the Brazilian contingent of the First United Nations Emergency Force in Sinai.

From 1977 to 1979, he served as an adviser at the United States Military Academy.

Ferreira Gomes has been commander of the second brigade of coastal and anti-aircraft artillery since 1967.

He also has served as commander of the first group of self-propelled field artillery. He was a member of the command staff of the Fourth Military Region and of the general staff of the army. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

# ANC bases get the boot!

5 | Times 25/12/88

MILITARY bases belonging to the African National Congress in Angola will be relocated — possibly to a north African country.

## SA takes tough line on Angola's stance

By BRIAN POTTINGER

But Luanda will still maintain its public, rhetorical support for the organisation.

This is one of the firm but still secret agreements reached between the war-torn country and South Africa in the negotiations which led to the signing of the tripartite agreement in New York on Friday.

The future of the ANC bases and the position of the US and South African-backed Unita forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi are the two elements in the complex southwestern peace negotiations that could prove most troublesome in the near future.

The question of the ANC bases came into sharp relief in the tension-laden signing

of the peace agreement at the United Nations on Thursday when Angolan Foreign Minister Alfonso van Dunem insisted his country would continue supporting the ANC.

But it is understood that the Angolans have already agreed that in terms of the treaty the bases will have to go — in some quarters it is being suggested they could be sent to Ethiopia.

As many as 13 000 ANC members may be based in Angola, although not all of these would be combatants. In the heavy fighting along the Lomba River from August last year through to February this year ANC units were reportedly involved in combat on the side of the Angolan government forces.

Unita also topped the agenda this week.

South Africa is now pledged to end its military assistance to Unita but it will certainly continue providing moral backing for Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader.

However, General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, cautioned the Angolan government that if it attempted to move against Dr Savimbi it could expect South Africa's re-entry into the fray.

● Another crucial issue to be handled next in the delicate phase of the peace process is the dissolution of the 25 000 strong SWA-Namibian Territorial Force and the winding down of the feared South West African Police Counter-insurgency Unit (Koevoet) during the UN-supervised run-up to elections in terms of United Nations Resolution 435.

# Praise for signing of peace accord

*2/12/85*

HARARE — The official signing of Namibia's independence agreement by Angola, Cuba and South Africa was an important step to achieve peace in Southern Africa and should be fully implemented for the benefit of the region, a Chinese Foreign Ministry official said, the national news agency Ziana reports.

## Abolition

In a statement released by the Chinese Embassy in Harare, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said the abolition of apartheid would establish

regional peace and stability.

"We hope that all the parties concerned will implement the agreements in earnest so as to ensure the sovereignty and security of Angola and other Southern African countries and the realisation, as scheduled, of the independence of Namibia," the spokesman said.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on Saturday welcomed this week's accords signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa designed to bring peace to Angola and independence to Namibia.

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5 (circled) 27/12/88

**T**HE paradox of the settlement reached in New York last Thursday is that its strength lies in its apparent fragility.

The succinct pair of treaties signed in the UN Economic and Social Council chamber address but a fraction of the problems that will be encountered in the course of their implementation. The signatories are still far from reconciled. None is exactly happy with what they have done. Much kicking, squealing and grandstanding lies ahead.

The important thing, however, is that the grumpiness is evenly distributed. All are resentful in equal measure. None has achieved a better deal than his antagonists. Each has been confronted with the cold, hard fact that he no longer has the strength to play one-upmanship except in vacuous rhetoric.

There was plenty of the latter on signing day. In their harrumphing, the parties resembled nothing so much as the Gloria Swanson character in Eric von Stroheim's *Sunset Boulevard* — a faded star of silent films succumbing gracefully to the inevitability of old age and new technology. Even so, it would have been strange, even disturbing, if they had behaved otherwise. Their petulance proved that the treaties were more than merely the paper they were written on.

**I**t was thus a healthy sign that Fidel Castro packed his delegation to the ceremony with a comic opera of be-medalled generals and that his Foreign Minister, Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, gave a thoroughly pompous and objectionable speech. Indeed, had not Malmierca taken a swipe at the American mediators and denounced "the racist regime" for continuing to destabilise the region, something would have been very wrong.

Something would also have been amiss had not his SA counterpart, Piik Botha, responded in kind issuing a characteristic challenge to debate the relative charms of Pretoria's and Havana's human rights practices and threatening to name a lengthy list of African leaders who allegedly had asked SA not to leave Namibia until the last Cuban soldier was on his way home from Angola.

Equally encouraging were the complaints of Angola's Foreign Minister Afonso van Dunem. Scarcely was the ink dry before he was charging that SA was violating the agreement by continuing to supply Unita, and vowing the eternal "support and solidarity of our people" for the ANC

# Petulance proves the treaties are more than paper

SIMON BARBER in Washington



PIIK BOTHA

in its "just struggle". As ominous as it might have seemed at the time, such spleen was a sure indication that everything was on track.

Not once during the ceremony or the subsequent Press conferences did any of the parties say anything that actually conflicted with the records or did not turn out, upon closer inspection, to be so much hot air. Even the Angolan's pledge on the ANC, which might seem to be initiated to flout the agreement's non-aggression clause, was careful doublespeak. "Support and solidarity" are one thing, the provision of bases and arms quite another.

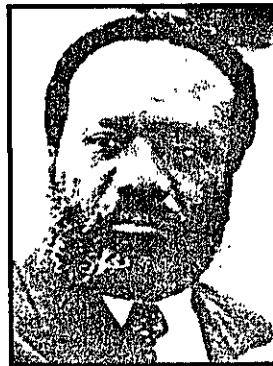
All the various ministers and their spokesmen were doing was trying to reassure themselves and their constituencies that in acceding to the unavoidable they had done the right thing.

Consider, for example, General Magnus Malan's response to a set of written questions submitted by members of the SA Press. Predictably, it was tough, assertive stuff, stressing that SA "acts from a position of strength (as evidenced by) the diplomatic and military victories of the Lomba and Cuito Cuanavale", and warning that "should the Cubans launch a new offensive against Unita, then SA will not sit back and look on with folded arms".

By the same token, there were aspects of the deal the parties preferred not to dwell on. At Botha's Press conference it took a particularly tenacious journalist three attempts to extract from the Minister SA's bottom line on Unita. When the blood finally flowed from the stone, its syntax was tortured but it was unequivocal. "Any assistance to Unita as from today contrary to the agreement we have signed we will not do (sic). It will not be permitted."

**W**hether they like it or not, and quite clearly they do not, SA, Angola and Cuba have been overtaken by events as irreversible as the coming of talkies was in Hollywood. Though their diplomats continued haggling into the small hours of Thursday, it was little more than a ritual. Their real choices had long since narrowed to the two pieces of paper they signed later that morning.

Obligated by the gross inefficiencies of his own system to pursue the Cold War in a more cost effective manner, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has had to start retrenching his Third



AFONSO VAN DUNEM

World clients and demobilising his Cuban janissaries. The potentate of a very small and dependent island, there is nothing Castro can do but skulk in a dudgeon of macho impotence.

SA is equally constrained, though not quite as galled. For almost identical reasons, its system is as prone to entropy as Gorbachev's and can no longer generate the resources to maintain itself, let alone the massive subsidisation of a colony plus a related war. Even without sanctions, Pretoria could not afford its own version of the Brezhnev doctrine — a form of aggressive defence — any more than Moscow could sustain the original.

Angola, the most powerless of the three, still has important decisions before it, none of them pleasant, but ultimately it had little say on the big one, the departure of its friends

They are leaving the MPLA to squirm about in search of an internal peace that somehow excludes Dr Jonas Savimbi and convinces the US to turn off its spigot to the rebels. Contrary to earlier belief, its failure to find such a solution should not impede either Cuban withdrawal or Namibian independence.

Both are now inevitable, albeit with hiccups and verbal recrimination. If they were not, the delegations in New York last week would probably have been far more polite to each other because they would have had so much less to complain about. In addition, they would be requiring infinitely more complex instruments to carry the agreement out.

One of the most striking elements of the deal is the brevity of the treaties and the token nature of the mechanisms under which they will be carried out.

It cannot seriously be believed that Unavem, the UN Angola Verification Mission created by the Security Council last week, will be able to monitor the movements of 50 000 Cubans in a country the size of western Europe, with just 70 men, even with the help of American spy satellites. But serious men have decided to believe it, just as they have decided to believe that there are 50 000 Cuban soldiers in the country, when only a few months ago Castro himself said there were 56 000.

**N**or is it realistic to suppose the 7 500 troops and 1 500 support personnel slated to oversee implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia have the numerical strength to do so in the manner laid out in the UN Secretary General's 1978 report. But everyone has agreed that the UN transitional assistance group is sufficient, possibly even reducible, and that the plan will produce a plausible result.

To accept at face value that Untag and Unavem will be able to perform efficiently even half the tasks assigned to them is either to make a leap of faith or to know in advance that it will make no difference to the final outcome what they do. In this case the parties know in advance. To be sure, they will frequently stir things up in the months ahead by pretending they do not, but that — like Thursday's grumbling in New York — will be mostly be posturing.

"*Pacta sunt servanda*", Soviet Foreign Deputy Minister Anatoly Adamishin remarked after the signing, quoting his esteemed leader. In this instance the phrase was not a moral exhortation, but something between a statement of fact and a command. The fix is in.

SCOTT, SKIET en DONNER/John Scott

THE only problem with all this too-

my back out, but it used to be my



# US must continue to pressure Castro, says top official

Star  
3/1/89 By Neil Lursen,  
The Star Bureau

(5)

WASHINGTON — A top United States government official, Mr Elliott Abrams, has urged that the US continue to apply pressure against Cuba to make sure it stops subversive activities and honours its commitment to withdraw troops from Angola.

Mr Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, in recent meetings with US congressman, warned against paying too much attention to the conciliatory words of Cuban leader President Fidel Castro.

"He has signed a document saying he'll get out of Angola. We have yet to see the withdrawal of those troops," Mr Abrams said.

"I don't think we need a new policy. I think the policy is working. It's a policy of putting pressure on Castro to isolate him, to make his economic situation more difficult to try to force him out of Angola, to try to force him to make human rights concessions. That's what's working."

Mr Abrams said that were signs of problems between Cuba and its chief benefactor the Soviet Union. The way to take advantage of that situation was to keep up the pressure and not to ease off, he said.

When President Jimmy Carter tried in good faith to ease the pressure on Cuba during the 70s, one of the results was 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

Mr Abrams said the US hoped President Castro would fulfil his promise to withdraw his troops from Angola.

"Implementation is the key — and if Castro wants a changed relationship with us, probably his first real step has got to be implementing that agreement and taking the troops out."

Mr Abrams warned that Cuba was still engaged in fomenting violent revolution in Colombia, Chile and El Salvador.

# Frontline six call on US to end Unita aid

CNAc Times 28/12/88

LUSAKA. — The leaders of the frontline states yesterday urged United States President-elect George Bush to end support for Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels in Angola.

They met to review the regional situation following the signing last week of accords on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and independence for Namibia.

The meeting was opened by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, chairman of the six frontline states.

"We hope Mr Bush will declare to our satisfaction that his administration will not continue to support bandits of Unita," Dr Kaunda said.

So far the US, which arranged the New York peace talks, has made it clear its aid to Unita will continue until the Angolan government reaches a settlement with Dr Savimbi.

"While the United States chaired the meetings, we cannot forget it was the Reagan administration which brought about the linkage of Cuban troops to Namibia's independence.

"They will merely be undoing the wrong they did to all of us . . . we want to be left alone, we want aid not for supporting bandits but for our economies," Dr Kaunda said.

The heads of state of Angola, Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe joined the Zambian leader at the meeting. Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, and Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma were also present.

Dr Kaunda called on UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar to implement the UN peace plan for Namibia without being influenced by pressure from Security Council members to cut the size of a planned monitoring force.

Dr Kaunda said Mr Perez de Cuellar should "not get daunted by what others who are more powerful than us are saying at the moment".

The council's five permanent members — Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union and the US — are urging a reduction in the size of the proposed force of 7 500 troops to be deployed in Namibia on April 1 when the countdown to independence begins.

Diplomats said Dr Kaunda's words reflected fears that South Africa

would use its powerful presence to influence the result of the territory's pre-independence elections.

Signs have grown in recent months that the Frontline states are having difficulty forging a common strategy towards South Africa as the peace talks have moved ahead.

President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, whose country has been virtually paralysed by the activities of South African-backed rebels since 1980, broke a taboo by meeting President P W Botha in September.

South Africa is now giving military aid to Mozambique to help fight the rebels which it once supported and which observers believe still have links to Pretoria's military intelligence.

Tanzania has withdrawn its troops from Mozambique in a move seen as a reaction to Mr Chissano's decision to seek security help from South Africa.

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe has been openly sceptical of South African intentions and has led opposition to Mr Botha's hopes of regional detente.

Dr Kaunda, who has dealt in the past with South African leaders, has promised he will meet Mr Botha if Namibian independence goes ahead on schedule.

Diplomats said the leaders were expected to try to iron out their differences on how to handle approaches from Pretoria and were also likely to discuss the internal situation in Angola.

## Settlement

Despite public condemnations of Unita, tainted by its long association with South Africa, most of the Frontline states were believed to be privately in favour of a negotiated settlement with the rebels.

Angola has ruled out any power-sharing with Unita.

Another topic likely to be on the agenda is the future of the ANC's military training bases in Angola after the agreement on Namibian independence. Diplomats say they believe Pretoria pledged publicly to reduce ties with Unita in exchange for an Angolan commitment to shut down the ANC's bases, an important South African demand. — Sapa-Reuter

# Confrontation with SA over accord

Sowetan 24/12/88

LUSAKA — Six Frontline States in confrontation with South Africa held their first summit here yesterday since Angola, Cuba and Pretoria's Government signed a regional peace accord.

The leaders of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe will meet for most of the day to discuss the implications of the pact and other Southern African issues, officials said.

Under the accord, signed in New York last Thursday, South Africa will grant independence to mineral-rich Namibia while Angola and Cuba will send home some 50 000 Cuban troops within 72 months.

The so-called Frontline States and their chairman, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, have spear-

headed African efforts to end Pretoria's policy of apartheid and to seek independence for Namibia.

Kaunda has guardedly welcomed the US-mediated accord, but has echoed other black leaders' fears that South Africa will renege on the agreement.

The Angolan Parliament has approved an amnesty for Unita rebels if they surrender, renounce violence and help rebuild the war-stricken country, the official Angolan news agency *Angop* reported yesterday.

"The amnesty, which comes into effect next February and lasts one year, applies to all those who have committed subversive crimes inside or outside Angola," *Angop* said in a report monitored in Lisbon. — Sapa.

# ANC: We'll close bases in Angola if asked to

29/12/88 The Star's Africa News Service

50

cause it has been given alternatives."

LUSAKA — The African National Congress is prepared to reduce or close its military bases in Angola if asked by the MPLA government or if it helps the peace initiative in the region, the organisation said yesterday.

But the ANC said it was not aware of the leaders of the Frontline states having agreed at their summit in Lusaka this week that the ANC should move its bases out of Angola.

This was reported after the summit by the Reuter news agency, quoting a source close to the meeting: "The ANC is already moving out of Angola be-

But the ANC denied that the organisation had begun moving its forces from Angola, though it had realised for some while that it might have to withdraw.

"We have expected to be approached by the Angolan government, and we will do whatever it wants us to do. If Angola asks us to reduce our numbers, or close our bases entirely, we will do so. We will do what is best for the peace initiative."

The ANC said there were several countries in the area which would be prepared to accommodate its military bases, but refused to name them.

## UN asked to pay Angolan costs

LISBON <sup>5</sup> 8/day 30/12/88 — Angola has formally asked the UN to cover the estimated \$800m cost of withdrawing the 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, Angop news agency reported yesterday.

"President Jose Eduardo dos Santos formalised the request in a letter to UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar," the news report said.

Last week, Angola, Cuba and SA signed agreements in New York providing for the troop withdrawal and independence for Namibia.

The UN, which will monitor the troop withdrawal and Namibian independence, has agreed to study ways of meeting the costs, which Angop said totalled about \$800m.

"Given the economic difficulties facing both Angola and Cuba, we alone could not support the expense," Dos Santos said in the letter.

All the Cuban troops are due to be out of Angola by July 1991 and the transition to Namibian independence is to start next April. — Sapa Reuter.

# ANGOLA — GENERAL

1989

## JANUARY — MARCH

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# 'Cyprus option' <sup>CRM 7/12/87</sup> possible for Angola <sup>(5)</sup>

ARE we being unnecessarily gloomy about the chances of an internal Angolan settlement, which many observers believe is essential for regional peace?

It is true that there appears to be no such prospect in the short term, since Luanda is as adamant as ever that it will not deal directly with Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi — an understandable attitude, considering the ideological differences and the amount of blood shed since 1975 — while it seems hardly likely that Unita would consider an arrangement which excluded Dr Savimbi.

In fact, many observers suspect that the Angolans are merely waiting for the rainy season to end in April/May before attacking the Unita strongholds.

All this makes the situation

look rather grim, considering the fragility of the peace process, but the situation might not be quite so serious. For example, I am reliably informed that the Angolans admit in private that they are incapable of mounting an anti-Unita onslaught in the short term.

I am also reliably informed that at least some of the various interested parties have concluded that the time is not ripe for a Chester Crocker-style regime of national reconciliation which would require President Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Savimbi to become uneasy bed-fellows.

This approach is based on the premise that the *form* of any settlement is just as important as the *concept* and that in this case the antago-

nists should be persuaded to participate in a type of semi-permanent ceasefire on the same lines as that which exists between the Turks and the Greeks in Cyprus.

The Cyprus arrangement is odd but viable. The little island, which was virtually on the way to self-destructing as a result of Turkish-Greek rivalry, has now been separated into two ethnic communities divided by the so-called "Green Line" which is patrolled by UN troops.

It is not an easy task, but Cyprus has drawn back from imminent disaster and one day, perhaps, some sort of permanent *modus vivendi* can be worked out.

Supporters of this approach believe a similar arrangement might be possible in Angola. It is certainly more attractive than any

other option.

It would avoid a repetition of the disastrous 1975 attempt at tripartite government which started the Angolan civil war and neither of the two leaders would have to put his neck — or his party's — under the other's heel.

Is this mere starry-eyed optimism? It would seem not. I gather some very hard-eyed and expert diplomats are promoting a "Cyprus option".

PS: And finally, an interesting observation from a knowledgeable source who is involved in the peace process: No matter which party or bloc wins the independence election, sheer necessity — given demographic and other factors — will compel it into close co-operation with its main political opponents.

● Willem Steenkamp is a reservist of the Citizen Force.

# US urged to withdraw support for Unita rebels

SOUTHERN African leaders meeting this week urged US President-elect George Bush to end support for Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels in Angola.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, chairman of the six Frontline states, opened a meeting in Lusaka to review the regional situation since the signing of accords last week on the

withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"We hope that President-elect Bush will declare to our satisfaction that his administration will not continue to support bandits of Unita," Kaunda said.

So far the US, which arranged the peace talks, has made it clear its aid to Unita will continue until

the Angolan government reaches a settlement with Savimbi.

"While the US chaired the meeting, we cannot forget it was the Reagan administration which brought about the linkage of Cuban troops to Namibia's independence," Kaunda said.

Heads of state from Angola, Botswana, Tanzania,

Mozambique and Zimbabwe arrived for the meeting. ANC leader Oliver Tambo and Swapo's Sam Nujoma was also present.

Kaunda called on UN Secretary-General Javier de Cuellar to implement the UN peace plan for Namibia without being influenced by pressure from Security Council members to cut the size of a planned monitoring force.

The council's five permanent members - Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union and the US - are urging a reduction in the size of the proposed force of 7 500 troops, which will be deployed in Namibia on April 1 when the countdown to independence begins.

Despite condemnations of Unita, tainted by its long association with South Africa, most Frontline states were believed to be privately in favour of a negotiated settlement with the rebels.

Another topic likely to be on the agenda is the future of the ANC's military bases in Angola after the agreement on Namibian independence.

Diplomats say they believe Pretoria pledged publicly to reduce ties with Unita in exchange for an Angolan commitment to shut down the ANC's bases, an important South African demand. - Sapa

## ANC has alternatives to Angola - Frontline

LEADERS of six Frontline states condemned other African countries this week for bypassing them and holding top-level meetings with South Africa.

A communique issued after a one-day summit in the Zambian capital Lusaka urged a halt to US support for Unita rebels in Angola and called on the United Nations to stick strictly to its plan for supervising Namibian independence.

A source close to the meeting, chaired by President Kenneth Kaunda, said the six states agreed that the ANC would move its military bases out of Angola.

Such a move had been widely expected as the price paid by Angola for South Africa's pledge to stop aid to Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement, its long-time ally.

"The ANC are already moving out of Angola because they have been given alternatives," the source said.

The meeting, attended by Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, was aimed at harmonising policy after the agreements on a Cuban

withdrawal from Angola and independence for Namibia.

The communique appeared to dash hopes that the agreements would bring any great diplomatic breakthrough for President PW Botha's government.

"The summit condemned the recent contacts between some African states and the racist government of South Africa and underscored the crucial role of the Frontline states, ANC and Swapo in the solution of problems in the region, and the need for any other countries to support the Frontline states and these liberation movements in any initiatives relating to the region," it said.

● Meanwhile, the Angolan Parliament has approved an amnesty for Unita rebels if they surrender, renounce violence and help rebuild the war-stricken country, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported.

A Lisbon spokesman for Unita described the offer as nothing new and said the rebels would continue to fight until the government agreed to direct talks. - Sapa



**Talks go on** (S)

THE repatriation of prisoners of war between South Africa, Cuba and Angola was receiving the continuous attention of the Department of Foreign Affairs, a spokesman for the department reaffirmed in Pretoria. — Sapa.

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# MPLA has chemical weapons

Star 3/1/89

## — report

By Neil Lursen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Cuba has shipped chemical weapons to Angola to help the MPLA government defeat attacks by Unita rebel forces after Cuban forces have withdrawn, according to a report here.

The report, published in *The Washington Times*, quotes unnamed US intelligence sources as saying that the chemical weapons have been identified as nerve agents that cause death or paralysis when dispersed, usually from aircraft.

"The weapons, believed to include the lethal agents Soman, Sarin and Tabun, are being stored in a special facility in Luanda," the paper quoted the US officials as saying.

*The Washington Times* has demonstrated repeatedly that it has excellent sources in the intelligence community and is often ahead of its competitors in this area of the news.

If the report is true it is likely to increase tensions between Havana and Moscow. The Soviet Union is anxious to reduce the dangers of Third World conflict as part of improving relations between the superpowers and for buying time to concentrate on its domestic problems.

There have been repeated reports that chemical weapons have been tested against Unita in Angola.

About 120 rebels died in one battle after being exposed to small amounts of nerve gas, apparently from canisters with Spanish markings.

In its report yesterday, *The Washington Times* quoted a Reagan administration official as saying that the question was not whether there were chemical weapons in Angola, but whether they were there in large enough quantities to be significant on the battlefield.

● See Page 6.

# US must continue to pressure Castro, says top official

Star  
3/11/89  
By Neil Lursen,  
The Star Bureau

(5)

WASHINGTON — A top United States government official, Mr Elliott Abrams, has urged that the US continue to apply pressure against Cuba to make sure it stops subversive activities and honours its commitment to withdraw troops from Angola.

Mr Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, in recent meetings with US congressman, warned against paying too much attention to the conciliatory words of Cuban leader President Fidel Castro.

"He has signed a document saying he'll get out of Angola. We have yet to see the withdrawal of those troops," Mr Abrams said.

"I don't think we need a new policy. I think the policy is working. It's a policy of putting pressure on Castro to isolate him, to make his economic situation more difficult to try to force him out of Angola, to try to force him to make human rights concessions. That's what's working."

Mr Abrams said that were signs of problems between Cuba and its chief benefactor the Soviet Union. The way to take advantage of that situation was to keep up the pressure and not to ease off, he said.

When President Jimmy Carter tried in good faith to ease the pressure on Cuba during the 70s, one of the results was 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

Mr Abrams said the US hoped President Castro would fulfil his promise to withdraw his troops from Angola.

"Implementation is the key — and if Castro wants a changed relationship with us, probably his first real step has got to be implementing that agreement and taking the troops out."

Mr Abrams warned that Cuba was still engaged in fomenting violent revolution in Colombia, Chile and El Salvador.

Hong Kong

Star 3/11/89

# Angola, SA negotiate on PoWs

The repatriation of prisoners of war between South Africa, Cuba and Angola was receiving the continuous attention of the Department of Foreign Affairs, a spokesman said in Pretoria.

Officials said they did not want to release details on the progress of the negotiations, because premature re-

ports on the Wynand du Toit exchange had caused it to be delayed for days.

A captured SADF rifleman, Sergeant Johan Papenfus, is to be repatriated from Cuba, which seeks the return of a number of Angolan/Cuban PoWs, including stranded MiG pilot Lieutenant Domingo Jose de Almeida Vinez, from South Africa. — Sapa.

# NO CHANGE ON SA, SAYS OAU



PRESIDENT BOTHA

PARIS — The Brazzaville agreement on Angola will in no way change the hostile policy of the Organisation of African Unity towards South Africa. *Souefan 7/1/89*

OAU president Moussa Traore of Mali made this clear in an interview he gave to the Paris-based weekly magazine *Jeune Afrique* in his capital, Bamako.

He was asked: "Will the Brazzaville agreement change the OAU's policy towards South Africa?"

He replied: "Not at all. The Southern African conflict can be broken up into three elements. South Africa's intervention in Angola's home affairs: the illegal occupation of Namibia and apartheid.

"While the Brazzaville agreement constitutes a major hope for the solution of the first and second elements, it does not affect the third, apartheid." (S) (S)

"Consequently, the OAU's views on South Africa are not affected. As long as apartheid is allowed to continue there is no question of its government joining us."

He regretted the meetings held by several African leaders with President P. W. Botha "because they show that the anti-apartheid front is not absolutely united and firm behind OAU resolutions."

Asked why in that case he had not attacked these meetings, the OAU president replied: "Because there is always the possibility that such meetings can help advance the views we uphold. But if we find that such moves, instead of leading to the dismantling of apartheid end up in strengthening it, then we must put an end to such meetings as soon as possible."

# Jackson on Frontline states tour

LISBON — The American civil rights leader, the Rev Jesse Jackson, has arrived in Angola for talks with the government on a range of southern African issues, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said yesterday.

He has visited Nigeria and Gabon on an African tour that is expected to take him to a number of southern African

Frontline states. <sup>star 4/1/89</sup> (S)

Washington has no diplomatic relations with Angola and supports Unita.

The United States brokered the peace agreement between Angola, South Africa and Cuba last month, involving the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola in exchange for the independence of Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter.

# CHEMICAL REACTION 5

WASHINGTON — Cuba has shipped chemical weapons to Angola to help the MPLA government defeat attacks by Unita rebel forces after Cuban forces have withdrawn, according to a report here.

The report, published in the *Washington Times*, quotes unnamed US intelligence sources as saying that the chemical weapons have been identified as nerve agents that cause death or paralysis when dispersed — usually from aircraft.

"The weapons, believed to include the lethal agents Soman, Sarin and Tabun, are being stored in a special facility in . . . Luanda," the *Times* quoted the US officials as saying.

The *Washington Times* has demonstrated repeatedly that it has

## SOWETAN Foreign Service

excellent sources in the intelligence community and is often ahead of its competitors in this area of the news.

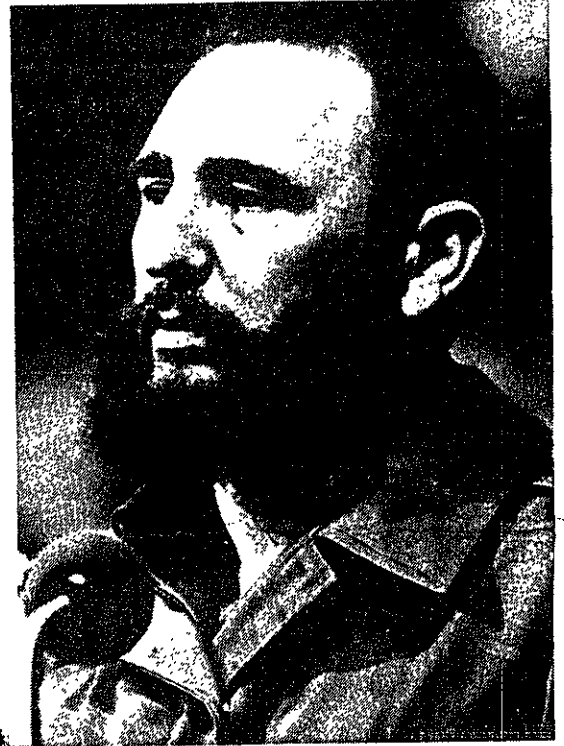
This week's shock report about Angola comes at a time when there is growing concern about the spread of chemical weapons — and their availability to Third World countries where lack of control is causing international alarm.

If the *Times* report is true, it will destroy any hope that the Castro

government may have had of improving its relations with the US as a result of the tripartite agreement with Angola and South Africa to pull its troops out of Angola.

It is also likely to increase tensions between Havana and Moscow. The Soviets are anxious to reduce the dangers of Third World conflict as part of their grand scheme of improving relations between the superpowers and of buying time to concentrate on their domestic problems.

The US has vowed to continue military support for Unita as long as the MPLA regime receives massive weapons aid from the Communist Bloc.



CUBAN leader Fidel Castro.

LISBON — The chief military observer of the United Nations' Angola Verification Mission arrived in Luanda yesterday.

The Angolan news agency Angop said Brigadier-General Pericles Ferreira Gomes of Brazil established his headquarters in Luanda, from where the 90-man UN group will monitor the pull-out of Cuban troops.

#### CONTINGENT

The first contingent of 3 000 Cubans is scheduled to leave on April 1, in accordance with the agreement signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa on December 22, but press reports have said they could leave sooner.

## UN official arrives to oversee Cuba pull-out

In return for the Cuban pull-out, South Africa has agreed to grant independence to Namibia.

A larger UN force will go to Namibia to oversee its transition to independence.

Negotiations at the UN Security Council on the composition of the Namibia peace-keeping force broke down on December 31 over proposals to cut the cost of the operation.

The Angolan Verification Mission will consist of 70 soldiers and 20 civilians from Argentina, Algeria, Congo, Czechoslovakia, India, Jordan,

Norway, Spain and Brazil.

General Ferreira Gomes (67) has served in a variety of posts in the armed forces of Brazil since he joined the army in early 1952.

sta  
4/1/89  
ADVISER

In 1967, he was a member of the Brazilian contingent of the first United Nations emergency force in Sinai.

From 1977 to 1979, he served as an adviser at the United States Military Academy. — Sapa-AP.



# 'Prepared' for chemical warfare

Sta  
4/1/89 By Craig Kotze ~~2/1/89~~ 5

The South African Defence Force was prepared for chemical warfare in southern Africa, a Defence Force spokesman said yesterday.

He was responding to reports that Cuba had provided Angola's MPLA government with deadly chemical weapons to use against Unita.

"It is part of any defence force's doctrine to prepare itself against chemical warfare," added the spokesman. He refused to elaborate.

According to the *Washington Times*, the weapons contained the nerve agents Soman, Sarin and Tabun, which cause death or paralysis when released, usually from aircraft.

The deadly chemicals were deve-

loped by Nazi Germany, but were considered too deadly to use, even to prevent looming defeat.

The newspaper, which quoted unnamed American intelligence sources, said the agents were being stored in a special facility in Luanda.

Repeated reports have been received that Cubans and their Angolan allies have used chemical weapons against Unita, in direct contravention of the Geneva Convention.

It is said that 120 Unita soldiers died in the Cuban chemical attacks.

Chemical weapons are increasingly seen as relatively cheap and effective alternatives to nuclear power in many Third World countries.

**N**EW YORK — It is 30 years to the day that Fidel Castro launched his socialist revolution in Cuba — and the Cuban dictator spent the best part of a five-hour speech to cheering New Year crowds suggesting that Cuba, not the Soviet Union, was the communist world's true defender.

In one of his most critical outbursts against his Soviet mentor, President Castro chided Moscow for "experimenting with capitalism" and, in a direct reference to President Mikhail Gorbachev's new policies of glasnost and perestroika, said that for Cuba it would "remain forever socialism or death".

Castro spoke from the balcony of the city hall in Santiago, from which he declared victory over the brutal dictatorship of General Fulgencio Batista 30 years ago, when Cubans poured into the streets to celebrate what they hoped was to be a better life.

In those three decades Castro has set new standards in education and health and has thrust Cuba into prominence in international affairs — notably in foreign military adventures as in Angola and in his open defiance of the US — far greater than might be expected of a small Caribbean nation of only 10 million people.

**Life better**

He has also brought about other social improvements, transforming Cuba from a glittering playground of gambling casinos, bordellos and street prostitution unparalleled in any other part of the world into what is a passably livable communist state, the first in the western hemisphere.

But now Cuba-watchers are saying that strains are beginning to develop.

For one thing, the old vibrancy and gaiety that had been hallmarks of Cuba have given way to a

**FOCUS**

**SOWETAN Foreign Service**

public sombreness and a loss of spontaneity.

President Castro, who still wears drab olive combat uniforms for most public appearances, remains enormously popular and there is nothing to suggest that his popularity is being seriously threatened at this stage.

But under him, Cuba has not prospered. The country is still almost totally dependent on its sugar production, which sells for less on the world markets than it costs to produce, and he has been unable to remedy inefficiency and low productivity.

Even with aid from the Soviet Union at \$14 million a day, there are shortages of food and spare parts for everything from city buses to factories.

And now, with the Soviet Union needing every rouble it's got to save its own economic skin, that support may soon dry up — and international affairs experts predict a rapid decline in Cuba's fortunes, and possibly Castro's own.

# CUBA

“... the communist world's true defender”



FIDEL Castro ... Cuba will "remain forever socialism or death — no glasnost, no perestroika".

## American hawk calls for pressure on Cuba

**W**ASHINGTON — A top Reagan Administration official, Mr Elliot Abrams, has urged that the US continue to apply tough pressure against Cuba — to make sure that it stops subversive activities and honours its commitment to withdraw its troops from Angola.

Mr Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, warned against paying too much attention to the conciliatory words of Cuban leader Fidel Castro in private meetings with US congressmen recently.

Washington's tough policy against Castro should be retained, he said.

"He has signed a document saying he'll get out of Angola. We have yet to see the

withdrawal of those troops," Mr Abrams said.

"I don't think we need a new (US) policy — I think the policy is working. It's a policy of putting pressure on Castro to isolate him, to make his economic situation more difficult, to try to force him out of Angola, to try to force him to make human rights concessions. That's what's working."

**New signs**

Mr Abrams said there were signs of problems between Cuba and its chief benefactor, the Soviet Union. The way to take advantage of that situation was to keep up the pressure and not to ease off on it.

When President Jimmy Carter tried in good faith to ease the pressure on Cuba during the seventies, one of the results was 50 000 Cuban

troops in Angola. "Keeping the pressure on is the way to make sure there are no back doors and side doors out for Castro, that he has got to stop this kind of subversion and repression he is engaged in."

"That's the way to take advantage of his very serious problems," Mr Abrams said.

He said the US hoped that President Castro would fulfill his promise to withdraw his troops from Angola.

"Implementation is what is key — and if Castro wants a changed relationship with us, probably his first real step has got to be implementing that agreement and taking the troops out."

Mr Abrams warned that Cuba was still engaged in fomenting violent revolution in Colombia, Chile and El Salvador.

He doubted that changes would come easily in Cuba as long as Fidel Castro remained in power.

"I think you have got a first generation communist leader here of the order of Mao who is unable to countenance a reduction in his personal power (or accepted) real democracy and real change."

In would take the next generation to bring real change to Cuba, Mr Abrams said.



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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McCall  
4/1/89

# UN task force general in Luanda

LISBON. — The Brazilian general who will command the United Nations task force overseeing the Cuban withdrawal from Angola has arrived in Luanda.

The official Angolan news agency, Angop, in a dispatch received here, said General Fericles Ferreira Gomes, accompanied by seven more Brazilian officers, would set up headquarters in Luanda.

The UN task force, known by the acronym Unavem, was set up as part of the US-mediated treaty signed in New York on December 22 in which Luanda and Havana agreed to the Cuban pullout over 27 months and Pretoria agreed to grant Namibia independence.

## APARTHEID

The task force will be comprise 70 military officers and 20 civilians drawn from nine countries, Angop said.

General Ferreira Gomes, described as an "evangelical Christian", underlined that Unavem role was not that of a peacekeeping force but to oversee the Cuban withdrawal.

"The United Nations' verification mission in Angola has nothing to do with a peacekeeping force," he told Angop before his departure from Brazil on Monday.

The agency also said he declined to make "political declarations" when questioned on his opinions of South Africa's apartheid.

Also in Angola is US civil rights leader Jesse Jackson,



Jesse Jackson

who yesterday met Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos to discuss the situation in Southern Africa.

Mr Jackson began a four-day visit on Monday as part of an African tour that began in Gabon on December 27.

Angop said Mr Jackson also met Angolan Foreign Minister Afonso van Dunen to discuss Southern Africa and relations between Angola and the United States.

## HAILED AGREEMENT

The report added that Mr Jackson would hold talks with Angolan church leaders and visit the province of Benguela.

During his African tour Mr Jackson hailed the agreements signed two weeks ago by Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

After leaving Angola he is expected to accept invitations from the leaders of the other frontline states. — The Argus Foreign Service, and Sapa-AP.

# SA 'ready for chemical warfare'

News 4/1/89  
SP 886

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Defence Force is prepared for chemical warfare in Southern Africa, says a defence force spokesman.

He was responding yesterday to reports that Cuba had provided Angola's MPLA government with deadly chemical weapons to use against Unita.

"It is part of any defence force's doctrine to prepare itself against chemical warfare," said the spokesman, who refused to elaborate further.

According to the Washington Times, the weapons supplied were nerve agents that caused death or paralysis when delivered, usually from aircraft.

## Too deadly

The agents reportedly contain nerve agents developed by Nazi Germany but considered by them to be too deadly to be used — even to prevent defeat.

They are said to be stored in a special facility in Luanda, said the newspaper, which quoted unnamed American intelligence sources.

Repeated reports have claimed that Cubans and their Angolan allies have used chemical weapons against Unita.

It is said that 120 Unita fighters died in the Cuban chemical attacks.

## Mustard gas

The reports came soon after Iraq used mustard gas to crush Kurdish rebels in the northern parts of the country and against Iran.

Chemical weapons are increasingly being seen as relatively cheap and effective alternatives to nuclear power in many Third World countries.

Less sophisticated forms of the weapons — such as mustard gas — can be made in virtually any pharmacological plant and its manufacture is easy to conceal.

# How Pretoria's spies sparked mutiny in ANC

With ANC camps in Angola due to be closed in terms of the Namibia settlement, Africa Confidential, the authoritative journal published in London, reports 'the great mutiny' in the organisation five years ago

**T**HE 1984 mutiny in the ANC, which continues to cast a shadow over Angolan-ANC relations, was caused by tensions which had built up within the ANC military camps in Angola over years. The two major causes are:

□ A reaction to excesses committed by the ANC's security organ following the discovery of a South African government spy-ring in 1981.

□ A reaction to losses sustained in the ANC's military campaign against Unita.

On March 2, 1981, the ANC uncovered a major South African government spy-ring which had penetrated it so successfully as to track movements from the military camps in Angola to the forward areas inside SA. Pretoria's agents were found to include the commander of Quibaxi camp in northern Angola, and the head of security for the ANC's army, Urkhonho we Sizwe, in Angola.

Following these discoveries, the ANC's security apparatus was given wide powers to investigate. It did so by the use of detention, torture and even killings.

**A**ny cadre who complained about poor food or anything else risked being accused of disloyalty and detained. War was also declared on marihuana smokers. The security organ dubbed Mokolot (The Boulder which crushes), was answerable only to the security directorate in Lusaka.

At the same time, Urkhonho actively inside SA decreased after a series of setbacks resulting from accurate South African intelligence. These included the killing by government agents of two leading commanders of the elite special operations unit led by Joe Modise in Swaziland on December 15, 1981.

Then followed the arrest by the Botswana police of ANC army commander Joe Modise and Cassius Makoae after a tip-off. With them was found a plan for military operations for 1982. In December 1982, Pretoria launched a blitz on the ANC leadership in Lesotho, killing 30 cadres, including Zola Ngum, chief repre-

sentative in Lesotho, and some of his top aides.

The net result was that cadres were unable to leave Angola and infiltrate SA because of the disruption of operational plans.

It was in these circumstances that the Unkhonho leadership unleashed its restive soldiers against Unita in August 1983. The aim was to divert their attention from their setbacks, to drive Unita away from the Namibian region of Angola, where it was threatening the ANC's biggest training camp, and to appease the Luanda government.

The ANC mobilised an entire brigade and included in it some of those who had been arrested since March 1981 and held at the Quatro prison in Quibaxi region as suspected spies, but who had consequently been cleared. Chris Ham, Timothy Mokoena and the veteran Lennox Mjofu. Zuma led the men into battle. Zuma had fought in both the 1967-68 Rhodesian Warlike campaign and in Mozambique with Frelimo's liberation army.

The ANC brigade made good progress against Unita, but then ran into problems. Losses, plus lack of the impusnes perpetrated by the ANC leadership since March 1981, led to a

mutiny at the battle-front supported by some 50% of the fighters.

They headed towards Luanda in their hundreds to lobby a meeting of the military headquarters. Their main demand was to be sent into action in SA itself. For this, they demanded the resignation of the entire ANC leadership, except Oliver Tambo, Chris Ham, Joe Slovo — not then in the National Executive Committee (NEC), but a visible part of the leadership — and Moses Mabida.

They accused the rest of betraying the revolution and being so comfortable in exile as to have lost interest in engaging Pretoria in battle. They resented their sharpest criticism for Joe Modise.

Having arrived in Luanda in February 1984, the mutineers formed a Committee of Ten. They took over the camp at Viana. The committee chairman was Zaba Nalvetza Nkhondo, brother of Curtis Mvondo, a leader of the United Democratic Front. Zaba was chief ANC propaganda officer in Angola, who had been detained in Quatro prison camp

during the post-1981 witch-hunt. Others were:

- Moss Matlaji, a graduate of Moscow's Lenin school. He is the brother of the director of the ANC farm in Chingola, Aaron Matlaji.
- Sidney Mhlongo, a former body-guard to Oliver Tambo. He was Unkhonho chief of staff for the Luanda region, and responsible for security in the Committee of Ten.
- Jabu Valakazi, the highly respected political commissar for Amambala Cultural Ensemble of the ANC under Jonas Gwanaga, who wrote the music for the film 'Ory Freedom'.
- Kate Molekwa, an activist from Fort Elizabeth, responsible for women's mobilisation and attached to the ANC broadcasting station, Radio Freedom.

The ANC leadership attending the meeting at military headquarters in Luanda tried to defuse the revolt by sending Joe Modise to talk to the mutineers. They would not allow him within the camp gates.

The leadership then consulted the Angolan government, which sent in its presidential guard. Each side lost at least one man. The presidential guard threatened to storm Viana camp if the mutineers did not surrender before a given time.

Just before the deadline, Ham went to talk to the mutineers. They allowed him to speak. By a combination of courage, oratory and political skill, he persuaded the mutineers to lay down their weapons.

The Committee of Ten was imprisoned. Diehard mutineers were sent to re-education camps at Quibaxi and Pangil in northern Angola. Zaba Mvondo was later said to have committed suicide — a verdict his family has never accepted.

In May 1984, those sent for re-education returned again, overrunning their camp and taking over its administration. They held it for six days under the command of Ronald Moseni Hoyi, son of the Ciskei chief Ikey Hoyi. He was widely respected because of his exploits in the Unita campaign.

In Luanda, Ham and Mokoena assembled a force, which Mokoena led to recapture the camp. A pitched battle ensued which the loyalist forces won, capturing Hoyi and killing some others. Some of those captured, including Hoyi, were publicly executed.

The ANC leadership then sent a commission to Angola led by James Shart and including Dr Sibekwe Sibekwe, chief intelligence analyst, Aziz Pabadi, from the London office, Tony Morigalo, and Ruth Mompoti. It is significant that no commission members were at the time on the NEC. The following year they were all voted to membership of the NEC at the Kabwe Consultative Conference.

The Shart commission's findings were never circulated within the ANC, but it is widely understood they apportioned blame to the excesses of the security organ, poor political education, poor recreation and quality of food and, of course, the eagerness of the soldiers to fight in SA itself. The inquiry's chief political commissar Andrew Mtsosodi, who was sidelined.

At present there is once again a drop in Unkhonho activity, as SA white soldiers have been fighting Unita and losing men. The ANC does not want history to repeat itself.

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# Self-interest predominates

Enlightened self-interest was the catalyst behind the historic accord that should see peace in Angola, independence in Namibia and help raise the threshold of prosperity in the southern African region within the foreseeable future.

The collectivist impoverishment of the Communist bloc, and the Soviet Union in particular, the futility of "liberation" conflicts in Africa, and the expense of maintaining South Africa's aggressive policy of armed intervention in the region were the major contributing factors, as was the United States' desire to see the Cubans out of Africa.

Those who were party to the accord, and those (like the Americans and British) who actively schemed for it, have shown the sensible ability to place economic advantage and humanitarian considerations above their various ideologies and dogmas. That is enormously encouraging.

For if it be a phenomenon that is extended, there might come a point at which other sensible governments will see that there is more to be gained for the peoples of southern Africa, regardless of colour, through co-existence with Pretoria. *Glasnost*, if you will. Pressure for the senseless economic terrorism of sanctions and boycotts should then gradually be undermined. And the parrot cry that this

country is a threat to world peace will be increasingly seen for the fatuity that it is.

But if this is to occur, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his enlightened generals who have achieved so much at the negotiating table, must not be let down by politicians who can see no further than their own limited constituencies. Plainly put, the reform process must be resumed and the blot of Boksburg removed.

The ideologists in Zimbabwe and Zambia (and, to an extent, still in Cuba), and in various pulpits, are well aware that the implications of this accord weakens their cry for sanctions — an expression of the institutional violence they condemn in Pretoria's actions. Their support is muted.

The ANC terrorists will no doubt increase their indiscriminate crimes as their awareness increases. They do not want reform. They want to inherit the whole repressive kingdom for their own collectivist purposes.

But there are also many reasonable critics who have been misled over sanctions and beguiled into supporting them through the need publicly to express their indignation at overt racism. The accord hopefully will be the first step in the long process of winning them back to reason. ■

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# Pik to speak at gas weapons conference

By Peter Fabricius **S** against the Unita rebels

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, will address the UN-sponsored conference on chemical weapons which starts in Paris tomorrow, Department of Foreign Affairs sources said.

He had been invited along with Foreign Ministers and representatives of more than 100 countries. He is expected to speak to the conference on Monday.

## UNITA REBELS

His department dismissed speculation that Mr Botha was intending to make a statement about alleged use of chemical weapons

in Angola. Sources said that these allegations had not been properly tested.

Mr Botha had accepted the invitation to attend the conference before the recent reports about the use of chemical weapons against Unita.

Instead Mr Botha would probably speak more generally, reiterating South African's endorsement of the Geneva Convention against the use of chemical weapons, of which it was a signatory, and expressing the hope that chemical weapons would be kept out of African conflicts.

● See Page 4

# '56 000 detained in four years'

MARITZBURG. — Nearly 56 000 people were detained in terms of South African security legislation, the emergency regulations and other political crimes between 1984 and March 1988, according to a publication of the Indicator Project of South Africa.

In its publication "Political Conflict in South Africa", Ipsa tabulates detentions of people in various government legislation categories on the basis of figures supplied by various monitoring agencies and government ministers.

As far as security legislation is concerned, a total of 8 414 people were detained between 1984 and

1988, 36 492 people were detained in terms of the emergency regulations between 1985 and 1987 and 11 006 people were held on charges of public violence, malicious damage to property, arson, assault and murder during 1986.

## Exclude homeland

Figures supplied by the government differed from those supplied by monitoring agencies for two reasons, according to the report.

When emergency detainees are held for less than 30 days, the government is not obliged to release their names, while figures of security legislation detainees supplied by the government exclude the homelands.

No regional breakdown of emergency detainees is supplied in the tables but the figure for security legislation detainees in Natal between 1984 and 1988 is 391. There were 67 people detained in 1984, 100 in 1985, 104 in 1986, 115 in 1987 and five up to June 1988.

The Transvaal recorded the highest number of security legislation detainees for the period with 420 detained in 1984, 262 in 1985, 323 in 1986, 203 in 1987 and 44 up to June 1988 — making a total of 1 252.

Of the independent states Transkei recorded the highest number of detainees, 2 836, for the period. — Sapa

## Tourists still here

TOURISTS are still streaming through Cape Town, though their numbers are diminishing slightly. The Captour Bureau says as many as 980 people a day still visit the office.

# Cuban 'threat' on UN's Namibia force

By MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — Cuba will regard any reduction from the planned 7 500-man strength of the United Nations monitoring force in Namibia as a breach of the peace agreement reached with the United States and South Africa, the Cuban ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Alfonso Fraga, said here yesterday.

Reacting to US pressure for economies in UN manpower, Mr Fraga told newsmen Cuba would insist upon the letter of UN resolution 435 as a condition for withdrawing its 50 000 troops from Angola over the intended 27-month period. He said 3 000 men were being withdrawn before April 1 purely as a goodwill gesture on the part of

President Fidel Castro's Havana government.

The Cuban envoy told a press conference the initial 3 000 were going home "not out of pressure from anyone".

Mr Fraga said US pledges of continued support for Unita clearly indicated that America intended to replace South Africa as the main sponsor of Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebels, but he believed President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' forces were now well able to cope with the insurgents.

Asked about an exchange of prisoners involving the captured South African soldier Private Johan Papenfus, Mr Fraga said he had no new information.

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## Does Papenfus want to go home, asks Cuban diplomat

ROBIN DREW

HARARE — Cuba's Ambassador to Zimbabwe wondered yesterday whether Private Johan Papenfus, the South African soldier who was taken to Cuba for medical treatment after being wounded and captured in Angola, would want to return home.

Mr Alfonso Fraga told newsmen: "We should ask Papenfus if he is in agreement with apartheid and if he wants to go back to South Africa."

The ambassador had been asked if he knew of any developments in a possible prisoner exchange. He had heard of the suggestion, he said, but he had no information.

Mr Fraga was asked at the news conference to mark the 30th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution to comment on a report that Cuba would supply Angola with chemical weapons to help it defeat Unita.

"That is the most absurd suggestion I have heard in my life," he said, "And typical of propaganda from the American CIA."

### Bombarded

"I categorically deny it," he said, adding that it was the United States who bombarded Vietnam with chemical weapons.

"Probably South Africa also had chemical weapons in Angola," he said.

Mr Fraga said if the American proposal to reduce the number of United Nations troops monitoring the South African troop withdrawal from Namibia succeeded, Cuba would regard it as a breach of the New York agreement.

"We are completely opposed to any modification of the modalities of United Nations resolution 435," he said.

He said the withdrawal from Angola next week of the first group of 3 000 Cuban troops going home before April 1 was proof of Cuba's goodwill.

He said suggestions that Cuba would have difficulty absorbing the 50 000 soldiers from Angola were simply imperialist propaganda.

"We are longing to have our soldiers home. There is no unemployment in Cuba. We have huge plans for housing and other development and we need every hand we can get."

Mr Fraga described Cuba's relations

with Zimbabwe as excellent.

This year 1 200 Zimbabweans would undergo teacher training in Cuba and 100 more were on other scholarships.

Four Cuban doctors were practising in Zimbabwe and 20 more were due this year.

● Reuter reports from Havana that Cuban President Fidel Castro has told the world, and his arch-enemy the United States, that the revolution he has steered almost single-handedly for 30 years on a Marxist-Leninist course is there to stay.

In two speeches during a week of celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the revolution, Mr Castro proclaimed "socialism or death" for Cuba, assured the revolution would last at least 100 years, blasted US "imperialism" and praised Soviet peace policy while at the same time criticising Moscow's stand in the UN Security Council.

One Western diplomat said: "It was vintage Fidel. He said what was expected, the timing was right and if there was any doubt about who is the custodian of ideological purity, now you know."

"Marxist-Leninism or death" Castro said last Sunday in the eastern city of Santiago, speaking from the same balcony on which 30 years earlier as a triumphant rebel leader he proclaimed "the revolution begins now".

"That is almost Maoist and certainly out of vogue in most of Eastern Europe," another diplomat said, referring to a growing perception that Castro was less than ready to follow Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's example and take ideology out of international politics.

In a speech on Wednesday night, Castro said the revolution would not alter its course and would remain true to its principles.

"The message is clear. I am Fidel. Castro, I am not copying anybody and I am not going to change," one European diplomat said.

Now 62 years old, Castro is one of the longest-serving leaders in the world. Most Cubans remember no other leader, and 30 years of US antagonism, have not managed to drive him from power.

# POW'S Loyalty questioned

# Angola extends amnesty offer to Savimbi

LISBON — Angola has offered to extend its amnesty law for Unita rebels to leader Jonas Savimbi in what is seen as a major change of position towards him.

Angolan ambassador to Lisbon Mawete Joao Baptista told the newspaper *Primeira Pagina*: "If Savimbi has the courage to return and give up fighting, he will be welcomed in Luanda under the amnesty



● SAVIMBI

3/Day 9/11/89  
KEN POTTINGER

law which is applicable to everyone." Previously Luanda had said the amnesty was applicable to any Unita guerrilla fighter except Savimbi. President José Eduardo dos Santos made it clear to one reporter that, in his view, Savimbi was a war criminal who should be tried as such.

Observers here suggest this softening of position could signal the start of some kind of negotiation with Unita to end the internal conflict.

Most commentators have speculated that once the Cuban withdrawal got under way, Luanda would either launch an all-out offensive against Unita or make peace overtures.

□ Sapa-AP reports from New York that to verify Cuba's withdrawal of an estimated 50 000 soldiers from Angola, the UN "will trust the information given by both countries" about the troop pull-out, Brazilian Brig-Gen Pericles Ferreira Gomes, commanding the UN's verification mission, told the New York Times.

● See Page 3



# Courage of SA soldiers impresses departing Cubans

From JOHN RYAN  
Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — Cuban troops have praised the courage of the South African soldiers against whom they fought in Angola.

They were particularly impressed by the South Africans' readiness to risk danger to retrieve casualties from the battlefield.

These comments came from some of the first batch of Cuban troops to leave Angola. The contingent of 450 will depart tomorrow.

It will be the first concrete step towards implementing the peace process decided on by Cuba, Angola and South Africa in the agreement for eventual peace for Namibia signed in New York on December 22.

In terms of that agreement, three thousand of the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola have to be repatriated by April 1 this year.

Announcing the departure of the 450 here yesterday, a Cuban spokeswoman said the fact that the withdrawal was begin-

ning almost three months early should be seen as a sign of goodwill on Cuba's part.

The spokeswoman said the rest of the 3 000 would leave in phases between tomorrow and April 1. The last Cuban troops are supposed to be out of Angola by July 1 1991. Half the number are scheduled to leave by November 1 this year.

## Spoke freely

The spokeswoman said the first contingent would include troops of all ranks and some of the air force officers who had prepared the Angolan pilots for the historic battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

A large group of foreign journalists is in Luanda to record the start of the Cuban pullout. They have come at the invitation of the Angolan government which is laying on a full programme for the occasion.

The journalists were taken to two military museums in the

capital and saw some captured South African weaponry.

They also visited one of the Cuban camps and spoke freely to the soldiers who will be leaving. Most said they were volunteers who had enlisted to come to Angola to help the people of Angola against an alien invader but held no grudges against South Africans.

In fact, several praised the courage of the South African troops they had encountered and said they were particularly impressed that the SADF would risk great dangers to retrieve its dead.

Top military brass representing the Cuban minister of defence, Raoul Castro, is in the country to witness the week's events.

The Cubans are also making plans to ship out the last of their dead. More than a thousand Cuban nationals are reported to have died in the war.

## SADF denies using napalm on Angolans

The Argus Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Defence Force has "emphatically denied" that it used napalm in Angola in contravention of the Geneva Convention.

Responding to claims made at a Press conference in Luanda at which a napalm bomb, said to be part of the South African equipment captured during last year's fighting, was displayed, an SADF spokesman said: "It was predictable that the Cubans would use the Press visit to gain maximum propaganda value.

"The Defence Force denies emphatically that it has used napalm."

He would not comment on whether South Africa possessed the highly-inflammable petrol-based substance which is particularly suited for anti-personnel roles and has tremendous psychological impact on the victims.

Sapa reports that South African journalist were among the international Press contingent in Luanda to witness the departure of the first Cuban forces from Angola tomorrow.

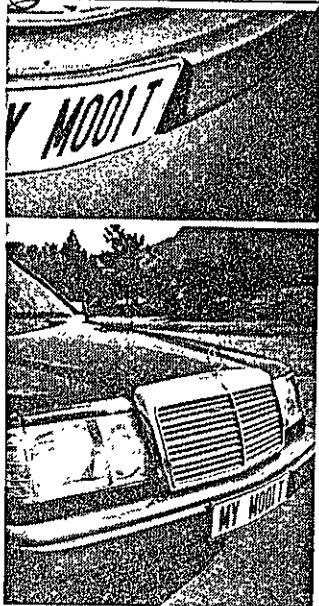
They were shown some of the arms, equipment and military vehicles captured from South African forces inside Angola, according to Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency.

Among the items was a napalm bomb, which, it was said, had been used by South Africa inside Angola in contravention of international regulations, which ban its use. They also saw photographs of the results of the use of napalm on its human victims, Ziana said.

Ammunition in a box marked "Zaire" and captured from Unita rebels bore witness to the help Unita had been receiving through Zaire as well as South Africa.

First-Sergeant Jose Morin explained, while showing newsmen around a Cuban-mounted display, that the withdrawal of Cuban forces was not linked to Namibian independence, but to South Africa's agreement to withdraw from Angola and "desist from further invasions."

He emphasised that Cuban troops had been forced to fight, and helped Angolan forces defeat South African forces at Cuito Cuanavale and in Cunene.



Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

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# ANC PULLS OUT Angola camps to close

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From page 1

already begun because alternative bases had been found. They did not say where the new camps were being established

However, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Libya are believed to be the most likely countries to allow the establishment of the camps.

Many African countries are reluctant to allow armed guerilla groups to be based within their borders, although publicly they have supported "liberation movements" such as the ANC and the PAC.

In the past, Tanzania has refused to allow the ANC to use its territory for military training although two major refugee centres, including the Solomon Mahlangu College, are located in the country, and it may well maintain this policy.

Libya has previously provided military support for the PAC and because of this, the ANC may be reluctant to have bases there or Libya may be unwilling to support both exiled movements.

So, Ethiopia seems to be the most likely new host country for the ANC's guerilla bases.

According to South African intelligence sources, there are at present eight ANC camps in Angola, including four bases for military training and the detention centre at Quatro camp.

Although the ANC accepts that the move will make it more difficult for it operate, intelligence sources do not believe it will make a major difference to its operations.

**By BARRY STREEK**  
**THE African National Congress (ANC) announced yesterday that it would be moving its guerilla camps out of Angola, until now the location of its main military training bases.**

The banned organisation said it planned to dismantle the camps in support of the accords aimed at ending the conflicts in Namibia and Angola.

In a separate move the first Cuban contingent of 450 soldiers to withdraw from Angola following the signing of the US-brokered Angola-Namibia peace accords in New York in December will fly home tomorrow. The troops form the first group of 3 000 Cubans that must leave Angola by April 1.

The ANC's decision, revealed in an annual policy statement by the organisation's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, to mark its 77th anniversary, follows the signing of peace agreements between Angola, South Africa and Cuba.

Mr Tambo is a listed person in

terms of the Internal Security Act and cannot be quoted in South Africa but ANC sources said they had readily agreed to move the military camps to prevent South Africa using this as an excuse to block Namibia's independence.

A key element of the agreements between South Africa and Angola is an Nkomati-type accord in terms of which neither country will permit armed aggression from within their borders against each other.

This means that South Africa will have to stop supporting Unita, as has already been announced, and that the ANC's military bases will no longer be situated in Angola.

Last night Brigadier Leon Meillet, liaison officer to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, reacted to the ANC statement by saying: "In view of the Angolan peace talks, we expected the announcement to be made and we will monitor the situation very carefully.

"We have the means and intelligence to monitor the situation carefully," Brigadier Meillet said.

In Lusaka yesterday, sources close to the ANC told Reuters that the dismantling of the military camps had

to page 2

# Cubans proud

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LUANDA. — Cuba's infantrymen, gunners and pilots, who will start leaving Angola next week, are happy to be going home but proud of what they see as their victory over the South African army.

This pride was expressed repeatedly yesterday by the 450 servicemen and women who will fly home tomorrow, the first Cuban contingent to withdraw from Angola following the signing of the US-brokered Angola-Namibia peace accords in New York in December.

"I'm happy to go home but I'm proud as well because we did our duty," Salvador Basunto, a 20-year-old anti-aircraft gunner from Camaguey, told Reuters during the first visit by foreign reporters to a transit camp outside Luanda.

The Cubans, gathered at the camp, said their role in the 13-year Angolan war had been decisive in forcing a South African withdrawal and in the peace accords.

The young Cubans were philosophical about the rigours of fighting in Angola's flat, desolate southern bushland, and were scornful of the fighting capacity of their former South African opponents.

"They were obviously well equipped and had sophisticated weaponry but they were cowards. They ran away," said Roberto Figueredo, a 23-year-old infantryman from Las Tunas.

"Our morale was very high and this contributed to the defeat of the invaders."

Most of the soldiers said separation from family and friends had been the hardest part of serving in Angola. "The first thing that I'm going to do is to have a party with my family and girlfriend," said 20-year-old Rafael Perez Alvarez, an infantryman from Camaguey, going home after two years.

Cuban commanders are reluctant to give details of the number of their soldiers who died in Angola, but Cuban casualties are believed to number several thousand.

An SADF spokesman said at the weekend that the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola was in accordance with the agreement signed in New York last month.

"As far as Cuito Cuanavale is concerned the SADF has stated repeatedly that it was never a military objective. Furthermore one can hardly expect Cuban soldiers leaving Angola to admit that in all the years there they had achieved nothing against the SADF," the spokesman said. — Sapa-Reuter

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# Dos Santos calls for clean slate as Cubans dally

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has called for an end to foreign intervention in his country as his Cuban allies look like dragging their feet to the airport.

The state news agency Angop reported on Saturday Dos Santos said the end of foreign intervention, especially by SA and the US, was vital for his government's policy of clemency and fulfilment of peace accords signed last month in New York.

From Harare, Michael Hartnack reports that Cuba will regard any reduction from the planned 7 500-man UN monitoring force in Namibia as a breach of the agreement.

He adds that Cuban ambassador Alfonso Fraga, reacting to US pressure for economies in UN manpower, said Cuba would insist on the letter of UN resolution 435 as a condition for withdrawing its 50 000 troops from Angola over the intended 27 month period.

Fraga, President Fidel Castro's envoy in Zimbabwe, said the 3 000 men being withdrawn before April 1 made up a goodwill gesture by Havana, Hartnack reports.



● DOS SANTOS

Angola, Cuba and SA signed the peace accord in New York December 22.

The Cubans, who have supported Luanda against SA and US-backed Unita rebels in a 13-year civil war, are due to start leaving tomorrow. In return SA has pledged to implement an independence plan for Namibia.

Unita is not party to the accords and has said it will continue to fight the Angolan government. Luanda offers amnesty to rebels who renounce Unita but has repeatedly refused to negotiate with rebel leader Jonas Savimbi.

In Harare, Fraga said US pledges of continued support for Unita clearly indicated America intended to replace SA as the main sponsor of Savimbi's rebels.

He added that Angolan government forces were now able to cope with the insurgents.

He added he had no new information on captured SA soldier Johan Papenfus. "Papenfus is receiving special medical care in Cuba. He was wounded in Angola and taken to Cuba precisely to be able to give him more comprehensive medical care."

Fraga said the question of ANC bases in Angola was a matter for the Angolan government but Cuba would continue giving the organisation its fullest possible support.

He denied the return of troops from Angola would cause serious socio-economic problems for Cuba. Sapa-AP.

Star 9/11/88  
SA astounded by general's reported remarks on Cubans

# Troop withdrawal 'on trust'

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The South African Government has greeted with consternation the United Nations plan, reported today, to accept the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola on trust and without verification.

It is likely to challenge the UN on the reported remarks of the head of the UN Verification Mission, General Ferreira Gomes of Brazil, that the world body would simply trust Cuba to adhere to an agreement to remove its 50 000 troops from Angola.

Senior South African diplomatic sources today said the general's remarks most certainly were not in accordance with what South Africa expected and understood by the agreements signed last year by South Africa, Cuba and Angola.

The agreement between the countries made specific provisions for effective verification. It provided for real mechanisms to monitor the withdrawal of Cuba's forces from the region to the satisfaction of everyone, including South Africa, they said.

## Immediate approach

The sources indicated South Africa was likely to take up the matter with the United Nations immediately after establishing if the general's comments were reported accurately and in proper context.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Piik Botha, is in Paris today to address an international conference on chemical warfare and could not be reached for immediate comment.



Rescue workers form a human chain to relay victims from the shattered fuselage of the airliner which crashed 16 km north of London last night.

## 37 killed in UK plane crash

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The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is in Paris today to address an international conference on chemical warfare and could not be reached for immediate comment.

South Africa is already concerned by the apparent inability of the UN to come to an agreement on the peace-keeping force which is to monitor the implementation of Namibia's independence process.

The starting date for Namibia's independence process, in terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435, is April 1.

The UN was supposed to have agreed on the size and composition of its peace-keeping force by December 31.

It has still not reached any finality on either the size or composition of the force.

General Gomes told the *New York Times* his verification would be based on trust.

"When they tell us there are no more troops, we will tell the United Nations they have gone.

"We will trust the information given by both countries. It would not be normal for two countries to sign an agreement and not to fulfil it," General Ferreira Gomes reportedly said.



Rescue workers

## 37 I

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"We believe this as a result of there are still some people police told a new.

He said he did trapped people was also not caught aboard the plane there may have been on the highway.

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# ANC 'planning' to close Angola camps

By Esther Waugh,

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress said yesterday that it planned to dismantle camps in Angola to support peace accords aimed at ending the conflicts in Namibia and Angola.

According to the ANC, the agreements signed in New York last month were of great strategic significance for the region. It was against this background that the ANC moved its bases from Angola for fear of delaying the implementation of peace in the region. It would not disclose where they would be sited.

## JACKSON

Later yesterday, the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the Rev Jesse Jackson addressed a media conference in Lusaka to mark the 77th anniversary of the organisation.

The former US presidential hopeful was in the Zambian capital for an Afro-American Institute conference.

South Africans present included the former opposition leader and chairman of Idasa, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former editor Mr Harald Pakendorf, and UDF leaders Mr Mohammed Valli and Mr Murphy Morobe.

Mr Jackson challenged South Africa to honour the New York agreement bringing peace to Namibia and said the South African Government had betrayed a 1978 peace agreement.

He said South Africa had given support to the MNR after the Nkomati Accord.

The ANC said it would not hold any more "birthday press conferences" before the organisation could stage the next one in Bloemfontein, where it was founded in 1912.

It said it was ready to negotiate with the SA Government.

Asked about the alleged detention of people by the organisation, it admitted that this was the case. This was described as a "normal activity of forces in conflict".

# SADF didn't use napalm

The South African Defence Force has "emphatically denied" that it has ever used napalm in Angola in contravention of the Geneva Convention.

A spokesman was responding today to claims made at a media conference in Luanda at which a napalm bomb, said to be part of the South African equipment captured during last year's fighting, was displayed.

"It was predictable that the Cubans would use the press visit to gain maximum propaganda value. The Defence Force denies emphatically that it has used napalm," said the spokesman. He would not comment on whether the SADF possessed the deadly substance.

# Cuban troops full of praise for courage of SADF soldiers

By John Ryan,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

LUANDA — Cuban troops have praised the courage of the South African soldiers against whom they fought in Angola and said they were particularly impressed by the South Africans' readiness to risk danger to retrieve casualties from the battlefield.

These comments came from some of the first batch of Cuban troops to leave Angola. The contingent of 450 will depart tomorrow.

It will be the first concrete step towards implementing the peace process decided on by Cuba, Angola and South Africa in the agreement for eventual peace for Namibia signed in New York on December 22.

A spokesman said the first contingent would include troops of all ranks.

A large group of foreign journalists is in Luanda to record the start of the Cuban pull-out. They have come at the invitation of the Angolan government which is laying on a full programme for the occasion.

The journalists today were taken to two military museums in the capital and saw some captured South African weaponry. They also visited one of the Cuban camps and spoke freely to the soldiers who will be leaving.

Most said they were impressed that the SADF would risk great dangers to retrieve its dead.

In fact, several praised the courage of the South African troops they had encountered and said they were particularly impressed that the SADF would risk great dangers to retrieve its dead.

to help the people of Angola against an alien invader, but they said they held no grudges against South Africans.

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# WE HAVE MOVED ANGOLA BASES — ANC

Swetani  
9/11/84 (S) (15)

THE African National Congress said yesterday it planned to dismantle guerilla camps in Angola to support peace accords aimed at ending the conflicts in Namibia and Angola.

Cuba, South Africa and Angola signed agreements in New York last month binding South Africa to give independence to Namibia and providing for a phased withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Sources close to the ANC told Reuters that the dismantling of the military camps had already begun because alternative bases had been found. They did not say where the new camps were being established.

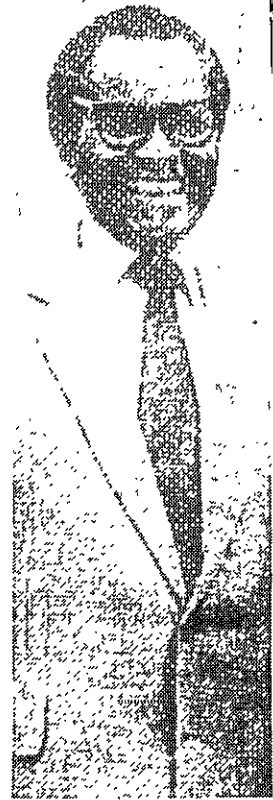
Pretoria had demanded the removal of ANC camps from Angola during US-brokered talks which began last May and resulted in the December peace accords.

## Cuban troops

The first contingent of Cuban troops is expected to leave for home on Tuesday while a un-supervised Namibian independence process is scheduled to begin on April 1.

The Cubans have been fighting alongside Angolan Government forces since 1975 against rightwing rebels of Unita — the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola — which is backed by the United States and South Africa.

Pretoria has ruled mineral-rich Namibia, which borders Angola, for 73 years. In recent years it has defied United Nations demands for the territory's independence. — Sapa-Reuter.



MR Oliver Tambo

AR405 9/1/89 (5)

# ANC will shut Angola camps 'to help peace'

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress said yesterday it planned to dismantle guerrilla camps in Angola to support peace accords aimed at ending the conflict in Namibia and Angola.

It said the agreements signed in New York on December 22 were of great strategic significance to the region. It was against this background that the organisation would move its bases from Angola for fear of delaying the implementation of peace in the region.

It would not disclose where the bases would be moved to.

Later yesterday, the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and US Congressman the Rev. Jesse Jackson, addressed a media conference in Lusaka to mark the 77th anniversary of the ANC.

The Democratic congressman was in the Zambian capital for an Afro-American Institute conference. South Africans present included the former Opposition leader and chairman of Idasa, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former editor Mr Harald Pakendorf and UDF leaders Mr Mohammed Valli and Mr Murphy Morobe.

Mr Jackson said he hoped that the ANC would continue to grow as an organisation.

Referring to Namibia he challenged South Africa to honour the New York agreement bringing peace to south-western Africa, and said the South African government had betrayed a peace agreement made in 1978.

He also said that after the SA government concluded the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, it had continued to give support to the MNR.

Mr Jackson said he had just returned from a four-day visit to Angola where he had discussions with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Mr Jackson said he hoped that US President-elect George Bush would meet Mr Tambo. He hoped that the Bush administration would recognise the ANC as a legitimate, freedom fighting organisation.


© Courage of SA soldiers  
praised, page 3.

**ANC: SA 'cannot relax'**

JOHANNESBURG. — A spokesman for the South African Defence Force said yesterday that reports that the ANC planned to dismantle its training camps in Angola did not mean that South Africa could afford to relax its vigilance against terrorism, SABC radio news reports.

The spokesman said any withdrawal of such a nature was primarily a matter between the ANC and the Angolan government, but added that South Africa would keep a close watch on developments.

The main prerequisite was that the ANC stop "all acts of terrorism against innocent citizens". — Sapa



Cuban soldiers scheduled to leave Angola under the recently concluded Southern African peace agreement, carry children on their shoulders at a ceremony yesterday at a military training camp near Luanda. The AK-47 assault rifles of the soldiers were decorated with bougainvillea flowers.

## Cubans decorated during emotional farewell ceremony

Star  
10/1/89  
By John Ryan,  
The Star's Africa News Service. (S)

LUANDA — Angola bade a formal farewell yesterday to the first returning Cubans on an emotional occasion of much mutual acclaim by the allies in the 13-year war.

Battalions of both armies goosestepped and chanted war songs while two formations of Soviet MIG-23s made a low pass overhead. The venue was the top secret and closely guarded training camp at Funda, 50 km north-east of Luanda.

Present were all the 3 000 Cuban troops who are scheduled to leave Angola by April 1 in terms of the tripartite agreement signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba in New York on December 22. The first 450 of them will fly out today in three aircraft.

The Angolan government decorated 34 Cubans, including several generals and colonels.

### AGREEMENT BREACH

The medals were awarded for bravery under fire, particularly during the eight-month long battle of Cuito Cuanavale which ended last July.

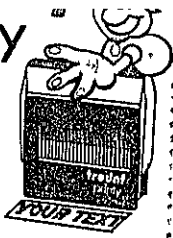
Angola's Minister of Defence, Mr Pedro Mario Tonha, appeared to breach a tacit agreement between the two sides that there was "no loser" in the war in Angola when he praised the Cubans in general for "helping us to win and to get peace for the African continent and help contribute to world humanity."

On the dais with the Minister and top brass of the two allied forces was Brazilian Brigadier General Pericles Ferreira Gomes, the man entrusted to monitor the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and the South African troops from Namibia.



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# US expects UN to do job properly

Star 10/11/89  
By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States government has made it plain that it expects United Nations officials monitoring Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola to do their job properly.

The US intervention came after the warning issued yesterday by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, that the entire series of interlocking peace agree-

ments reached between South Africa, Angola and Cuba could be endangered if any of the parties did not fulfil their commitments.

He gave his warning in reaction to a reported comment by the UN's Chief Military Observer in Luanda, Brazilian Brigadier-General Pericles Ferreira Gomes, that the UN verification mission would rely on the word of Angola and Cuba.

In a statement, the State Department's senior spokesman, Mr Charles Redman, said the verification mission would begin its work this week with the withdrawal of the first Cuban troops.

"We expect that to be conducted seriously and efficiently," he said.

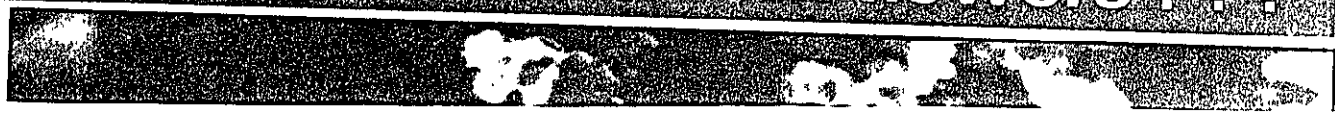
General Gomes's comments, reported in the *New York Times*, contrast with the details

of the verification mission as outlined in a report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, on December 17.

In Washington yesterday, Mr Redman indicated that the US would be watching the departure and the verification process.

"There will be on-site inspection of the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola across the 27-month schedule," he said.

## Saying farewell with flowers



# Angola's 13-year allies bid farewell

**Argus Africa News Service**  
LUANDA. — Angola bade formal farewell to the first returning Cubans in an emotional occasion of much mutual acclaim by the allies in the 13-year war.

Battalions of both armies yesterday goose-stepped and chanted war songs while two formations of Soviet Mig-23s made a low pass overhead. The venue was the top secret training camp at Funda, 50km north-east of Luanda.

Western journalists, including two South Africans, were

allowed into the training camp for the first time

Present were all the 3 000 Cuban troops who are scheduled to leave Angola by April 1 in terms of the tripartite agreement signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba in New York on December 22.

The first 450 of them will fly out today in three aircraft.

The Angolan government decorated 34 Cubans for bravery under fire, particularly during the eight-month long battle of Cuito Cuanavale which ended last July.

Angola's Minister of Defence, Pedro Mario Tonha, appeared to breach a tacit agreement between the two sides that there was "no loser" in the war in Angola when he praised the Cubans for "helping us to win and to get peace for the African continent and help contribute to world humanity".

The Minister added: "Cuito Cuanavale was a test of the determination of our people to win or die for our country." Both armies applauded Mr Tonha when he referred to South African "aggression".

On the dais with the Minister and the top brass of the two allied forces was Brazilian Brigadier-General Pericles Ferreira Gomes, the man entrusted to monitor the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola and the South African troops from Namibia.

At an impromptu Press conference after the ceremony, the United Nations chief military observer said he was confident the 70-man Unavem (UN Angola Verification Mission) was big enough to do its job.

## SHOWN GOODWILL

"We don't need to be a force," General Gomes said, "We are a mission. There is no need for force. We will be dealing with two nations who have shown their goodwill by signing this agreement. Our job is to verify where they are going."

He was not worried about whether the Cubans would all be out by the deadline, July 1 1991.

● In Addis Ababa, the African National Congress said yesterday it had not decided where in Africa to base its military headquarters after they were dismantled in Angola.

"We are still in the process of consultation with our allies on the best location for our bases," said Solly Rasebotsa, ANC information officer in Ethiopia.

He denied that the movement would set up camps in Ethiopia.

African diplomats speculated that the new location could be Tanzania or Ethiopia, which in the past had offered to train ANC fighters. — Sapa-Reuter

● See page 2.



# Thousands cheer as Cubans leave Angola

LUANDA — The first of 50 000 Cuban troops being withdrawn from Angola were given an enthusiastic send-off by thousands of cheering Angolans yesterday as they climbed aboard a plane taking them home.

All the troops are scheduled to be pulled out by mid-1991 under the terms of peace accords signed by Angola, Cuba and SA in New York in December.

The 450 Cuban servicemen and women paraded on the tarmac at Luanda airport in front of the flag brought by the first Cuban troops to Angola 13 years ago.

The flag was to return with them.



The first of the Cuban troops on their way out of Angola yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

Senior officers of the Cuban and Angolan armed forces and Brazilian general Pericles Ferreira, the head of the UN team monitoring the

Cuban withdrawal, signed on the tarmac a document verifying the pullout of the 450.

Earlier, in Luanda's First of May Square, thousands

turned out to say goodbye to the Cubans, many of whom wept with emotion.

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos thanked the Cubans for their role in Angola's civil war.

He said: "I convey to you the deepest gratitude of the Angolan people."

A minute's silence was observed for Cuban soldiers who died in Angola, believed to number several thousand.

Paying tribute to his forces, Cuban general Abelardo Colome Ibarra said the Cuban and Angolan troops had shattered the myth of the SA army's military invincibility in southern Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

*Copy 7/11/79*  
**Angola not dropping ANC support**

LUSAKA. — Angola said yesterday that it was not abandoning its fight against apartheid following the decision by the African National Congress to close guerrilla bases in its territory.

"We are not saying to the world that we are stopping our support to the ANC because their struggle is universal," Angolan Ambassador to Zambia Mr. Luis Neto Kiambata said.

"We are still going to condemn apartheid until it is removed."

He said the dismantling of the camps would not affect the armed struggle because the ANC never entered SA from Angola.

● Sources close to the ANC said the camps would be moved to Ethiopia, Uganda and Cuba. Tanzania, reported to be another possible location, was unwilling to host the ANC's military headquarters.

# Rousing send-off for Cuban troops

CM 7:00 P  
11/18/79  
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**LUANDA.** — The Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola began yesterday with a rousing send-off from the Angolan people, Ziana reports.

"Thousands upon thousands of Angolans paraded around 1st May Square here waving Angolan and Cuban flags and chanting: "Cuba, Angola united we shall win," the agency report said.

An African National Congress contingent, which included many South African children, also took part in the procession.

There was also a "moving ceremony, during which representatives of Angola's workers, women and youth, as well as President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, expressed the appreciation of the Angolan people for the help given by Cuba in defending Angola against South Africa".

The first 450 soldiers due to leave were driven to the airport to board three Cuban aircraft.

They were counted on to the aircraft by officers of the United Nations Angolan Verification Mission (UNAVEM), who expressed satisfaction with the withdrawal exercise and the Cuban and Angolan goodwill gesture in withdrawing the first troops well before the April 1 date agreed.

A further 1 000 troops are expected to leave by sea within the next 24 hours, according to a member of the UNAVEM team and 3 000, due to be withdrawn by April, are expected to have left by Sunday.

At the airport the 450 troops, of both sexes and ranks, paraded on the tarmac.

In his speech, President Dos Santos paid tribute to the Cuban forces and listed some of the battles in which Cuban and Angolan forces had "distinguished themselves and crushed the enemy", Ziana reported.

He promised to erect a monument to commemorate the heroism of both Angolan Fapla and Cuban soldiers.

He thanked them for their role in Angola's 13-year war against South Africa since it became independent from Portugal in 1975.

A minute's silence was observed for Cuban soldiers who died in Angola. Several thousand are believed to have been killed but Havana has declined to give an exact figure.

● Unita rebels said yesterday that they had killed 30 Angolan soldiers and sabotaged an oil plant and a diamond mine in recent attacks.

They claimed to have destroyed an oil plant 27km east of Sovo in the oil-rich northern province of Zaire. — Sapa-Reuter

# Tears, smiles as Cubans leave

(5)

Star 11/11/89

HAVANA — Cuba said the first contingent of 150 Cuban soldiers to withdraw from Angola left Luanda yesterday with a mixture of tears and smiles.

The state-run Prensa Latina news agency said they flew out after a farewell ceremony attended by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and were to be followed later in the

day by 300 other servicemen and women in two other planes.

The pullout, first step in the phased withdrawal of all the 50 000 Cuban troops stationed in Angola, is part of an accord signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

According to the agreed timetable, 3 000 Cuban troops must be

withdrawn by April 1, the date of implementation of a 1976 UN resolution on the independence of Namibia.

Bidding farewell to the Cubans, Mr Dos Santos said two monuments would be erected, one to the Cuban combatants and the other to the "heroic battle" of Cuito Cuanavale. — Sapa-  
Reuter.

# 3 000 Cubans to pull out of Angola before deadline

11/11/87  
By John Ryan, The Star's Africa News Service (S)

LUANDA — Three thousand Cuban troops will have left Angola by January 15 — 2½ months ahead of the deadline set in the tripartite agreement signed by Cuba, Angola and South Africa in New York on December 22.

This was announced in Luanda yesterday by members of Untag (the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group) as the first 450 departing Cubans flew out of Luanda to a tumultuous send-off.

## GOODWILL

An Untag spokesman said the Cuban military leaders had decided to speed up the process of the first stage of withdrawal as a sign of Cuba's goodwill over the implementation of Reso-

lution 435 in Namibia.

One thousand more of the first batch of 3 000 troops due to leave by Sunday are standing by to embark on a Cuban vessel at the moment.

The ship was expected to depart early today.

The next deadline is November 1, when half of the estimated 50 000 Cubans in the country are supposed to have withdrawn.

Cuba has pledged that all will have left Angola by July 1 1991.

Fifty thousand Angolans crammed the streets of the capital in carnival mood yesterday for the initial troop departure.

Schoolchildren, given a half-day holiday for the occasion, strewed flowers in the path of marching troops.

UN observers on Luanda docks

# Cuba ships out another 1 000 from Angola

6/Day 12/1/89

5

LUANDA — About 1 000 more Cuban troops are believed to have left Angola yesterday.

The first 450 who flew out on Tuesday returned home yesterday to an ecstatic welcome in Havana.

The head of the UN Angolan Verification Mission (Unavem), Brigadier Gen Pericles Ferreira Gomes, said observers in Luanda had checked the numbers of Cubans embarking by air and sea and found them correct.

He said Unavem had 70 observers and 20 back-up staff. He believed this was adequate to verify redeployment of Cuban troops from southern Angola and their eventual withdrawal from Angola.

The exercise was originally due to begin on April 1 and take 27 months. Cuba and Angola decided to begin the withdrawal early as a goodwill gesture.

Gomes said once Unavem had established a headquarters Angola and Cuba would supply it with details of the Cuban troops in Angola.

The number had been given in the SA-Cuba-Angola agreement as 50 000, but if the number turned out to be more Unavem would work on the higher figure.

He added his observers would be notified by Angola and Cuba which troops were being moved from the 15th to the 13th parallel. They would

also be told the precise departure and destination locations of the troops.

Verification checks would be made by Unavem of both their departure and arrivals at new bases.

Rotation of Cuban troops would continue and Unavem would also be checking on the arrival of new forces.

Gomes said his mission would not monitor the existence of any ANC bases in Angola nor movements of any of the organisation's members.

## Oversee

Meanwhile, Swapo said in Lusaka yesterday that a proposed reduction in the UN monitoring force in Namibia amounted to rewriting the territory's independence plan.

Some UN security council members want the UN Transitional Assistance Group, which will oversee Namibia's transition to independence, cut from 7 500 to 3 000 men.

The UN blueprint for Namibian independence is resolution 435, adopted in 1978, which provides for a 7 500-strong peace force.

"Our reasons for wanting a big monitoring force are more valid now and to talk about a reduction in Un-tag is to re-write Plan 435," a Swapo spokesman said. — Sapa-Reuter.

CML 9-17-89 12/1/89

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## Another 1 000 Cubans leave Angola

LUANDA. — About 1 000 more Cuban troops are believed to have left Angola by sea following the airlift yesterday of the first 450 Cuban troops to be withdrawn, Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency, reports.

The head of the United Nations Angolan Verification Mission (Unavem), Brigadier-General Ferreira Gomes, would not confirm this, saying confirmation could come only from Angola or Cuba.

However, he confirmed that Unavem observers had gone to

the port and had checked on the numbers of embarking Cubans and found them to be correct.

Yesterday, one of the Unavem officers, Captain Eilert Johannesen, said 1 000 Cuban soldiers were due to depart by sea. Last night, military vehicles were reportedly seen entering the port with Cuban soldiers.

General Gomes explained to newsmen yesterday how his Unavem team would operate. He said there were 70 observers and 20 back-up staff to verify the redeployment of Cuban troops from

southern Angola to further north and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Asked whether his mission would monitor the existence of any ANC bases in Angola, he replied: "Of course not."

Redeployment was due to have begun on April 1. The total withdrawal of the troops is scheduled to be completed 27 months later.

However, Cuba and Angola decided to begin the withdrawal early as a goodwill gesture. — Sapa-AP

# Angola president urges US to recognise his govt

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola yesterday appealed to the United States to recognise his government and said Unita rebels should not hinder the establishment of diplomatic ties between Washington and Luanda.

"We believe that the argu-

ments (against recognition) that the State Department in Washington was raising have been removed and we hope that the two governments can take steps to normalise relations as soon as possible," the president told a press conference.

● President-elect Mr George

*Star 12/1/89*  
Bush has assured Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi that the US government will support Unita until the Angolan government reaches a settlement with him, according to *The Washington Post* newspaper.

A January 6 letter by Mr Bush also commits his adminis-

tration to push for other governments to work for an agreement between Angola and Dr Savimbi's Unita movement, the newspaper reported today.

In the letter, Mr Bush promised to "continue all appropriate and effective assistance to Unita" until Dr Savimbi's political goals are reached.

● In Havana, President Fidel Castro welcomed home yesterday the first Cuban soldiers withdrawn from Angola and told them he regretted he could not shake hands with each one.

● The estimated 50 000 Cuban troops in Angola will take all their military equipment with them as they withdraw from the country.

This was said in Luanda yesterday by the chief military observer of the United Nations Angola verification mission, Brigadier General Pericles Ferreira Gomes of Brazil.

General Gomes said he was satisfied his team of 70 military observers and 20 civilian support staff would be large enough to monitor the Cuban departure.

Sapa-AP-Reuter-The Star's Africa News Service.



Brigadier-General Pericles Ferreira Gomes gives details of the Cuban withdrawal in Luanda yesterday.



# Muted welcome for Cuba's returning 'heroes of war'

stars 12/1/89  
5

HAVANA — The first contingent of returning Cuban troops, which left Angola on Tuesday, can look forward on their return to an indifferent reception and few special privileges.

For the first time, bodies of Cubans killed in Angola will also be repatriated, relieving a long-standing source of anguish for families with sons or daughters buried on foreign soil.

The Cuban government is preparing for the arrival of about 50 000 of its troops over the next 2½ years after last month's regional accord between South Africa, Angola and Cuba to secure Namibian independence.

The first batch of 450 soldiers, including doctors and a women's anti-aircraft battery, are among 3 000 Cubans required to leave Angola by April 1.

In theory, each veteran's job was held open by law, but most were filled on their departure to Angola.

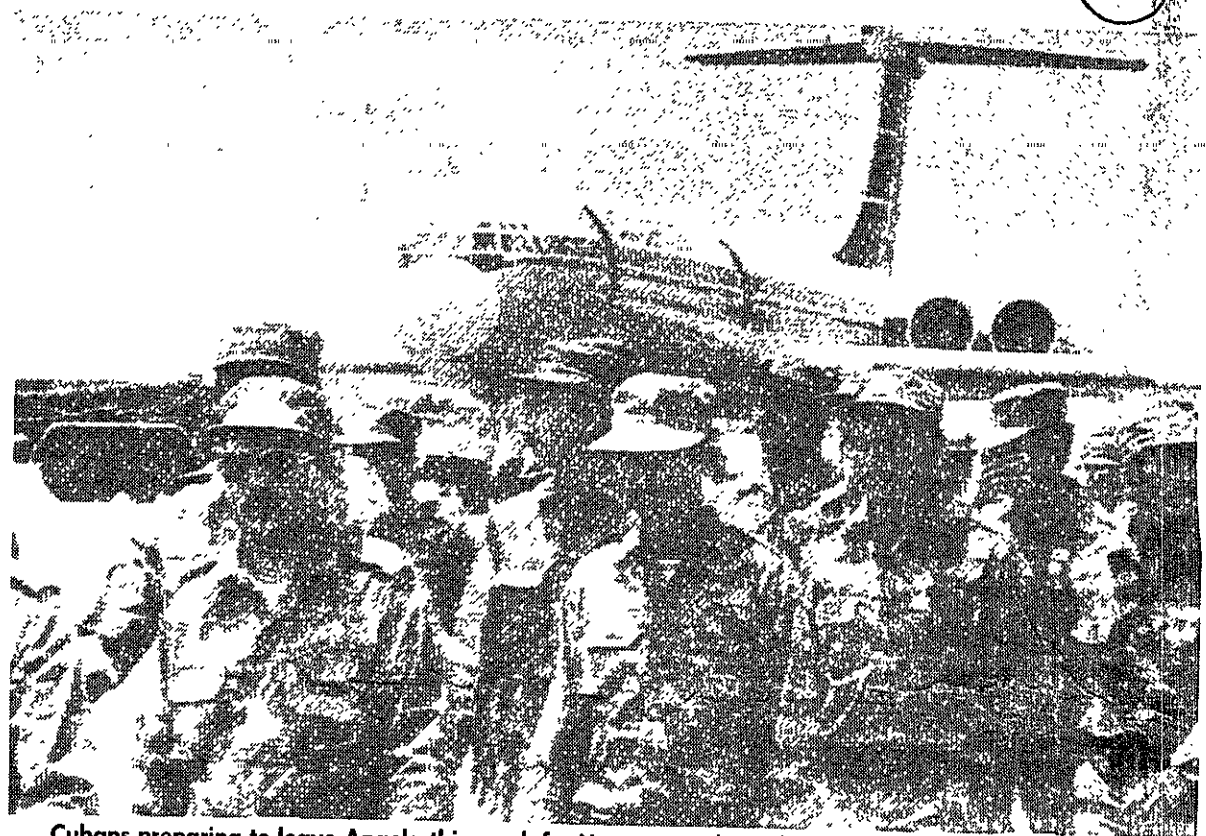
## Aids tests

The authorities plan to disperse the former soldiers through education programmes or re-training, or by making use of their experience in Angola in areas such as medicine.

It is also responding to the prevalence of Aids in Africa by testing all returning soldiers for the virus.

For the "restless", as one official termed those who may find it hard to readjust to Cuba's rigid, and somewhat dull, social structure after the adventure of Angola, there are the "micro-brigades".

Each brigade is comprised of a half-dozen "volunteers" who work mainly on housing projects and although the hours are long and hard, brigade members often get preferential consideration when the new homes are



Cubans preparing to leave Angola this week for Havana . . . but what sort of welcome awaits them?

BY CHRIS MCGREAL

Only a muted welcome awaits the approximately 50 000 troops due to return from Angola to Cuba.

assigned.

Cubans who complete international service — as duty in Angola and elsewhere is known — qualify for other privileges. They are placed high on the list for the few "white goods" available in Cuba, such as refrigerators and television, and they can expect faster promotion at work, officials say.

The bodies of soldiers killed in Angola will be coming back with the returning troops. The government refuses to give details, but says the total number can be counted in hundreds. Other esti-

mates run as high as 10 000.

Cubans are relieved that no more of their countrymen will die fighting in Angola. They are proud of the support offered to a fellow-Marxist government, but it is a distant land, many do not understand the circumstances of the war and they were not given much information about it until last year when the fighting turned in the Angolan government's favour.

Some of the veterans who have served over the past 13 years are bitter at their treatment.

"We all need to feel useful. When you get there you feel like a hero, but afterwards realise you are just an instrument of imperialism. A lot of men have returned with a lot of bitter experiences. They tell us we will be heroes when we return but people here do not care," said one veteran.

"Of course we went voluntarily," he added, putting two fingers to his temple, to symbolise a gun. "I was sent because they said I tended to express myself too freely and they said the experience would be good for me."

Young Cubans who refused to go were often given three years of back-breaking work as an alternative. — The Independent News Service.

# LISBON 'LEAKS' PLAN FOR MPLA-UNITA PEACE TALKS

LISBON — Angola's MPLA government and its pro-Western Unita guerrilla opponents are likely to hold peace talks at the end of March, Lisbon radio said yesterday.

No fixed date or venue for the reported talks was disclosed in what appeared to be a deliberate leak by the Portuguese Foreign Ministry.

Lisbon radio, basing its report on "well-informed Western sources", said the talks would take place after an MPLA congress to thrash out negotiating tactics with the rebels.

Peace talks would represent a major about-face by the MPLA government, which has steadfastly re-

KEN POTTINGER

refused to negotiate with Jonas Savimbi's rebels.

The report followed Wednesday's call by Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos to Unita to lay down its arms. He said Unita had always claimed it was fighting the Cuban presence in Angola. "Now that the Cubans have begun withdrawing, this battle is no longer necessary."

Dos Santos's appeal was rejected in Lisbon by Unita representative Alcides Sakhala who said only genuine peace talks between the two sides would end the guerrilla war.

US president-elect George Bush, meanwhile, reaffirmed continued military backing for Unita in a letter sent to the rebel movement and released here yesterday.

AP-DJ reports, according to the Washington Post, that the letter assured Savimbi of US support until Angola reached settlement with him.

Observers in Lisbon say Luanda has softened its tone towards Unita in recent weeks. Angolan ambassador to Lisbon Mawete Joao Batista said last week Savimbi would be included in the amnesty offer if he laid down his arms. Previously government has insisted he stand trial for "war crimes".

G/Day 15/1/89

⑤  
MWRKIC 13-19/1989

## Truce unlikely to hurt ANC

THE African National Congress is unlikely to be seriously damaged by its withdrawal from military camps in Angola — despite reports to the contrary.

Infiltration routes do not come from Angola, which has no common borders with South Africa.

Indeed the ANC has welcomed the Angola-Namibia peace accord. The national executive committee announced on Sunday that it had "readily agreed to move our military personnel from Angola" as a result of the peace settlement between Angola, South Africa and Cuba.

At a press conference the same day,

Oliver Tambo declined to say how many camps were affected or where they would move to. He would only indicate that the ANC would continue to prosecute its military struggle.

However, it has been reported in Zambia that the ANC guerrillas are likely to move to Tanzania or Ethiopia. If this is true, it will be the first time Tanzania has housed ANC military personnel.

It is also significant that the move affects only the ANC's military wing. Unlike in Mozambique after the Nko-

matl Accord — when the ANC presence was limited to 10 people — schools, farms and other ANC institutions are likely to remain in Angola.

ANC military leaders are tight-lipped about the move. However, their view is that it does not represent a serious military setback.

This is because ANC guerrillas trained in Angola must in any case be transported to one of South Africa's neighbour states to infiltrate the country, ANC leaders argue it will make little difference where they have to be

transported from.

On the other hand, distance makes Tanzania and Ethiopia less vulnerable to South African attack.

Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that the building of new camps and the relocation of up to 10 000 people will have financial and psychological costs for the ANC.

The ANC is convinced, however, that the advantages of peace in Angola and independence in Namibia outweigh these costs. The ANC military will move, leaders say, because it has much to gain from the peace process, and does not want its camps to be a reason for the delay of the peace plan.

# Luanda alleges secret 'Renamo' plan

W/Mail 13-19/1/89

As the first batch of Cubans depart for Havana, suspicions flare again. The Angolans and Swapo claim that SA is plotting to form a secret 'Renamo' force in Namibia. SA denies it  
By ANTON HARBER in Lusaka and RAJAH MUNAMAYA, Windhoek

THE South African government is already creating conditions for the destabilisation of an independent Namibia, a senior Angolan minister and independent sources in Windhoek have alleged.

The claims have surfaced in the week that the first batch of Cuban troops returned to Havana, marking phase one of the implementation of the recently-achieved sub-continental peace deal.

At a press briefing in Lusaka this week, Angola's Minister of Petroleum and Energy, Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, said Luanda had already received "some signals" of South African plans to destabilise the region despite the tripartite peace accord.

In particular, he said elements were being transformed into "commandos .. that will play a similar role to Renamo in Mozambique".

He added that he feared South Africa and Zaire would co-operate in concerted action against an independent Namibia, and would use the Angolan rebel movement Unita to continue to destabilise the Luanda government.

He said the process of preparation had begun "some time ago, under the auspices of the United States ... there is no doubt about that".

There are also reported to be "sustained rumours" in Namibia itself of South African plans to "form a rebel group along the lines of Unita or Renamo, should the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) emerge victorious" in the independence elections scheduled for November this year.

A well-placed source in Windhoek claimed "it is believed that as early as last year, South Africa began looking for the 'betting horse' among its protégés in Namibia in case of failure to stop Swapo coming to power."

Although the source could not give more concrete details of the alleged plans, he claimed two potential rebel leaders had been suggested: Moses Katjuongua, the interim government's Minister of Health, and Me-



Withdrawal: A Cuban soldier and his Angolan girlfriend brandish a huge poster of Fidel Castro during a march-past in Luanda to mark the departure of 450 Cubans

Picture: REUTERS

shack Muyongo, former Swapo vice-president and now leader of the (internal) United Democratic Party and vice-president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

According to reports received by the *Namibian* newspaper, a decision was made in favour of Muyongo, but he has set down conditions for co-operation. The South African Administrator-General, Louis Pienaar, was unable to comment on the allegations, as he was still on holiday.

Swapo officials have also claimed that arms caches are being stockpiled in Namibia "in preparation for a possible insurrection against a future government".

Swapo secretary-general Andimba Toivo ja Toivo was reported in Lon-

don last week as saying "Herero tribesmen" loyal to Katjuongua were being trained at Unita's Jamba headquarters in southern Angola.

An SADF spokesman said yesterday that "Swapo is afraid of losing an election in SWA."

"The Defence Force predicted that this kind of climate-creation would increase as the implementation of UN 435 continues.

"Furthermore, Swapo's track record since their unilateral declaration of a cessation of hostilities last year paints a dismal picture of incompetence, duplicity and a total lack of control over their terrorists."

Meanwhile in Lusaka, where he was attending a US-sponsored conference, Angola's Van Dunem said

the recent rehabilitation of the Cabinda military base was undertaken to facilitate covert support for Unita in the future. "We already have information that over 3 000 Unita troops have been trained in Cabinda," he said.

Van Dunem said he was concerned about the developments, and his government had discussed the matter with the Zairean authorities. "They say they have no knowledge of Unita elements in Zaire," he said.

The "Angolan government is ready to do everything to see the (peace) accord materialises. But on the South African side it is a bit different. They often do not honour their accords."

Van Dunem attacked the recent statement by South African Defence Minister Magnus Malan that an Angolan government attack on Unita would be regarded as a breach of the accord. "This is Malan's own interpretation. South Africa will always search for a pretext to withdraw from the agreement, and now they have found this one. But it is neither in the letter nor the spirit of the accord."

Asked why his government would not speak to Unita leader Savimbi, he said the rebel chief should first renounce violence and accept the Angolan constitution "since he started this war". His government was following a policy of "national harmonisation" whereby anyone who put down their guns and accepted the country's constitution would be welcomed back.

Angola's priority was to "restructure the economy". Even before the Soviet Union's introduction of *perestroika*, he said, his government had decided "serious transformation had to take place".

A senior US official at the Lusaka conference, Herman Cohen, made it clear that Washington would act firmly against any party that broke the Angola/Namibia agreements — and said the Soviet Union took the same view.

Cohen said the US, which has so far refused to recognise the Angolan government, could be expected to establish an "official presence" in the country within the next six months. He implied this would be a step along a gradual path to full recognition.

# ANC shuts down bases in Angola

The Star's Africa  
News Service

LUANDA — The African National Congress (ANC) has begun closing its bases in Angola and will relocate them in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Ghana.

This is being done at the request of the Angolan government although the ANC had previously stated it was prepared to leave if its departure would help the present peace initiative over Angola.

A source close to the organisation said today cadres had already started moving out of a transit camp 11 km from Luanda. The source said Uganda had also offered to accommodate ANC bases but the offer had been turned down.

The military training camps in Angola will probably be re-sited in Ethiopia and Ghana with the political training concentrated in Tanzania.

The ANC has an ordinary school in Tanzania for the children of its members.

Star 13/1/89

(5)

# Early troop withdrawal goes ahead

LUANDA — The withdrawal of the first 3000 Cuban troops from Angola continued yesterday with the departure of another 300 from the airport, a news agency reported.

Although the Cubans were not due to start leaving until April 1 in terms of the agreement, the United Nations Angolan Verification Mission (Unavem) has said all 3000 are expected to have left by Sunday as a goodwill gesture.

Two aircraft were used for yesterday's lift of 300 soldiers, and three large passenger aircraft were required for the first 450 who left on Tuesday.

About 1000 left by sea on the same day. The total number of troops who have to be withdrawn by mid-1991 is 50 000.

Angola has called on the international community to help foot the bill because it had demanded a quicker and more costly withdrawal. — Sapa

## Angola clashes still reported

The Star's Foreign News Service LISBON — The Angolan army and Unita guerrillas exchanged victory claims yesterday, indicating no let up in their 13-year war despite the start of the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

In a statement in Lisbon, Unita said they killed 20 Angolan soldiers and destroyed five vehicles in two attacks in Bie and Moxico provinces on Monday.

They acknowledged having two dead and six wounded.

In contrast, the official Angolan news agency Angop said the army killed 64 Unita "bandits" and captured nine others in operations in Huambo and Benguela.



Cuban troops, wearing camouflage uniforms and campaign medals pinned to their chests, return to Havana after they flew back from Luanda, Angola. They were greeted by a large Communist Party and government delegation headed by Defence Minister Mr Raul Castro.

## Cost of peace-keeping force in dispute

NEW YORK — Time is running out for the Security Council to approve a peace-keeping force for Namibia in order to meet the April 1 deadline for beginning the territory's move to independence, a UN official said yesterday.

The Security Council has been deadlocked for weeks over demands by the five permanent members that the cost of the

force be cut, and the insistence of the non-aligned nations, particularly Africans, that the maximum force of 7500 peace-keepers be dispatched.

### COMPROMISE

"The time is running out," Under Secretary-General Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the secretary-general's special representative for Namibia, said

yesterday.

Consultations between the members of the Security Council continued this week in an effort to reach a compromise, said United Nations spokesman Mr Francois Giuhani.

The decade-old planning document for the Namibia force calls for up to 7500 peace-keepers, 2000 civilian administrators and 360 police to be

sent to supervise Namibia's transition to independence after 73 years of South African rule.

UN officials have estimated a peace-keeping mission so large would cost R1500 million to R2000 million, more than last year's combined cost for all other peace-keeping activities.

The five permanent members of the council — the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China — have agreed that the cost should be trimmed to a maximum of R125 million, and have been studying a US proposal to cut the military component of the force.

### AGREEMENT

Even if the council reached agreement by today, Mr Ahtisaari said, it would take at least until the end of February before the appropriate United Nations committees could develop and approve budgets for the Namibia force. — Associated Press

## Unita hampers ceasefire plans

QUEDAS DE RUACANA (Angola) — Monitoring of a five-month-old ceasefire in southern Angola is being hampered by the presence of Unita rebels along part of the Angola-Namibia border and Angola suspects South Africa of continuing to supply them, an Angolan member of the ceasefire monitoring commission said yesterday.

Major Valeriano Martinho, second in command of the Angolan delegation to the joint military monitoring commission, told reporters at Ruacana Falls on the Angolan border with Namibia that the presence of Unita rebels along part of the south-east border had prevented the setting up of three frontier ceasefire monitoring posts.

He spoke at a Cuban-Angolan frontier camp situated next to the Ruacana hydro-electric dam.

Under the ceasefire announced by Angola, Cuba and South Africa last August, the monitoring commission consisting of six delegates each from the three nations was set up to supervise the cessation of hostilities.

Eleven monitoring posts were to have been set up by the end of last September at intervals along the 1125 km border between Angola and South African-ruled Namibia.

Only eight of the joint monitoring posts, manned by both South African and Angolan troops, were in position. — Sapa-Reuters.

### In Memoriam

**MARKS**  
Gerry. My darling daddy left us 5 yrs ago I long for you every day and miss you so much. You will be loved and remembered forever by Lois, Phil and children, Faye, Adam, Mark and Geraldine.

**VENTER**  
Sakkie, fondly remembered and sadly missed by his wife, children and grandchildren.

### Thanks

**THE LATE MRS S. J. MORTON**  
The Morton family would like to thank all the relatives, friends, SAP Members and work associates for all the sympathy cards, flowers and kind messages. 152 Bertha Street, Kenilworth, 683-4439.

### Consecrations

**LEVIN**  
The memorial to the Memory of our beloved Sylvia will be unveiled at West Park Cemetery on Sunday 16th January at 11:00am. Relatives and friends kindly accept this intimation.

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ONE THIRDS (5)  
January 14, 1989 5

## MPLA, Unita to hold talks on peace?

Own Correspondent

LISBON: — Angola's MPLA government and its pro-Western Unita guerilla opponents are likely to hold peace talks at the end of March, Lisbon radio said this week.

No fixed date or venue for the reported talks was revealed in what appeared to be a deliberate leak by the Portuguese Foreign Ministry.

Lisbon radio said the talks would take place after the MPLA had held a special congress in the next few weeks to thrash out negotiating tactics with the rebels.

Meanwhile reports from Washington indicate that congressional supporters of Unita are manoeuvring to stall Namibian independence until all Cuban forces are out of Angola and the MPLA has agreed to a date for elections.

President-elect Mr George Bush has written to Dr Jonas Savimbi pledging to continue "all appropriate and effective assistance to Unita" and diplomatically suggesting that the rebel leader call off his friends on Capitol Hill.

Leading the latter is Senator Steve Symms, a conservative Republican from Colorado, who has drafted a bill calling for the effective abrogation of the treaty signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba in New York last month.

# No devaluation — so Angola's people set the money standards

LUANDA — Locals who concern themselves too much with the official currency exchange rate in Angola are likely to be driven bananas.

That is, if they can afford bananas on those terms.

What that has to do with the price of eggs is everything. Officially, an egg in the marketplace costs 500 kwanza which, translated at the bank rate of 30 kwanza to the US dollar, is \$17 or almost \$40, were one able to exchange rands in Angola — which one is not.

By similar reckoning, a crate of beer costs 30 000 kwanza or about R2 500, chuck steak 4 000 kwanza (or R280) a piece. All this is not inflation gone mad, but devaluation stayed tardy.

rate of the Portuguese escudo — which it replaced as the unit of currency — since independence in 1976.

The government has not dared to do so, since its foreign debt already stands at \$5 billion (about R12.5 billion) and is growing.

So, through black marketeering in foreign currency, Angola's informal sector and the public have created standards of their own.

On a teeming hillside overlooking Luanda's spectacular bay is the most bizarre example of free market principles thriving in an allegedly Marxist society that one could see anywhere.

Five hundred stalls or more, selling everything from fresh vegetables to Italian shoes, consume the landscape. Here, demand and supply embrace like

the old associates they are particularly when compared with what is displayed in the state shops in central Luanda where Angolans employed in state and parastatal institutions (as most of those working are) are given goods on ration cards.

Brands of the best Scotch whiskey are to be had here, leatherware from Spain, clothes, canned foods, all manner of condiments, radios, fresh fish and meat, patent medicines. The list is endless.

And, clearly, it is where most Luandans choose to shop, though it is also a cashbar place where the eyes of stallholders shift continuously watching for the law.

Certainly, some of the goods are illicit, contra-

JOHN RYAN

5 Jan 1989

band. Regular gunfire around the harbour at night is testimony enough of that.

But most are the product of the popular system. The traders of the Luanda market — and those who deal in black market currency downturn — have reached a consensus (by the principle that everything that rises must converge) and that consensus says the US dollar is worth 3 000 kwanza, not 30.

So that egg we spoke about becomes, in reality, worth 17 US cents or 40 South African cents. Which is reasonable.

A jar of Portuguese yoghurt (guaranteed fresh until January 30 1989) is a pinch at just over a dollar.

That sort of item doesn't fall off passing ships.

What happens is that by their sheer turnover the businessmen in this shady area of Angola's economy are able to trade kwanzas for foreign currency which they then use to travel overseas to restock on foreign goods.

Angola's Marxist leaders are captive to a situation where free enterprise thrives and which, in their present economic state, they have little chance of changing.

Those cashbar eyes in Luanda's market may be flitting for nothing. Would it not be ironic if Angola, this nation so preoccupied politically and militarily with war, was to come to lead a continent in economic pragmatism? — Saturday Star Africa News Service.

...the sunset



S/Times 15/11/89

# Exit Castro's glory girls

(5)

## WOMEN OF WAR WHO FOUND ROMANCE IN BATTLE OF ANGOLA

ONE-and-a-half metres of hell in a ponytail tucked beneath a Cuban military beret — and they can toss a grenade or fire an AK-47 as long with the best of them.

Now Cuba's glory girls, the young women who helped "man" the essential supply lines in the civil war, are returning home with more feminine pursuits in mind.

Love was in the air — literally — as the rest of Fidel Castro's 50 000 troops winged their way back to Havana this week after 3 years of bloody conflict in Angola.

For among the battle-hardened Cuban troops bidding tearful farewells at Luanda airport were several starry-eyed couples who had found romance in the most unlikely places.

Amid the missiles and rockets fired in anger on the killing fields of southern Angola, Cupid succeeded in getting in a few aimed darts as well.

"The time for making war is over — the time for love," said Juanita, a 21-year-old, 1.8m blonde, who was one of more than 100 girl soldiers who met South African newsmen at a Cuban military camp outside Luanda this week.

They have been Castro's secret weapon. Love in the front-line has blossomed in such faraway places as Cuito Cuanevale and Cahama, where many of these golden girls were stationed.

Their mission? To defend a vital strategic airstrip in southern Angola which Cuban engineers built from virgin bush in four months.

Ulga Rodriguez is a Cuban field officer who met her sweetheart, Manuel, while nursing at the front.

They plan to marry soon in the Cuban village of Santa Clara. Her close

Sunday Times Reporter  
**DAVID JACKSON**  
reports from LUANDA



companions are 19-year-old Pana Ginarto and Alias Lora, 21. They were carriers in the artillery corps, but never fired a cannon in anger.

"We get the same treatment as the men, and we don't want to be treated differently because of our sex," says Alias.

"We would like to have been in the combat zone

with the men, but our role is seen as a supportive one."

This week the grim mask of Cuba's female fighters slipped a little as 450 Cuban conscripts gathered at a transit camp about 10km outside Luanda to be debriefed before the journey home.

Wearing earrings and lipstick, the girls linked arms with their loved ones, sneaking a kiss or two when they thought the cameras were not trained on them.

### Weeping

Or they clasped hands and whispered sweet nothings beneath a life-size mural of Castro which dominates the parade ground.

"Of course, we are glad to be going home," said pretty Sandra Ramos, 20, tugging protectively at the wrist of her beau, Camillo Saochos, 22, who said: "We have done our job. Now we want to get on with our lives."

"But we will come back again if we have to."

Amid the speeches and anthems during the military parade in Luanda this week some of the girls were weeping.

Hardened male soldiers dabbed their eyes as well.



VIVA CASTRO! ... Some of the bemedalled Cuban girl soldiers who served in Angola salute their country's leader — many of them found love in the hell of war

# Castanets and bongos beat out rhythm of hope

THEY danced to a rhumba band this week in Luanda's only five-star hotel. It was a mix of many nations that let their hair down to the Latin American strains of There's An Awful Lot of Coffee in Brazil.

There used to be an awful lot of coffee in Angola, too — the country's third-biggest export, in fact, after oil and diamonds.

All that ended 13 years ago when the start of the bloody civil war plunged this country into a dark age sombre by any African standards. Those who danced into the small hours in Luanda's sauna-bath evening heat were mostly under the age of 35.

It is a generation that has known no other life but war — first in a bitter colonial war against the Portuguese and in later years a conflict against Unita and its Western allies.

### Gangway

Now the Latin castanets and the bongo rock drums beat out a new rhythm of hope. The gloom is lifting after the long siege. By today about 3 000 Cuban troops will have walked up a gangway, saluted the Cuban flag and bade farewell to the country they have fought for in the

name of Fidel Castro's revolution.

About 1 000 left by troopship — the rest by air — more than two months in advance of the April 1 (D-Day) deadline for the implementation of UN resolution 435, which will put Namibia on the road to independence.

The balance of the estimated 52 000 Cuban troops in Angola must be out of the country within 27 months of D-Day.

### Barred

Soon new aid programmes will set thousands of workers to the task of tilling the neglected coffee plantations. The shops that have been barred and shuttered for 13 years will open their doors to the returning Portuguese traders.

The diamond fields — freed from the constraints of wartime restrictions and a smuggling racket that fleeced Angola of foreign exchange — will boost the country's bankrupt coffers.

A Brazilian, Brigadier-General Pericles Ferreira Gomes, heads the UN team known as Unavem (the UN Angola Verification Mission).

To war-torn Angolans he is a symbol of their sudden change of fortune. The ad-

vance guard is already here — Indian Sikhs in colourful blue turbans, Jordanians with Arabic legends on their berets, pale-skinned Norwegians, taciturn Czechs, Congolese, Algerians, Spaniards ... a UN contingent that in symbolic terms if nothing else gives the locals the assurance that this is a peace settlement that is being underwritten internationally.

Captain Gilert Johannesson, one of the Norwegian members of Unavem, said: "We will count them one by one as they leave by air or sea. That is what we are here for."

### Courage

As the Cubans are counted one by one, so the capital, Luanda, counts the cost of the 13-year-old conflict. The UN team and the 70-odd international newsmen in Luanda for the departure ceremonies this week saw a city of contrasts.

The inner city is a decaying shell ringed by the azure blue of Luanda Bay. From the air a vista unfolds of uncrowded kilometres of golden beaches with not even a beach cottage in sight.

They await the entry of

international entrepreneurs whose Midas touch could help bring back the European tourists who once made this the jewel of the African Riviera.

On the ground, the five-star Presidente Meridien and a brace of less sumptuous but comfortable hotels stand out in contrast to the squalor. There is nothing on the shelves of the shops, the pavements are rutted and the gutters overflow with stagnant pools.

It's a lot cleaner, though, than even four months ago, when the refuse-collection

GILBERT JOHANSSON  
Counting one

contract was awarded to a German company as part of the first tentative privatisation.

### Dugouts

The tears were for fallen comrades whose remains, it was announced this week, are to be exhumed and sent back to Cuba for hero burials.

There were tears for fallen South Africans, too. Despite the recovery efforts, the remains of many soldiers from both sides will remain in Angola, buried beneath the dugouts and ditches where they fell.

Says First Sergeant José Morin, who will return to civilian life in Cuba in June to take up his career as an economist: "I don't hate South Africans. They are human beings, too. I have read the diary of a slain South African soldier."

"He had loved ones, too. We are the lucky ones."

# Angola: now it may build its own glory'

By John Ryan  
Argus African News Service

LUANDA. — Down in the hotel foyer, a colour television set exhorts ... in English without subtitles to a bemused Portuguese-speaking audience ... to be sure to watch *Romulus and Remus* on the box soon and relive the glory that was Rome.

The trailer fair spills violence, blood and mayhem and after 13 years of war, Angolans should understand these elements at least.

Rebuilding the rather lesser glory than Rome that once was Luanda, as mainland Portugal's small Riviera in Africa, will take many a day if it happens at all.

## SCRAPYARD

The city centre looks like a scrapyard with animation. People stride among rubble and derelict cars, apparently going about some business not evidenced by the facade of dead buildings and skeletal shops.

Some of those which are open appear to have no stocks. Seafood bars along the curved esplanade that used to be part of the attraction of this equatorial playground have been closed since the resident Portuguese left and they did so in panic during those final, frantic days of 1975 when rival MPLA and FNLA forces clashed in the townships and the Portuguese army decided the best defence was a machinegun aimed in all directions.

With few exceptions, those empty downtown shops belong to the Portuguese traders who fled, though some at last are being appropriated by the state

bringing a chink of life back to the city proper.

But the epicentre of Luanda has moved dramatically. It now lies in a vast squatter township complex to the north-east, where one might be forgiven for thinking independence in 1975 was handed to a firm making breezeblocks and where thriving street markets serve a population of 1.5-million in a total infrastructure planned for 700 000.

## LOSS

The breezeblock houses are a recent manifestation of a war that has left no Angolan family untouched by loss.

In the past five years, refugees have flooded in from the highlands particularly, where the fighting has been fiercest. In Huambo province, one in every 15 children is an orphan and that is the sort of reality feeding urban populations here.

This enormous influx has thrown the former Luanda right off axis. Squatter townships simply have taken over. The old city generally is a grey, zone between the true concentration of humanity and the harbour.

Yet the spirit that went down the fetid drains after independence returned to central Luanda this week with impressive, if brief, vengeance.

It came back with the first departing Cubans. It was there, marching alongside them all the way down to May the First Square because the townfolk on the hill were obliged to come to the old central business district to see the pageant.

Perhaps 100 000 arrived and the scene was as though 13 years of pent-up emotion had

been released from a genie's lamp. They came waving paper Cuban and Angolan flags and applauding their heroes and they became what Angolans have never been before — a nation on view.

The previous day, at a smaller farewell ceremony at Funda, the high-security training base 50km to the north of the capital where the Cubans have taught fighting skills to Angolan conscripts for more than 10 years, three battalions of Fapla troops were out going through their paces.

They tore past the saluting dias like dervishes, goose-stepping and shouting battle songs as if eager to traverse any valley of death. It was a fearsome sight and electrifying if one remembered the Angola of 1975 when ragtag groups of MPLA guerrillas began arriving on the fringes of the city with little enthusiasm or training.

One has seen Jamba, seen the fervour on the hoof of Jonas Savimbi's Unita army. However, and while it might be no more than an impression, the Fapla display of zeal and will-to-win appeared to be in a higher league.

The Cubans are in the process of going; 3 000 went this week and some Angolans confess apprehension. However, no matter what one might think of Marxism or Fidel Castro's possible ulterior motives, the Cubans' most vital contribution to Angola may prove to be something that transcends the growth of military strength.

They may be leaving behind a sense of national pride and that will be of considerable importance whatever happens to this country in the future.

**First 3 000 Cubans  
have left Angola** (5)

LISBON — Cuba has withdrawn its first 3 000 troops from Angola in terms of an agreement to pave the way for independence in Namibia, the Portuguese news agency LUSA reported yesterday from Luanda.

Yesterday, 975 troops left Luanda on the Soviet ship Leonid Sobinov, completing a first-phase withdrawal that began on January 10. By mid-1991 all the estimated 50 000 Cuban troops must have left Angola.

Cuba, Angola and South Africa signed a US-brokered agreement on December 22 in which South Africa agreed to grant independence to Namibia in return for the withdrawal of the Cubans.

A 10-nation UN military observer group is monitoring the Cuban withdrawal. — Sapa-AP.

## MORE EC CASH FOR ANGOLA IN \$72M ACTION PLAN

LONDON — The EC is to pump \$72m into Angola as part of an "action plan" to rehabilitate its economy.

The move flows from the signing of the tri-partite peace accord to bring peace to south western Africa.

An EC spokesman said the initial grant was to carry out short-term objectives. Discussions were continuing with EC members with a view to them pledging more bilateral aid to Angola.

The \$72m has been earmarked for:

- Aid to repatriates and displaced persons;
- Rural development;

MIKE ROBERTSON

- Rehabilitation of infrastructure;
- Training and employment creation

### Convention

The European Commission said the "action plan" would "form part of an intense co-operation that several member states have already established with Angola, using significant amounts in grants, in loans and in technical assistance to ensure the reconstruction and the development of the Angolan economy"

Angola was not among the original signatories of the Third Lome Convention, the agreement which provides free access to the EC for industrial and most agricultural produce of African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. It has, however, since joined the convention.

Since becoming a signatory, Angola has received \$122,4m in grants, loans and aid under the convention.

In addition, the EC has made \$270m available to Angola, racked by civil war for 13 years, for financing projects in the rural sector, fisheries, infrastructure development, food aid and emergency aid.

# Angola pullout: US to check Cuban roll-call

AKG 6/19/87

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States will not rely on the United Nations verification team to ensure that Cuba honours the agreement to withdraw its forces from Angola.

Mr James A Baker, whose nomination as US Secretary of State is being debated by Senate, said: "We'll be using such other means as are available to us to determine the scope and extent of withdrawal."

Mr Baker did not specify what the "other means" were, but it is believed that the US has the ability to monitor events in Angola with the aid of spy satellites and other secret electronic equipment.

Mr Baker said he had been disturbed by a news report of an interview with the Brazilian military commander of the UN verification mission in Angola that he and his team would take the word of Cuba and Angola that Cuban troop withdrawals were taking place.

"I think it is fair for the United States, if we are going to fund a portion of that peace-keeping force, to make it clear to the UN that we expect them to pursue the objectives for which they are there," he said.

## Violence condemned

Mr Baker has also repeated US condemnation of the use of violence by the African National Congress.

Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina asked Mr Baker whether the Bush administration would insist that the 52 terrorist organisations listed in a Pentagon report last week renounce the use of terrorism before the US government would deal with them.

"That sounds reasonable to me. And I imagine that would be the policy — without having expressly considered it," Mr Baker replied.

Mr Baker said the US government strongly differed with the ANC on some of the methods it had used to pursue common objectives, such as ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial system of government.

"We condemn their use of violence," Mr Baker said.

● See page 21.

# Cubans

# The dolls of war go home

# need to get a move on

ACU'S  
19/1/89

WITH the first phase of the Cuban withdrawal from Angola completed 10 weeks ahead of schedule, there is speculation here that the Castro government will continue to beat deadlines along the road to the final countdown — July 1, 1991.

There is logistical pressure on the Cubans to do this. A total of 50 000 troops have to be got out in 30 months, or half that number in just 10 months.

Most of the first 3 000 troops who left last week — though the deadline for their departure was April 1 in terms of the tripartite agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba — went by ship.

On Sunday the last 975 in this batch sailed for Havana aboard the Soviet vessel Leonid Sobinov. For economic reasons, the Cubans would prefer to use troopships instead of aircraft.

But the trouble with troopships is that they are slow. The average voyage from Cuba to Angola takes 16 days, or 32 days return, which means that one ship can carry just under 1 000 troops in a little more than a month.

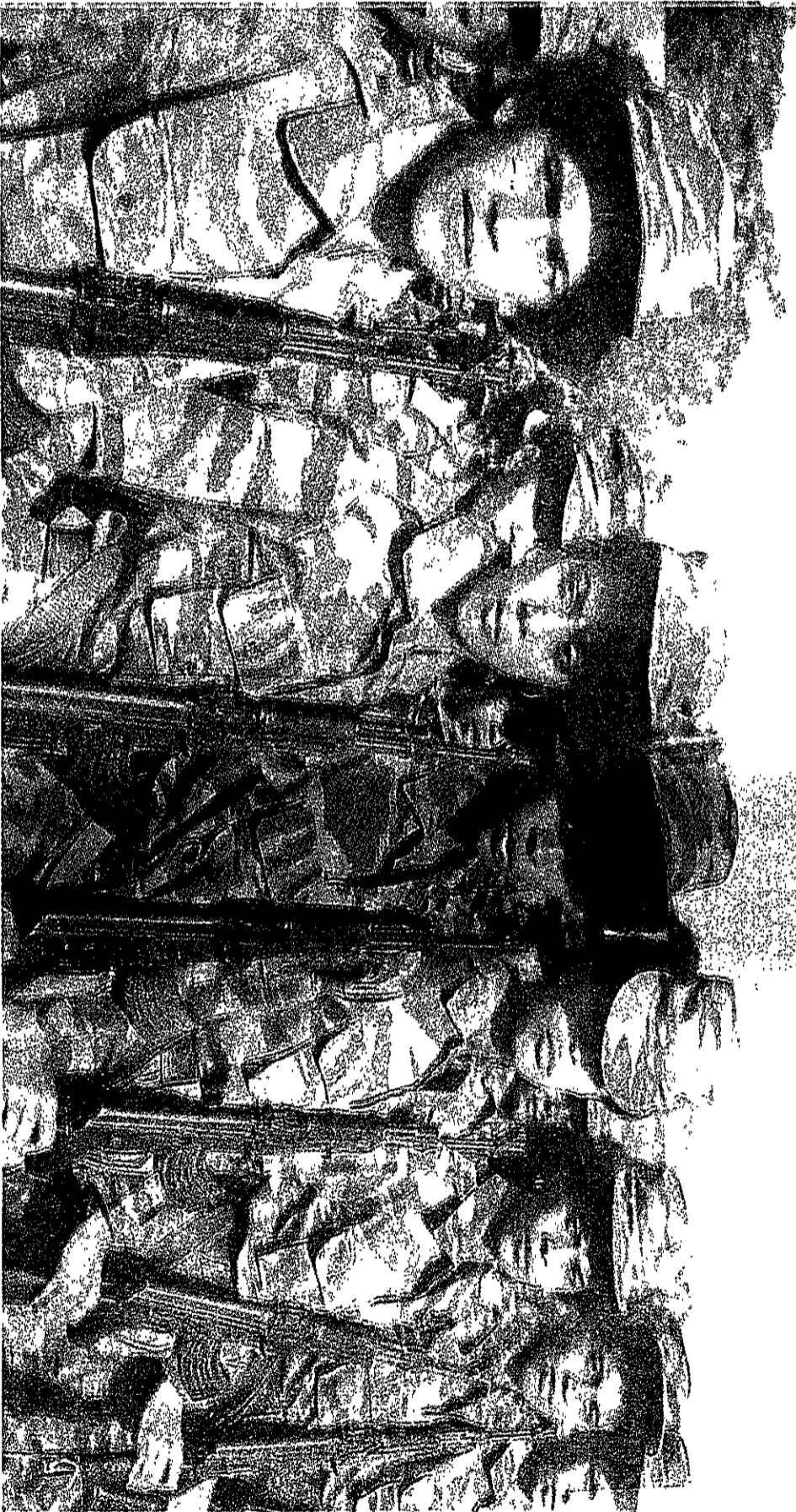
Faced with this problem, it seems likely the Cubans will be forced to use the two and a half months they have gained by sending the first batch home early to arrange other sea and air lifts.

If so, considerably more than 3 000 troops will be out of Angola by April 1, the trigger date of the implementation of Resolution 435.

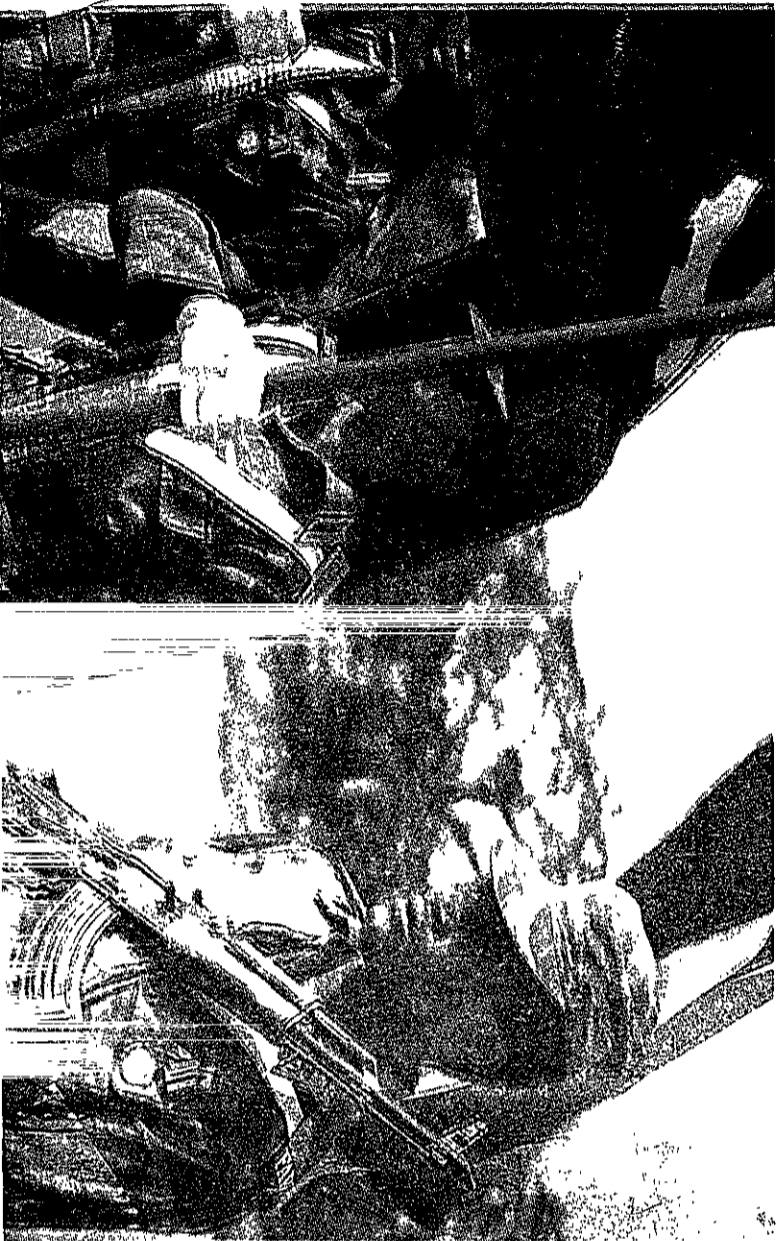
Getting half the troops out by November 1 — the second phase deadline — could take some frantic scheduling of aircraft and ships.

**JOHN RYAN**  
**of The Argus**  
**Africa News**  
**Service reports**  
**from Luanda**

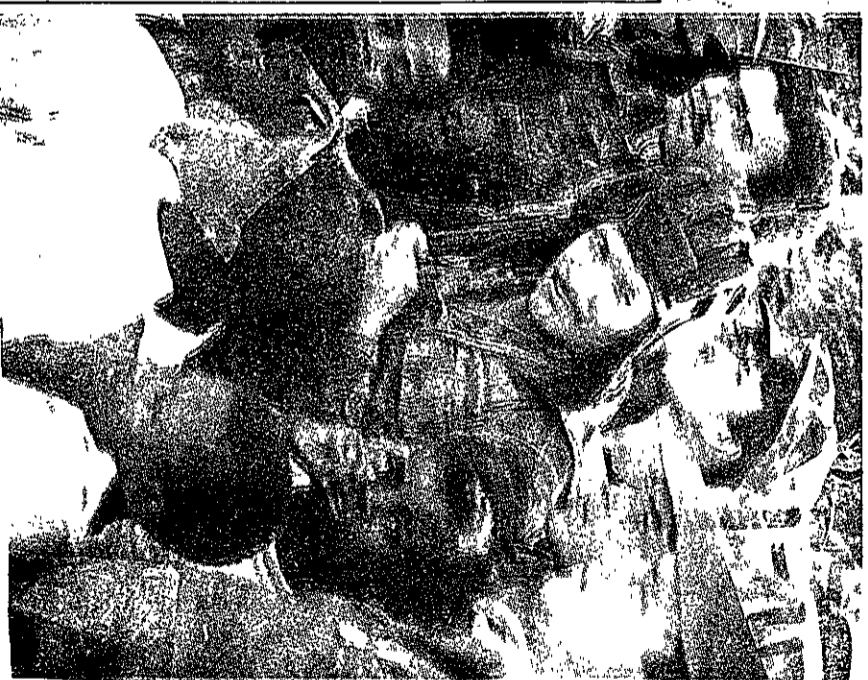
After that it becomes rather easier under the agreement. A further 8 000 troops must be repatriated in the next five months, by the following April 1, and five thousand more by July 1, 1990.



The other, rather more glamorous, face of the Angolan war: Members of a Cuban anti-aircraft battalion, comprised mainly of women, line up to be shipped back to Havana.



ABOVE: Flags of the three Cuban battalions which left Luanda ahead of the April 1 deadline are paraded at the Funda training camp near the Angolan capital. RIGHT: A tank corps trooper chats to a group of Angolan fans before boarding his flight to Havana.



# How the peace was won



Since 1963 SA's Foreign Minister Pik Botha has been involved with the issue of Namibian independence — first as an advocate at the World Court in The Hague and at the end of last year as signatory to the New York peace accord. He gave his views to the *FM* in this exclusive interview.

**FM: Are you happy with the accord?**

**Botha:** Yes, I consider the tripartite agreement signed in New York as an event of historic proportions. When we accepted UN Resolution 435 in 1978, Cuban withdrawal was not part of the agreement. The later suggestion by the US that the Cubans withdraw from Angola was one of the most dramatic suggestions mentioned at a critical moment before an impasse was reached.

The situation could have resulted in more sanctions against SA, which could have brought us into more conflict with superpowers like the Soviets. All this has been averted. I have sincerely believed for years that the future of southern Africa would be determined more or less within the parameters of the Angolan-Namibian issue.

**There was a period — and you played a major part in it — when SA often castigated the US for its role.**

You're so right, I'm almost sorry that you remind-

ed me of it, but remember they also castigated us. We were at loggerheads mostly on occasions when we feared that Unita would be totally sacrificed in order to gain independence for Namibia. We had to guard against terrorist groups taking over power by means of violence.

We did not like Mr Mugabe but he came to power through elections and we accepted it. We didn't like the Frelimo government in Mozambique but they came to power in terms of a valid international agreement with Portugal. In the case of Namibia Swapo boasted it could take over power with the force of their guns. It was points of this nature that caused us and the US to be at loggerheads with each other.

We also feared that we would be told that partial withdrawal of the Cubans would be enough. I don't think my American friends

would mind if I say today that there was a time when we were suspicious that in order to claim some credit internationally, they would go for something less than what we demanded.

**Do you expect the US will now take a softer line on sanctions.**

No, I must sound a note of warning. The information available to me is that President-elect George Bush might be tested at an early stage of his presidency on this very issue of additional sanctions against SA. **Could they see the Namibian settlement as the result of the sanctions campaign?**

Totally wrong. Mr Reagan and Mr Bush's views are that constructive engagement and an understanding of SA's position enabled this agreement.

It's not going to change the view of the US Congress. Except that I think the momentum of the situation — our visits to Brazzaville, Cairo, Geneva and New York, the high profile of this agreement between opposing forces in Africa, the history of the dispute, with the US mediating a reached agreement ... by the parties directly involved — is a very important message to congress.

**You have recently often referred to "my African brothers." Are we closer to Africa?**



Pik Botha interviewed by *FM* political staff

# A savage war ends. Yet the bloodshed goes on

5

20-26 1989

AN AEROFLOT transport carrier spiralled up almost vertically over Huambo Airport, sending off defensive flares to fend off American-supplied Slinger missiles.

The plane had dropped off essential supplies for Angola's second largest city. Cheaper means of transporting goods are impossible due to the concentration of Unita rebels in the province.

Unita used the heat-seeking Slinger missiles successfully last year when they shot down a Red Cross plane, killing one local medical worker and five from the West.

A trip last week to Angola for about 70 journalists showed us the violence committed by Jonas Savimbi's men.

South Africa has been a major supplier of anti-personnel mines which trip off limbs in meadow fields as peasants plant crops or just walk to and from their lands.

Unita has planted the mines haphazardly, according to government officials in the province. Mutilated peasants and farmers have fled to town, leaving crops unpicked and others unploughed.

Huambo is a desolate city of broken windows and pot-holed roads. The countryside surrounding it in Angola's highlands is lush. It used to be the country's breadbasket but today vast tracts of land remain unploughed and food is imported.

There is deep revulsion among local officials at any suggestion of sitting round a table with a group which has deprived at least 10 000 children of their parents, and which bombs orphanages. Feelings in Huambo about making deals with Unita are much higher than Luanda, where urban sabotage is rare.

Amnesties for Unita rebels in 1978 and again this year, have done little to ease the security situation. The conditions of clemency to Unita members are that they lay down their arms and rejoin society as civilians within MPLA structures. That offer extends to Savimbi but would not allow him an opportunity of political power. It was conceded by some observers

The Angola war may have ended as far as South Africa is concerned, but for the people in the front-line town of Huambo, the bloodshed continues. PETA THORNBYCROFT reports

however, that there might be a few people in Unita's structures who could eventually be accommodated into government if negotiations took place and a formula for peace found.

Angola owes the Soviet Union \$2.5-billion, and is unable to meet that bill, although its general credit rating, particularly with its largest trading partner, the United States, is exemplary.

While Soviet cargo carriers are defending themselves against Stingers, President Eduardo dos Santos is looking for recognition from Washington. He told American journalists the departing Cubans are proof Luanda has kept its part of the bargain and there are now no obstacles in the way for Washington to continue to deny recognition of Angola.

But super-power considerations aside, there is some hope here that even if negotiations with Unita are impossible, Angola, freed from fighting South African forces, may end Savimbi's military and economic sabotage.

Politicians say if Namibia achieves its independence, it will be more difficult for South Africa to supply men and materials to Unita.

Unlike Mozambique, Angola has a well-trained regular army, one established at enormous cost, with the military receiving priority over development. The rag-tag guerrilla band which once demoralised the Portuguese army has been transformed, by Cuban expertise, into a formidable fighting force.

At the Funda training camp 50km outside Luanda, a day before the first 3 000 Cubans left for home, Angola presented medals to war heroes.



Mutilated victims: On a Huambo street, a soldier and a child, both casualties of anti-personnel mines

Picture: HOWARD BURDITT, Reuter

The first decoration was for a general who died in combat, others were for bravery and for veterans of the decisive battle last year at Cuito Cuanavale, which led to the South African withdrawal from southern Angola.

the Cubans below them.

Later, a battalion of Fapla foot soldiers, most more than two metres tall, goose-stepped past clutching AK 47's to their chests, shouting revolutionary songs in praise of their tutors. Cuban military advisors at the Funda camp say Fapla can now cope with the situation.

Angolan and Cuban military and political personnel believe the New York peace accord has substance, undervritten as it is by both the Soviet Union and the US.

The next day in Luanda about 100 000 men, women, and children yelling rhythmic slogans, waving Cuban and Angolan paper flags, sung past VIP's, "Angola e Cuba, unida vencerem" (Angola and Cuba, united we will win) was the chant. And several hundred people did a *loyi loyi* dance behind the flag of the African National Congress.

Three Cuban Airlines Iluyshin planes were waiting on the tarmac during the ceremony. A senior Cuban general, flag in hand, asked permission from the Angolan defence force minister to leave for home, their mission accomplished.

Anthems of both countries blared from crackly loud-speakers while the Cubans walked up the gangway to the plane. As soldiers reached the top they turned back to the airport building and, with clenched fists, waved farewell to the Angolans packed into the galleries.

In Luanda, where most families have lost relatives in the war, people are edgy. Despite the peace accord and international guarantees, they don't believe the South Africans will stay on their side of the border.

It's not that they don't trust Fapla's ability. The *Cubanas Internacionais* have been there for 13 years. Not only are they seen as saviours, they have become a fact of life in Angola.

A general told me: "The South Africans have gone and so our task is complete. But if they return, and the Angolans asked us to come back, we would."



Star 20/1/84

# Where orphanages are a growth industry

(5)

**HUAMBO** — The Soviets descend on Huambo in a stream of sparking conflict, their giant Aeroflot freightliners systematically tossing out flares to counter any Unita-launched heat-seeking Stinger missiles that might be in the offing.

The same happens taking off. It's an engaging sight, a bonus fireworks display from the ground, for the freighters spiral tightly for perhaps 20 minutes around the axis of the airport — gaining height as close as possible to base — and the flares fall often.

It's engaging in a more intimidating way for those of us due to fly out of Huambo on regular aircraft without such decoys to divert death, without so much as a squib between us.

Huambo province, in the south-western highlands of Angola, has often been at the centre of the 13-year war. It has borne more casualties than any other province.

Unita held the city — Angola's second largest — for six months in 1978. And Dr Savimbi's men are still seldom far distant, as the Soviet pilots acknowledge.

The Benguela Rail loco depot, once the largest in Africa, was put out of commission last June and 11 locomotives were destroyed along the line.

There have been six attacks on installations in the town since just before Christmas, and Huambo city is reported to be thick with fifth columnists.

One person who would not be impressed by Aero-flot's pyrotechnics is nine-year-old Miguel Isisio Lungi. He, perhaps of all locals, needs no reminding of war.

Two years ago, Miguel stepped out into the darkness from his parents' hut in a farming village in central Huambo to relieve himself. A Unita limpet mine took his right leg off below the knee.

"That thing wasn't there in the afternoon," Miguel says reprovingly. "Why did they put it there? I think it's bad, what they did."

Fate didn't leave it at that for Miguel. He lost his parents in the same year. Now the boy lives in an orphanage in Huambo city.

Orphanages are a growth industry around Huambo. There are 10 in the area. Four years ago there



**Miguel Lungi (right) and friends at the orphanage. One out of every 15 children in Huambo province is an orphan.**

**JOHN RYAN of The Star's Africa News Service** was one of the first South African newsmen allowed into Angola. He reports on what he saw in a region that has been at the centre of the Angolan civil war.

were three. One child out of every 15 in a province with a population of 1 million is an orphan.

The making of artificial limbs is another growth industry in Huambo. Last year, the Red Cross limb hospital fitted 1 377 legs.

The great majority of these were issued to civilian casualties, mutilated by anti-personnel mines apparently spread indiscriminately in the fields and among the villages.

Seeing the Angolan conflict from this aspect inevitably raises questions about the Unita operation. And about America's continuing — and, one hopes, South Africa's past — support for Dr Savimbi.

The impression one gets from Unita headquarters at Jamba is of two forces cutting and thrusting at each other in head-on conflict.

Now another perspective is conveyed from the other side — of a guerrilla force relentless in its determination to subjugate people like those of Huambo province through fear and terror tactics.

According to the MPLA, Unita is embarked on another task: to attack government structures and so discredit the local authorities with the general public.

That could explain recent attacks on transport systems, a state brewery and even a clothing factory. But others are impossible to understand.

Huambo province was once a storehouse for much of the country, self-sufficient in food and able to feed adjacent provinces. Now the situation in its rural areas has become so bad that food has to be imported because people are starving. That is one of the main jobs of the Aeroflot fleet.

On October 25, Unita planted incendiaries in a state warehouse in the city containing sugar, rice, vegetables, cooking oil and dried fish. The blaze destroyed 120 tons of food at a cost of 30 million kwanza (about R2 million).

"And", says store manager Mr Joao Oliveira da Silva, "it was the people's food."

Three weeks ago, five bombs were placed inside bales of used clothing intended for the local poor. However, they were discovered by an alert guard before they could explode.

The anti-personnel limpets in the fields and villages are the most puzzling factor of all, because they keep recurring. And they can only be the work of Unita sympathisers — if not Unita guerrillas themselves.

Why are they being planted? Who has become the target? What happened to Dr Savimbi's fine phrases about winning the hearts and minds of the people?

What started out as a struggle for national control between two factions with a fairly even claim to sharing that control seems to have fallen into a morass of mindless brutality. Ask Miguel Lungi.

# Unita releases ANC fighters to Red Cross

21/1/89

LUSAKA. — Angola's Unita rebels have released two members of the African National Congress they captured in northern Angola last year, diplomatic sources here said yesterday.

The sources said the two guerillas were handed over to International Committee of the Red Cross officials on January 4. They did not say exactly where the release took place.

The ANC members, who were not named, were being debriefed at ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

ANC information secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki said he could neither confirm nor deny the report.

The two guerillas were captured by rebels of South African-backed Unita — the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola — in Malanje province.

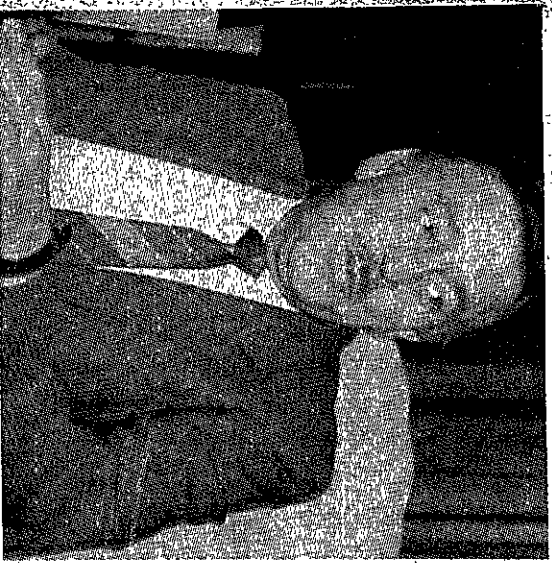
They were marched to Unita headquarters at Jamba in south-east Angola where they were seen late last year by visiting foreign reporters.

Unita, which is fighting to topple the left-wing government in Angola, killed 16 ANC members in Angola in 1988, ANC sources said.

It was not immediately clear whether Unita consulted the South African government before releasing the ANC guerillas or what the terms of their release were. — Sapa-Reuter

(5) 2/1/88

# SA delegation to US for



Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha

A MULTI-DEPARTMENTAL South African delegation under the leadership of the director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, will travel to New York for next-week's inaugural meeting of the Joint Commission on Namibia, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

The meetings, centering on the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, will be attended by US, Soviet, Cuban, Angolan and South African officials.

Dr Chester A Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, will lead the US delegation and the Angolan delegation will be led by General Antonio dos Santos. Franca N'Dalu, the Angolan military chief of staff, and the names of the heads of the Soviet

and Cuban delegations were not immediately available.

Mr Botha said in a statement that it was envisaged that the rules of procedure of the commission, its terms of reference and its activities would be discussed during the meetings that will take place on Monday and Tuesday.

While in New York the South African delegation will also hold discussions with the UN Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, on the implementation of Resolution 435 on April 1 this year.

Mr Botha said the establishment of the commission was provided for by the Brazzaville Protocol signed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola in the Congo last year. The commission's objects to facilitate

the resolution of any dispute on the interpretation or implementation of the tripartite agreement signed in New York on December 22.

Mr Botha said it was envisaged that the US and Russia would participate as observers in the work of the commission and that upon the independence of Namibia the Namibian government would be included as a member of the commission.

The Namibian cabinet met the acting State President, Mr Chris Hennis, at Tuynhuys yesterday morning at the start of talks expected to centre on the dissolution of the territory's three-year-old transitional government. It was agreed that the transitional government is to take the initiative in handing over its functions to the new

Thus Grantshaw (4) writes that although managers and supervisors perform productive work, "they are excluded from the working class by virtue of the political roles which they perform in the production process."

Similarly, "Labour and the working class are not the same thing. The working class is a political category, not a social one. It is defined by its political role in the production process."

Grantshaw continues, "It is true that the working class is not a homogeneous group. It contains within it a variety of different social strata. But this does not mean that it is not a class. The class is defined by its political role in the production process, not by its social composition. The working class is a political category, not a social one. It is defined by its political role in the production process."

It seems here that the application of the political and ideal power is constituted through the withdrawal through the

Cape Times, Saturday, January 21, 1989 3

# 'Withdrawal' talks

South African-appointed administrator-general in accordance with the UN-supervised independence process.

"The takeover of the functions of government by the administrator-general, in accordance with UN Resolution 435, was discussed," Mr Hennis said in a brief statement afterwards. "It was agreed that the transitional government of national unity, in consultation with the administrator-general, will take the initiative in this regard."

It was agreed that the responsibility for running the territory will jointly be that of the administrator-general, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the UN's special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisari. UN officials in New York, meanwhile, are completing plans this weekend for the peacekeeping force that is to monitor

the Namibian elections and independence process. The report by Mr Perez de Cuellar is to be released early next week.

Under the original plan, seven battalions totalling 7 500 soldiers were to join 360 civilian police and 2 000 civilian administrators in monitoring the independence process.

The five permanent members of the Security Council — the US, Russia, Britain, France and China — objected to the projected cost of the mission, up to \$800 million (about R1.92 billion).

The Big Five nations have agreed to try to hold the cost to about half and observers believe several battalions of peacekeepers will be held in reserve rather than sent to Namibia. — Sapa, Sapa-AP

This method ignores both the complex political reality of relations of domination in South Africa, which cannot be reduced to the sway of monopoly capital, as well as the contradictory and politically

(4) Grantshaw, U: "Theories of Class and the African 'Middle Class' in South Africa, 1969-1987", Africa Perspective 1988 p.2.

# Masire pilot 'stunned' by MiG attack

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON.— A British pilot, Captain Arthur Ricketts, says he "flew by the seat of his pants" after a missile from an Angolan MiG hit the executive jet carrying President Quett Masire of Botswana to Luanda.

The missile, one of two fired by the MiG in the incident last year, blew off the jet's starboard engine and plunged the aircraft into a dive during which it fell 2 100m in seconds. Captain Ricketts, 51, took

over immediately from the President's personal pilot, Colonel Albert Scheffers, who was injured, and landed the plane.

In an interview with the Mail on Sunday he told how he saved the British Aerospace 125-800 jet and its passengers.

"There was a damn big bang — a bit like being in a car with someone driving into you at high speed.

"All I could see was blue sky and bits of metal everywhere. I saw parts of the aircraft out-

side my cockpit window flying away from us at high speed. I sat there momentarily stunned ..."

Unseen by the 13 people aboard, an Angolan MiG-21, which had mistaken the plane for an enemy aircraft, fired two air-to-air missiles. The first hit and the second turned away.

At that stage, Captain Ricketts said, he had no idea what had happened.

"I was flying by the seat of

my pants."

He gradually pulled the plane out of the dive, stabilised the fight and at the same time gave oxygen to his fellow pilot.

"Inch-by-inch I tested the controls. Incredibly, all the systems were functioning normally."

He landed the aircraft on a strip near the small town of Cutto Bie.

"I am sure no other aircraft in its class would have survived such an attack. It shows how strong the 125 is."

# SA, Cuba, Angola hold talks in New York

SA, Cuban and Angolan government representatives will meet in New York today for talks aimed at launching a trilateral joint commission for the resolution of problems regarding Namibian independence.



● BOTHA

The Brazzaville protocol signed by the three countries last month provided for a joint commission to resolve

PETER DELMAR

disputes surrounding the implementation of the agreement on Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The US and the Soviet Union are expected to take part in the commission's work as observers, with the Namibian government being included after independence and UN-supervised elections, scheduled for November this year.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said at

the weekend government had authorised a multi-departmental delegation, led by Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, to attend the talks.

The meeting, scheduled to last two days, is expected to discuss the commission's rules of procedure, terms of reference and activities.

While in New York, the delegation will also hold discussions with UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar on matters relating to UN resolution 435.

SIDNEY 25/1/89

# Chalker in talks on Angola

LUSAKA — The first British minister to visit Zambia for three years arrived yesterday for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda expected to centre on the outlook for peace in Angola.

Foreign Office Junior Minister Lynda Chalker said that reconciliation between the Angolan government and Unita rebels would be discussed.

"The most important thing is the foreign troops' withdrawal

from Angola and Namibia — both the Cubans from Angola and South Africans from Namibia", she said.

"We hope at the same time there will be internal reconciliation in Angola. I have offered to help in any way I can. This is one of the issues I will be discussing with President Kaunda and I hope other African leaders will help Angola." — Sapa-Reuter.



# Cuba's 'war heroes' face depressing times

ARGUS 23/1/89

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The Argus Foreign Service

HAVANA. — Kicking their heels on the streets of Havana at night, veterans of Cuba's 13-year involvement in the Angolan war scoff at the "heroic welcome" promised to troops returning home in the phased withdrawal from their African battlegrounds.

After tucking away the medals won fighting Western imperialism in the African hinterland, the latest batch of 2 000 soldiers due to arrive back in Cuba aboard Soviet airliners early this week will face what the veterans see as a depressing prospect.

Several hundred will be drafted into construction brigades and dispatched to a northern beach resort to build luxury hotels barred to Cubans, and open only to dollar-spending foreign tourists.

"They say we are heroes of the revolution. But we are not treated as such," said one 29-year-old, who spent two years in Angola in the early 1980s. "The Cuban people are glad to see their sons coming home, but they forget them quickly."

Fidel Castro has delivered a barrage of speeches aimed at whipping up fervour in the country to welcome home his 50 000 troops over the next 2½ years.

For some of the returning men there are material privileges. If their service records are good they can buy scarce consumer durable goods, such as a fan, a refrigerator or cassette player.

But those whose records are not so clean can look forward only to spending their two years' back pay of 300 to 400 pesos, which one veteran said had bought him little more than a pair of blue jeans on the black market.

## Express themselves

Others who are deemed to be "restless" when they return face being drafted into micro-brigades, small groups that perform hard manual labour.

It has never been clear how many soldiers truly volunteered for duty in Angola. The official line is that all did. But one young veteran said he had volunteered because "I was afraid of what would happen if I did not." Others said they were sent because they

"tended to express themselves too freely."

The government has never admitted how many Cubans died in the conflict, saying only that the total could be counted in hundreds. Bodies were never repatriated. Now that the Cubans are pulling out, however, the bodies will be flown home too. Some estimates put the total as high as 10 000.

Also being kept secret is the number of soldiers returning from Angola infected with Aids. Those who are diagnosed as HIV positive face the same fate as any citizen in Cuba found to be a carrier.

They are sent to Los Cocos, an isolation hospital 40 km east of Havana, which they leave only occasionally, and under escort.

## Mass-killer confesses

ORLANDO (Florida). — Convicted murderer Ted Bundy, who has been linked to 36 killings and disappearances of young women, has confessed to another nine killings days before his scheduled execution by electric chair, officials said. — Sapa-AP.



# Unita releases two ANC members caught in ambush

6/Dec 23/1989

LUSAKA — Unita rebels in Angola have released two ANC members they captured in an ambush two years ago and sent them to the ANC headquarters in Zambia, officials said on Saturday.

They were set free two weeks after the ANC announced it would dismantle all bases in Angola following the signing of a peace accord between Angola, Cuba and SA.

The agreement did not include any deal for Unita.

Unita rebels, operating mainly in eastern Angola, seized the two ANC members in the Malanje Province near

the border with Zaïre in 1987, officials said. Unita evidently hoped to exchange them for Unita guerrillas held by government, the Zambian officials said.

Their release was organised through the Geneva-based International Committee for the Red Cross.

The military commander of the UN's Namibia peacekeeping force, India's General Prem Chand, offered to resign on Friday over proposals to cut the force, Angop reported.

Quoting a London-based spokesman for Svappo, the Angop report said UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de

Queller had rejected Chand's resignation.

Angop said Chand threatened to resign over proposals by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to reduce costs by cutting the peacekeeping force.

The five — the US, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China — were to pay 56% of the estimated \$600m to £860m cost of sending the original force of 7,500 peacekeepers.

Angop said the permanent members wanted to reduce the force to 4,500. Meanwhile, Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura dismissed

southern Africa with Portuguese leaders during a surprise visit to Lisbon on Friday. Angop said on Saturday.

The unscheduled meeting was held with Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva and Foreign Minister Jose de Deus Pinheiro during a stopover from Paris, where de Moura attended a recent international conference on chemical weapons.

Angop said the talks centred on recent peace agreements on southern Africa under which Cuban troops would withdraw from Angola, and SA would grant independence to Namibia.

Sapa-AP.

MGCS 74/1187

## Group formed to monitor peace pacts

LISBON — An international commission to monitor the Angola-Namibia peace agreements will be inaugurated in New York today.

The group comprises Angola, South Africa and Cuba with the United States and the Soviet Union as observers, said the Angolan news agency, Angop.

General Antonio dos Santos Franca, known as Ndalu, represents Angola, while Carlos Andana and Mr Neil van Heerden lead the delegations of Cuba and South Africa respectively.

The commission will oversee implementation and handle any problems in interpretation of Southern African peace accords signed in New York on December 22.

### DETERMINED

Meanwhile, our political correspondent reports that the National Party-controlled administration in SWA/Namibia is determined to go ahead with white ethnic elections in the territory.

Mr Chris Liebenberg, a member of the white administration's executive committee, said the white authority intended to go ahead with elections on March 1 — one month before Resolution 435 is put in action.

He said this today after a meeting between the 10 ethnic authorities of the territory and the South African government.

The meeting, chaired by Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis, spelt out the implications of Resolution 435, which calls for the disbanding of ethnic authorities.

South African government sources said the government had been hoping that the white administration would decide not to hold elections.

There was no immediate response from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

● Dr Willie van Niekerk, Minister of National Health and Population Development, spoke today about his new job as co-ordinator of South African and SWA/Namibian government functions during the implementation of Resolution 435.

The former administrator-general of the territory will continue to do his present job as well.

He will be assisted by Mr Willem Retief, the present South African ambassador to West Germany.

# Civilians paying a heavy price for liberation

JOHN RYAN of the Argus Africa News Service in Huambo looks  
at the little-known flipside of the Angolan war

AK 605  
34/1/89  
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**T**HE Russians descend on Huambo in a stream of sparkling confetti, their giant Aeroflot freightliners systematically tossing out chain flares to set off course any of Unita's heat-seeking Sting-er missiles that might be in the offing.

The same happens taking off. It's an engaging sight, a bonus fireworks display from the ground, for the freighters spiral tightly for perhaps 20 minutes around the axis of the airport — gaining height as close as possible to base — and the fares fall often.

It's engaging in a more intimidating way for those of us due to fly out of Huambo on regular aircraft without such decoys to divert death, without so much as a lady crack-er between us.

And Huambo province, in the south-west-ern highlands of Angola, has often been the storm-centre of the 13-year war. It has borne more casualties than any other province.

Unita held the city of Huambo, Angola's second largest, for six months in 1978. Jonas Savimbi's bunch are still seldom far distant, as the Soviet pilots recognise.

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There have been six attacks on installations in the town since just before Christmas. Huambo city is reported to be thick with fifth columnists.

One person who would not be impressed by Aeroflot's pyrotechnics is nine-year-old Miguel Isisho Lungi. He, perhaps of all locals, needs no reminding of war.

Two years ago, Miguel stepped out into the darkness from his parents' hut in a farming village in central Huambo to relieve himself. A Unita limpet mine took his right leg off below the knee.

"That thing wasn't there in the afternoon," Miguel says reprovingly. "Why did they put it there? I think it's bad, what they did."

Fate didn't leave it at that for Miguel. He lost his parents in the same year. Now the boy lives in an orphanage in Huambo city.

Orphanages are a growth industry around Huambo. There are ten in the area. Four years ago there were three.

One child out of every 15 in a province with a population of one million is an orphan.

The making of prostheses is another growth area in Huambo. Last year the Red Cross limb hospital fitted 1 377 artificial legs.

The great majority of these were issued to civilian casualties, mutilated by anti-personnel mines apparently spread indiscriminately in the fields and among the villages. Seeing the Angola conflict from an aspect

different from Jamba (how many South Africans have?) inevitably raises questions about the Unita operation. And about America's continuing — and, one hopes, South Africa's past — support for Savimbi.

The impression one gets from film clips out of Jamba, and interviews within it, is of two forces cutting and thrusting at each other in head-on conflict.

Now another perspective is conveyed from the other side — of a guerrilla force relentless in its determination to subjugate tribes-folk like those of Huambo province by fear and terror tactics.

According to the MPLA, Unita is embarked on another task — to attack government structures and so discredit the local authorities with the general public.

That could explain recent attacks on transport systems, a State brewery and even a clothing factory. But others are impossible to understand.

Huambo province was once a storehouse for much of the country, self-sufficient in food and able to feed adjacent provinces. Now the situation in its rural areas has become so bad that food has to be imported because people are starving. That is one of the main jobs of the Aeroflot airlift fleet.

On October 25 Unita planted incendiaries in a State warehouse in the city containing sugar, rice, vegetables, cooking oil and dried fish. The blaze destroyed 120 tons of food at a cost of 30-million kwanza.

"And," says store manager Joao Oliveira da Silva, "It was the people's food."

Three weeks ago five bombs were placed inside bales of used clothing intended for the local poor. However, they were discovered by an alert guard before they could explode.

The plant making artificial limbs has also been hit by incendiaries. So has Ekunha, one of the orphanages. Fortunately, all the children escaped injury.

Putting the most generous interpretation on that particular attack, a rocket fired at the building before the bombers went in may have been intended to cause an evacuation. But who knows for sure?

The anti-personnel limpets in the fields and villages are the most puzzling factor of all, because they keep recurring. And they can only be the work of Unita sympathisers, if not Unita guerrillas themselves.

Why are they being planted? Who has become the target? What happened to Dr Savimbi's fine phrases about winning the hearts and heads of the people?

What started out as a struggle for national control between two factions with a fairly even claim to sharing that control seems to have fallen into a morass of mindless brutality.

Ask Miguel Lungi.

## The innocents



Singing away their fears at a Huambo orphanage. The war has caused seven more orphanages to be built in the area in four years. One out of every 15 children in the province is an orphan.



Miguel Lungi . . . he will need no reminding of the war.

# Southern Africa under spotlight at Bush dinner

Star 25/1/89  
By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — In one of his first official acts, President George Bush hosted a dinner here last night for UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar and one of the main topics was progress in the southern Africa peace agreements.

## MODEL

The emphasis on the peace process in southern Africa reflects the importance attached by the US to the American-mediated agreements which Washington hopes will establish a model for settling other regional conflicts and for improving US-Soviet relations.

President Bush and the UN chief met shortly after representatives of South Africa, Cuba and Angola concluded a two-day meeting in New York by agreeing on the establishment of a Joint Monitoring Commission to serve as a watchdog over implementation of the agreements.

The meeting decided to rotate venues for future meetings between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, which means that, for the first time, Cuban officials will be on South African soil and South Africans will go to Havana.

The next meeting will take place in the Angolan capital, Luanda, next month.

## New Foreign Minister for Angola

*(S)*  
*Star 25/1/69*

LUANDA — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos named a new Foreign Minister yesterday in a move aimed at giving fresh impetus to his country's widening international relations.

A presidential decree said the new Minister would be Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem, a close adviser to the president and formerly Minister for Oil and Economy.

The choice was likely to please the West, diplomats said. The new Minister speaks good French and English and is known for his urbane and open manner.

His predecessor, Mr Afonso Van-Dunem, was criticised for having too low an international profile. Mr Pedro Van-Dunem, like President dos Santos, is a Soviet-trained engineer but he has recently taken on a high diplomatic profile by carrying out a number of delicate missions. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Crocker: SA solution cannot be imposed

26/1/89  
ARCUS

**WHAT** got the Angolans, Namibia negotiators moving?

People decided that they could not resist the logic of something which had been very logical all along.

Why? Perhaps because they realised that there would be a change of administration and they wanted to have the right people around when they decided to make peace, because, otherwise, they would have to start out with a whole new structure, a whole new policy, a whole new team. That was a factor.

There had been ample time for everybody to explore military solutions. They had not worked, as we knew they would not, so the magnitude of war became less and less attractive. That's a factor.

WHICH African countries were most helpful?

I would certainly cite Congo as a key country, because since April of 1987, we had seven different meetings in Brazzaville, and they helped to restore the direct contact between us and the Angolans. Then, they stuck their neck out, repeatedly in 1988 to keep inviting us back even though we did not quite finish our business. There was a key juncture when we could not get agreement among the parties on where to meet, when the Egyptians raised their hands and said, 'We'll try', and it worked.

Other supportive countries

As Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker has been at the helm of the United States's Africa policy for the past eight years. Here, in an edited version of an interview with YARO BIFUN of the United States Information Service, he reviews some of its achievements and failures.

included Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Zambia and Morocco.

It has been said also that the Soviets played a major role.

We have been talking with the Soviet Union throughout the course of this administration about southern Africa and the structure of a settlement. I think I could say that by the end of 1987, the Soviets began more clearly to see the logic and to see what was in it for them, and to begin exploring the possibility of actually lending support to the structure for a settlement, as opposed to taking a hands-off position or actively blocking it.

During the meetings, during 1988, they had an observer present in most of those meetings, not in the negotiating room, not at the table but at the margins, I guess you could say I would meet with my Soviet counterpart on a regular basis, and we would discuss possible solutions.

We had no doubt that they were using their influence in a discreet manner with the parties they were closest to, but as you know, they were also meeting at times with the South African delegation, too. This was new ground for the Soviets.

Their policy in this regard

has moved much closer to what we would call common sense, recognising the realities of the region. We have seen some results from that.

HOW do you see a reconciliation and a negotiated solution to the Angolan civil war coming about?

I have no doubt that this agreement is going to support and strengthen the chances for internal dialogue and reconciliation of Angola. I think almost everybody sees it that way.

Dr Savimbi has said that he sees it that way, that this is the logical way to proceed, the foreign troops, then the internal issues. But he is not alone. Many African leaders have said the same thing, publicly and privately. Let's get the Namibia Resolution 435-Cubans withdrawn, let's get the remaining obstructions or obstacles so that African negotiators can move forward. And then there will be no remaining obstructions or obstacles so that African negotiators can move forward.

Exactly how this will happen is very hard to predict. When people talk about an African solution, I think what they often mean is one that is characterised by quiet procedures and discretion, people

saying face, maybe starting indirectly with the passing of messages and then moving to more direct talks.

Of course, there are many things to be discussed, the war, the ceasefire, how to bring together the armed forces, how to integrate the adjustments, how to solve the questions of political power. It is a complicated issue, but we feel that the Angolans are the ones to solve it, not outsiders.

We have many times heard that Dr Savimbi is indeed prepared, once there is direct dialogue, to recognise the reality that there is an Angolan government. There cannot be two or three. There is one. That implies that there needs to be a negotiation between that government and Unita.

By the same token, we have seen just recently the MPLA government announce an amnesty policy that would include Dr Savimbi personally. That is, in itself, all that dramatic, but it may indicate preparing the opinion for something further to come, so it is tentative, but it has begun.

As Cubans leave, it's my prediction that Angolans will be increasingly talking to each other. That's one man's prediction.

NOW for South Africa: Can

constructive engagement end apartheid?

The first point I would make is that we have this general illusion — some of us in this country — that an American policy is going to end apartheid. And there are many Africans who fall into the same trap, perhaps because they — some of them — may think of us as superman. We are not. There are not any American solutions.

Apartheid is going to be ended by the work and the struggle of South Africans, and I feel very strongly about that. If anything, I feel stronger about it now than I did eight years ago. Whether it is constructive engagement or some other approach, it would be a false question to say, "Has it ended apartheid?" Has it ended apartheid?

There has been some progress on some aspects of apartheid in the 1980s. There have been more changes in social and economic apartheid in the late 1970s and up to the mid-1980s. I'm thinking of such things as the totally revolutionised labour law situation, the trade union movement, the pass laws, a number of things.

There have been more changes of that kind in that time period than at any time since 1945. But it has been reluctant. It has been slow. It has been piecemeal. It has failed to address the most important issues. It has, in fact, led to the big movement of black unrest in the mid-1980s, which, in turn, has led to



US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker... "A very mixed picture"

great new waves of repression against blacks, further human rights abuses, detentions and so on. So it is a very mixed picture.

I think I would add that as far as sanctions are concerned, you are not going to end apartheid by creating a wasteland, an economic wasteland, in South Africa. You are not going to end racism by impoverishing the economy of South Africa.

If people were looking for a signal of how we feel about apartheid, our sanctions are a signal, but we are, I think, required to look beyond signals and look at results. I am not impressed with the results of sanctions in practical terms. We have more than enough signalling going on. What we now need is to be engaged with everybody, effectively on a daily basis, as I think we are, looking for openings, pushing people towards thinking creatively about their own future. But you are not going to achieve that by washing your hands and going home.

ARE you optimistic?

I am optimistic that

President Bush knows what he is doing in foreign affairs, that he is a man who feels very strongly about the importance of Africa in our foreign policy. He knows Africa well.

WHAT are the possibilities of ending the war in Mozambique? Negotiations?

I am not very optimistic about military solutions. There are not many places in the world where they work these days. There really are two hands to the solution. One is the relationship Mozambique is trying to build with South Africa, and South Africa with Mozambique. That, I think, will make a big difference in terms of trying to support for Renamo and leading to more secure borders for Mozambique.

The other is the internal dialogue issue. It is a very sensitive matter. It is not for us to get involved in, but the government of Mozambique has not closed the door to finding some means to communicate with its armed opponents. That's an important factor, as well. We hope that they find ways to pursue that



Home the conquering heroes . . . Cuban soldiers about to leave Angola hoist local children on to their shoulders and pose for a farewell photograph. The AK-47s are decorated with bougainvillea blossom.

## 24/1/89 (S) Star Cuban 'heroes' find it's tough home in Havana

The Star's Foreign News Service

HAVANA — Kicking their heels on the streets of Havana at night, veterans of Cuba's 13-year involvement in the Angolan war scoff at the "heroes' welcome" promised to troops returning home in the phased withdrawal from their African battlegrounds.

After tucking away the medals won fighting Western imperialism in the African hinterland, the latest batch of 2 000 soldiers due to arrive back in Cuba aboard Soviet airliners early this week will face what the veterans see as a depressing prospect.

Several hundred will be drafted into construction brigades and dispatched to a northern beach resort to build luxury hotels barred to Cubans and open only to dollar-spending foreign tourists.

"They say we are heroes of the revolution. But we are not treated as such," said one 29-year-old who spent two years in Angola in the early 1980s.

President Fidel Castro has delivered a barrage of speeches aimed at whipping up fervour in the country to welcome home his 50 000 troops over the next 2½ years.

### Hard labour

For some of the returning men there are material privileges. If their service records are good they can buy scarce consumer durable goods, such as a fan, a refrigerator or cassette player.

But those whose records are not so clean can look forward only to spending their two years' back pay of 300 to 400 pesos, which one veteran said had bought him little more than a pair of blue jeans on the black market.

Others, who are deemed to be "restless" when they return, face being drafted into micro-brigades, small groups that perform hard manual labour.

It has never been clear how many soldiers truly volunteered for duty in Angola. The official line is that all did. But one young veteran said he had volunteered because "I was afraid of what would happen if I did not". Others said they were sent because they tended to express themselves too freely.

The government has never officially admitted how many Cubans died in the conflict, saying only that the total could be counted in the hundreds. Some estimates put the total as high as 10 000.

Also being kept secret is the number of soldiers returning from Angola infected with Aids. Those who are diagnosed as HIV positive face the same fate as any citizen in Cuba found to be a carrier.

They are sent to Los Cocos, an isolation hospital 40 km east of Havana, which they leave only occasionally and under escort.

(5)

Sowetan 27/1/89



**AFTERMATH of the war ... Angolan Army soldiers at the Kuito-Bie Rehabilitation Centre exercise the stumps of legs blown off by land mines laid by United States-backed Unita guerillas prior to being fitted for metal rods and then artificial limbs.**



# Angolan govt, Unita have 'beginning of a dialogue' (S)

<sup>Star 27/1/89</sup>  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Angolan government is reported to have had contacts with Unita.

Reports from Lisbon quote the deputy Angolan Defence Minister, Colonel Antonio dos Santos Franca, as saying there had been contacts with Unita at various levels.

There was, as he put it, "the beginning of a dialogue".

● The Star's Africa News Service reports from Windhoek that Namibia's 43-month-old transitional government will cease to exist on March 1, when it hands over full control of Namibia to South Africa in advance of the implementation of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace and independence plan.

● The chairman of the Cabinet

of the transitional government, Transport Minister Mr Harry Booysen, made the announcement of his administration's demise yesterday following talks held in Windhoek with South Africa's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

● President Quett Masire of Botswana has praised the Angolan government for its long perseverance in a struggle to win peace with honour. The Star's Africa News Service reports from Gaborone.

Speaking at a reception for foreign diplomats, President Masire said the end of the war in Angola and Namibia's independence would be a further impetus to improved relations among nations in southern Africa.

# Freedom? Perhaps no-one's told them yet in Windhoek

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www  
27/1-2/2/89

Independence? They've heard that before in Windhoek, where the atmosphere is so laid-back one might mistake it for disinterest.

SHAUN JOHNSON reports from Windhoek

ON the surface, Africa's last colony is preparing for independence with such nonchalance that it might be mistaken for disinterest.

The only outward signs of excitement about Namibia's impending political revolution are to be found in Katutura township on the outskirts of the capital, and even they are perfunctory. "435 Now!" is painted on three buildings on the townships' main road — and it looks like the messages have been there for some time.

But the inescapable reality of Namibia — erstwhile "South West" — is that the call of the graffitist will be heeded in just over two months' time.

On April 1 the first step will be taken in the implementation of the 10-year-old United Nations Resolution 435, which is expected to bring the nationalists of the South West African People's Organisation to power.

It will be an unambiguous step: the first troops of the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) will set foot in Windhoek, authorised to take charge on the streets.

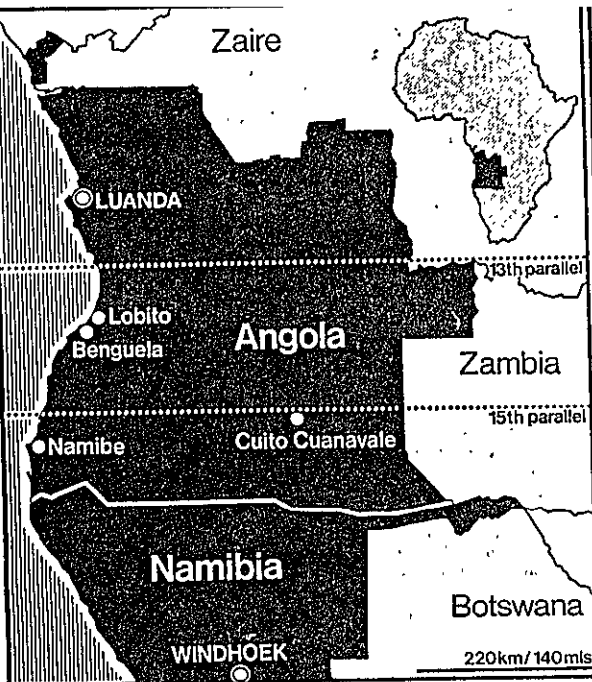
As one local said: "It's going to take the sight of all those blue helmets marching down Kaiserstrasse to really bring home what is happening."

Evidently, this week's announcement by Transitional Government chairman Andreas Shipanga — that he and his colleagues would hand over power earlier than expected to the South African administrator general and the UN — was not enough to convince Namibians of the finality of independence.

It is not entirely surprising that the citizens (both black and white) of this underpopulated African expanse should be incredulous till the last moment. They've heard it all before, several times. They are also an exceptionally relaxed community.

But beneath the baffling normality of Windhoek this week — in the first month of 1989, which Swapo president Sam Nujoma has formally declared the "Year of Namibia's Freedom" — crystal balls are in discreet use by all political sides. What they reveal will determine strategies and tactics for a highly unpredictable and potentially volatile transitional, and electoral, period.

Whites, although some still hold that Swapo won't win — or will not achieve the two-thirds majority it



<b>Angola Timetable</b>
Withdrawal over 27 months
Jan-March 1989 UN sets up 7,500 force
By April 1 1989 Start of implementation of UN Resolution 435 3,000 Cubans out
By Aug 1 All Cubans 200 miles north of border.
By Nov 1 Half Cubans out, rest beyond 13th parallel
By Apr 1990 33,000 Cubans out
By July 1991 All 50,000 Cubans out.
<b>Namibia timetable</b>
Withdrawal over 7 months
60,000 S.African troops to be cut to 1,500 before election.
Polling by Nov 1 1989
All troops out after poll results confirmed

The theory: How the independence timetable works out over the next two years

needs to shape its own constitution — are beginning to accept that South Africa means what it says this time.

Dirk Mudge, of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, certainly believes it, as does the local branch of the National Party. Even the Herstigste Nasionale Party, implacably hostile to independence, grudgingly concedes that an all-comers election is now a reality. "We are obliged to accept that Pretoria has made such a decision," says local HNP chief Sarel Bekker wistfully, "and my party will have to compete in the elections. For whites it will be a choice only between Nujoma and the HNP."

Even Swapo, ever-distrustful of Pretoria's intentions, is cautiously conceding that the chances of full implementation are growing. Dan Tjongarero, Swapo's deputy national chairman, now says there's "an 80 percent chance of April happening" (the arrival of Untag), and "a 60 percent chance of November happening" (the independence elections).

If so, he is convinced Swapo will be installed in the "Tintenpalast" (Ink Palace), the seat of government Windhoek inherited from German colonial rule.

There are innumerable imponderables to be considered before a new government officially declares independence, probably in early 1990 after an elected constituent assembly has agreed on a constitution. The way they unravel will have a tremendous bearing on the type of Namibia that takes its place among the fully-independent, recognised nations of the world.

Among the most pressing factors already under consideration are:

- Whether Swapo is allowed, and is able, to mobilise sufficient support among the population of some 1.5-million to achieve 67 percent of the

vote. If not, the plethora of smaller parties and last-minute alliances (the latest will likely be launched as the "United Democratic Front") will constrain Nujoma's room for manoeuvre. There are several minor leaders with strong ethnic power-bases, and there is no guarantee that they will automatically support Swapo.

The actions of the recently-launched trade union movement will also bear scrutiny: Mineworkers' Union of Namibia president Ben Ulenga made it clear this week that while he wants Swapo to win, his primary task is to voice the concerns of the workers. "If a Swapo government does come to power," he says, "we hope it will facilitate our struggle ... Conditions may become more favourable after 435, but I don't think the role of the unions will change."

- The rapidity and ease with which Swapo's external and internal wings can be united — and translated into a cohesive campaigning force — is another crucial indicator. As a local Swapo official pointed out, some external Swapo cadres have not seen Windhoek for 29 years. They have been living under military discipline — conditions entirely different to those activists who have operated within the legal space afforded "at home". Hierarchies of command, currently duplicated to some extent, will have to be sorted out quickly and cleanly if Swapo is not to lose the impetus provided by the homecoming.

- The efficacy of the monitoring forces, whose complement is already the subject of furious argument in the UN. It is also a source of concern to Swapo that the organisation will play a role as adjunct to the foreign forces.

- Directly related to this, the actions of the security forces, both indigenous (the South West Africa Territory

Force and the SWA Police) and seconded (the South African Defence Force), are important. Persistent reports from Owamboland and the Caprivi Strip allege that the security force are already engaged in propaganda campaigns, ranging from the rebuilding of rural homesteads damaged in the 22-year-old war to the holding of "mock elections". Further, some Swapo sources insist that an embryonic dissident force exists.

- The levels of panic among whites. Several local observers predict an exodus of up to 60 percent of the 70 000-strong community as Swapo's accession appears more and more likely. Swapo's already-launched "reassurance drive", in which Nujoma has called on whites to remain, will have to be significantly geared up if it is to make an impression on the streets of Windhoek, let alone in Namibian *platteland* towns like Gobabis and Tsumeb.

Swapo's recent statement on economic policy — stressing the need for pragmatism and a gradualist approach toward whatever nationalisation will take place — can be seen as an initiative in precisely this area. Politically, Nujoma will have to convince the public that he will be managing a viable economy, and not one entirely stripped of capital and self-generated vibrancy.

These and other inter-related issues will loom ever larger as April 1 approaches. Thus while Windhoek may not conform to the image of a capital about to undergo its most fundamental political change, there is tremendous flux beneath the surface.

When the Swapo banners — and those of the estimated 10 other parties which hope to compete for votes — are finally raised, they will simply be a public manifestation of previously-disguised developments of great historical import.

# SA still supporting Unita Angola leader

MLA 27/1/89  
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LUANDA — Angolan Defence Minister Pedro Maria Tonha says South Africa is continuing to support Unita rebels.

Angolan army commanders said this month that a stretch of Angola's south-east frontier with Namibia was occupied by Unita.

The area was not being monitored by the joint South African-Angolan-Cuban military commission set up to supervise the five-month-old ceasefire in southern Angola.

## ARMS SUPPORT

Mr Tonha said South African forces, without entering Angola, were continuing to support the rebels across the border.

He did not specify the type of support but Angolan officials have said they believe arms and vehicles are still being supplied.

This would violate the peace accords South Africa signed with Angola and Cuba in December.

An SADF spokesman said he could only repeat what was said to similar allegation on January 13 — that the SADF "has done everything and more than is required of it in terms of the

agreement between Angola, South Africa and Cuba".

The SADF was aware of the difficulties Angola was experiencing with Unita and suggested the best possible solution for Angola would be to talk to Unita.

Reports in Lisbon say Angola's government has held secret talks with the rebels.

"There have been contacts with Unita at various levels," General Antonio dos Santos Franca, Deputy-Defence Minister, told the Portuguese news agency Lusa yesterday.

Such contacts with Unita would be the first acknowledged by the government, which has consistently denied interest in talks with the pro-western rebels.

"We are at the beginning of a dialogue," said General Franca.

Unita representatives in Lisbon have often claimed to have met government officials — reports denied by the Luanda authorities.

"We have always been willing to talk, though I must admit I have no information on the particular meetings Franca is supposed to have referred to," said Unita spokesman Alcides Sakala. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Monitoring body 'not working'

THE joint monitoring machinery set up to keep southern Angola clear of South African troops and Swapo insurgents is not working properly — apparently because certain parts of the eastern border are still “no-go” areas for the Angolan and Cuban forces as a result of Unita activities.

This was the inference military correspondents drew yesterday from remarks made at a briefing in Pretoria by the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Andre Liebenberg.

*CIPF 7.12.85 20/1/89 (5)*  
An SADF source later confirmed that this was the reason.

At the briefing the Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said he wished to contradict remarks made in mid-January by Major Martino, a Cuban member of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission.

According to Major Martino, the South African component on the JMMC were responsible for creating obstacles to the body's functioning. General Geldenhuys

said this was not so.

General Liebenberg then explained that SA had decided to establish 11 monitoring posts along the border, from Epupa in the west to the post at Santa Clara, the Angolan side of the old Oshikango border post.

However, the Angolans and Cubans then had “difficulty” in establishing the next post. They had encountered problems in transporting their troops and food supplies to the post, Gen Liebenberg said.

A SETTLEMENT that leads to national reconciliation and political accommodation in Namibia and Angola will enhance South Africa's regional international standing.

It will protect the Government against criticism from the right wing about having "sold out the whites" in South West Africa, create new opportunities for economic co-operation in southern Africa and, in consolidating the political middle ground, point the way to negotiated accommodation in South Africa itself.

A "settlement" that leads to the destruction of Unita or a drawn-out stalemate in the Angolan civil war, the imposition of discredited leftist economic principles in Namibia and the flight of capital and skills from that country, will foster the right wing in South Africa and give comfort to radicals on the left. It could lead to a sharp increase in political and economic pressure from abroad. A settlement that falls apart

# Reconciliation in Angola and SA is the key

because of an outbreak of civil violence in Namibia, or gross violations of the agreed schedule of troop withdrawals, could plunge the region into military confrontation on a larger scale than before and invite mandatory — and crippling — economic sanctions. It is therefore the quality and content of the "settlement" that will be decisive. National reconciliation in both countries deserves to be elevated to the level of a primary policy goal and pursued energetically throughout the remaining negotiations.

paperfield, the country still labour's under the burden of a political system based on the social characteristics of a pre-industrial society, while real demographic and economic changes over the past two decades demand the abandonment of race and ethnicity and the primary mechanisms for political group formation. The continuing acceleration of the pace at which these changes are occurring means that the gap between the political system and the social and economic reality of the society whose interests it is expected to order is growing at a truly alarming rate.

Yet one's recent experience of the approach to constitutional questions that South African policymakers have adopted in Namibia does not suggest that the implications of this fact are adequately understood. Likewise, abandonment of the cause of political accommodation in Namibia in pursuit of short-term international credits can only result in South Africa further undermining the legitimacy of its claim that such an approach offers the only solution to its own politico-economic conundrum. The historical lack of a coherent policy towards Namibia mirrored one fears, similarly fractured visions and preferences among key actors in the policy process when it comes to South Africa itself.

The rapidity of the policy shifts vis-a-vis Namibia suggests that the Government still lacks a comprehensive insight into the structural features and dynamics of transitional societies of the sort we live in. While it would be cavalier not to recognise that the Government has succeeded in the course of the negotiations thus far in playing a poor hand with considerable skill, the absence of a broader vision and a set of policy parameters within which to order the negotiating tactics sharply limits the opportunity to gain strategic advantage.

There are already signs that we may be falling back on the tried and tested myth — now considerably less valid than before — that the primary requirement in our regional policy is military preparedness against the threat of Soviet destabilisation. If this is to be the basis of the Government's defence against rightwing criticism of a settlement, we run the risk of falling into the twin traps of "feeding the crocodile" and "believing our own propaganda". Southern Africa deserves better.

□ Extracted from the January edition of *South Africa International*, journal of the SA Foundation.

**Sean Cleary**  
A Namibian political consultant, warns that means are just as important as ends in the Namibian imbroglio

# Angola 'rejects offer of safe passage' for troops

Argus Africa News Service 5  
30/1/89  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Angolan government rejected a South African offer to give Angolan troops safe passage through Namibia to enable them to set up ceasefire monitoring posts on the border, according to the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Kat Liebenberg.

In addition the SADF offered to provide transport for the Angolan troops, General Liebenberg said.

He was reacting at a news briefing to a statement by an Angolan army officer that Angolan troops had been prevented by rebel Unita forces from completing the chain of 11 monitoring posts provided for in the ceasefire agreement signed by South Africa and Angola last August.

South African and Angolan contingents are manning

camps on their sides of the border and undertaking joint monitoring operations at eight posts.

But while the South Africans have set up their camps at the sites of the remaining three posts, which are along the border with south-eastern Angola, the Angolans have admitted being unable to do so because of attacks by Unita, whose stronghold is in this region.

A Lisbon newspaper, Expresso, reported at the weekend that a group of Angolan troops had been "decimated" early this month while trying to set up a monitoring post.

General Liebenberg said the Angolans, in addition to being unable to establish the last three posts, had been unable to get supplies to the eighth post and the Angolan troops there were being fed by the South Africans.

● More reports, page 5.

# Bush may base diplomats in Angola

b1 Den 30/11/89  
**SIMON BARBER**

WASHINGTON — In a small and tentative step towards the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the US and Angola, the Bush administration is considering basing diplomats in Luanda for the first time since 1975.

The move, first reported in Thursday's New York Times, is expected to stir a storm of protest from conservative hardliners in Congress who may step up their efforts to block funds for Namibian independence as a result.

A formal decision is not expected immediately, but US officials confirmed that they had told the Angolan government of their interest in estab-

lishing a "liaison office" during talks in New York earlier this week.

Angola would be permitted to open its own office in Washington in return.

The talks took place on the periphery of two days of meetings between SA, Angola and Cuba on the establishment of a joint commission to help enforce the agreement on Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal.

A US spokesman emphasised that normal relations would not be on the cards until the MPLA had come to

terms with Unita.

The move echoes President Richard Nixon's decision to open of a liaison office in China in the early Seventies to foster trade, cultural and scientific ties. George Bush headed the office between 1974 and 1975.

In another important policy shift, the US has decided that it will no longer raise political objections to Angola's joining the World Bank and the IMF.

Angola's membership application will now be considered solely on economic grounds, but this could still be a major stumbling block while the civil war continues.

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6/24 30/11/89

SIMON BARBER

lishing a "liaison office" during talks in New York earlier this week.

Angola would be permitted to open its own office in Washington in return.

The talks took place on the periphery of two days of meetings between SA, Angola and Cuba on the establishment of a joint commission to help enforce the agreement on Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal.

A US spokesman emphasised that normal relations would not be on the cards until the MPLA had come to

terms with Unita.

The move echoes President Richard Nixon's decision to open of a liaison office in China in the early Seventies to foster trade, cultural and scientific ties. George Bush headed the office between 1974 and 1975.

In another important policy shift, the US has decided that it will no longer raise political objections to Angola's joining the World Bank and the IMF.

Angola's membership application will now be considered solely on economic grounds, but this could still be a major stumbling block while the civil war continues.



Star 30/1/89

(S)

(706)

## Fidel Castro blasts UN Security Council

MEXICO CITY — President Castro of Cuba yesterday said permanent members of the UN Security Council must take the blame if South Africa interferes in Namibian elections later this year, the Cuban news agency reported.

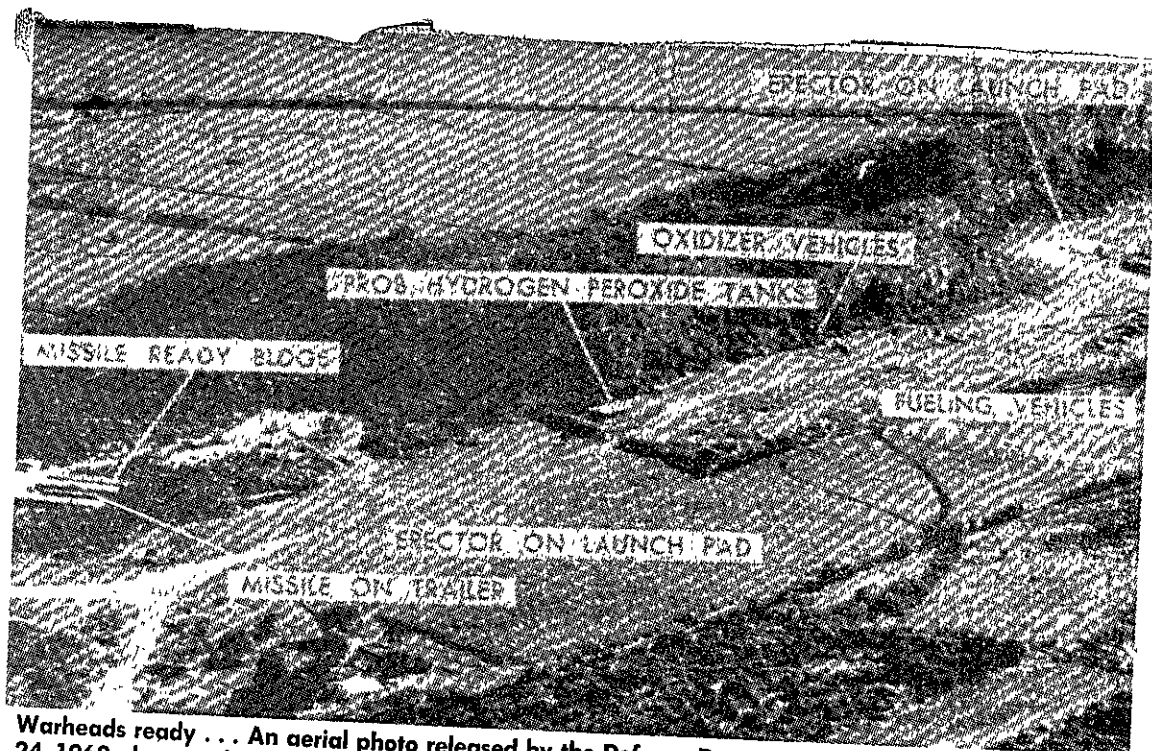
According to a report, President Castro blasted the five permanent members of the council for backing a proposal to reduce the size of a UN peacekeeping force in Namibia.

The council's permanent members are China, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States.

ed States.  
● An initial sum of \$90 million (R225 million) has been earmarked by several countries and international organisations for a \$575 million (R1 450 million) recuperation plan for the Lobito corridor in southern Angola, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

The sum was offered by countries of the European Community, Nordic countries, Brazil, the World Bank and the African Development Bank following an International Donors Conference in Angola.

● See Page 6.



Warheads ready . . . An aerial photo released by the Defence Department in Washington on October 24 1962 shows what was described as a medium ballistic missile base in Cuba. Cuban officials revealed during a conference on the 1962 crisis in Moscow yesterday that 270 000 Soviet and Cuban troops were ready to go to war with the United States and that 100 000 casualties were expected.

## Cubans wanted Soviets to bomb US

MOSCOW — President Fidel Castro urged the Soviet Union to use missiles against the United States to ward off an invasion of Cuba during the 1962 Caribbean crisis, a conference on the affair has been told in Moscow.

Participants said the revelation came during an informal discussion from a Soviet insider.

American and Soviet representatives said that the rules of the conference — under which participants agreed not to reveal for the moment what others said during the closed meeting — barred them from saying more on the record.

"We were told that there had been a telegram from Castro to Nikita Khrushchev, making this request at the height of the crisis," said one participant. "Khrushchev flatly rejected the idea."

It was the second major revelation to emerge on the crisis, which Soviet president Mr Mikhail Gorbachev said on Friday had taken the world "to the brink of the nuclear precipice."

On Saturday, military historian General Dmitry Volkogonov told the meeting that Soviet nuclear warheads were in Cuba during the crisis.

He said 20 warheads had already been delivered to the Soviet-controlled missile batteries; but had not been connected. Some 20 more had been on the way aboard a freighter when the US imposed a blockade.

Attending the conference were Mr Robert McNamara, US Secretary of Defence at the time, Mr McGeorge Bundy, President John Kennedy's national security adviser, former Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Andrei Gromyko, and Cuban Politburo member Mr Jorge Risquet.

Yesterday, the US delegation, which also included Kennedy advisers Mr Theodore Sorensen and Mr Raymond Garthoff, visited the graves of Mr Khrushchev and his deputy Prime Minister, Mr Anastas Mikoyan, who played a vital

role in resolving the crisis.

Mr Pierre Salinger, President Kennedy's press secretary at the time of the crisis, said the US and Cuban delegations spent Saturday evening after the conference in relaxed discussion of the events and their continuing effect on US-Cuban relations.

"What comes through still is the Cuban resentment that a better deal was not achieved then. They clearly feel that with some more pressure from Khrushchev they could have had the blockade lifted and had trade with the US," he said.

The missiles were withdrawn in return for a pledge from President Kennedy that the US would not invade Cuba, but Khrushchev obtained no other concrete concessions.

Mr Risquet proposed that a further conference be held in Havana. Mr McNamara said: "It is an interesting idea. I would certainly like to be there." — Sapa-Reuter.

# SADF urged Angola to set up posts

By Craig Kotze

The South African Defence Force had urged Angola to set up the last three of 11 joint monitoring posts on the Namibia/Angola border, but no action had yet been taken by Luanda, the Chief of the Army said in Pretoria *Star 30/1/89*

Lieutenant-General Kat Liebenberg was responding to accusations earlier this month by a Major Martino from Angola that South Africa had obstructed Angola from setting up the last three posts on the eastern section of the Namibian border.

The SADF had urged Angola to continue with the establishment of the final three posts, but to no avail, the general said.

South African troops had set up the last three posts and manned them, but no Angolans had arrived to take up their responsibilities.

The Joint Monitoring Commission between the two countries was informed of this on November 1. The posts were established before that date.

Angola was unable to get supplies to the fourth last post and the SADF had to feed the Angolans manning the post at Beacon 34, he said.



By Winnie Graham

Certain disinvesting US companies who have withdrawn from South Africa have abandoned the people and organisations they were assisting in terms of the Sullivan Signatory Code.

# Firms 'drop' aid

According to Arthur D Little's 12th report on the signatory companies, now available in Johannesburg, remaining American companies in South Africa have found it "extremely distressing" to be approached for assistance by organisations which have been dropped by American firms that have withdrawn.

One signatory commented: "Assisting people, and then ceasing to, is certainly worse than never commencing — or so it seems to us."

The report states that problems had arisen for those social and educational organisations that had relied heavily on US company contributions.

Some companies, when disinvesting, made arrangements to continue their financial support, at least for a period. This had been specially true for scholarship aid to individuals rather than aid to institutions.

One signatory who had continued to support a school, together with a former signatory, commented: "After the company was sold to a white South African firm, it abandoned its pre-

vious programme of involvement, but at our urging continued with the school project."

The report also quotes a senior black manager who asserted that, unlike his previous employment experience, he had not encountered racial discrimination in the signatory company. He had unlimited opportunities.

The report adds: "His concern — and he was absolutely convinced — was if the US joint owner and management were to withdraw, leaving the company to the South African minority owner, as a black he would be demoted and have no opportunity for growth. This is an example of the concerns of blacks with regard to US disinvestment."

In spite of a "significant reduction" in the number of signatories — they dropped from 92 to 70 — their overall performance had been impressive, contributing R86 million for the benefit of blacks, coloureds and Asians in South Africa.

The number of their employees had dropped by more than 10 000 — from 43 900 to 33 400, a reduction of 24 percent.

The report adds: "The companies are becoming more assertive in seeking opportunities to apply their money and effort in support of correcting and alleviating unfairness in South Africa."



# US petrol, oil airlift to Unita considered

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States government is considering ways of stepping up aid to Unita to make up for the Angolan rebel movement's loss of aid from South Africa.

According to a report here, US intelligence officials are especially concerned about getting petrol and oil to Unita for its trucks and armoured personnel carriers, and for running the rebel headquarters at Jamba.

In a weekend report, the *Washington Post* said that the Central Intelligence Agency was studying the possibility of flying the oil and fuel from neighbouring Zaire to Unita-controlled airstrips in southern Angola. It would be carried in big rubber bladders on C-130 Hercules transport planes.

The report comes at a time when a bi-partisan group of US senators, led by Democrat Mr Dennis DeConcini of Arizona, is trying to win a commitment from the Bush administration that it will continue to supply the anti-communist rebels until there is final reconciliation between the MPLA government and Unita.

So far, there has been no indication that the Luanda regime is ready to start serious settlement negotiations with Unita that will include its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The Senate group wants the Bush commitment to be cemented in a formal Senate resolution that will also hold out carrots for Angola after reconciliation, such as diplomatic recognition, economic aid, and support for Angola's admission to the IMF and the World Bank.

# Six more die in Natal township unrest

Star Crime Reporter 30/1/89

At least six people died in a flare-up of Natal township unrest on Friday and Saturday.

The killings happened near Maritzburg, the scene of some of the worst clashes between Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters in past months, and Pinetown, police said in their unrest report.

The weekend death toll could

rise when yesterday's unrest incidents are made known.

Two men and a woman were murdered in separate incidents on Saturday. They were stabbed to death.

One was found in Nxamala, one in Willow Fountains and the third in Taylor's Halt.

In Pinetown, a mob killed two men after a third was shot.

See 1



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South

# US looks at ways to step up Unita aid

*ARSLW 30/11/89*  
*5*  
The Argus Foreign Service  
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## COMMITMENT

The report comes at a time when a bipartisan group of US senators, led by Democratic Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona, is trying to win a commitment from the Bush administration that it will continue to supply Unita until there is reconciliation between the movement and the MPLA government.

So far there has been no indication that the Luanda regime

is ready to start serious settlement negotiations that will include the movement's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

President Bush has promised several times that the aid will continue as long as the MPLA receives support from the Soviet bloc. Before his inauguration he sent a letter to Dr Savimbi setting out the promise, and a letter to Zambian leader Dr Kenneth Kaunda asking for his help in finding a political solution to the civil war.

But the Senate group wants the Bush commitment to be cemented in a formal Senate resolution specifying US policy toward Angola in the wake of the agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban and South African forces.

It would affirm US military and diplomatic support for Unita until the country's government is elected in fair and free elections.

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# Power vacuum fears for MPLA

From GAVIN BELL of the London Times in Luanda

**T**HE withdrawal of South African and Cuban forces from Angola may prove a mixed blessing for the country's embattled Marxist regime.

While their departure may reduce the level of fighting in a civil war that has dragged on for 13 years, it creates a political vacuum that spells danger for the ruling MPLA and its technocrat leader, President dos Santos.

On the one hand, the government may no longer blame South African intervention for a costly war of attrition that will assuredly continue against US-backed Unita guerrillas led by Dr Jonas Savimbi.

On the other, assuming Cuba's 50 000 soldiers complete their pull-out on schedule in 1991, it will be deprived of an ally who has been a powerful deterrent against factional strife in the ruling party.

Despite the removal of

hard-left ideologues and the promotion of younger, more pragmatic leaders loyal to President dos Santos three years ago, the party remains isolated from a population weary of war and vulnerable to internal rivalries.

The constitutional supremacy of the party over the state apparatus is more formal than real, since it has no more than 36 000 members in a tribal society of 9-million people. This weakness is particularly evident in the countryside.

The problem of implementing strategic decisions is compounded by a vast, ponderous bureaucracy, most of whose members are not MPLA members and do not necessarily share its goals. Mr dos Santos recognised the impotence in a speech in 1985 when he said it was "impossible for the party to exist even in vital and priority sectors of the nation's life."

Another inherent weakness

is the concentration of powers in the presidency. In the absence of a prime minister, Mr dos Santos is head of the party, head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In 1982 the central committee invested him with emergency powers and later, with authority to appoint regional military councils with sweeping powers in civilian as well as military spheres.

That nobody has seriously challenged Mr dos Santos since he succeeded Dr Agostino Neto in 1979 is probably due to deft manoeuvring on his part, and to the restraining influence of his Cuban allies.

Arguably the most powerful figure in the party after its leader is Lieutenant-Colonel Pedro "Loy" Van-Dunem, Minister of Petroleum and Energy. But he is regarded as a close friend of the president.

The most cohesive political force in the party, and thus

the greatest potential threat, is the 50 000-strong armed forces. Colonel Pedro "Pedale" Tonha, the Defence Minister, has no apparent aspirations to power. Real authority rests with Colonel Antonio "Nadalu" Franco, the Chief of Staff and member of the Politburo.

He has shown no signs of disloyalty, and would be excluded from any rebellion motivated by racial rather than political unrest.

Cuban troops apparently played a role in the swift suppression of an attempted military coup against President Neto in 1977. With the armed forces capable of holding Unita, the prospects of an insurrection in the ranks seems remote as long as the Cubans are around.

What happens after they leave may depend on Mr dos Santos's ability to end his impoverished country's intractable war

# Angola turns <sup>S</sup> *Sawetan 3/11/89* down SA offer

THE Angolan Government rejected a South African offer to give Angolan troops safe passage through Namibia to enable them to set up ceasefire monitoring posts on the border, according to the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Kat Liebenberg. The SADF offered in

addition to provide transport for the Angolan troops, General Liebenberg said.

He was reacting at a news briefing to a statement by an Angolan army officer that Angolan troops had been prevented by rebel Unita forces from completing the chain of 11 monitoring posts provided for in the ceasefire agreement signed last August.



## Peace in Angola

(S)

HAVANA — Efforts were started last year to attain peace in Angola and ensure guarantees of granting independence to the long-suffering Namibian people, said the Cuban leader Fidel Castro. He noted that after agreements on settling the situation in South West Africa were signed, nearly 50,000 Cuban troops will return home in less than two and a half years. *Southern N.Y.S.*

## Amnesty for Unita captives

9/16 7:42 P. 6/2/89  
LUANDA. — Nine Angolan rebels captured in combat walked free from prison at the weekend, the first prisoners released under a government amnesty.

The nine former Unita fighters were freed from Sao Paulo prison on the first day of the 12-month amnesty offer.

Angolan officials said other Unita prisoners were being freed around the country but could not give a figure.

The nine shuffled out the prison gates beneath a banner reading "Long live the policy of clemency and national harmonisation".

They were met outside the prison by foreign and Angolan journalists, and high-ranking army officers.

— Sapa-Reuter

# Angolan amnesty: Unita 9 freed

LUANDA — The Angolan government introduced an amnesty on Saturday in a bid to end the country's 13-year-old civil war.

Soon after the announcement, nine Unita rebels were released from jail. Angolan officials said other Unita prisoners were being freed around the country but could not give a total.

The amnesty was announced on a public holiday marking the 28th anniversary of the start of the armed uprising against Portuguese colonial rule.

The 12-month amnesty has been

offered to Unita soldiers who renounce violence and accept the Marxist government's authority.

"The policy of clemency and national harmonisation decreed by our party is today a reality," Maj-Gen Juliao Mateus Paulo, a senior member of the ruling MPLA party, told a rally in Luanda. "We must always keep in mind that our people want peace."

Meanwhile Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has rejected the amnesty offer, saying Unita will launch a fresh offensive next week. — Sapa-Reuter.

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## US urges MPLA-Unita talks

*CMT 7/28/89 (S)*  
**LUANDA.** — The United States wants the Angolan government to begin talks with Unita rebels, before Washington can normalise relations with Luanda, a senior US official said on Friday.

The US has never recognised the MPLA government which proclaimed independence from Portugal in 1975 after defeating rival Western-backed groups.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Ms Alison Rosenberg told Reuters the US had made clear to the government what was required to change the US position.

As well as dialogue between the MPLA and Unita, she said her government also wanted to see full implementation by Angola of the peace agreement signed with South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter

and are to appear in court tomorrow.

*Some Times 7/2/89*

### Unita claims 40 killings

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LISBON. — Unita claimed yesterday that they killed 40 government soldiers and blew up two bridges and a train in recent attacks. A statement distributed here said 23 soldiers died when the rebels destroyed road bridges over the rivers Cuchi and Cutato in central Bie province last Thursday. The previous day 17 soldiers were killed when a train was ambushed and derailed near Canhoca.

*1975-12-18*  
**Unita to start  
attack today**

**S' Own Correspondent**

LONDON. — Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels will launch a general offensive today because of the alleged arrival of 12 000 Cuban troops in the country over the past three months, it was claimed last night.

Mr Isaias Samakuva, Unita representative in London, claimed yesterday that the reinforcements had come to Luanda via Guinea-Bissau, some of them after the tripartite agreement on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola had been reached.

# Invaders are withdrawing, but the problems linger on

The Russians are going, the Cubans are going, the Vietnamese are going. However, in Afghanistan, Angola and Kampuchea, the countries these foreign troops are leaving, the problems linger on.

LONDON — Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has decided that he does not wish, and cannot afford, to go on sponsoring wars fought by his own and his allies' armies in support of Third World protegee governments. So he is pulling out and making Havana and Hanoi do likewise.

But, short of some fancy diplomatic footwork, the departing troops could well leave behind them more or less what they found when they arrived: countries riven by factional fighting and deep-rooted ideological feuds.

## Fight to finish

The situation looks most hopeless in Afghanistan, which the last of more than 100 000 Soviet soldiers are due to quit by February 15 after nine years.

There the stage appears set for a bloody fight to the finish between the Moscow-backed government and a loose coalition of Islamic Mujahideen guerilla groups supported variously by Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, China and the West.

The ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) has insisted on its right to at least a share in the future government of the country.

But the unforgiving Mujahideen leaders reject this and refuse to negotiate with the Kabul authorities. Their talks with the Soviets were without result.

Both the Mujahideen coalition and the PDPA also have their own internal divisions, and these could well widen after the Russians leave, increasing the scope for more bloodshed.

In Angola, 50 000 Cuban troops that have been helping the left-wing government fight US and South African-backed Unita guerillas since independence in 1975 are due to leave in stages by mid-1991. The first 3 000 had left by January 15.



A cheery wave and smile from a Soviet soldier as his tank sets out for home from Afghanistan.

The withdrawal was laid down in an agreement signed in New York on December 22 by Angola, Cuba and South Africa. In return, South Africa will grant independence to Namibia.

But Unita was not party to the agreement and there is no mechanism in place for stopping the Angolan civil war.

The Luanda government, confident it can defeat the guerillas once they are deprived of South African military aid, has offered an amnesty, valid for the next year, to Unita members who give themselves up.

But Western analysts say the Cuban pull-out will seriously weaken the government's fighting ability and that Unita will continue to receive US arms.

They also doubt that the amnesty

will tempt Unita, which has called for talks with the government on power-sharing — a demand rejected by Luanda.

Perhaps the best hope for a negotiated settlement lies in Kampuchea, where invading Vietnamese forces toppled the Khmer Rouge government in 1978 and installed the present People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) administration.

## Chinese support

Of the 200 000 Vietnamese troops which originally entered Kampuchea, Hanoi says only 50 000 remain to fight a coalition of the Khmer Rouge and two non-communist guerilla groups.

Vietnam has agreed in principle with China on a withdrawal by September of its remaining troops, to

be accompanied by a phased end to Chinese military support for the guerillas.

But there has been no agreement so far on what kind of international body would supervise the withdrawal, or on a general elections date.

The guerillas have called for dissolution of the present Phnom Penh government, and a four-party transitional government to see the country through elections. They want an armed international peace-keeping force to monitor the process.

The PRK government refuses to be dismantled and rejects an armed peacekeeping force.

Attention has now focused on a meeting in Jakarta from February 19-21 at which the parties to the conflict and their allies will seek to resolve their differences — Sapa-  
Reuter.

UK Times  
8/2/89

# Angolan forces are billeted in Namibia

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — MPLA troops monitoring South Africa's disengagement from southern Angola are currently billeted inside Namibia under South African protection, because Unita will not let them operate on their own side of the border, US and Unita officials said yesterday.

The troops are part of the joint monitoring commission created under the South African-Angolan ceasefire agreement reached in Geneva last August.

The JMC was to have established 12 monitoring posts along the 1300km Angola-Namibia border, but Unita has barred the Angolan contingents from operating in territory it controls.

An MPLA force was reported to have been mauled last month as it attempted to set up posts. According to a Unita spokesman, Mr Marcos Samondo, the SADF took the survivors into protective custody.



held policies of Sapa

Malan's Unita

not abandoned

SOUTH AFRICA had not abandoned Unita and had to see to it that the movement's interests were taken into account, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Speaking during the joint debate on the opening of Parliament speech, he said South Africa's position towards Unita was determined by a number of factors.

South Africa would honour its side of peace agreements reached on South-Western Africa.

Dr Savimbi knew, as did the rest of the world, that South Africa would not abandon a good friend with such democratic goals which correspond to ours. — Sapa

## Unita declares 'general offensive' 5

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Unita has declared a "general offensive" against Angolan government forces, saying it does not believe the Cubans are serious about leaving Angola.

A communiqué from Unita's headquarters at Jamba said Unita had been sacrificed by the December accord signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba. In terms of the accord the Cubans agreed to a phased withdraw-

al from Angola. *ARGUS 9/2/89*

Unita was not party to the Angolan peace talks. In terms of the accord it will lose South African support.

The statement says the Unita leadership has assessed the situation and concludes that the Angolan people must fight on more intensely.

"The Cubans are not leaving Angola and will not leave. If we must, we will follow the example of the Mujahedin in Afghanistan."

# Unita claims commandos hit Luanda

CNT 7/9/89  
10/2/89  
5

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Unita last night claimed it had launched waves of attacks throughout Angola and dismissed Luanda government charges that South Africa was involved as "a desperate lie".

The Angolan government last night accused South Africa of sending troops back into southern Angola in violation of recent peace accords.

The Angolan national radio said South African army forces "invaded" southern Angola on Wednesday. The radio quoted an Angolan defence ministry communique. The communique, signed by Defence Minister Mr Pedro Maria Tonha, said the South African forces, using long-range guns, shelled Angolan army units south of Caiundo in the western part of Cuando Cubango.

A spokesman for the SADF denied the allegation last night and said the SADF carried out "to the letter every agreement already signed".

"Conflicts between Fapla and Unita should not be laid at South

Africa's door," the spokesman said.

"The Joint Military Monitoring Commission was established precisely to investigate such allegations. Allegations like this could have a detrimental effect on the agreements already signed," he said.

Unita said it alone was responsible for attacks throughout Angola because of the MPLA government's refusal to enter peace talks.

## 'Cubans infiltrate'

The rebels renewed claims that 13 000 Cuban troops had been secretly infiltrated into Angola in breach of agreed troop withdrawals.

Unita said its leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had taken personal charge of the "major general offensive" which included a daring commando raid that had cut power supplies to Luanda. The capital was still in darkness last night.

London-based Unita spokesman Mr Abel Shivukuvuku said: "Unita announced on Tuesday that we were launching a general offensive. This is now happening.

There are actions throughout Angola.

"We have attacked strongly and with success in the south, but there is no South African involvement. The MPLA is lying — they try to confuse the issue.

"South African forces left Angola last August. They are gone. They have not come back. We do not even get logistical support from them. The last logistical help we got was on December 22. Now, it all comes from America."

Mr Shivukuvuku said a Unita commando force had struck panic into Luanda by penetrating to the fringes of the capital and blowing up pylons carrying power to the capital which, he claimed, was now relying on emergency generators.

He challenged the MPLA government to produce a shred of proof that South Africa was involved.

Unita's envoy in Washington said he was seeking additional US anti-aircraft and anti-tank missiles to repulse a planned offensive by Cuban-backed troops.

Angola (S)

# claims SA invasion

8/21/89  
Angola yesterday accused South Africa of having sent troops back into that country in violation of recently signed peace accords, but this was last night strongly denied by the SADF.

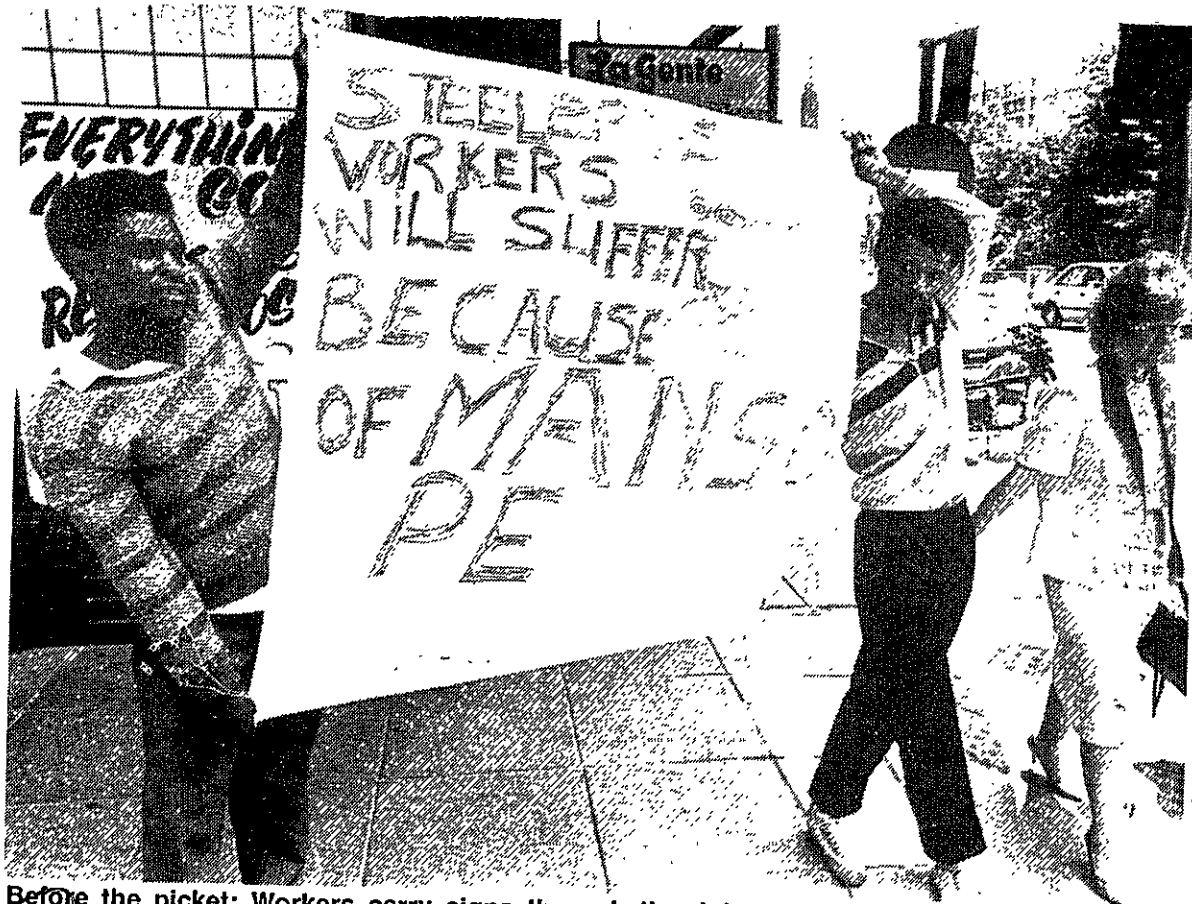
Angolan national radio said South African regular army forces "invaded" southern Angola on Wednesday. The radio, monitored in Lusaka, quoted an Angolan Defence Ministry communique released in Luanda.

The communique said this was a flagrant violation of peace accords which Pretoria signed with Angola and Cuba in December.

A spokesman for the SADF denied the allegation last night and said it was carrying out "to the letter" every agreement already signed.

"Conflicts between Fapla and Unita should not be laid at South Africa's door," the spokesman said, adding that the Joint Management Monitoring Committee was established precisely to investigate such allegations.

The spokesman warned that "allegations like this could have a detrimental effect on agreements already signed".



Before the picket: Workers carry signs through the Johannesburg city centre.

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

## Police swoop on First National picket

By EDDIE KOCH

POLICE yesterday broke up a picket in central Johannesburg by students and workers protesting against plans by a large furniture firm to retrench 400 workers so that it can move its plant to a "homeland".

About 60 students from the University of the Witwatersrand and workers from the Steele Brothers factory staged the lunch-time demonstration under banners proclaiming "these so-called independent states bring starvation to the workers".

A contingent of police swooped on the picket, held outside the head office of First National Bank because the bank has shares in Steele Brothers. A liaison officer for the Witwatersrand said the students and workers dispersed

on their own accord after police arrived on the scene.

A second lunch-time demonstration was staged by about 400 workers at the Steele Brothers plant, which manufactures a range of home and office furniture, in Industria yesterday. No police intervention was reported.

Rob Rees, national organiser for the Paper Printing Wood and Allied Workers' Union, said the retrenchment of 400 workers was the biggest in Johannesburg in recent years.

"The company is relocating a part of the Industria factory to GaRankuwa in Bophuthatswana, where it intends employing hundreds of new workers.

"They are clearly trying to get rid of any organised union presence in its factory. In one move the company is hoping not only to smash Ppwawu but to relocate to a bantustan where unions are illegal," said Rees.

Workers at Steele Brothers get a minimum wage of R156 for a 44-hour week while the minimum wage in Bophuthatswana for furniture workers is R35 for a 48-hour week.

Steele Brothers director Gerhard Strydom denied the relocation was designed to undermine Ppwawu. "A section of the factory is moving to GaRankuwa because it is out of date and cannot be updated. We have no alternative but to move. It is purely for business reasons."

# Angola Peace Crisis

## SA seeks urgent meeting after Angolan accusations of invasion

CAM-TRAVIS 13/2/89 (5)

LISBON — South Africa has asked for an immediate meeting of the Joint Security Commission in Luanda to discuss Angolan accusations of a South African invasion of southern Angola.

The joint commission comprising South Africa, Angola and Cuba was due to hold its second meeting only later this month in Luanda.

The United States and the Soviet Union participate as observers in the commission set up to monitor compliance with the peace agreement.

Angola claims that South Africa violated the regional peace agreement by invading its territory last Wednesday and has issued a formal protest against the action. The Angolan protest note was

handed to the British Ambassador in Luanda, Mr James Glaze, according to the Angolan news agency, Angop.

Angop said Mr Glaze also had been asked to hand on a copy of the note to the United States, the mediator in negotiations that led to the signing of the peace agreement in New York last December.

Angola was also sending copies to the Cuban and Soviet governments, Angop reported.

Speaking in Brazzaville, Congo, where he is paying a short visit, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos called for all South African forces to withdraw from Angola and respect the peace agreement, Angop said.

But the South African Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday rejected "in the strongest terms"

the "unsubstantiated" note received from the Angolan government via the British ambassador in Luanda.

"Such allegations do not contribute to a climate of confidence during the implementation of the New York agreements," the South African note to the Angolans said.

In the note South Africa called on all parties to convene an immediate meeting of the joint commission in Luanda to discuss the matter. It said South Africa was on standby to attend such a meeting.

"South Africa also draws attention to the confirmation by the US that the clashes taking place are between Angola's Fapla and Unita forces. South Africa is therefore not involved."

In Washington the State Department said on Friday that the fight

ing appeared to involve only Unita and government forces, adding that the United States had no evidence of a South African invasion.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, speaking at the opening of the Vredenburg-Saldanha agricultural show, said the Angolan claim was a transparent lie.

"The reality of the strength, influence and success of Dr Savimbi's Unita is catching up with them."

"Instead of talking to Dr Savimbi and Unita about reconciliation they blamed South Africa — and the SADF in particular — for their inability to hold their own against a motivated and purposeful Unita."

The row is one of the most serious to test the seven-week-old accords signed by Angola, Cuba and

South Africa providing for Namibian independence from South African rule and the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

South African military authorities have said their forces were strictly observing the US-brokered peace agreement signed last December.

The agreement bars South African military aid to Unita and calls for the independence of Namibia from South African control. Unita rejects the peace accords and has vowed to continue fighting until the Angolan government agrees to share power.

The United States has pledged to continue its support of Unita until the Soviet Union ends aid to the Angolan government. — Sapa-AP. Reuter

# Two kinds of news come from Namibia

ONE TRIPS 13/2/89

(5)

## Defence Correspondent

THE good news from Namibia is that the border ceasefire is working, with only three incidents recorded since November 1 — the quietest it has been in the operational area since 1971.

The bad news is that several serious or potentially serious problems loom over the progress towards independence — not least of them a recent report of a large-scale Unita offensive.

Both the good and the bad developments stem from provisions in the Geneva protocol which was signed last year, and which laid down, *inter alia*, that:

● South African forces would not venture north of the Namibian border;

● An Angolan/Cuban/South African joint military monitoring commission would be set up, which would ensure adherence to the protocol by deploying joint patrols in the field from a chain of 12 border control posts erected eastwards from Epupa in Kaokoland;

● Swapo insurgents would not come further south than the so-called "Quiteve Line", drawn through the 16th parallel.

The South Africans seem to be keeping their forces in place, but neither of the other two conditions appear to be functioning as envisaged.

## Major problems

The Angolans are encountering major problems in carrying out their part in the monitoring operation because the south-east is so completely dominated by Unita that Luanda's forces cannot open lines of communication.

At least one Angolan column last month reportedly suffered heavy casualties when it was attacked by insurgents on its way to the south-east, and the chances of a short-term improvement in this regard seem unlikely.

The Angolans' troubles in the

south-east were recently outlined by the chief of the South African army, Lieutenant-General Andre Liebenberg, at a briefing in Pretoria.

He said "good progress" had been made in establishing the monitoring machinery until the seventh border post had been erected at Santa Clara (the Angolan half of the old central Ovamboland crossing at Oshikango).

However when the eighth post had been established at Beacon 54, about 340 km east of Ruacana, and the joint monitoring troops had been installed, it had become apparent that the Angolans "had difficulty in supplying their troops", the result being that "up to now we are still feeding them".

## 'No avail'

According to Gen Liebenberg "we urged them to continue with (the establishment) of the remaining three posts, but to no avail." The South Africans then went ahead and established the posts unilaterally, manning them with the SADF components of the joint monitoring forces.

All this had been completed by November 1 of last year, he added, "but till now (January 30) they have not yet placed their troops".

Gen Liebenberg added that "we have even offered them (the opportunity) to go there across South West African soil", but the Angolans had not taken up the offer. Since then there has been a Washington-sourced report claiming that Angolan monitoring troops "are currently billeted inside Namibia because Unita will not let them operate on their side of the border". The SADF has refused to comment.

The Angolans have blamed their failure on South African obstructionism, claiming the SADF was acting in concert with Unita to make Luanda's participation in the joint monitoring patrols impossible.

Top SADF officers say, on the other hand, that the Angolans are resorting to their time-honoured tactic of blaming South Africa in order to avoid giving Unita any *locus standi*.

## SA influence weaker

One irony of the situation is that as far as can be seen South Africa's ability to influence Unita is now far weaker than it has ever been, thanks to that organisation's move into the American camp.

The bottom line, however, is that an Angolan ceasefire is obviously still as badly needed as ever — and as far away as before, particularly if Unita claims that it has launched a major rainy season offensive are true.

The SADF is worried about what it describes as Swapo's failure to stay north of the Quiteve line, and a lack of Angolan/Cuban will to make them do so.

As long ago as October last year South Africa was complaining that it had failed to reach consensus with the Cubans and Angolans on five violations of the protocol, stemming from proof found on Swapo insurgents killed or captured south of the border that they had originated north of the Quiteve Line.

Attempts at reaching consensus were met by the Angolans' attitude that the insurgents must have been deserters, and that in any case they could not control them as Swapo was an "independent" organisation — a specious excuse, since Swapo relies absolutely on them for its very bread and butter.

These complaints have still not been settled, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has lodged a high-level protest about this and the fact that large numbers of Swapo insurgents are concentrated in the "shallow area" just north of the border in violation of the Geneva protocol.

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# SA denies Angolan claim on 'invasion'

Cape Times  
13/2/89 5

LISBON. — The Angolan Defence Ministry claimed yesterday that 40 South African soldiers died last week during clashes with Angolan troops.

A spokesman for the SA Defence Force said the claim was "absolute nonsense".

Angola said South Africa violated the regional peace agreement by invading southern Angola last Wednesday and has issued a formal protest against the action.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday rejected "in the strongest terms" the "unsubstantiated" note received from the Angolan government via the British ambassador in Luanda.

The Angolan ministry statement, issued on Saturday, said South African troops crossed some 40km into Angola from Namibia in support of Unita.

An Angolan news agency report said the troops clashed with the Angolan army south of the town of Caiundo and the Angolan forces retreated from the South Africans, who were supported by artillery.

Meanwhile, Unita rebels said 275 government soldiers died in heavy fighting last week when 4 000 guerillas clashed with the Angolan army in southern Cuando Cubango province.

The rebel statement, distributed in Lisbon on Saturday, denied South African troops took part.

Unita said the 4 000 rebels, backed by light artillery and anti-tank missiles, fought against three Angolan army brigades supported by Cuban soldiers, Soviet-built tanks and Swapo units.

The area where the fighting reportedly took place is near a stretch of the border between Angola and Namibia where no Angolan-South African posts to monitor the peace agreement have yet been set up.

Earlier the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported that Angolan military officials said 60 Unita fighters and a white South African officer had been killed in the clashes. — Sapa-Reuter

● Angolan peace crisis — Page 3



# Two kinds of news come from Namibia

GME Traps 13/2/89 (5)

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Star 13/2/89

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SSA

Monitoring commission to meet?

# SA denies that army attacked Angolan force

The South African Government yesterday again rejected charges that South African troops had entered Angola. It requested an immediate meeting of a joint monitoring commission in order to discuss the matter.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said in Pretoria it had replied "in the strongest terms" to "unsubstantiated" allegations contained in a protest note sent by the Angolan government.

"Such allegations do not contribute to a climate of confidence during the implementation of the New York agreements," the South African note said.

## Supported Unita

Angolan military officials said last Thursday that South African troops had penetrated 40 km into southern Angola to support Unita units fleeing from government forces.

The Angolan news agency, Angop, monitored in Maputo, has claimed that South Africa's 32 (Buffalo) Battalion, supported by armoured vehicles, was the unit that attacked Angolan territory.

It said the South Africans had attacked Angolan troops pursuing Unita troops near the Namibian border.

Giving details of the alleged incursion, Angop said the unit had lost 40 men, a truck and an unspecified quan-

tity of war material.

Angolan losses were put at seven dead, 16 wounded and four vehicles destroyed.

In a statement issued in Lisbon yesterday, the Angolan Defence Ministry also said 40 South African soldiers died last week.

South African military headquarters said its forces were strictly observing a United States-mediated regional peace agreement signed in December.

The agreement, which bars South African military support for Unita, established a joint commission comprising South African, Cuban and Angolan representatives to monitor observance of the various provisions.

In the statement yesterday, South Africa said it was on standby to attend an urgent meeting of the commission in Luanda, the Angolan capital, to discuss Angola's allegations.

The US State Department has said that there was no evidence that any South African troops had entered Angola.

Unita said on Saturday that 275 government soldiers died in heavy fighting last week when 4 000 of its guerillas clashed with the Angolan army in southern Cuando Cubango province.

Unita denied South African troops participated in the fighting. — Associated Press-The Star's Africa News Service.

Cont. from p. 12/189

## Unita to call off offensive after appeal

LISBON. — Unita yesterday said it would call off its offensive following a peace appeal by Ivory Coast President Mr. Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

"The Wise Man of Africa asked us to cancel the general offensive launched last Wednesday in order to promote peace and national reconciliation," the rebels said in a statement.

No details were disclosed of the message, which Unita said had been considered by its central committee chaired by leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi.

Excluded from recently signed regional peace accords, Unita has vowed to fight on, although analysts say the Angolan government is under strong pressure from the United States to bargain with the rebels. Ivory Coast is also thought to be involved in efforts to reach a peaceful settlement. — Sapa-  
Reuter

# Angola claims 32 Battalion attack

Sowetan  
14/2/89  
(5)

MAPUTO — South Africa's 32 (Buffalo) Battalion was the unit that attacked Angolan territory last week, the Angolan News Agency, *Angop*, has claimed.

Giving details of the alleged South African incursion into Angola, *Angop*, monitored here, said the unit had lost 40 men, a Mercedes truck

and an unspecified quantity of war material.

Angolan losses were put at seven dead, 16 wounded and four vehicles destroyed.

The South African Government and the SADF have denied involvement in any raids into Angola.

The South African

Government on Sunday called for an immediate meeting of the joint commission in Luanda to discuss the matter. The United States and the Soviet Union are part of the joint commission which met recently for the first time in New York. — *Sowetan Africa News Service*.

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*Cont. from 14/2/89*  
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off offensive  
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## Unita to halt offensive after Ivory Coast plea

The Argus Foreign Service

LISBON. — Angola's Unita guerrillas say they are suspending a week-old countrywide offensive in response to an appeal by Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

In a statement yesterday the rebels said they would halt their "generalised offensive" at midnight tomorrow and return to "previous positions" held at the start of the offensive on February 8.

However, a Unita spokesman said the move was not a cease-fire in the 13-year insurgency against the Marxist government in Luanda.

"Combat will continue until Luanda accepts our calls for direct negotiations, he said.

Unita said it had accepted an appeal by President Houphouet-Boigny to call off the offensive "in favour of peace and national reconciliation" as long as its forces were not attacked.

### INTERNAL PEACE

Mr Houphouet-Boigny's appeal, in which he underlined his "strong commitment" to an internal Angolan peace arrangement, was accepted unanimously by the insurgents' political bureau.

President Houphouet-Boigny is one of several African leaders reported to be acting as brokers in a peace agreement between the Angolan government and Unita after the recent Namibian peace accord.

Unita guerrillas, long backed by South Africa and more recently by Washington, were not part of the four-party accord signed in New York on December 22.

● The movement claimed to have killed 45 Angolan soldiers in an attack on a military supply train on the Benguela railway line.

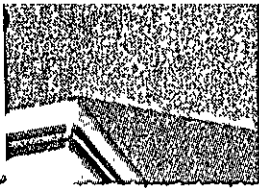
## Unita claims MPLA offensive doomed

JAMBA — Unita claimed yesterday it had repulsed one of three Angolan government task forces during heavy fighting last week in the south-eastern province of Cuando-Cubango.

Military intelligence chief Gen Wambu Chindande said a military offensive by MPLA forces and two Cuban battalions aimed at occupying Unita-held territory would not succeed. *bl Day 15/2/89*

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi also accused Cuba of violating the Angolan peace accords — by the presence of two Cuban battalions of 300 troops each — and repeated denials that SA had breached the accords by lending it assistance during the clashes. (S)

— Sapa.



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**OLITICS**

Political Staff

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**(5) Pik and Magnus' at odds over Unita'**

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CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan appeared to be contradicting each other over future relations with Unita, PFP Foreign Affairs spokesman Colin Eglin said yesterday.

Botha said yesterday in terms of the recent agreement with Cuba and Angola, SA was committed not to interfere in Angola's domestic affairs or give Unita any material assistance.

Earlier Eglin had wanted to know if SA had any extra-territorial agreement with Unita and questioned whether this would not violate the recent Namibian/Angolan agreement.

Botha told CP Foreign Affairs spokesman Tom Langley that the agreement with Angola about the closure of ANC camps indicated SA would not interfere in its domestic affairs.

Eglin said later this appeared to clash with what Malan said about Unita during Parliament's opening debate.

Malan had said if the MPLA pursued peace in Angola without Jonas Savimbi, SA would have the right to demand assurances that its own agreement with Cuba and Angola was not abused in such a way that Unita was forced to capitulate to MPLA terms.

□ MIKE ROBERTSON reports that Malan said last night Zambia, Swapo and Russia were trying to create a climate in which SA was blamed for the ills and inabilities of others.

Speaking in Kempton Park Malan said Zambian claims that SA had deployed troops along the Caprivi Strip and Russian claims that SA

was guilty of an "aggressive act" were totally unfounded. He said the US mediators in the Angola/Namibia peace talks had investigated these accusations and found no truth in them.

The Angolan-Cuban delegation to the JMMC, set up to deal with violations of the various agreements, had not accepted numerous SA invitations to investigate their allegations including the alleged supply of aid to Unita.

At the same time the Angolan government seemed unwilling or unable to control Swapo. It was reluctant to allow the monitoring of Swapo south of the 16th parallel in Angola.

"I can only conclude that the Angolans are not prepared to witness and acknowledge truth and reality," Malan said.



# SA again requests talks on 'Angola invasion' 5

SOUTH Africa has sent Angola a second message asking for a meeting of the joint commission to consider Angola's accusation of a South

*Sowetan 15/2/89*

African invasion of Angola.

South Africa asked for a meeting of the JC, which was established in terms of the recent peace

agreements on Namibia/Angola, after a protest note was sent by Angola through the British Embassy.

Since asking for a meeting of the commission at the weekend to discuss the charges, which have been strongly denied, South Africa has heard nothing.

Mr Roland Darroll, spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, said yesterday SA again asked for a reply. — Sapa.

# Russia presses for SA solution

CMT TIPS 17/2/89

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Moscow and Washington have reached a tacit understanding to co-operate in Southern Africa in ways that extend considerably further than the agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence, Dr Chester Crocker hinted this week.

The co-operation would include working for an end to the Angolan civil war, the emergence of a pragmatic, non-socialist government in independent Namibia and a non-violent, negotiated solution in South Africa.

Dr Crocker, the soon to be departing assistant secretary of state for Africa, portrayed Soviet policy towards the region in words he could have used to describe his own approach.

The Soviets, he said, now agreed that: "The armed struggle is not the way to solve the problems of Southern Africa; secondly, that we should all be seeking political settlements based on compromise and accommodation; thirdly that it does not make sense to

destroy the economic base of SA, which is the region's strongest economy and strongest state."

Speaking in a teleconference with Brazilian reporters, the US official went out of his way to cite a remark by "a senior Soviet official that it would be unwise for anyone to try to build socialism in Namibia".

"That is one of the most realistic statements about the likely prospects in the territory that I have heard recently."

Dr Crocker also noted that while the US and the Soviets continued to arm Unita and the MPLA respectively in Angola, Moscow now accepted that the civil war had to end.

"The Soviets recognise there must be a political settlement. It would not surprise me if, behind the scenes, they are using their influence to encourage such a settlement."

"We developed a relationship of co-operation at the negotiating table," the official said, adding that Moscow had "brought its influence to bear" on Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

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ains union men

Beirut truce shattered

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(LAA26130)

# Defence chief challenges Angola

By CRAIG KOTZE

Angola should force out thousands of Swapo troops still in southern Angola where they pose a threat to Namibian elections in defiance of the Geneva Protocol signed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba, a press conference called by South African Defence Force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys was told in Pretoria yesterday.

General Geldenhuys told military correspondents that 40 percent, "a couple of thousand", Swapo fighters were still south of the 16th parallel, despite Swapo's assurance it would abide by the protocol.

Angola had agreed it would "use its good offices" and "urge" Swapo to retreat to the line concerned, said the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glenn Babb, who was present at the news conference.

"This is a matter of grave concern and has an effect on the elections. One does not wish to undermine the peace process. What is at stake is the political will of the parties concerned.

"Under the circumstances, the obvious conclusion is that Angola should force Swapo out and use its good offices to do so. It's a question of good faith, one uses everything in one's power to abide by agreements," said

Mr Babb. *Star 17/2/89*  
General Geldenhuys warned that if the agreement was not honoured by Angola, it would "affect public faith" in the rest of the Namibian peace plan agreements.

He challenged Angola either to admit it could not get Swapo out of the area or that it did not want Swapo north of the 16th parallel.

Another point raised by General Geldenhuys was that the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) set up to investigate allegations by both parties refused to verify substantiated South African claims about Swapo south of the 16th parallel.

South Africa had gone through all the necessary channels, both military and diplomatic, but would "have to consider its next step" to resolve the issue, which would be addressed again when the JMMC meets in Luanda within the next week.

"Despite the Geneva Protocol, the JMMC refused to verify our claims because the Angolan government refused to give permission for the places to be visited. The JMMC still does not react to our claims and on February 10 I was told there was still no improvement in the monitoring action," said General Geldenhuys.



General Jannie Geldenhuys ...  
Swapo troops too far south.

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# 'SA link to action is untrue'

By CRAIG KOTZE

Defence Force chief General Jannie Geldenhuys has given his "absolute, categorical assurance" that South Africa was not involved in fighting between Unita and Angolan forces recently.

He was reacting to claims made recently that 40 South African troops were killed in the alleged action.

"I give my absolute, categorical assurance that not by any stretch of the imagination was South Africa involved. It is complete and utter nonsense," said General Geldenhuys.

America has also said it had found no evidence to support the claim.

General Geldenhuys said that when the allegation was made to the Joint Military Monitoring Commission, South Africa responded and requested an on-site verification.

"After a delay, the South African and American components decided to verify on site. The Cubans and Angolans refused to accompany us. No trace was found of these allegations. They are absolutely untrue," he said, addressing military correspondents at a press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

He dismissed outright the claim that 40 South African soldiers were killed in the alleged involvement.

"It is impossible in our society to hide the deaths of 40 soldiers. It doesn't work that way," said General Geldenhuys.

According to the Deputy Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glen Babb, no tracks or presence could be found to substantiate the allegations.

"This is seen as a way to make cheap propaganda at a time when we thought we had created confidence. It seems to be a breach of the peace agreement which stipulates that any disputes are to be resolved by negotiation," said Mr Babb.

● Five incidents caused by Swapo were reported in Namibia since November 1 last year. All were landmine incidents, the most recent being a week ago in Kaokoland and Ombalantu in Ovamboland, said General Geldenhuys.

# Angola, Cuba 'rocking peace boat'

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The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Angola and Cuba were rocking the peace boat by allowing "several thousand" Swapo fighters to operate north of the important 16th parallel in violation of the ceasefire agreement, the Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, has said.

The Angolan Government's apparent unwillingness to move Swapo will be one of the main items on the agenda when the Joint Military Monitoring Commission meet in Luanda next week, General Geldenhuys said yesterday.

At the same briefing, the Deputy Director of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glen Babb, said the Cuban-backed Angolan Government did not honour an undertaking to use its "good offices" to urge Swapo to withdraw from southern Angola by September 1, 1988.

Mr Babb warned this put Swapo in a position to interfere with the Namibian elections and could "affect independence".

He said South Africa had shown restraint because it wanted to further the peace process but was becoming weary with Angolan undertakings that were never honoured.

South Africa considered the Swapo withdrawal as a "matter of grave concern".

General Geldenhuys once again rejected claims that South African soldiers were involved in Unita-Fapla clashes last week as "pure and utter nonsense".

"It would be impossible to hide 40 SADF deaths from South African society," he said and added that Angolan elements of the commission had refused to comply with a written SADF request to investigate and verify the allegations.

An SADF component and US observers visited the area and had failed to find any evidence of South African involvement, he said.

He said that since the establishment of the commission, it had failed to investigate more than 150 Swapo incidents reported by South Africa.

● Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has welcomed the United Nations Security Council agreement on the implementation of Resolution 435 as a "historic moment".

The acceptance by the council of the implementation of Resolution 435 "marks the last enabling step to the settlement plan for the independence of SWA/Namibia".

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18/2/89.

# 'THANK GOD WE LEFT ANGOLA ...'

by NEIL LURSEN  
Weekend Argus Foreign Service  
in Washington

**L**OOKED familiar didn't it, those pictures of the last of the young Soviet troops leaving Afghanistan this week — if not with their tails between their legs then at least with a bitter sense of "What the hell was I doing here in the first place".

It took one back to the early 70s when young Americans were leaving Vietnam in similar circumstances, because their national leaders had finally realised that the constant gushing of fresh young blood was causing more problems than it was trying to solve.

The Soviets left Afghanistan for the same reasons that the Americans left Vietnam: the strategic advantages of propping up a friendly but relatively weak ally were hopelessly outweighed by international condemnation of the action; discontent at home loomed more dangerous than the threat on the global chessboard; an unwillingness to use the full force of the military strength available to the superpowers.

The results are roughly the same too. Thousands of grieving moms, dads and sweethearts wondering why their young men died.

For what? So that the generals and the over-educated military strategists with their PhDs in mass death could enhance their careers by producing maps and theories at top-secret think-tanks in Washington and Moscow.

**F**ROM what I have read in remarkably frank cables from the Soviet Union, and seen here in television reports, there is a generation of young Russian military veterans who are suffering traumas similar to those inflicted on many Americans who served in 'Nam.

Whichever way you look at it, they lost. So they come home not to a hero's welcome but to a flat, confused attempt to seek a normal life in which it is impossible to forget the agony of lost and maimed friends, and pointless waste.

And the constant nagging question of what it was all supposed to achieve in the first place.

Here in Washington, you can see many of these people at the Vietnam Memorial, seemingly unable to let go of their experience in South-east Asia, perhaps because it gives them a constant excuse for explaining away life's failures and inadequacies.

They are middle-aged now, but they still wear camouflage fatigues and fall on each other's shoulders in self-induced fits of weeping when old buddies meet and old times are remembered.

The Vietnam Memorial is a long, chevron-shaped slash in the ground which bears the engraved names of the tens of thousands of dead.

As you walk down its length, the black marble surface rises until you are engulfed by the sheer sorrow. When you read the names you



**Soviet airborne troops on top of armoured carriers leave Afghanistan for the Soviet Union.**

can see your own face reflected on the surface.

You become part of it. You encounter tear-stained faces every few yards.

It is so much more powerful than memorials with preening generals on arching horses.

It is pathetic and terribly sad to witness. No doubt there will be equally pathetic and sad sights when the Afghanistan vets gather in Russia.

Wars stopped being popular after World War 2. Who remembers the French dead in Indo-China, the Portuguese youngsters who died in Mozambique and Angola to protect a flimsy empire, the youngsters who died in the absurd Falklands-Malvinas War?

Apart from grieving friends and relatives, who remembers the young Rhodesians who were killed in the 60s and 70s? Outside Southern Africa, nobody cares.

**W**ILL anybody ever know the names of the hundreds of thousands who died in the Iran-Iraq war. Will anybody, apart from relatives and friends, give a damn?

Thank God we got out of the Angola civil war when we did. The generals and the politicians deserve credit for this. It would have been easy for them to argue that our troops had to be there to help keep the communist hordes at bay.

However, it was an unwinnable situation and there would have been many more tragic deaths than those that have already taken place.

Getting out of Angola was an exercise in reality — on the part of South Africa, Cuba, the Soviet Union and the United States. It is something to be pleased about.

# SA denies fatality <sup>one tank</sup> claim by <sup>18/2/89</sup> Angolans

LISBON. — Angola, describing a Unita rebel offensive as a complete failure, said yesterday that its army had killed 108 guerillas and a white South African soldier in the week up to Tuesday.

An SADF spokesman in Pretoria denied the claim of an SADF casualty, describing it as "absolute rubbish".

The Angolan Armed Forces said in a statement carried by the official news agency Angop: "The so-called general offensive proved a disaster for Unita as they were forced to announce its suspension almost immediately."

Unita's pro-Western rebels said on Monday they were calling off an offensive launched less than a week earlier following an appeal for peace by Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

Unita was excluded from the peace process when Angola, Cuba and South Africa signed agreements in December providing for the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola.

Meanwhile, reports from Windhoek say that the first members of the UN peacekeeping force that will monitor independence arrived in Namibia yesterday for talks on how the UN police contingent will work with the 6 000-member local police force.

Mr Steven Fanning, head of the UN Transition Assistance Group's police contingent, and UN legal representative Ms Rachel Majangya arrived from Frankfurt less than 24 hours after the UN Security Council authorised a 4 650-member UN peacekeeping force, including 600 police, to oversee implementation of the independence plan.

● The military withdrawal from Namibia would lead to an increase in defence expenditure rather than a decrease, the Chief of Staff, Finances, Admiral Bert Bekker, said in Cape Town yesterday.

He said that the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 would eventually bring about a break-even point in the next financial year before it would lead to a reduction in operating costs. — Sapa-Reuter, UPI

## CROCKER SAYS KREMLIN HELPING SETTLEMENT

WASHINGTON — Moscow and Washington have a tacit understanding to co-operate in southern Africa.

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker indicated their work would extend considerably the agreement on Cuba's troop withdrawal from Angola and independence in Namibia.

The co-operation would include working for an end to the Angolan civil war, emergence of a non-socialist government in Namibia and a non-violent, negotiated solution in SA.

SIMON BARBER

Crocker said the Soviets agreed "first, that the armed struggle is not the way to solve the problems of southern Africa; second, that we should all be seeking political settlements based on compromise and accommodation; third, that it does not make sense to destroy the economic base of SA, which is the region's strongest economy and strongest state".

He told Brazilian reporters a senior Soviet official had said to him "it would be unwise for anyone to try to build socialism in Namibia".

Crocker added: "That is one of the most realistic statements about the likely prospects in the territory that I have heard recently."

Crocker noted that while the US and Soviets continued to arm Unita and the MPLA respectively, Moscow accepted the civil war must end.

"The Soviets recognise there must be a political settlement," he added.



# Cuba may leave 3 000 in Angola

## The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — An estimated 3 000 Cuban civilians will be left behind in Angola when the full force of 47 000 troops is withdrawn by mid-1991 — a huge corps of doctors, engineers, teachers and construction experts that will continue to exert a strong influence.

Reports from Luanda indicate the role played by Cuba's army of civilians in Angola, long overshadowed by that of the military, has been felt in almost all aspects of Angolan life.

To date, the New York Times estimates in a report from Luanda, about 300 000 Cuban soldiers and civilians have served in Angola — with a special kind of communist glamour being associated with service there, especially for the civilians.

Those who have served include Natalya Guevara, daughter of the Cuban revolutionary hero, Che Guevara, who worked in a hospital.

Now about half of the civilian aid contingent works in construction, most of them rebuilding bridges destroyed in the fighting.

## PROPHETIC

"We build the bridges even if we have to mix our blood with the cement," say posters flying over some of the collapsed bridges.

The slogan in many instances proved prophetic, as Unita mounted ambushes and small commando attacks on many of the bridges. One senior Cuban official confirmed

that at least 50 Cuban construction workers had been killed.

The official, Jesus Rios Alfonso, who heads Cuba's construction unit in the capital, says that until the early 1980s the unit worked in all of Angola.

"Now, because the security conditions have changed, we work largely on the coast."

Angola's public works collapsed after the withdrawal of the Portuguese in 1975. Since then, the Cubans have trained a corps of Angolan engineers, mechanics, solderers, carpenters and heavy-equipment operators. Construction teams are half Cubans and half Angolans.

The departure of the Portuguese also left Angola's schools without teachers. Now hundreds of Cubans teach in Angolan high schools, teacher-training institutes and universities.

## DOCTORS

Cuba is also reported to have provided Angola with more than 320 doctors to augment the country's own 230.

But the reports say that for the Cuban medical workers, their two-year service in Angola can be a bruising encounter: Angola has the world's fourth-highest mortality rate for children under five.

"It's a brutal shock," said Dr Richard Fuentes, a 48-year-old pediatrician from Havana.

"The barefoot children visiting the hospital, the children going through the garbage. These are the things that really shock us."

# Cubans said to be <sup>(S)</sup> quitting Angola early

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — A tenth of Angola's estimated 50 000 Cuban troops have made an early departure, anticipating the official April 1 start of the regional peace accords, it is reported.

The Portuguese news agency, Lusa, citing the United Nations task force chief, General Pericles Ferreira Gomes, said yesterday that between departures and arrivals a balance of 4 800 Cubans — about a tenth of the total — had left Angola since January 10.

General Ferreira Gomes has been criticised by both Pretoria and Washington for reportedly having said he would trust the figures provided by Luanda and Havana.

● Unita guerillas claimed yesterday to have killed 31 Angolan soldiers and burnt 13 military vehicles on Friday in Benguela province.

## Tutu in talks with Angolan president

LISBON — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu talked about southern African and church issues with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda yesterday, the official Angolan news agency Angop said.

He is on a week-long visit to the Marxist African state, Angop said in a report monitored in Lisbon.

Archbishop Tutu arrived in Angola last Saturday with a delegation from the All-African Conference of Churches. He is to travel later this week to the war-hit central province of Huambo and hold further talks with government and church officials, Angop said. — Reuter.

Howard

He is presently detained in the State Warehouse. The payment of the duty due as well as an amount in lieu of mitigation of seizure is presently the subject of correspondence with Mr Palazzolo's legal representatives.

**Black unemployment: latest survey**

\*23. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (a) How many Black persons were unemployed as at the date of the latest current population survey and (b) what is the date of this survey?

**The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:**

- (a) 820 000.  
(b) October 1988.

**Internal Security Act: detainees**

\*24. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many persons were detained in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, (a) during the period 9 February 1988 up to the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) in 1988?

**The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:**

- (a) 316 persons up until 15 February 1989.  
(b) 315 persons.

**Telephone applications outstanding, Greater Cape Town**

\*25. Mr J B DE R VAN GEND asked the Minister of Communications:

What was the total number of outstanding telephone applications in areas reserved for (a) White and (b) Black occupation in the Greater Cape Town areas as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

**The MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS:**

- (a) 2 309; and  
(b) 3 730.  
as at 1 October 1988.

**Western Cape Region Co-ordinating Committee on Squatting**

\*26. Mr J WALSH asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

- (1) Whether a committee known as the Western Cape Region Co-ordinating Committee on Squatting has been formed; if so, (a) who are the members of the committee, (b) on what dates has it met and (c) to whom does it report;
- (2) whether this committee has made any recommendations; if so, what recommendations;
- (3) Whether the minutes of this committee are available to members of the public; if not, why not; if so, where may they be obtained?

**The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:**

This matter vests in the Administrator of the Cape Province and he furnished the following information:

- (1) Yes
- (a) Regional representative: Office for Community Services; Western Cape (CCA) as chairman. Representatives of the three own affairs departments — and where circumstances necessitate — members of the relevant local authorities.
- (b) 11/5/87; 10/6/87; 10/8/87; 12/10/87; 30/11/87; 25/1/88; 21/3/88; 3/5/88; 28/7/88; 27/9/88 and 21/11/88.
- (c) Chief director: land development co-ordination: Branch Community Services, CPA
- (2) Yes.  
Departmental committee and recommendations not for public knowledge.
- (3) No.  
Departmental Committee.

\*27. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether South Africa has received any guarantees that the promised Cuban withdrawal will be carried out in its entirety; if not, why not; if so, what guarantees;
- (2) Whether any arrangements have been made for preventing already withdrawn Cuban troops from being relocated in

Howard

other African countries; if not, why not; if so, what arrangements;

- (3) whether there is any South African representation on the monitoring force that will oversee the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and their eventual return to Cuba; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

**The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:**

- (1) There is no such thing as guarantees in international relations and agreements. In other words: there is no such thing as a guarantee of a guarantee at the international level. There are only undertakings and interests. Several agreements which have been concluded established under-takings *inter alia* also an undertaking by Angola and Cuba to withdraw all Cuban troops from Angola according to a timetable. At the same time internationally accepted mechanisms were established to monitor the withdrawal. Structures were also created to handle complaints.

In 1978 it was for various reasons regarded as impossible to negotiate Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. That 10 years later we indeed succeeded therein can be regarded as one of the greatest achievements which this country has ever attained on the diplomatic level, thanks to the Government's determination, knowledge of international tendencies, new initiatives in Africa, correct timing and the strong team spirit and close co-operation which exist between the Department of Foreign Affairs, the South African Defence Force, the National Intelligence Service and the South African Police.

- (2) Yes. The South African Government has clearly stated during the negotiations and also publicly that it will not tolerate the redeployment of Cuban troops in the southern African region. President Reagan said in a public statement during his term of office that withdrawal of the Cubans means withdrawal from Africa.
- (3) No. The monitoring of Cuban troop withdrawal has been entrusted to the United Nations Verification Mission (UN-AMEM) who will have to complete its task to the satisfaction of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Addi-

tional structures were, however, established to look after the interests of all the parties. What is of special importance is that the Government succeeded in establishing means which are far more effective in detecting cheating that would be the case if South Africa were represented on the monitoring force.

**QUESTIONS FOR WRITTEN REPLY**

**General Affairs:**

**Civil pensioners: erroneous overpayment**

6. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

- (1) Whether, since 1 October 1985, any civil pensioners have been erroneously overpaid as a result of incorrect information on the pensioners data base; if so, (a) how many pensioners were involved, (b) what was the total amount overpaid, (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished and (d) what steps are being taken to prevent such overpayments from occurring in the future;
- (2) whether the amount overpaid will be recovered from the pensioners concerned; if not, how will it be recovered; if so, what recourse is there for pensioners who are unable to make repayments;
- (3) whether such outstanding amounts may be repaid over a period of time; if not, (a) why not and (b) how will they be recovered; if so,
- (4) whether such an outstanding amount will be (a) subject to interest and (b) claimed against the estate in the event of the decease of the pensioner concerned;
- (5) whether his Department has taken or will take any steps in connection with the recovery of taxation overpayments resulting from these erroneous overpayments to pensioners; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when?

**The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:**

- (1) Yes.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



## 10% of Cubans on the way <sup>Accus 21/2/89</sup> home ahead of peace plan date

The Argus Foreign Service <sup>5</sup>

LISBON. — Nearly one-tenth of Angola's estimated 50 000 Cuban troops have made an early departure homeward, anticipating the official April 1 start of the four-party regional peace accords.

The Portuguese news agency, Lusa, quoting the United Nations task force chief, General Pericles Ferreira Gomes, said yesterday that between departures and arrivals, a balance of 4 800 Cubans — roughly 10 percent of the total — had left Angola since January 10.

The UN supervisory team, Unavem, "controls all arrivals and departures by sea and air from Angola to Cuba and vice-versa," Lusa quoted General Ferreira Gomes as saying.

He said 6 300 Cubans had left and 1 500 had arrived on rotation.

The latest arrivals, Lusa said, were 92 soldiers who landed at Luanda airport yesterday aboard a Soviet Aeroflot jetliner.

### CONTROL POSTS

Unavem's Brazilian commander said his team had already visited the southern and central Atlantic railhead ports of Namibe (formerly Mocamedes) and Lobito, "to verify and create conditions for the installation of local control posts".

He said his UN mission had yet to visit the northern oil-producing enclave of Cabinda and the 15th parallel area dividing Angola to which the Cubans must withdraw from southern Angola in a first phase beginning on April 1.

The withdrawal carried out to date, observers in Lisbon said, appeared aimed at underlining "goodwill" on the part of Angola and Cuba and encouraging the international community, namely the United Nations, to underwrite the estimated R1 800-million price tag for Havana's one-way ticket home.

# Swapo deserter tells of ceasefire violations

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — A deserter has given more evidence that Swapo is deploying units south of the 16th parallel in violation of the ceasefire pact, says the South West African Territory Force.

Simon Shilongo, 22, a section leader of the Red Square Battalion, deserted this month from the Angolan town of Peu-Peu and walked 90km to surrender to security forces.

Peu-Peu, where Swapo is reported to have a number of bases, is more than 60km south of the 16th parallel.

The security forces said Shilongo told them he deserted because of bad conditions in Swapo camps, lack of food and clothing and ill-treatment by Swapo and Cuban officers.

According to the security forces, he revealed that Swapo still had the following bases south of the 16th parallel:

The operational commanding headquarters (OCHQ) at Peu-Peu;

The Red Square Battalion, who protect the headquarters;

The headquarters of the western area, north of Peu-Peu;

Central headquarters, near the OCHQ;

The Ongehete clinic west of Xangongo; and

The Katanga logistics unit north-west of Xangongo.

## Emergency meeting

The information was discussed at an emergency meeting of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC).

However, the Angolan-Cuban delegation said there was nothing they could do because the jurisdiction of the JMMC covered only a kilometre on either side of the border between Namibia and Angola.

The issue will be discussed at a "second level" meeting of the JMMC tomorrow.

The joint commission — consisting of delegates from South Africa, Cuba and Angola with Soviet and United States officials as observers — will hold its first meeting since the signing of the ceasefire accord in Luanda on Thursday.

The security forces say Shilongo also told them Swapo leaders were living a good life, but not the ordinary members, and that Cubans who regularly visited Swapo bases swapped clothes taken from civilians for food and abused the women at the bases.

# Angolan claims on agenda

Star 2/2/89  
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's peace negotiating team flies into Luanda tomorrow for the first proper meeting of the five-nation Joint Commission.

The commission, which was formed in New York last month, meets under the shadow of serious accusations and counter accusations of major breaches of the peace agreements negotiated last year.

The South African team is to be led by Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden.

Top of the agenda is expected to be Angolan claims that South Africa launched an invasion force across the Namibian border earlier this month in support of Unita.

## URGENT

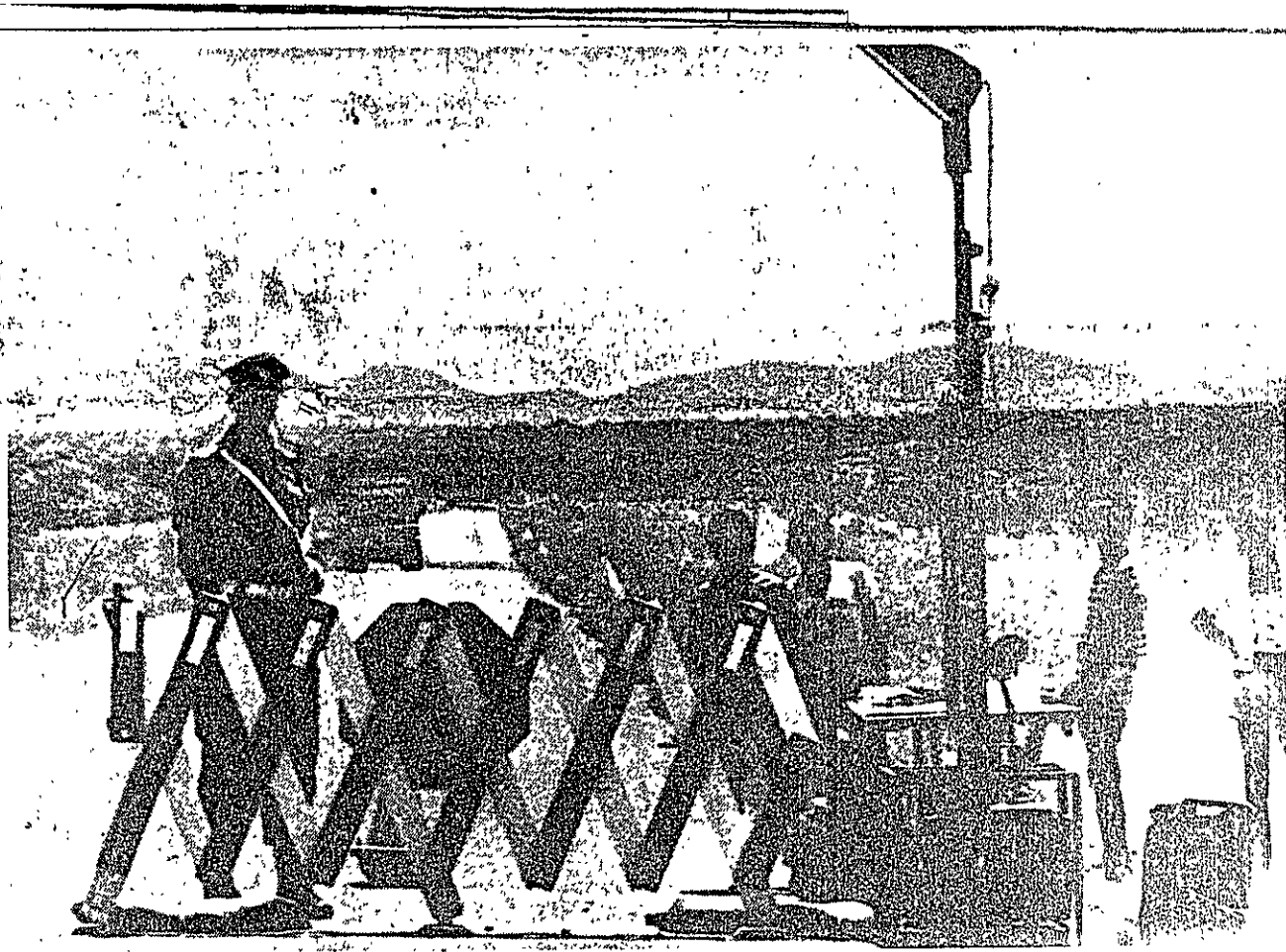
South Africa asked for an urgent meeting of the commission on which South Africa, Angola, Cuba, the United States and the Soviet Union have representation.

But, despite a reminder, no reply was received from Angola.

South Africa in turn has accused Angola of breaching the agreements by allowing Swapo to establish bases closer to the Namibian border than permitted.

Among other issues to be raised are:

- The continued holding of South African soldier Johan Papenfus who was captured by Cuban forces last year.
- The position of Namibian refugees being detained by Swapo or by other governments on behalf of Swapo.



**LAST OUTPOST:** Children keep a military policeman company at a roadblock near Otavi close to the Namibian border with Angola. South African troops are moving out of the territory to meet the April 1 withdrawal deadline.

AKC 22/2/89

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## SA on peace mission to Luanda

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA's peace negotiating team flies to Luanda tomorrow for the first official meeting of the five-nation Joint Commission.

The commission meets under the shadow of serious accusations and counter-accusations of major breaches of the peace agreements negotiated last year.

The South African team is to be led by Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden.

Top of the agenda is expected to be Angolan claims that South Africa launched an invasion across the Namibian border earlier this month in support of Unita.

### SWAPO BASES

South Africa immediately denied the claims and asked for an urgent meeting of the commission which also includes Angola, Cuba, the United States and the Soviet Union.

South Africa in turn has accused Angola of breaching the agreements

by allowing Swapo to establish bases closer to the Namibian border than permitted.

Other issues to be raised are:

- The continued holding of South African soldier, Johan Papenfus, who was captured by Cuban forces,
- Namibian refugees being detained by Swapo or by other governments on behalf of Swapo, and
- The position of the three remaining monitoring posts yet to be established on the Namibian/Angolan border.

The posts, which stretch along the border form part of the Cuban/Angolan/South African joint monitoring commission.

However, Angola and Cuba have been unable to reach three of the designated posts because of the activities of Unita.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from New York that the United Nations agreed yesterday to include as a new agenda item of the General Assembly the financing of the mili-

tary-civilian operation that is scheduled to be in place on April 1.

The assembly's budgetary committee was directed to review a R1 000-million financial package proposed by the Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar. This is a trimmed-down budget necessitated by the refusal of the major contributors, including the US and the Soviet Union, to accept the much higher estimate previously suggested.

UN officials are also treading warily around the question of buying goods in South Africa for the transition assistance group.

Mr Martti Ahtisaari, the designated civilian head of Untag, has said that some purchases would be made in the territory.

The General Assembly has called repeatedly for economic sanctions. A waiver may be necessary, therefore, if the UN is to make more than minimal purchases in South Africa.

● Swapo faces loaded deck, page 17.



SA team  
April 23/2/87  
to Angola

for talks

on peace

accords

LUANDA. — A South African delegation will meet Angolan and Cuban military and legal experts today to discuss charges of violating the Angola-Namibia peace accords.

South Africa denies Angola's claim that it sent troops into south-east Angola on February 8, seven weeks after signing a peace treaty in New York with Angola and Cuba. The charge is expected to be the central issue of the two-day meeting here of a joint commission set up to monitor the peace accords.

Angola says South African troops penetrated 40km inside Angola's south-eastern Cuando Cubango province to help Unita rebels under attack by Angolan government forces. There was heavy fighting, Angola says, in which 40 Angolan rebels and South African soldiers, including one white South African serviceman, were killed. A South African truck was also captured.

Senior Foreign Affairs official Mr Neil van Heerden will lead the South African delegation, the first to visit Angola since its Soviet- and Cuban-backed government declared independence from Portugal in 1975.

Observers from the United States and the Soviet Union will also take part in the meeting.

— Sapa-Reuter

# Joint committee begin talks today

Monday 22/2/89

CAPE TOWN — The Joint Commission of Angola, Cuba and SA is scheduled to meet in Luanda today in its first "substantive meeting" to discuss progress and problems with the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 435 for Namibian independence.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman yesterday confirmed the SA delegation, headed by director-general Neil van Heerden, would leave for Luanda this morning where talks were expected to take at least two days.

Van Heerden would be accompanied by SADF chief Jannie Geldenhuys and head of the National Intelligence Service Neil Barnard.

No details of the agenda have been released yet but recent allegations by Angola that SA had contravened last year's peace pact by sending in troops to back rebel Unita forces fighting government FAPLA units in southern Angola, are likely to feature prominently.

## Release of prisoners

Counter claims that Swapo is maintaining bases south of the 16th parallel, also in contravention of the peace agreement, will also feature.

Negotiations for the release of prisoners of war, including SA's Rifleman Johan Papenfus are likely to be given prominence.

The spokesman said the commission, which first met in New York a few weeks ago to lay down ground rules for its operations, had a wide brief and general progress in implementing the peace treaty between the three countries would be assessed. — Sapa.

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Star 24/4/89 (5)

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## Inadequate monitoring worries SA

# Obstacles remain to Cuban pull-out

By Gerald L'Ange,  
The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — Misgivings about UN monitoring of the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola are high on the agenda at the first meeting here of the joint commission set up to oversee the Angolan-Namibian peace process.

Inadequate monitoring of the Cuban withdrawal is considered by South Africa one of the graver threats to the success of Resolution 435 leading to Namibian independence.

### OBSERVER STATUS

Even the Americans — who with the Soviets have observer status on the tripartite commission — are believed still to be unhappy with the approach adopted by the Brazilian commander of the UN monitoring force, General Pericles Gomes Ferreira.

So unhappy, in fact, they are sending their own representative to Angola to "monitor the monitoring force".

Other matters that will be discussed when the South Africans sit down with the Angolans and the Cubans include mutual charges of violating the agreement signed in New York in December.

The leader of the SA delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, said on his arriv-

al the meeting was "quite an historic occasion. I feel almost like a pioneer".

The meeting is expected to be attended by Dr Chester Crocker, making one of his last appearances in the Angola-Namibia peace efforts.

The meeting, which is expected to end tonight, will be followed later by a second meeting in Havana and then by third in in South Africa.

In Luanda, the delegations will also tackle the difficulties experienced by the Angolans in setting up three of the 11 monitoring posts that the joint military monitoring commission is supposed to establish along the border.

The SADF and the SWA Territory Force, have been accused in Windhoek of trying to politicise people in the run-up to the elections.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the multiracial Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), said that during the years of the bush war the security forces, and the local politicians had been allies, and that he was grateful for the stability provided by the army.

However, in the current situation, the "politicisation" being carried out by the SADF and SWATF in northern Namibia could be construed as interference in Namibian internal politics.

# POW swap plan on Luanda talks agenda

6/10/87 24/2/87 (5)  
LUANDA — The first SA delegation to officially visit independent Angola arrived in Luanda yesterday and denied Angolan charges that Pretoria had broken recently signed peace accords.

The delegation, led by Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, will join Angolan and Cuban military and legal experts in a meeting of the joint commission set up to monitor implementation of the peace accords.

The meeting, which will also be attended by US and Soviet observers, will discuss allegations by Angola that Pretoria broke the accords by sending troops back into southern Angola on February 8 to help Unita forces fleeing from government troops.

SA denies the charge.

Diplomats from both sides said they believed the parties would be anxious to ensure the incident did not hold up the two main features of the peace accords — a UN independence plan for Namibia

starting on April 1 and a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola to be completed by mid-1991.

Van Heerden was received at the airport by Angola's Foreign Ministry secretary-general Armando Cadete.

Van Heerden said the commission would also discuss a possible exchange of prisoners of war but gave no details.

The two sides will be joined by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker.

The Cuban delegation, headed by Communist Party secretary Carlos Aldana, arrived on Wednesday.

Van Heerden's delegation includes National Intelligence Service chief Neil Barnard and the SADF military intelligence chief Neels van Tonder.

□ Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Luanda yesterday ANC representatives had told him they were "ready and willing" to dismantle their training and other camps in Angola and move elsewhere. — Sapa-Reuter.

# First SA delegates arrive in Luanda

APC 7/14/75 24/2/89

LUANDA. — The first South African delegation officially to visit independent Angola arrived here yesterday and denied Angolan charges that Pretoria had broken recently-signed peace accords.

The delegation, led by Mr. Neil van Heerden, director of the Department of Foreign Affairs, will join Angolan and Cuban military and legal experts in a meeting of a joint commission set up to monitor implementation of the peace accords on Angola and Namibia signed on December 22.

The meeting, which will also be attended by US and Soviet observers, will discuss allegations by Angola that Pretoria broke the accords by sending troops back into southern Angola on February 8, to help rebel Unita forces fleeing from government troops.

"We will certainly be talking about that incident," Mr. Van Heerden said.

Diplomats from both sides said they believed the parties would be anxious to ensure that the incident did not hold up the two main features of the peace accords — a UN independence plan for Namibia starting on April 1, and a Cuban

troop withdrawal from Angola to be completed by mid-1991.

Mr. Van Heerden was received at the airport by Angola's secretary-general at the Foreign Ministry, Mr. Armando Cadele.

Since Angola's Marxist MPLA government proclaimed independence from Portugal in 1975, South Africa and Angola have maintained a virtual state of undeclared war. They have no diplomatic relations.

Mr. Van Heerden said the commission would also discuss a possible exchange of prisoners of war, but gave no details.

The two sides will be joined by the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr. Chester Crocker.

South Africa's alleged incursion on February 8, Luanda said, violated clauses of the accords which bound the signatories to respect each other's borders and not help groups hostile to each other's governments.

South Africa said it was sticking to the agreements to the letter and said it was Unita alone which had clashed with the Angolan troops. Pretoria has challenged Angola to produce the body of the white

South African soldier the Angolans say was killed in the fighting.

The Angolan news agency Angop yesterday reported continued fighting between government forces and Unita rebels.

According to the report, monitored in Lisbon, government troops killed 77 Unita fighters in clashes in five provinces around the country in the seven days leading up to Wednesday. Twelve government soldiers were reported killed.

The report also said 16 Unita guerrillas had surrendered to the authorities. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

Mr. News 28/2/89 (5)

# Angola 'axes' military commander

## Political Staff

THERE was speculation yesterday that Angolan leader President Eduardo dos Santos had axed a regional military commander, for claims that South Africa had been involved in an attack on Fapla forces in Angola this month.

But this appeared to contradict an official statement later — that the South African and Angolan delegations at the Luanda meeting of

the Joint Military Monitoring Commission had agreed to differ on who was involved in the incident in which Fapla suffered heavy losses.

South Africa repeated its earlier denial that it had been involved and the United States, acting as an observer on the commission, also repeated that it had no evidence that South Africa had been involved.

Earlier it was understood that Mr Bito von

Dunem, the regional commander of the Cuando Cubango region, had been axed for information about the clash south of Caiundo that he had given to the Minister of Defence, Mr Pedro Maria Tonha.

It was also understood that Mr Tonha had been severely censured for subsequently accusing South Africa of contravening the peace agreement.



Mr Pik Botha

## Angola: Swapo <sup>CN</sup> broke <sup>Temp</sup> accord <sup>25/2/89</sup>

Political Staff

ANGOLA yesterday admitted that Swapo elements had been below the 16th parallel in contravention of the Namibian peace agreements.

In a statement on the Joint Military Monitoring Commission talks being held in Luanda, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the Angolans had undertaken to "use their good offices" to ensure that Swapo complied with the agreements.

Mr Botha said no agreement had been reached on the Angolan accusation that South African forces had been involved in a recent military clash in southern Angola.

The allegation was denied by South Africa while Angola and Cuba stated that there was South African involvement but could produce no evidence to substantiate their claims.

Mr Botha said other matters still to be discussed related to the safe return of Namibian refugees in Angola, Zambia and other countries as well as the closure of ANC camps in Angola.

The minister said it was a pity consensus could not be reached on the allegations against South Africa.

It was, however, encouraging that the parties had agreed that Swapo should not be south of the 16th parallel.

Mr Botha said that his main concern was the issue of the "impartiality package". Some elements within the United Nations, he said, wanted the details of the package kept secret.

CM Times 25/2/89

# Allegations of SA raid 'settled' at Luanda talks

5

LUANDA. — Allegations by Angola that South Africa had contravened last year's treaty on February 8 by crossing the border into southern Angola in support of rebel Unita fighters were "settled" at peace plan talks here by South African and Angolan delegations.

The South African delegation leader, Mr Neil van Heerden, said: "We agreed to disagree, and we hope it has been resolved as an agenda item."

The Angolan delegation produced "evidence" at yesterday's meeting which it declined to make public, but South Africa rejected this and immediately proposed that the JMMC convene and investigate on site.

The Angolans declined, saying they wanted an investigation at a higher level.

The talks will conclude this morning after a short session to wrap up details and issue a joint press communique.

In New York, meanwhile, the Security Council approved a list of 20 countries that will provide troops for a UN operation to monitor Namibia's transition to independence.

The UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag), as the \$416-million (about R1bn) military-civilian operation is called, will include 4 650 troops, plus another 2 850 held in reserve in their own countries.

Countries involved are: Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia, Finland, India, Ireland, Kenya, Malaysia, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Sudan, Togo, Yugoslavia, Australia, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Italy and Spain. — Sapa.



# Progress made over Swapo, Unita

LUANDA. — The tripartite peace-plan monitoring talks ended here at the weekend with all three parties agreeing to use their "respective good offices" to influence Swapo and Unita not to impede implementation of last year's agreement for Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Namibian independence.

After three days of talks the South African, Angolan and Cuban delegations also agreed to improve the operation of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission to prevent problems arising in future, such as the alleged attack by SA forces in southern Angola in support of Unita on February 8.

According to a senior Cuban official, Mr. Alberto Hidalgo, Unita should hamper the April 1 start of an independent span for Namibia as the rebels are grouped along the eastern part of the Angolan-Namibian border, preventing them from setting up three ceasefire-monitoring posts.

The posts are vital for supervising the terms of peace accords signed in New York on December 22, which include a UN independence plan for Namibia and a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, set for completion by mid-1991.

Mr. Hidalgo said South Africa had agreed to persuade Unita to allow the missing ceasefire-monitoring posts to be set up.

But South African delegation chief Mr. Neil van Heerden gave a different version, saying South Africa would comply with its pledge under the accords not to help or supply Unita.

LUANDA. — The cordial, even lavish, treatment given to the first official South African visitors to Luanda since independence, was regarded in Pretoria as a sign that its efforts to improve ties with black Africa were paying off.

Luanda hospitality for 'pioneers', were unlikely to extend beyond the purely technical. Far from being received with hostility as some had expected, the South African diplomats and military officers were spared no courtesy or comforts that Pretoria had violated the peace accords.

The purpose of the visit was to hold a meeting of a joint commission set up to monitor the "peace process" which call for the "safe way" of Cuban troops from Angola by mid-1991 and the start of the Namibian independence from Portugal in 1975, previous South African "visits" have taken the form of

military raids in the south or trips by South African leaders to territory held by Unita. The leader of the South African delegation, Mr. Neil van Heerden, told reporters on arriving last Thursday: "I feel like a pioneer."

The South Africans left Luanda without an agreement for the release of Sergeant John Papentus, captured in southern Angola last year. — Sapa-Reuters

He made it clear that South Africa did not consider itself responsible for what Unita did on the Angolan side of the border.

Mr. Van Heerden said South Africa was ready to set up the border posts and had invited the Angolans and Cubans to pass through Namibia if they wanted to reach the areas without risk of Unita attacks.

Diplomats said Angola was unlikely to accept this as it would mean admitting that Unita effectively controlled parts of south-east Angola.

Of equal concern, but to South Africa, was Swapo's activity south of Angola's 16th parallel, in contravention of the peace agreements.

This activity, according to the South Africans, was aimed at influencing the UN-supervised elections in Namibia in favour of Swapo.

On the issue of Swapo's presence south of the 16th parallel, I will take up the matter directly with the UN Secretary-General.

In Dr. Perez de Cuellar's report of 23 January, which was approved by the UN Security Council, the Secretary-General had stated that Swapo had agreed to comply with the agreement of the cessation of all hostile acts in accordance with the Geneva agreement between the three parties last year.

Mr. Botha said.

Mr. Botha also said that there were a number of issues on which agreement could not be reached, but these were not of such a nature that they would

interfere with the implementation of the settlement plan. The three delegations agreed to disagree about an Angolan allegation, denied by Pretoria, that South Africa violated the accords by sending troops into Angola on February 8.

A UN spokesman issued on Saturday said they had reaffirmed their commitment to comply with the accords.

A positive sequel, however, was another agreement to sharpen the ability of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission. The commission was specifically set up to investigate alleged contraventions of the peace plan.

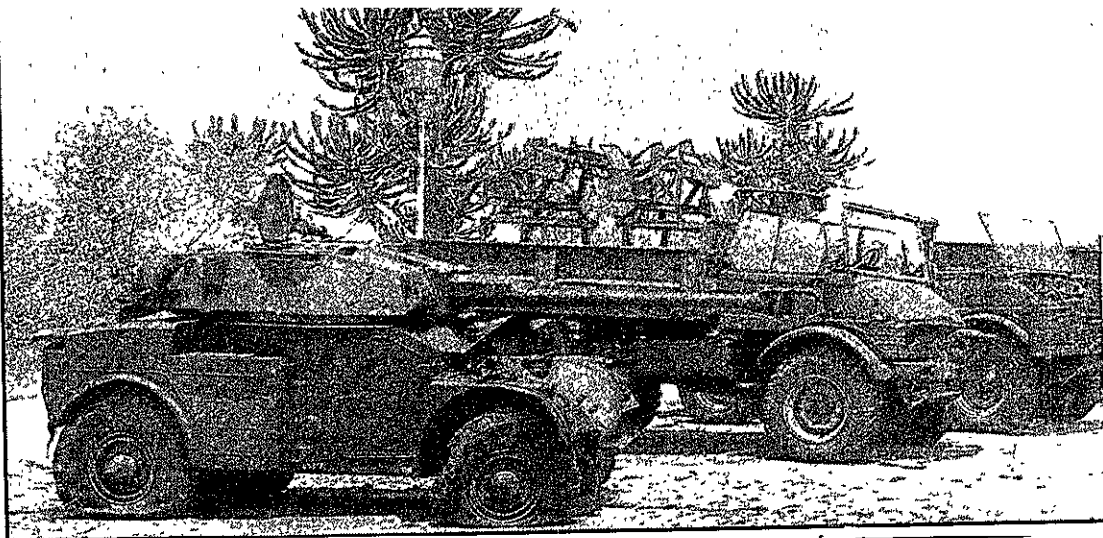
Another agreement was to set up "mechanisms of communication" between the three, as this would "greatly facilitate" the flow of thoughts and information among them.

Good news for Rfn. Papentus, however, is that a parcel from his family was taken to Luanda with the South Africans and accepted by the Cuban delegation to take back home for him.

Mr. Hidalgo gave the assurance that the South African prisoner-of-war was in good health and being well treated.

Observer delegations from the United States, led by outgoing Assistant Under-Secretary of State Dr. Chester Crocker, and the Soviet Union, led by touring diplomat Mr. Y. Usatov, attended the joint meeting held since Friday. — Sapa-Reuters





Military vehicles, said by Angola to be captured South African Defence Force equipment, on show at the old San Miguel Fort military museum outside Luanda.

(5) 27/2/89

By Gerald L'Ange,  
The Star's Africa News Service

The two rebel groups that were excluded from last year's Angola-Namibia peace agreement — Unita and Swapo — are creating problems in the implementation of the pact.

These problems featured prominently in the talks held in Luanda over the weekend by the five-nation joint commission set up to oversee the agreement.

The commission was not able to solve either Angola's complaint that South Africa has breached the agreement by sending troops into Angola to aid Unita or South Africa's complaint that Angola has failed to force Swapo to stay north of the 16th parallel.

South Africa has denied the charge. The Angolans said they had confronted them with proof but refused to make the details public.

The alleged proof was obviously rejected by the South Africans, and the two sides "agreed to disagree" on the issue.

There has been speculation that the Angolan allegations arose from Unita's use of long-range G5 or G6 artillery left for them by the SADF when SA troops withdrew from Angola.

Dr Chester Crocker, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, who led the US observer team at the talks, told journalists he thought Unita did have long-range artillery but he could not say whether they had G5s or G6s.

The South Africans were unable to get satisfaction on their claim of Angolan foot-dragging over keeping Swapo north of the 16th parallel.

### Monthly meetings

The issues are likely to be carried over to other meetings of the joint commission. It is scheduled to meet monthly, alternating between the capitals of the three principal parties: South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the US and Soviet Union as observers.

Swapo did, in fact, have a representative at the talks in Luanda on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, but he was not an official delegate.

Despite the failure to resolve any of the problems, diplomatic sources expressed satisfaction at the progress made. Participants felt that the will to resolve the conflicts that led to the New York agreement were still strong.

Nothing has yet happened to torpedo the agreement and its logistical functions — the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia — are going ahead on schedule.

Unita and Swapo nevertheless remain as threatening elements in the shadows outside the agreement.

● Sapa reports that Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday he would raise the issue of Swapo's alleged activity south of the 16th parallel with UN Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

# Luanda talks fail to resolve disputes

Unita and Swapo remain threat to peace agreement

(5) 27/2/89

# Angolan investment predicted

BIDW 27/2/89 ROBERT GENTLE (S)

LONDON — Moves by foreign companies to invest in Angola in the wake of recent regional peace accords are gathering speed, says a report in the London newsletter Africa Confidential.

Peace and a more stable economic environment are foreseen in the agreements. Particularly lucrative investment opportunities exist in agriculture, diamonds and oil.

The report says the US State Department has dropped objections to Angola joining the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which will be reassuring for potential foreign investors.

The report suggests Unita leader Jonas Savimbi will be jettisoned "in the interests of big business". Savimbi is apparently being pressured by a lobby led by French oil company Elf Aquitaine to retire to France, Morocco or Ivory Coast.

Sapa reports that SA, Angola and Cuba will use their influence to persuade Swapo and Unita not to impede progress on phased Cuban withdrawal from Angola and implementation of Namibia's independence.

The Organisation of African Unity's annual conference which ended in Addis Ababa on Friday requested the UN to ensure a formal SA-Swapo ceasefire, reports Sapa-AP.

It declared Walvis Bay, Namibia's only port, "part and parcel of the territory". SA insists the port will remain under its control after Namibia's independence.

The OAU agreed to send a token joint military force to monitor Namibian elections, and to provide \$7m to assist Swapo's election campaign.

# Unita, Swapo are creating problems

By GERALD L'ANGE of the Argus Africa News Service in Johannesburg

**T**HE two rebel groups that were excluded from last year's Angola-Namibia peace agreement — Unita and Swapo — are creating problems in the implementation of the pact.

These problems featured prominently in the talks held in Luanda over the weekend by the five-nation Joint Commission set up to oversee the agreement.

The commission was able to solve neither problem — neither Angola's complaint that South Africa has breached the agreement by sending troops into Angola to aid Unita, nor South Africa's complaint that Angola has failed to force Swapo to stay north of the 16th parallel as required by the agreement. South Africa denied the charge.

The Angolans said they had confronted them with proof but refused to make the details public.

The alleged proof was obviously rejected by the South Africans and the two sides "agreed to disagree" on the issue.

There has been speculation that the Angolan charges arose from Unita's use of long-range G5 or G6 artillery left for them by the SADF when they withdrew from Angola but the speculation has not been confirmed.

Dr Chester Crocker, the United States assistant secretary of state for Africa, who led the US observer team at the talks, told journalists he thought Unita did have long-range artillery but he could not say whether they had G5s or G6s.

The South Africans were unable to get satisfaction on their charge of Angolan foot-dragging over keeping Swapo north of the 16th parallel.

The issues are likely to be carried over to other meetings of the Joint Commission, which is scheduled to meet monthly, alternating between the capitals of the three principal parties: South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the United States and Soviet Union present as observers.

Next month's meeting will be in Havana and in April the commission will meet in Cape Town.

Swapo did in fact have a representative at the talks at the conference centre in Luanda on Thursday, Friday and Saturday but he was



CROCKER ... long-range artillery

not an official delegate — only a member of Swapo's information section who mingled with the large body of South African, Angolan, Cuban and Russian journalists covering the meeting.

Despite the failure to resolve any of the problems, diplomatic sources expressed satisfaction at the progress made.

Participants appear to feel that the will to resolve the southern African conflicts that led to the New York agreement is still strong.

Nothing has yet happened to torpedo the agreement and its logistical functions — the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola and the implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia — are going ahead on schedule.

Unita and Swapo nevertheless remain as threatening elements in the shadows outside the agreement.

# Luanda (5) talks may herald a new era

Star 28/1/79

The first formal visit of Pretoria's diplomats to Luanda since the South African invasion in 1975 has raised hopes of a new relationship with Angola, involving diplomatic and trade aspects. **Gerrid L'Ange**, editor of The Star's Africa News Service, reports.

The peace accord signed by Angola and South Africa offers a great deal more than an end to the hostilities they have waged across the Namibian border for the past 14 years.

It offers the prospect of closer diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries. In addition, for South Africa, it promises the opening of yet another window, if not a doorway, into black Africa.

The promise of these things seemed stronger than ever after the friendly dealings between the South African and Angolan representatives in Luanda over the weekend, at the first meeting of the five-nation joint Commission set up to implement the Angola-Namibia peace accords signed in New York last December.

The atmosphere in Luanda was surprisingly cordial, given the circumstances. Only a few months ago the soldiers of Angola and South Africa were killing each other in the bush several hundred kilometres south of Luanda. And their gov-

ernments were hurling accusations at each other in a verbal war that produced some particularly harsh words from Angola.

Yet when the South Africans — military men as well as diplomats — arrived in Luanda last week the Angolans gave them a welcome that extended beyond correctness towards cordiality.

The South Africans were given the best accommodation available in Luanda, in the only hotel claiming any kind of class. In the proceedings of the Joint Commission, Pretoria's men are believed to have been shown every consideration. And, with Soviet and American observers, they were given warm hospitality at official receptions.

## Eye-opener

It was clearly an eye-opener for "the Boers" and the leader of the South African delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of Foreign Affairs, went out of his way to express his appreciation not only to the Angolans privately but publicly through the news

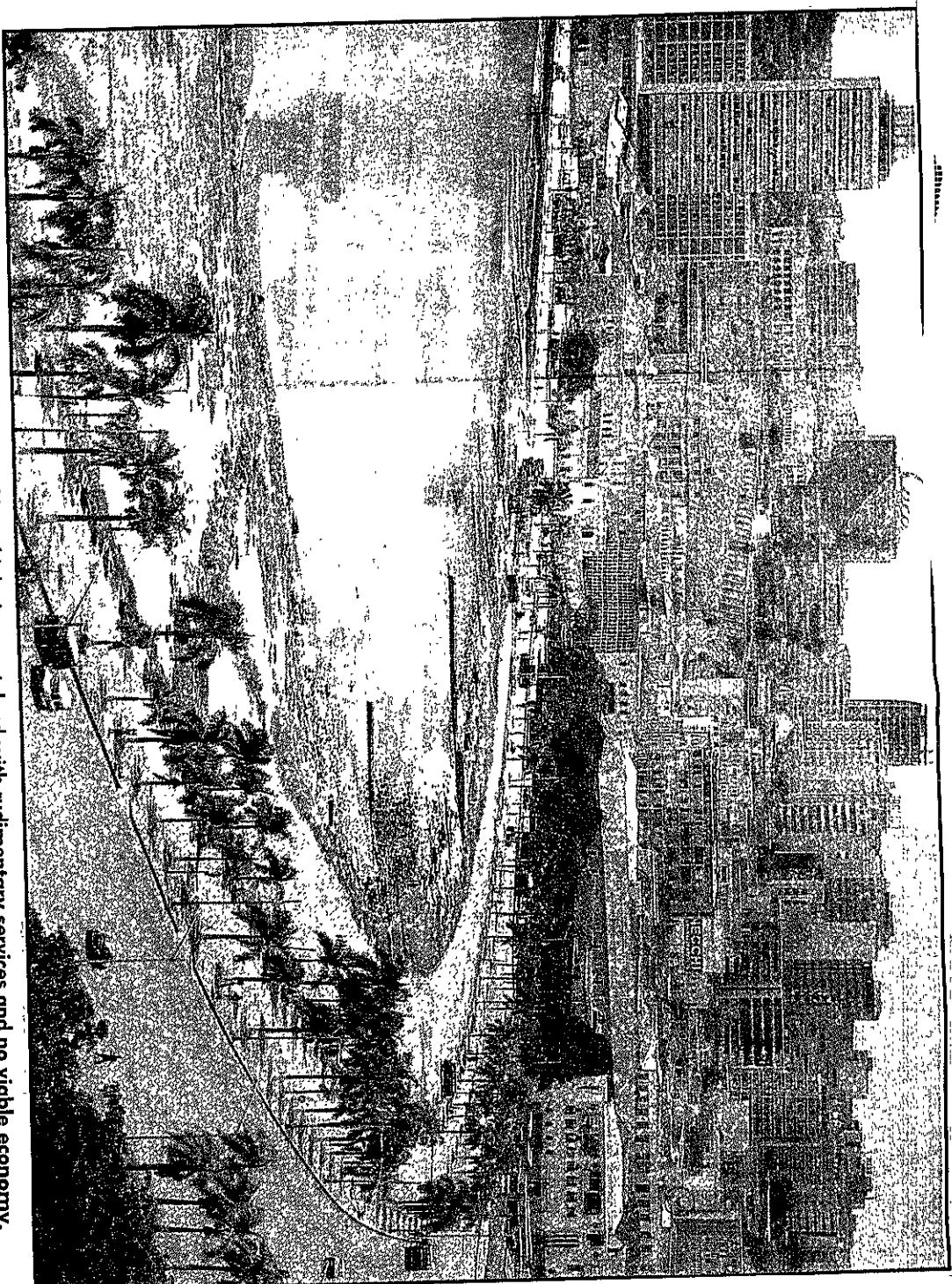
media.

The South African journalists covering the event, although accommodated in a far less salubrious hotel, were treated with a warmth and helpfulness that was equally surprising. Even the Angolan security men at the conference centre were friendly to the South African "journalists".

In private conversations, Angolan officials left the impression that although they could never countenance apartheid they would welcome constructive dealings with South Africa.

It is too early to predict what might be developed from these promising beginnings. But it seems reasonable to assume that, provided the New York agreement can be fully implemented and independence granted to Namibia, the Angolan government will be open to a relatively pragmatic relationship with South Africa, somewhat similar to that being developed with Mozambique.

The chief obstacle remains the inability of the MPLA government either



Luanda, once a gleaming city, now looks like a high-rise wasteland with rudimentary services and no viable economy.

to defeat or come to terms with the Unita rebels and the belief in some official quarters in Luanda that South Africa is continuing to supply Unita in contravention of the New York pact.

Once Namibia is independent it will be physically difficult, although not impossible, for South Africa still to aid Unita, so there should be less strain on relations between Luanda and Pretoria.

Even if the fighting continued between the government and Unita forces, it would theoretically be possible for South Africa, provided it was seen to have broken with Unita, to provide technical aid and expertise. And South African businessmen would be well placed to develop trade links for already they are said to be conducting quite brisk

under-the-counter trade with Angola.

If the fighting with Unita could be ended the trade possibilities would be enormously increased. The demand for goods and services to revive Angola's potentially rich economy would be huge.

## Wasteland

This is made obvious by a drive around Luanda. What was once the gleaming capital of Portugal's richest colony has become a densely populated high-rise wasteland with rudimentary services and no viable economy outside the black market.

Yet there is a bustle on the streets and a surprisingly heavy traffic flow that denote an incipient vitality. Because of its relative proximity and expertise

in Africa, South Africa would be well placed to meet the demands of a burgeoning Angolan economy. It would however, come up against stiff competition from Brazil which has established a firm economic foothold in Angola.

Business sources believe South Africa would be handicapped by its inability to grant competitive lines of credit. Politically, it would be hampered not only by the continuation of apartheid but by its reputation for destabilisation which the New York agreement has done little to counteract.

An improvement in South Africa's relations with Angola in diplomatic terms would be welcome to Pretoria at the present time, when its diplomatic drive in Africa is in danger of running out of momentum after the spectacular advances

open trade.

Nevertheless, a spirit of cautious optimism has emerged from the Luanda talks. The sense that South Africa is making a new beginning in Angola was reflected in Mr van Heerden's comment: "I feel like a pioneer."

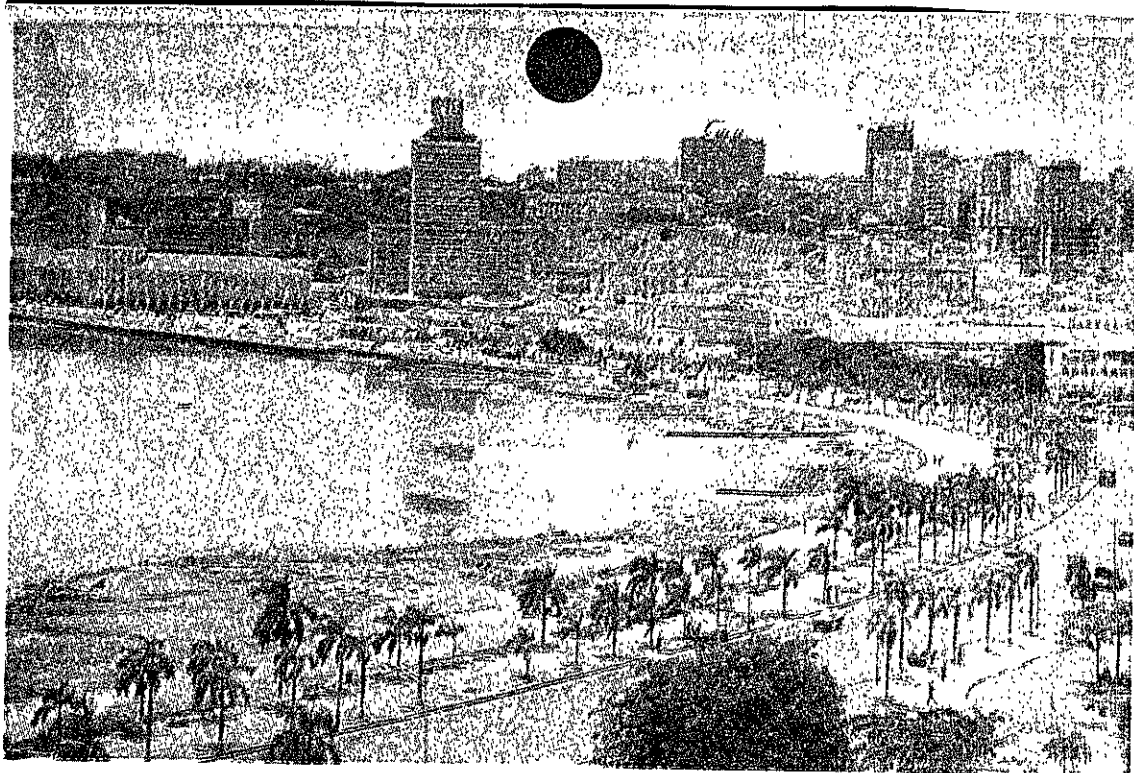
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*Can Times 3/3/89*

# 43 Unita rebels killed 5

LISBON. — The Angolan army killed 43 Unita rebels in the week up to Monday for the loss of five soldiers, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

[Vertical column of extremely faint and illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]



**HIGH-RISE WASTELAND:** Luanda Bay, once the focus of the gleaming capital of Portugal's richest colony, is now backed by a densely populated city of rudimentary services.

# Maybe there's chance for Luanda, Pretoria

MAG 6/3/89

5

By **GERALD L'ANGE**  
Argus Africa News Service

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The peace accord signed by Angola and South Africa offers a great deal more than an end to the hostilities they have waged across the Namibian border for the past 14 years.

It offers the prospect of closer diplomatic and trade relations between the two countries. In addition, for South Africa, it promises the opening of yet another window, if not a doorway, into black Africa.

The promise of these things seemed stronger than ever after the surprisingly friendly dealings between the South African and Angolan representatives in Luanda at the first meeting of the five-nation Joint Commission set up to implement the Angola-Namibia peace accords signed in New York last December.

The atmosphere in Luanda was surprisingly cordial, given the circumstances. Only a few months before, the soldiers of Angola and South Africa were killing each other in the bush several hundred kilometres south of Luanda.

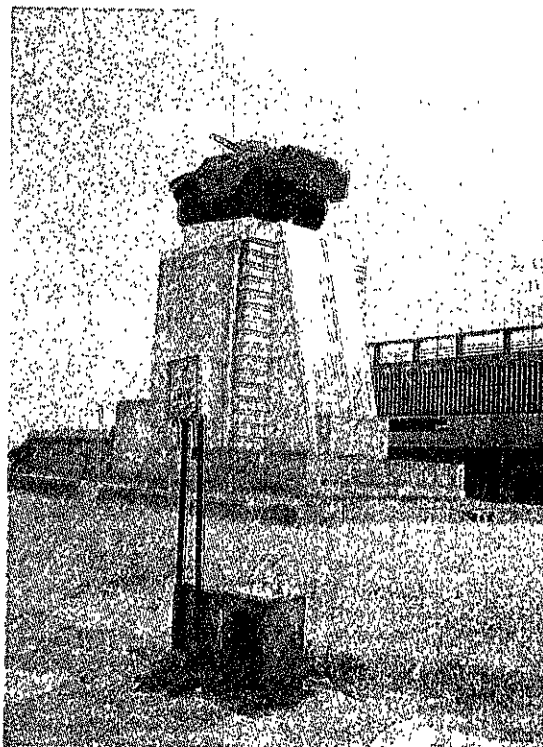
Their governments were hurling accusations at each other in a verbal war that produced some particularly harsh words from Angola.

#### CORDIAL WELCOME

Yet, when the South Africans — military men as well as diplomats — arrived in Luanda the Angolans gave them a welcome that extended beyond correctness towards cordiality. The South Africans were given the best accommodation available in Luanda, in the only hotel claiming any kind of classiness.

In the proceedings of the Joint Commission, Pretoria's men are believed to have been shown every consideration. Together with the Soviet and American observers, they were given warm hospitality at official receptions.

The first formal visit by South African diplomats to Luanda since the South African invasion of 1975 has raised hopes of a new relationship with Angola similar to that being developed with Mozambique.



**REMINDER OF WAR:** This armoured vehicle on a plinth is a monument in Luanda.

It was clearly an eye-opener for the Boers and the leader of the South African delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, went out of his way to express his appreciation, not only to the Angolans privately, but publicly through the news media.

South African journalists covering the event, although accommodated in a far less salubrious hotel, were treated with a warmth and helpfulness that was equally surprising. Even the Angolan security men at the conference centre were friendly to the South African "jornalistas".

#### PROMISING BEGINNINGS

In private conversations Angolan officials left the impression that, although they could never countenance apartheid, they would welcome constructive dealings with South Africa.

It is still too early to predict what might be developed from these promising beginnings.

But it seems reasonable to assume that provided the New York agreement can be fully implemented and independence granted to Namibia, the Angolan government will be open to a relatively pragmatic relationship with South Africa, somewhat similar to that being developed with Mozambique.

The chief obstacle remains the inability of the MPLA government to either defeat or come to terms with the Unita rebels and the belief in some official quarters in Luanda that South Africa is continuing to supply Unita in contravention of the New York pact.

Once Namibia is independent it will be physically difficult, although not impossible, for South Africa still to aid Unita so there should be less strain on relations between Luanda and Pretoria.

Even if the fighting continued between the government and Unita forces it theoretically would be possible for South Africa, provided it was seen to have broken with Unita, to provide technical aid and expertise.

South African businessmen would be well-placed to develop trade links, for already they are said to be conducting quite brisk under-the-counter trade with Angola.

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Because of its relative proximity and expertise in Africa, South Africa would be well placed to meet the demands of a burgeoning Angolan economy. It would, however, come up against stiff competition from Brazil, which has established a firm economic foothold in Angola.

Business sources believe South Africa would be handicapped by its inability to grant competitive lines of credit.

Politically it would be hampered not only by the continuation of apartheid, but by its reputation for destabilisation, which the New York agreement has done little to counteract.

An improvement in South Africa's relations with Angola in diplomatic terms would be welcome to Pretoria at the present time, when its diplomatic drive in black Africa is in danger of running out of momentum after the spectacular advances made by President P W Botha with his meetings last year with his counterparts in Mozambique, Malawi, Zaire and Ivory Coast.



Pictures by GERALD L'ANGE, Argus Africa News Service

**DOUBLE LOSS:** This captured SADF recovery vehicle crashed into a house while being taken to the military museum at Luanda Fort.



Thurs and

Toll fees paid at Mooi River

12. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Whether toll fees have been paid by all vehicles travelling through the toll plaza at Mooi River: if not, (a) how many vehicles are involved, (b) what is the estimated loss in toll fees and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B285E

THE MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

No. Some vehicles are exempted from paying toll whilst others unlawfully failed to pay toll.

- (a) (i) The number of vehicles who unlawfully failed to pay toll was 115; and (ii) The number of vehicles who were exempted from paying toll was 1 434. (b) In respect of (a)(i) the estimated loss in toll fees amounts to approximately R920,00 and in respect of (a)(ii) the estimated loss in toll fees amounts to approximately R12 474,00. (c) 7 December 1988 to 16 February 1989 and 7 December 1988 to 2 March 1989 in respect of (a)(i) and (a)(ii) respectively.

Mr R W HARDINGHAM: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister may I ask him whether any action is to be taken against offenders who have deliberately gone through that toll plaza without paying?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is the policy to take action against motorists in this regard as far as the state toll roads are concerned, and I believe that the companies will follow the same policy.

Upgrading of N3 between Nottingham Road and Hidcote

13. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Whether the upgrading of the alternative road to the N3 between Nottingham Road and Hidcote was completed before the toll plaza at Mooi River became operative, if not, on what grounds were motorists using the N3 compelled to pay toll fees at Mooi River?

B286E

THE MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

No, in terms of the provisions of the National Roads Act, 1971 (Act 54 of 1971).

For the hon member's information it is pointed out that the upgrading of the alternative route was at that stage substantially completed. It is common practice to repair and upgrade roads under conditions of traffic.

Detainees on hunger strike discharged from hospitals

14. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any of the detainees who took part in a hunger strike and had been admitted to hospitals in January and February 1989 were subsequently discharged from these hospitals and returned to their places of detention; if so, (a) how many and (b) why, in each case; (2) Whether these detainees requested their discharge from the hospitals concerned; if not, why were they discharged?

B289E

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(1) Yes.

- (a) 23 persons. (b) The detainees were discharged on the recommendation of the doctors who treated them, after they had started eating.

- (2) No, they were discharged on the recommendation of the doctors who treated them, after they had started eating.

Reducing of military service obligations

15. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether, in view of the peace settlement in South-Eastern Angola, he intends to reduce military service obligations in respect of (a) section 22(3)(a), (b) section 22(3)(b) and (c) section 44(3)(b) of the Defence Act, No 44 of 1957?

B299E

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a), (b) and (c) No.

Mr R R HULLEY: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is he aware of an interview on television by the head of the SADF, Gen Geldenhuys, in which he indicated that a reduction in the service would be contemplated after the basic two years? I would ask the hon the Deputy Minister if there is any committee or body having a look at the possibilities of making such a reduction.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the reply to that question is that the Chief of the SADF did say that when the situation arises, we will again look at the manpower situation and in that light we will reevaluate the manpower situation.

The hon member asked me this question in view of what is happening in the peace negotiations and initiatives in South West Africa and Angola. This is a process that is going on at the moment and once that process is over and done with, then, definitely yes, we will look again at the manpower situation and then we can reply more clearly to the hon member's question.

Application for extradition

16. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether he has received any application from Ciskei or Transkei for the extradition of any persons as a result of the findings of the Harms Commission; if so, (a) when, (b) for the extradition of which persons and (c) what was his response to each such application?

B300E

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

No.

- (a) Falls away. (b) Falls away. (c) Falls away.

Mr Thinus Strydom: business dealings with Department

17. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

- (1) Whether his Department has done any business with a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, or companies with which this person is or

was associated, if so, (a) what is the nature of these business dealings and (b) what total amount is involved;

- (2) whether his Department is still doing business with this person or companies with which he is associated; if so, (a) why, (b) what is the nature of these business dealings and (c) what amount of money is involved?

B301E

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION:

(1) Yes;

- (a) Layout, preparation and editing and printing of regional newspapers (including the supply of photos) as well as the providing of educational brochures and posters

- (b) the particulars of this question fall under the mandate of the Commission of Inquiry that was appointed on 17 June 1988 by the State President. In terms of Regulation 14 of Proclamation R106, 1988 I deem it not to be in the interest of the inquiry to reply to the question in detail at this stage.

(2) Yes;

- (a) Specific contracts were entered into, are still running and have to be honoured. (b) One contract for each regional area for the preparation, editing and printing of a glossy brochure and regional newspapers. (c) R186 165,00 for the 1988/89 financial year.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him in the light of the irregularities that have been revealed in the dealings with Mr Thinus Strydom whether it is not appropriate that the lawyers within his department should look at whether the existing contracts are still valid. Should they not be frozen in the light of this man's previous behaviour?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I refer to that in my reply to paragraph 2(a), viz: "It is our contention that specific contracts were entered into, are still running and have to be honoured"

# Cuba 'violating war-zone pact', Congress told

From DAVID BRAUN  
The Argus Foreign Service

AKL 9/3/89

WASHINGTON. — Cuba is violating the Geneva Protocol by continuing to field its troops against Unita in a zone from which it had agreed to withdraw.

The ranking Republican member of the House of Representatives' Foreign Relations Sub-Committee on Africa, Mr Dan Burton, claimed during congressional hearings on US foreign aid for Africa that he had collected evidence of Cuba's violation of the Geneva agreement, which was a vital prelude to the Brazzaville peace accord, while on a recent visit to Unita's headquarters at Jamba, in southern Angola.

Mr Burton said he had videotaped the evidence of two MPLA soldiers who were captured on February 4 and who said they had been supported in battle by a company of Cuban soldiers.

● In Gaborone, the heads of the frontline states expressed a fear that South Africa would wield an undue influence over the independence election in Namibia, reports Argus Africa News Service.

After a one-day summit in the Botswana capital, the frontline presidents condemned what they said was an anti-Swapo campaign being waged by the South African security forces.

They condemned the "registration of non-Namibians by the South African forces", with the aim of "tipping the scales of the election".

## PEACE PLEDGE

Also taking part were the president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, and Mr Thomas Mlambo of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa.

Mr Nujoma, had "distanced" himself from violence and pledged to work for a peaceful and stable Namibia, said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

The Argus Political Correspondent reports that the distancing of Swapo from violence as well as the direct approach initiated by Mr Nujoma was being seen by the government as a signal that Swapo wanted close relations with South Africa.

The pledge was given to South Africa's ambassador to West Germany, Mr W Retief, who is to head the South African office in Namibia during the transitional period.

The meeting between the two men in Germany was held at the request of Mr Nujoma.

Mr Botha said the meeting between Mr Nujoma and Mr Retief on March 3 "took place in the context of the agreements on the implementation of the settlement plan for the independence of SWA/Namibia and formed part of the continual process of informing all parties of the implications of the settlement plan prior to implementation ...

# Angolan airports mystify the CIA

By Neil Lurssen,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Recent secret reports by the Central Intelligence Agency, relying on satellite surveillance and spies, have confirmed that two airfields are being constructed in Angola, according to noted American columnist Jack Anderson.

Anderson and his associate, Dale van Atta, reported yesterday that analysts at the CIA were scratching their heads over the airfields, and, unless their purpose could be satisfactorily explained, the new facilities could hurt relations that were on the mend between the United States and Angola.

## SOVIETS' ACE

In addition to the new airfields at Benguela and the coastal capital of Luanda, the Angolans were also dredging a larger port at Namibe.

"The airfields may be the Soviets' ace in the hole," the two writers suggested.

"The port may be to attract commercial shipping, but why does Angola need the airfields when it has adequate commercial airports?"

"One faction of the CIA has tried to put a happy face on the mystery: The Angolans need the airfields to move 50 000 Cuban troops out of the country by the peace pact's July 1991 deadline.

"But the Cubans didn't need

extra airfields to get into Angola in 1975 and haven't needed them since then to ferry more than 300 000 soldiers in and out of the country.

"More cynical minds in the CIA think the Marxist government is building the airfields to welcome AN24 Condors, the large transport planes of the Soviet Union.

"A massive airlift could quickly restock Angola with troops," they said.

The US also had its ace in the hole, said Anderson and van Atta, its decision to continue funding Unita rebels until the Marxists reached a settlement with them.

The US, in accordance with its usual policy of not responding to reports about intelligence matters, had nothing to say about the Anderson/van Atta column.

But it is known that the Americans are using highly sophisticated technology to monitor the situation in Angola.

This was disclosed during the recent Senate hearings to confirm Mr James Baker as Secretary of State. Mr Baker told the Senators that the US was not dependent on the UN observer force to monitor the Cubans leaving Angola, but had its own methods.

The new Secretary of State did not explain what those methods were.

# UN to monitor Swapo bases in southern Angola

APR TIMES 10/3/89



General Prem Chand at his press conference in Windhoek yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has received an assurance from the commanding officer of the United Nations supervisory forces in Namibia, General Prem Chand, that Untag is responsible for monitoring of Swapo bases in southern Angola.

In a statement, Mr Botha confirmed, on inquiry, that he had contacted General Chand after a report broadcast yesterday morning had claimed that General Chand had said it was not the UN peacekeeping force's responsibility to monitor Swapo bases.

General Chand, meanwhile, said a firm schedule for the build-up of Untag (United Nations transitional assistance group) personnel in Namibia could not be provided in view of the complexity of deploying more than 5 000 UN military and civilian personnel in the country.

He said, though, that the mili-

tary component of Untag had carried out an extensive reconnaissance of Namibia last week.

His staff were working on a plan for monitoring the withdrawal of the SADF and the demobilisation of Namibian military units.

National servicemen of the SWA Territory Force are to be demobilised on April 30 to comply with the requirements of Namibian independence.

The officer commanding the SWATF, Major-General Willie Meyer, said yesterday that servicemen would be paid a lump sum as partial compensation for their earnings in the remainder of this year.

SA troops have to withdraw from Namibia within 12 weeks of implementation of the settlement plan. A residual force of 1 500 men will be confined to bases at Grootfontein and Oshivelo. They have to leave upon certification of the election results in the first week of November.

General Chand said the advance parties of the Kenyan battalion were already in Namibia. Advance parties of the Finnish and Malaysian battalions, and of the Australian and British logistical units were due to arrive today. The battalions from Kenya, Malaysia and Finland will be stationed in Windhoek, north-western Namibia and north-eastern Namibia respectively.

## Military service

Gen Chand said the UN director of the elections unit and the legal official had been in the country for the past 10 days and would be returning to New York soon to report to the UN's special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Compulsory military service in Namibia will be suspended in the transitional period before independence, General Meyer said yesterday.

"It is clear that in terms of the spirit and intention of the negotiated settlement plan, national service cannot be legally enforced during the transitional period," he said in a statement.

The administrator-general had been asked accordingly to determine in terms of the Defence Act that national service periods set down for members of the SWATF after April this year were to end on April 30.

General Meyer said SWATF members who wanted to do so could complete their military courses at institutions of the SA Defence Force. — Sapa

# Investigation ordered into assault allegations

By Esther Waugh

UPINGTON — Mr Justice Basson yesterday ordered police to investigate allegations of assault made by one of the Upington 25, Xolie Yona.

The allegations follow a trip to Cape Town by Yona for medical examination at Grootte Schuur Hospital.

Mr Ian Farlam SC, counsel for the defence, told the court that a Dr Kesler of Upington examined Yona, who has been convicted of murder, in Upington and recommended that he be sent to Cape Town for an ECG and a Catscan. Yona was accompanied to Cape Town by two Upington policemen for an examination at Grootte Schuur Hospital on January 30.

Yona (25), a professional boxer and one of the accused who had been in custody since his arrest in November 1985, alleged that he left Upington on January 30 and arrived in Cape Town that night.

The next day he underwent the test at the hospital and said he had complained to the hospital staff that he had not been fed. After his medical examination was completed Yona said the Upington police took

him to another police station in Cape Town from where he was later transferred by two white plainclothes police to another police station.

Yona alleged that a black plainclothes policeman questioned him at the police station. He said that the policeman was joined by other SAP members.

He alleged that he was:

- Punched in the stomach several times.
- Shocked after electrodes were attached to his head.
- After complaining that he was hungry, policemen wearing plastic gloves entered the room carrying a plate of faeces and instructed him to eat it. Yona alleged that he had refused whereupon he was handcuffed and the faeces was smeared over his mouth. He was then beaten in an attempt to force him to open his mouth.

Mr Farlam told the court that a Major Mann of the Upington prison assured a defence attorney, Ms Andy Durbach, that Yona was not held in solitary confinement as was alleged by the accused.

# Angola building airfields, says CIA

CVE 1/21/8  
10/3/89  
5

By SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — United States spy satellites have reportedly identified two new airfields under construction in Angola, one at Benguela, the other near Luanda.

According to investigative columnist Jack Anderson, the CIA is divided over how to interpret the discovery, with some analysts emphasising that the facilities would permit rapid redeployment of Cuban forces should the agreement on Cuban withdrawal and Nami-

bian independence break down.

Others say the extra capacity is needed if Cuba is to meet the pact's departure deadlines.

By talking to Anderson, CIA officials appeared to be deliberately raising concerns about Cuban intentions at a time when US assistance levels to Unita are under intense review.

Anderson said "CIA sources predict that President Bush will increase the funding to make up for the loss of support (Dr Jonas) Savimbi had from SA".

W/E ARGUS 11/3/89

(5)

by GERALD L'ANGE, Weekend Argus Africa News Service

**I**N the best hotel in Luanda the maitre d, elegant in evening dress, ushers guests to tables with snowy tablecloths and starched napkins.

The wine steward, wearing a smart, red-jacketed uniform, offers a list of French, Portuguese and German wines.

The war seems far away — but not for long.

Its effects come closer with the presentation of the menu, which offers only one soup and one main course — an uninspired but quite edible dish of what appears to be a form of steak.

Things improve with the arrival of the dessert trolley, bearing a choice of half a dozen puddings and tarts, and the war briefly recedes.

But it springs right back with the bill: 2 500 kwanza (about R200). Then the foreign diner is reminded that the war has pushed the economy into an unreal world in which prices have virtually no meaning.

**O**UT in the streets the official currency, the kwanza, has little value. Cans of beer are a more acceptable form of money. Even those people with secure, relatively well-paid jobs, such as senior civil servants, cannot begin to live on their salaries. Like everyone else in Luanda, they turn to the black market to keep alive.

Life in Luanda is, in fact, an object lesson in survival.

The surprising thing about the Angolan capital is that it functions at all, given that the country has been ravaged by the civil war for over 10 years and by a liberation war against the Portuguese for 14 years before that.

Not only does it function, however, but it functions very actively, albeit at a level of poverty and dilapidation extreme even by Third World standards.

The war has stopped nearly all industrial and agricultural production and were it not for the revenue from oil and diamonds the government would have very little income.

Luandans don't pay income tax, apparently for the simple reason that few people have enough money with which to pay taxes let alone be taxed on.

**R**ESIDENTIAL areas bear none of the scars of war. Downtown Luanda, however, is battered and scarred not by bullets but by the economic ravages of the war between the MPLA government and the Unita rebels — and by what some believe are the effects of the MPLA's attempts to impose Marxist economic philosophy.

There is no bus service and no

taxis. Getting around town without personal transport can become a matter of hitch-hiking in a novel, though possibly risky way: waving a United States dollar bill at motorists in the street.

Despite the dilapidation of the city, Luandans in general appear adequately dressed and fed. Where they get the clothes and food is a mystery as one moves around a city of empty shops — until one hears about the black market. This functions mainly at a rambling collection of outdoor stalls — officially illegal but officially tolerated because officialdom can provide no viable alternative — where those with the money to pay can buy a wide variety of goods ranging from cooking oil to imported shoes.

It is a city in which nothing seems to have been painted for many years, where little has been repaired and nothing new seems to have been built, except for a towering monument to the "revolution" being erected by the Soviets and some new government buildings on the foreshore.

But street lights and telephones work — or they were working when South African journalists were admitted to Luanda last month to cover the first meeting of the Joint Commission overseeing the Angola-Namibia peace agreement. The lifts in the hotels worked and so did the air-conditioning in the rooms and the baths and toilets — except that the water went off every morning.

**A**T a reception given by the Ministry of Information for visiting journalists there were tables loaded with lobsters, cold meats, salads and desserts and a well-stocked bar.

It may all have been a special show to convince the visitors that things are not as bad as they have been depicted in accounts in the foreign press. But that impression would probably have been gained anyway, depending on what each of the visitors had been expecting.

For ordinary Luandans life may in fact be quite grim. Health services are reputed to be inadequate even by Third World standards. A few years ago 3 000 Luandans were reported to have died in a cholera epidemic that at one point had United Nations health experts proposing that the whole city be quarantined.

Yet the city has a vitality that suggests it could quickly spring back to something approaching its colonial splendour if the civil war could be ended.

That possibility appears still remote. However, with the departure of the Cuban troops, increasing attention, both domestic and international, will be devoted to the question of finding an end to the fighting.

ARCUS 13/2/89

# 'Unita world's worst human rights violator'

**The Argus Foreign Service**

WASHINGTON. — Unita has been one of the world's worst violators of human rights, "blasting innocent civilians to bits with indiscriminate use of landmines and forcing a great number of people into slave labour on its farms", the US Congress has been told.

Ms Holly Burkhalter, associate director of a human rights monitoring agency called Africa Watch, made the claims in testimony before the House of Representatives' Foreign Relations Sub-Committee on Africa.

The sub-committee has been reviewing US foreign assistance to Africa.

Ms Burkhalter said Africa Watch supported the use of foreign assistance as a means of pressuring beneficiary countries to improve their human rights practices.

Republican and Democratic leaders in the sub-committee have crossed

swords over the scrutiny of human rights violations in Africa.

The hearings focused on the human rights situation in the Sudan, Nigeria, Liberia, Kenya, Zaire, Burundi, Somalia, Chad, Angola and Mozambique. South Africa was only touched on.

Republican Mr Dan Burton became angry when the Democratic chairman, Mr Howard Wolpe, pursued a particularly aggressive line of questioning on corruption in Liberia.

Mr Burton said Mr Wolpe had attacked Zaire, Kenya and Liberia, but had said nothing about Angola.

If Angola used just three percent of its oil revenues it would be able to feed all its people, but it did not, he said.

"I think we ought to have a bit of perspective. Every time the chairman of this committee goes after a country in Africa it is a friend of the US.

"I wish you would pick on the enemies of the US, the true enemies of freedom and human rights."



# Cuba to hold talks with Unita rebels on POWs

ARCUS 14/3/89

From JOAO SANTA RITA,  
Argus Africa News Service

JAMBA (Angola). — Cuba and the Angolan rebel group Unita are to hold talks in the Ivory Coast soon, the Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has said.

At a Press conference held at his headquarters in south-eastern Angola, Dr Savimbi said that last month an invitation was sent to Unita to hold talks with Cuba about the question of prisoners of war held by Unita.

"But there are a few other things we want to find out from the Cubans," he said. The rebel leader said Cuba had accepted an undertaking by Unita that the rebels would not attack Cuban troops moving out of Angola.

"We have asked them to supply us with their movements but they have not done so. This could result in unnecessary clashes," he said.

## Peace proposals

Dr Savimbi also disclosed that last month three African heads of state had invited him to go to Kinshasa to discuss an "Africa solution" to the Angolan problem. Two members of the Angolan government were also in Kinshasa meeting the three heads of state.

He did not give details of the proposals but said he had not gone to Kinshasa because they were unacceptable. Furthermore, he said, he could not

have gone to Kinshasa because there would not have been direct talks with the MPLA.

He said he had asked the three African leaders "to improve their proposals".

At Jamba, rumours of a rift in the Unita leadership, particularly between a younger generation and Dr Savimbi, were dismissed by rebel leaders.

Reports said that some younger officers were regarding Dr Savimbi as a stumbling block to peace because of his refusal to step down to allow for negotiations as demanded by the MPLA.

● Dr Savimbi has issued an ultimatum to the Namibian nationalist movement Swapo: Give us a guarantee that you won't be hostile to us or we will be forced to attack you.

At the Press conference, Dr Savimbi said he was disturbed by reports that Swapo was carrying out anti-Unita propaganda at rallies held in Namibia.

He said he could not accept the existence of a hostile government in Namibia. "I would be a total fool if I accepted hostile forces in my back," he said.

● Dr Savimbi said he was willing to stay out of power for two years if a government of national unity was formed in Angola.

He also announced that he was ready to allow the reopening of the Benguela railway line without any pre-conditions.

Star 14/3/89

(5)

# Savimbi makes a new peace offer

By Joao Santa Rita,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

JAMBA — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said here that he was willing to stay out of power for two years if a government of national unity was formed in Angola.

He also announced that he was ready to allow the reopening of the Benguela railway line without any preconditions.

Speaking at a press conference at his headquarters in Jamba, south-eastern Angola, Dr Savimbi spelt out a peace plan which called for a ceasefire after talks with the MPLA government.

The Unita peace plan envisaged the following steps:

- Ceasefire after direct talks between Unita and the MPLA government.

- Formation of a government of national unity. Dr Savimbi would not be part of such a government and Unita was prepared to work under President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

- Two years after the formation of a government of national unity, general elections would be held under the supervision of the United Nations, Organisation of African Unity and African countries who wished to send observers.

Dr Savimbi said Unita would wait until July 15 for a reply to these offers. If there was no reply it would resume its recently sus-

pending offensive actions.

He also said that Unita and Cuba would hold talks soon about prisoner of war held by the rebels.

Unita has denied claims that senior members of the Angolan guerrilla movement have been tortured or killed.

A statement issued by Unita vice-president Mr Jeremias Chitunda and two other officials described the charges as propaganda and part of an "orchestrated, vicious campaign" in London.

Discussing the Namibian movement, Swapo, Dr Savimbi said at Jamba that he had issued an ultimatum to the organisation.

## Guarantee

Unita wanted a guarantee that "you won't be hostile to us or we will be forced to attack you".

He said he was disturbed by reports of Swapo anti-Unita propaganda at rallies in Namibia. He supported the independence of Namibia and hoped the Swapo leadership would remember that the organisation and Unita had once been comrades-in-arms.

However, he could not accept the existence of a hostile government in Namibia.

"I would be a total fool if I accepted hostile forces in my back," he said.

He therefore wanted guarantees from Swapo that it would not be hostile against Unita.

False Bay: illegal culling of seals  
\*13. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Environment Affairs:

- (1) Whether his Department has been informed of the alleged illegal culling of seals in False Bay recently; if so,
- (2) whether his Department has investigated the matter; if not, why not; if so, with what result?

B335E

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS AND OF LAND AFFAIRS (for the Minister of Environment Affairs):

- (1) Yes.
- (2) No, but the matter was dealt with by the Department of Nature and Environmental Conservation of the Cape Provincial Administration who has investigated the alleged irregularities.

Angolan war: equipment seized  
14. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether he will furnish information on equipment seized by South African forces in the course of the Angolan war; if not, why not; if so,
- (2) whether it is the intention to return any of this booty to Angola or any other authorities; if so, (a) what booty, (b) to what other authorities, (c) what is the value of this booty and (d) why?

B368E

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) No, because it is considered not to be in the public interest to divulge this information. I am however, prepared to supply the information to the hon member in confidence.
- (2) Falls away.

Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, may I ask him in connection with the second part thereof, whether he is aware of the fact that a photo of a train packed full of damaged and used military vehicles, as well as seized vehicles, that was apparently on its way northwards on the rail from Windhoek in the direction of Grootfontein, appeared in a South West newspaper? A caption

Howard

to that photo suggests that these goods are being transported back to Angola. What is the comment of the hon the Deputy Minister on this?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, my reply to that would be that everything that has been said, is based on mere speculation. [Interjections.]

Mr H H SCHWARZ: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, as it was common knowledge that there was an Angolan aircraft that was in the north of South West Africa, would he like to tell us where that Angolan aircraft is now?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, according to my information, that aircraft is at Grootfontein, but it is the subject of negotiations at the moment and accordingly, I am unable to divulge any further information in this regard.

Mr T LANGLEY: Further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister where he said that it is merely speculation, I would like to ask him whether he is aware of the article in the *Windhoek Observer*, dated 8 October, consisting of a photo as I told him, where the caption reads:

Now train loads of wrecked army trucks are running from the south to the north. Is it a return to Angola of motorized units captured from it? A reporter called witnesses to tell him if in fact he were looking northwards. The witnesses confirmed it.

I should like to ask him what his reply to that is.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: I should just like to repeat that I do not read the *Windhoek Observer* — or whatever newspaper he mentions there. Our movements in that area are based on the factual situation, and these are movements that I am not prepared to make known.

Detainees released

\*15. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (a) How many detainees were released between 16 February and 2 March 1989 and (b) how many such detainees had been on hunger strike immediately prior to their release?

B374E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

- (a) 235 Detainees. However, I would like to

add that from 16 February 1989 up until today, I have, in the normal course of events, already ordered the release of more than 400 emergency regulation detainees. Amongst those who have been released in this manner, are also youths. At present there are only one 16-year-old and thirteen 17-year-olds in detention. No person below the age of 16 is at present being detained in terms of the emergency regulations.

- (b) None. Persons who participate in a hunger-strike cannot be released as long as they do not eat. Their release only took place after they had begun eating and, in the majority of instances, after they had been examined by a district surgeon and found fit to be released.

Mrs H SUZMAN: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply does he consider that the number of detainees who have been released conforms with the promise which he made to churchmen and the lawyers representing the detainees that a significant number of detainees would be released?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the words relating to the number on which we agreed, were "a substantial number". We did not name a specific number on that occasion. I was under the impression that 100-150 would be sufficient.

Mrs H SUZMAN: Oh, never!

The MINISTER: According to the newspapers some of the church leaders said later that they would be satisfied if 100 detainees were released. When they saw that I was releasing more than 100, because we could manage to do this within the prescribed time, they started saying that the "substantial number" was not sufficient. I am quite satisfied that I have carried out all the promises which I made to the churchmen. [Interjections.]

Mrs H SUZMAN: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, have the people who are still on hunger strike been informed that they will not be released until they cease continuing with the hunger strike? Have they all been informed that that is a condition for their release?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is not a condi-

tion but they know that they cannot be released before they have started eating.

Mrs H SUZMAN: How do they know?

By-elections: date set  
\*16. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether he has taken the necessary steps to set a date for by-elections in (a) East London, (b) Hillbrow and (c) Lydenburg; if not, why not; if so, when will such elections be held or the date of such elections be announced?

B375E

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The Electoral Act, 1979 provides for strict procedural requirements which have to be met before a proclamation to proclaim a by-election can be issued. At the same time the determination of various dates, such as polling day and nomination day must be planned with regard to public and school holidays, as well as the imperative provisions of the Act, such as the days on which the issuing of special and postal votes commence and terminate.

The matter is receiving my urgent attention and proposals with regard to the issuing of a proclamation will be submitted to the State President as soon as possible.

Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to know whether he is suggesting that should he want to call a snap general election, he would not be able to do it in the time it is now taking him to call a by-election in three constituencies.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not prepared to speculate with the hon member over these matters. I do not think it is relevant to the reply to this question.

Mr R R HULLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, in view of the fact that it is now seven weeks since we first heard that these by-elections were going to have to take place, can the hon the Minister give us the assurance that his department has done absolutely everything that needs to be done to facilitate the holding of these by-elections at this stage?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I can give the hon member the assur-

Howard

# Angola: Why did it start?

ANGOLA has been with us for so long I am sure the question "Why did it all start in the first place?" would set the average man to scratching his head.

Depending on one's politics, one could go back to the 1948 election, the RSA's "illegal occupation" of Namibia and the 1975/6 Angolan incursion.

But the flip-side argument is that the incursions which have led to the present situation resulted directly from the 1978 border military situation, which in turn resulted from Angolan interference in Namibian affairs.

## ON PARADE

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

This argument turns on counter-insurgency doctrine, namely that although an insurgency often ends by negotiation, the matter of which side wins (or at least is not defeated) in the military stage is of crucial importance.

Up to 1976 the Namibian insurgency was a sputtering, low-level affair.

Then the MPLA regime seized power. At this stage it had two choices. It could adopt what might be called the Botswana option and give its resident Swapo insurgents moral and non-military aid, or it could involve itself in the "armed struggle" by aiding Mr Sam Nujoma.

It opted for the latter. There was some justification — it was morally committed to the "liberation struggle" — and no doubt South Africa's recent support of its enemy, Dr Jonas Savimbi, still rankled.

The immediate result was an artificially inflated Swapo war effort and a deteriorating security situation in Ovamboland during 1977.

That left just three alternatives: Capitulation; a drawn-out defensive attrition struggle, with the insurgents protected by a safe border; and pre-emptive "external" attacks.

The South African military, having analysed the lessons of the Vietnam War, concluded that pre-emptive attacks were the only feasible alternative. The then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, agreed.

That was it. Angola and South Africa became locked into a classic escalation which has cost them much blood and treasure, wrecked Angola's economy, left great areas of once-fertile land lying fallow and let Unita become the major thorn in Luanda's flesh.

And if Angola had chosen the Botswana option? The thesis goes like this:

It is fairly certain that border violations would probably have been simple hot-pursuit actions, while Unita would have been holed up in the south-east, constituting little more than a nuisance and being held in check with the help of, say, 20 000 instead of 57 000 hired Cubans.

Progress towards a Namibian solution would probably have continued, since the dynamics of hearts-and-minds processes such as political development and desegregation operate regardless of the "armed struggle's" intensity.

There might not even have been a border war as such. Makes you think ...

□ □ □ □

THIS Sunday it will be the 72nd anniversary of the Battle of Delville Wood, and as usual the Moths (Cape Western Region) will hold its commemorative service.

Falling-in time is 10.30 for 11 at the Gun Memorial in the Gardens (or the Civic Centre concourse if it rains). Various ex-service organizations will attend, and all veterans are welcome. Usual dress is suit or blazer and gongs.  
*[Willem Steenkamp is a reservist of the Citizen Force.]*

# SA-Angola PoW swop on Havana talks agenda

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16/3/89

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## Political Staff

AN exchange of South African and Angolan prisoners of war is expected to be high on the agenda at a meeting in Havana next week of the tripartite monitoring commission set up to oversee implementation of the Namibian peace agreement signed in New York last year.

The meeting will be attended by Director General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden and other senior South African diplomats and military representatives.

They will be the first South African government officials to visit Cuba since before World War 2.

## JOHAN PAPENFUS

The only South African prisoner known to be held by Cuba is Sergeant Johan Papenfus, the SADF soldier who was injured and later captured in Angola last year. He has been receiving medical treatment in Havana and reports indicate that he has now recovered from his injuries.

Diplomats suggest he may be exchanged for the Angolan pilot of a MiG-21 who made a forced landing on a maize field in Namibia last year.

Such an exchange was proposed by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha at the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol in December.

The last meeting of the tripartite monitoring commission took place in Luanda earlier this month to discuss Angolan allegations of a South African incursion into Angola. It was attended by American and Soviet officials who played a key role in last year's peace process.

# Maimed children on parade in US

WASHINGTON — Young Angolan children maimed on their country's civil war minefields were paraded before the media and the US Congress this week as part of a new initiative aimed at cutting American financial aid for Unita.

The emotional tactics received prominent pictures and editorial publicity in Washington's major newspapers.

The week-long campaign was mounted by a coalition of religious and civil rights leaders and health specialists.

It was aimed specifically at the

5 Feb 1978  
 **DAVID BRAUN,**  
**SATURDAY STAR**  
**FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE**

Congress and the Bush Administration and its goals are to persuade the US government to normalise relations with Angola by recognising the MPLA Government and to secure emergency aid for thousands of victims of the 13-year Angolan war.

The children, several of them hobbling on crutches, were presented at a news conference on Capitol Hill on Wednesday where

they were greeted by local public school children to symbolise the spirit of friendship extended by US citizens, according to one of the organisers of the campaign, the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice.

Asked by one Washington pupil whether she could go outside to play when she was at home, 12-year-old Bernarda N'Guyulo said: "Yes, but sometimes my friends get killed."

The organisers told the conference Unita was to blame for the maiming of the children.

# Maimed children 'used against Unita'

The Argus Foreign Service *MAGAS 20/3/89* 5  
WASHINGTON. — Young Angolan children maimed on their country's civil war minefields have been paraded before the media and Congress as part of a new initiative aimed at cutting American financial aid for Unita.

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Asked by one Washington pupil whether she could go outside to play when she was at home, 12-year-old Bernarda N'Guvulo said: "Yes, but sometimes my friends get killed."

Another child, without legs, told how she stepped on a landmine while on the way to school. Both her parents had been killed in the war, she said.

The organisers told the conference Unita was to blame for the maiming of the children.

Thousands of people in Angola had been killed or maimed by Unita's indiscriminate use of landmines, they said. No mention was made of landmine atrocities by MPLA forces.

Last week, a human rights monitoring organisation which calls itself Africa Watch told a congressional panel that Unita was one of the world's worst abusers of human rights.

It accused the movement of planting landmines indiscriminately, and of forcing civilians into slave labour on its farms.

The organisation played down similar atrocities allegedly committed by the Angolan government forces.

# 'Friendly' forum in place of fighting along Angolan border

McGees 20/3/89

**FRIENDLY**, but not friends. That is how Colonel Johnny Coetzee, head of the South African Defence Force contingent to the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMJC), describes his team's relationship with his Cuban and Angolan counterparts.

Discussing his team's role while sitting around the small pool at the "Ruacana Falls Resort Hotel", as the JMJC headquarters is jokingly named, Colonel Coetzee chooses his words very carefully.

He is in the front line of relations between countries that just a few short months ago were fighting against each other, and he understands fully the sensitivity of his position.

The JMJC was formed in August last year as part of the

**KEN VERNON** of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Ruacana

agreement reached between South Africa, Cuba and Angola to end the Angolan conflict, and its main duty, in the words of Colonel Coetzee, is to "prevent incidents occurring along the border and to provide a forum for discussion of incidents that do occur".

The first meeting took place in a clearing at the Hippo Pools below the Ruacana dam, and now the teams meet daily at the Ruacana border post.

The JMJC operates on three distinct levels. The first is the operational level, of which Colonel Coetzee is the South African commander, and this level includes the daily Ruacana meetings as well as the operation of 11 other joint monitoring posts

spread along the border, from which SADF and Angolan soldiers patrol the border.

It is known that Unita activity has prevented the establishment of at least three other posts along the eastern half of the border, but Colonel Coetzee could not comment on this.

The second level is that of the regional military chiefs of staff, who meet as and when required, and the final level is that of the commanding officers of the South West African Territory Force (SWATF) and the Cuban and Angolan commanding officers, who meet monthly.

The United States and Russia have observer status with the JMJC, and while Colonel Coetzee said that US soldiers turned up at the JMJC meetings on an "irregular" basis, no Russian officers had yet done so. Cuban troops do not take part

in the border patrols, which consist of an equal number of Angolan and SADF troops. Ironically, most of the SADF soldiers are from 32 battalion, the unit consisting of mainly former Angolan rebels which has probably seen more fighting against the Angolans than any other South African unit.

"Once a problem has been identified, each side has a helicopter here on constant standby to travel to the scene, if possible, and verify the problem on site as soon as possible.

"Each side swaps passengers in the choppers to ensure complete impartiality," he added.

If no consensus is reached between the teams on the ground, then the problem is passed on to the next level for resolution "within 48 hours".

"There is good communication

between the three teams, each of which consists of a chairman, two members, a secretary and two interpreters," says Colonel Coetzee, "a total of 18 men.

"We have succeeded in defusing many sensitive situations, and because we have excellent communication, misunderstandings are resolved very quickly."

He says that apart from the formal meetings between the two sides, where allegations are exchanged and complaints registered, there are informal meetings over cool-drinks, where friendly relations are maintained.

Finally, every couple of weeks the once-warring soldiers entertain each other at braais or the Cuban-Angolan equivalent and converse over a few beers — a far different front-line from what all sides have been used to.



# Sanctions threat to Zaire

The Star's Africa  
News Service  
Star 20/1/89

LUSAKA — Angola will ask the Frontline states to impose sanctions against Zaire if it refuses to stop supporting Unita.

Angola's ambassador to Zambia, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, issued a statement here saying his government would not tolerate forever Zaire's support for the Angolan rebel movement.

"We will have to react to prevent further killing of our people," he said.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, chairman of the Frontline states, is understood to have visited Zaire last week to talk to President Mobutu Sese Sekou about his support for Unita.

The matter is expected to be discussed at a meeting of the Frontline states' Foreign Ministers in Harare today.

Last year the states threatened to cut Zaire's routes to the sea if it did not reject Unita.

The plans were dropped, apparently after Zambia said it could not implement them.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — SADF Chief General Jannie Geldenhuys and South African military delegates to the meeting of the joint monitoring commission in the Cuban capital, Havana, arrived yesterday nearly a day ahead of the Foreign Affairs delegation.

A Foreign Affairs spokesperson said the exchange of SA prisoner-of-war Rifleman Johan Papenfus would be "high on the agenda" of talks starting today.

Differences about the number of Cubans held by Unita in Angola and other outstanding issues

# SADF chief arrives in Cuba for talks

were delaying the question of a prisoner exchange.

The functioning of the monitoring commission and Swapo's continued presence south of the 16th parallel would be among the issues to be discussed during the

talks, she said.

General Geldenhuys was met early yesterday at the airport by various members of the Cuban general staff, Sapa reports.

He had been accompanied on the flight by the brother and sister of Rifleman Papenfus, who has been held in Cuba for the past 10 months after being wounded and captured in Angola.

The Foreign Affairs spokesperson confirmed that the civilian delegation, led by Director-General of Foreign Affairs Dr Neil van Heerden, would arrive in Havana late yesterday, SA time.

## Opinion

### Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Feted in the White House by President Reagan, honoured by black American churches, on dining terms with South Africa's President Botha and allowed access to Britain by Mrs Margaret Thatcher's government, Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, has been the darling of the right.

But now the West's game-plan for Southern Africa is threatened by new allegations against Dr Savimbi of serious human rights abuses.

He has been seen as a heroic figure, fighting Angola's Soviet and Cuban-imposed Marxist dictatorship which threatened the whole of the region. He may now have become a fallen idol.

The charges, including the burning to death of women as witches and the beating to death of a former Unita foreign secretary, have sounded alarm bells in Washington and Pretoria, where the flamboyant Dr Savimbi has been treated as a major key ally.

The main charges were made on Saturday night on the London TV station Channel 4's World This Week by Unita defectors seeking political asylum in Britain. Their move followed the alleged detention and torture by Unita last year of Mr Pedro "Tito" Chingunji, the movement's Washington-based foreign secretary.

One defector, Sousa Jamba, a writer who last year won the Shiva Naipaul prize for literature, told the Sunday Telegraph of London: "I am one of many Unita members who has kept quiet until now about killings inside the movement in the interests of the wider struggle against Cuban and Soviet domination.

"There are others who would like us to say nothing until the MPLA, Angola's Marxist government, and Unita are around the table in Luanda with Cubans sailing in shiploads to Havana each day. But Tito's arrest has stretched our loyalty beyond breaking point: If we wait, others may die."

The story of another defector, Mr Dinho Chingunji, Tito's nephew, is perhaps the most nightmarish. He argues that Tito's life is in grave danger because seven

# Has Dr Savimbi become the fallen idol of the right?

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Dr Jonas Savimbi

Chingunji family members have already been murdered over the years, as Dr Savimbi began to see them as "a threat".

The theme of witchcraft runs through the whole Unita tragedy, unspoken to outsiders but a reality in the lives of the people.

Allegations of witchcraft can easily be made against people who are politically "difficult", just as in medieval Europe.

Numerous senior Unita officials have also "disappeared". According to informed sources, few Western governments doubt that the men are dead, probably executed.

Among the most prominent was former Unita foreign secretary Mr Jorge Sangumba. He was recalled to Angola from overseas in 1978 and has not been seen since. Unita has consistently

stated that Mr Sangumba is alive and working in the interior.

The Unita defectors also allege that Tito Chingunji, a devout Christian, was accused of witchcraft when he flew into Jamba from Washington last November for a conference.

The "evidence" was a white surplice and two candlesticks found in his luggage.

When Tito failed to return to Washington, leaving projects part-finished and farewells unsaid, it triggered the latest round of Unita defections among people troubled by the shift from Unita's founding principles to an increasingly arbitrary "Savimbism".

The allegations will provoke predictable reactions. The MPLA will feel that their enemy has been nailed. But Sousa Jamba, Dinho Chingunji and other Unita defectors in Canada, Sweden and Africa are vehemently opposed to the MPLA, who which they accuse of even worse human rights crimes — they simply felt they could no longer stay silent about Unita's shortcomings.

US-supplied weapons now enable Unita to maintain leverage on the MPLA, but Congress is sensitive about covert arms supplies and human rights abuses. It could therefore turn awkward if the current allegations are reinforced. But Unita is tough and resourceful, and even without American help it could turn Angola without Cuba into a new Beirut.

The United States and the Soviet Union, with their new-found understanding on Africa, might therefore decide to hit heads together and allow elements in both the MPLA and Unita who are sick of war to come together at the negotiating table.

# Angola signs first major deal after peace accords

LISBON — A multi-million-dollar agreement to import Angolan diamonds announced this month by New York-based Lazare Kaplan International (LKI) could translate into more than just much-needed hard currency for that country.

An LKI spokesman said under terms of the agreement worked out with Endiama, the Angolan state diamond company, Lazare Kaplan would import no less than \$20m a year worth of high-quality, uncut gem diamonds for processing at its plant in Caguas, Puerto Rico.

She said the first shipment had arrived for cutting and polishing in the

plant.

The agreement is the first major international business deal announced with the Angolan government since the signing on December 22 of US-brokered accords by Angola, Cuba and SA on the phased withdrawal of about 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola in return for the independence of Namibia.

The diamond-importing agreement, the first of its kind LKI has made with Angola, was "only indirectly" related to the December accords.

The spokesman said: "The peace process continues to move forward. It can only help business and we're encouraged by it."

Under Portuguese rule, Angola was exporting between 5% and 8% of the world's diamond production. Exports fell off after independence but rose in 1981-82 to 1.3-million carats worth \$165m.

In 1987, the Portuguese company, SPE, signed a co-operation agreement with Endiama and 50 Portuguese technicians are working in Angola as diamond-mining advisers.

A delegation from Endiama was in Lisbon last week after a trip to the US and there have been newspaper reports here of a possible joint venture between Portugal and Angola in mining and finishing. — AP-DJ.

12/15 am 20/3/89

# ANC to shut Angolan <sup>ARGUS</sup> bases as part of peace plan

## The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The African National Congress has confirmed it is preparing to withdraw its forces from training camps in Angola, and appears to rule out military bases in an independent Namibia.

ANC officials, speaking at the end of a five-day closed conference in Norway, said the move from Angola was part of the Angola-Namibia settlement.

The meeting, attended by 88 senior officials, was the largest ANC gathering since 1986 and was called to review the situation in Southern Africa.

The ANC also issued a statement of support for Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Rumours of the imminent release of Nelson Mandela were dismissed as "a bluff".

● Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma has reiterated his movement's support for the ANC but said there would be no room in independent Namibia for ANC bases.

"An independent Namibia will not create bases for the destabilisation of any neighboring state," he said in Lisbon.

On Walvis Bay, he was categorical in his insistence that the vital enclave "continues to be an integral part of Namibia" and that Swapo would "not allow South Africa to use it to destabilise" the country.

Mr Nujoma said he was convinced Swapo would win the two-thirds majority needed to approve a constitution for an independent Namibia, but he did not rule out accords with other political forces.

Mr Nujoma flies to Amsterdam today.

Star 21/3/89

## Focus on PoW exchange

# SA, Angola hold talks in Havana

HAVANA — The fate of a South African held here for nearly a year as a prisoner-of-war could be resolved at a meeting of a joint commission from Angola, Cuba and South Africa that began in Havana yesterday, conference sources said.

The two-day meeting, to report on the monitoring of the December peace accords on Angola and Namibia, is the commission's second. The first was held in Luanda last month.

The three delegations and United States and Soviet observers, who entered their first closed-door session without talking to reporters, have no alleged treaty violations on the agenda this time.

A spokesman for the South African delegation said the agenda included the exchange of prisoners and the question of the alleged presence of Swapo guerillas south of the 16th parallel in southern Angola. He said the case of Rifleman Johan Papenfus would be discussed, but refused to give details.

### Reconstructive surgery

There was strong speculation that Rifleman Papenfus, captured last May near the Angolan-Namibian border and transferred to Havana to undergo successful reconstructive surgery on his left leg, would leave with the South African delegation.

The whereabouts of the 26-year-old soldier were not known, but diplomatic sources said he had fully recovered from his wounds.

The peace agreements, signed in New York on December 22, provide for a UN independence plan for Namibia with implementation starting on April 1.

The commission was expected to meet again in South Africa in April.

South African delegation leader Mr Neil van Heerden arrived in Havana only nine hours before the start of the meeting. — Sapa-Reuter.

# SA, Angola, Cuba start Namibia talks

*CAP 7/12/89*  
*21/3/89*  
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From SIMON BARBER

HAVANA. — South African, Angolan and Cuban delegations yesterday began two days of intensive discussions here to ensure the smooth start of the UN Namibian independence plan on April 1.

In the first of what is expected to be a series of regular three-monthly Joint Commission meetings in Havana, Dr Fidel Castro appeared to be rolling out the red carpet for the SA team headed by Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden and SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys.

The state newspaper Granma gave a different impression, however, blasting SA for delaying implementation of the UN plan and trying to rig the outcome of the constituent assembly elections set for November.

The release of prisoner-of-war Sergeant Johan Papenfus was high on SA's agenda for the talks, but there was no immediate sign of progress. Mr Van Heerden described the negotiations as "sensitive".

Sgt Papenfus was allowed out of his cell on Sunday to spend the day at a secure house with his brother, sister and SABC television crew. Cuban officials went out of their way to show he was in good health.

Also on the agenda was Unita's refusal to permit the MPLA to establish ceasefire-monitoring posts along the eastern half of the Angola-Namibia border and South African charges that Swapo still has bases below the 16th parallel in violation of last August's ceasefire agreement.

The delegations and Soviet and US teams appeared to greet each other warmly when they arrived at the international conference centre where the talks are being held.

# SA prisoner feels like a 'political pawn'

From SIMON BARBER

HAVANA. — A morose and "lonely" Sergeant Johan Papenfus yesterday admitted that he felt he was a "political pawn" and said that General Jannie Geldenhuys had given him "no direct explanation of what was going on" when the two men met here on Sunday night.

The slightly-built 26-year-old prisoner of war was presented to reporters in a drab 5m by 2,5m

room in the military police camp where he has been kept for the past eight months.

He rarely gives more than a yes or no in reply to questions.

Asked what he missed most, Sergeant Papenfus replied: "My Vaderland, Suid Afrika."

Asked about a copy of Dr Fidel Castro's collected speeches on his bookshelf — next to dog-eared copies of Rooi Rose maga-

zine he said it was not his, adding that he did not want to know anything about Cuba and its politics.

Sergeant Papenfus was allowed out of the camp on Sunday night to meet General Geldenhuys, in Havana for this week's Joint Commission meeting.

He said the general assured him "everything possible" was being done to secure his release.

"It can't be too long now."



## Unita claims attack

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebels claimed yesterday their forces killed 24 government soldiers in two separate clashes last week. In a statement monitored in Lisbon, the rebels of Unita, the Portuguese acronym for the National Union for the total Independence of Angola, said government forces had penetrated rebel defences in eastern Moxico province that borders on Zambia.

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# US studying

Moves for peace in  
9/3/89

## Mozambique

From DAVID BRAUN

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The Bush Administration is studying an African-led solution to Mozambique's civil war.

This was revealed by the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Ms Alison Rosenberg, during congressional hearings yesterday.

She was being questioned by a panel of congressmen under the chairmanship of Mr Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee on Africa.

The panel is considering the 1989 budget for American foreign aid to Africa.

The State Department is asking for \$907-million for sub-Saharan Africa, up from last year's \$819-million. Mozambique is earmarked to be the largest single recipient.

Ms Rosenberg was asked by Republican Mr Dan Burton, who has recently returned from a tour of African countries, why the State Department refused to have contact with Renamo and why it did not make itself available to help end the civil war in Mozambique.

### OTHER OPTIONS

Mr Burton said there were 800 000 refugees in Malawi from the war, and Malawi was obliged to use transport links with South Africa at an additional cost of \$100-million a year because it could not use facilities in war-torn Mozambique.

Ms Rosenberg said the US Government was interested in the possibility for peace in Mozambique.

She said President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique recognised there were other options besides the military to resolve the conflict.

"This Administration stands ready to be helpful to the Mozambique Government as it seeks options," she said. She said Renamo was a force to contend with and it would not go away overnight.

On recent reports that the US was ready to play a mediation role in the war, she said the Administration was

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# US Congress urged to continue aid to Unita

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Mr James Baker

From NEIL LURSSSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — US Secretary of State Mr James Baker has warned Congress that Unita rebels in Angola would be overwhelmed without American weapons.

The signing of the Angola/Namibia accords would never have happened had it not been for Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, who had fought courageously against the Cubans and the MPLA, he told a congressional panel considering a request for State Department funding.

"But if we didn't give him any arms, he would be overrun in short order," Mr Baker said.

"Both sides have got to move toward national reconciliation in Angola and the government of Angola should be willing to sit down with Dr Savimbi and work toward national reconciliation," Mr Baker said.

Details of America's weapons supplies to Unita, funnelled secretly through Zaire by the Central Intelligence Agency, have never been disclosed publicly.

Speculation in Washington is that the amount of weapons and ammunition has been in-

creased to make up for South Africa's agreement to stop supplying Unita

Included in the US aid package are the devastatingly effective Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and TOW anti-tank missiles.

The Congress is split on the issue, with liberal Democrats demanding an end to the weapons and a moderate/conservative faction supporting the Bush policy.

It is understood that US officials are dangling a trade carrot to the Angolans: increased trade ties in return for national reconciliation involving Unita.

CAPE TOWN 28/3/87

# 'Generous' talks

From SIMON BARBER

HAVANA. — Sergeant Johan Papenfus's freedom hung in the balance yesterday as South Africa, Angola and Cuba met for the second day of Joint Monitoring Commission talks here.

Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Neil van Heerden called the negotiations for the prisoner's release "generous and substantive" but declined to speculate on whether he would soon be freed from the military police barracks where he has been held for the past eight months.

There were indications that if a deal was not struck this week, Sergeant Papenfus's confinement could be significantly prolonged. The South African side was believed to be hoping that Angola and Cuba would drop their insistence on trading him for prisoners held by Unita.

In other developments at the talks, SA renewed its offer to let Angolan troops pass through Namibia to set up

ceasefire-monitoring posts along the eastern half of the border in territory contested by Unita. The MPLA has thus far declined the invitation.

There was, however, broad agreement that the Joint Monitoring Commission overseeing the seven-month-old ceasefire should continue in operation after the UN independence plan goes into effect in Namibia on April 1.

Mr Van Heerden said there was also "general feeling" that the UN team monitoring Cuban withdrawal should issue regular progress reports through the Security Council.

The presence of Swapo bases south of the 16 parallel in violation of the Geneva protocol remained a point of contention. The Angolans assured SA that they had used their good offices to secure Swapo's withdrawal, but Mr Van Heerden made it clear this was not satisfactory.

● More reports, page 5

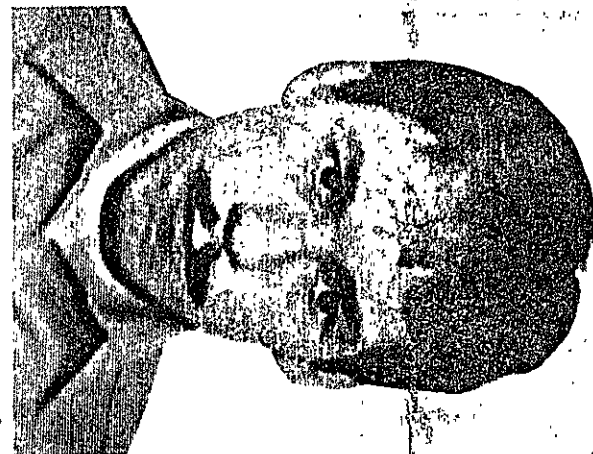


**HAVANA TALKS ...** The head of the first South African delegation to visit Cuba since the 1959 revolution, Mr Neil van Heerden (second from right), in Havana on Monday at the start of monitoring commission talks.

# BIG POW SWOP

Political Staff

**SOUTH AFRICAN prisoner-of-war Sergeant Johan Papentus is to be freed on April 1 in a major prisoner exchange.**



FREE SOON ... Pow Sergeant Johan Papentus

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. Botha, announced last night that Sergeant Papentus, who has been held in Cuba for the past nine months after being captured in Angola, will be returning to South Africa.

In a brief statement he said South Africa, Angola and Cuba had reached agreement on an exchange of prisoners on April 1.

"South African prisoner Johan Papentus is included in the exchange," Sergeant Papentus was injured in action and was sent from Angola to Cuba for specialised hospital treatment.

His eventual release follows the signing of the New York accord, cementing an end to the war between South Africa and Angola and making provision for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 bringing independence to Namibia.

The start of the implementation of

## Son of Passtoors to visit her in jail

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Belgian schoolboy Fabrice Passtoors is due to visit his mother Helene Passtoors in prison this week amid rumours that she could be released soon from a 10-year sentence for treason.

A Belgian Embassy official said yesterday that Fabrice, 17, was expected in South Africa today and would be taken to see his mother tomorrow.

Government sources and diplomats said Belgium and South Africa were close to a deal on releasing Passtoors, an ANC arms courier, in exchange for unspecified political undertakings.

Foreign Minister Mr. P. Botha declined to comment, but said: "We're talking to the Belgians. We're in touch."

Resolution 435 is April 1 — the day of the swop.

While it is known that at least two Cubans held by Unita will form part of the exchange, there is also speculation that Helene Passtoors, a Belgian citizen jailed for security offences, may also be involved, though it was impossible to confirm this last night.

counterpart, Mr. Leo Tindemans, last week and the Belgian government is due to meet today to discuss the issue.

Mr. Botha said after meeting Mr. Tindemans that he would have to report to the State Security Council, which he is understood to have done this week.

It is understood the matter was also raised at yesterday's cabinet meeting.

Today's meeting of the Belgian government will apparently discuss the latest South African proposals on the issue and if agreement can be reached, Ms Passtoors could also be freed within the foreseeable future.

The release of Sergeant Papentus followed a meeting of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission in Cuba which is being attended by Cuba, Angola and South Africa, with Russia and the United States as observers.

Before the meeting this week, the director-general of foreign affairs, Mr. Neill van Heerden, said the release of Sergeant Papentus was at the top of the South African agenda.

He said a "global exchange" was being worked on but that one of the major stumbling-blocks was disagreement over the number of Cubans being held by Unita, while Unita claimed it had only two Cuban prisoners, Cuba claimed that they had far more.

Passtoors was arrested with her husband Mr. Klaas de Jonge, who later escaped and took refuge in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, from where he was finally freed in a major prisoner swap involving South Africa, France, Angola and the Netherlands. The swap took place late in 1997.

Mr. Botha held talks with his Belgian



# Accept Savimbi peace offer, US urges MPLA

NR66/S 28/3/89

From NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States government has urged Angola's MPLA government to accept the latest peace overture from Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

A US spokesman said here yesterday that an end to the Angolan civil war was in the interests of all in Southern Africa and the Unita proposals deserved broad support.

Dr Savimbi offered to stop offensive action against government forces and installations until July 15 in order to create a proper climate for negotiations between his movement and the MPLA.

He offered to permit the re-opening of the Benguela railway — Angola's chief supply line —

for non-military shipments and to release 100 captured soldiers and seven pilots.

Finally, he said he was willing to exclude himself from negotiations for a settlement of the country's drawn-out conflict and from serving in a transitional government as Angola prepared for free elections.

## US policy coup

The US spokesman said: "We urge Luanda to respond positively to Unita's gesture and to offer peace."

An end to the civil war and the establishment of a new government with Unita's participation would be another significant foreign policy coup for the US government, following on the US-mediated Angola/Namibia accords.

It would also remove a stumbling block in President George

Bush's efforts to win support among America's traditional black leaders.

The US has promised Dr Savimbi that he will continue to receive help from Washington as long as the Soviets send weapons to the MPLA.

Washington has held out several incentives to the Angolan government — among them the possibility of increased bilateral trade, diplomatic recognition and international economic support.

## Angolan team to visit Namibia

SWA 28/3/87  
WINDHOEK — An Angolan national soccer team is due to arrive in Windhoek on Friday for a match against a Namibian side on Sunday, a spokesman for Namibia Sports Promotions said yesterday.

He said the team had the sanction of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos who was keen to establish normal relations with Namibia.

It will be the first time Angola has sent a sports team to Namibia and the first time the Angolan airline has landed in the territory, he said.

The match, to be played at the SWA Stadium, is a fund raiser to help resettle refugees. Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar and UN special representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari have been invited. — Sapa.

# Cubans say SA POW will be freed early

CAPT PAPENFUS 28/3/89

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Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICAN prisoner-of-war held in Cuba, Sergeant Johan Papenfus, will be released "later this week", a spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Responding to a report from the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina that Sgt Papenfus would be released today, the spokesman said there was "no clarity" on where or when he would be released.

It might be possible Sgt Papenfus would leave his quarters in Havana today to travel to the venue of exchange, but he could not confirm it, the spokesman said. The minister was not releasing details of where the exchange would take place, he said.

The release of Sgt Papenfus was expected as part of an exchange of prisoners between Angola, Cuba and South Africa that was agreed on at a meeting in Havana last week of a joint commission monitoring peace accords on Angola and Namibia.

The swop involved three Cubans and 13 Angolans, including the pilot of a jet fighter that crash-landed in Namibian territory.

Sgt Papenfus, 26, was captured on May 4 last year near the Angolan-Namibian border and transferred to Havana to undergo reconstructive surgery on his left leg.

He was visited last week in his cell by South African journalists who found him in good health.

Requests by foreign news agencies for access to Sgt Papenfus had previously been routinely denied.

— Political Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter



Cap. Tink 29/3/89

# Papenfus 'for 3 Cubans, 12 Angolans'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

SOUTH AFRICA'S PoW in Cuba, Sergeant Johan Papenfus, is set to be swapped for three Cubans and 12 Angolans on the Angola-Namibia border on Friday.

It is reliably understood that the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Defence, Mr Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan, will be present to witness what had been termed the "global swop" on the border.

The director-general of foreign affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said yesterday that the exchange was on track for Friday. He described the securing of the SA PoW's release at the Joint Commission meeting in Havana last week as "the high point" of the South African team's visit to Cuba.

Mr Botha and General Malan plan to include the prisoner swop as one of their stops on a two-day tour of Namibia to coincide with the beginning of Saturday's countdown to independence.

The high-profile safari — which will include visits to Oshakati and Windhoek — is designed as a morale-booster for South African personnel. General Malan and Mr Botha are expected to encourage the SA military and officials still in the territory and to stress the importance of discipline and impartiality in the critical time ahead.

**US urges positive response on Luanda**



Dr Savimbi ... has made the effort to secure peace in Angola, say Americans.

# Peace ball 5 is squarely in Angola court

Star 29/3/89

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

**WASHINGTON** — The United States government has urged Angola's MPLA government to respond positively to the latest peace overture by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

A US spokesman said here yesterday that an end to the Angolan civil war was in the interests of all in southern Africa and that the Unita proposals were a significant step in that direction which deserved broad support.

Dr Savimbi offered to restrain Unita from taking offensive action unilaterally against government forces and installations until July 15 in order to create a proper climate for negotiations between his movement and the MPLA.

He offered to permit the reopening of the Benguela railway — Angola's chief supply line — for non-military shipments, and to release 100 captured soldiers and seven pilots.

Finally, he said he was willing to exclude himself from negotiations for a settlement of the country's drawn-out conflict and from serving in

a transitional government as Angola prepared for free elections.

"We urge Luanda to respond positively to Unita's gesture and to offer peace," the US spokesman said.

## Stumbling block

An end to the civil war and the establishment of a new government with Unita's participation would be another significant foreign policy plus for the US government, following the US-mediated Angola-Namibia accords.

It would also remove a stumbling block in President George Bush's effort to win support among America's traditional black leaders, almost all of whom oppose aid to Unita and urge US recognition of the Angolan government.

The US has promised Dr Savimbi that he will continue to receive help from Washington as long as the Soviets send weapons to the MPLA.

Washington has held out several incentives to the Angolan government, among them the possibility of increased bilateral trade, diplomatic recognition and international economic support.

# Papenfus swap 'includes 15 Angolan and Cuban PoWs'

Day 29/3/84

MANDY JEAN WOODS

JOHAN Papenfus, the SA PoW in Cuba, will be turned over to SA authorities on Friday, probably at Ruacana on the Angola/Namibia border, sources said yesterday.

They said in return for Papenfus, three Cuban and 12 Angolan prisoners, including Angolan MiG fighter pilot Domingo Vinez, would be handed over to Angolan and Cuban authorities.

In terms of the Brazzaville protocol signed last December, all prisoners held by Angola, Cuba and SA would be exchanged. The fate of Angolan and/or Cuban prisoners held by Unita could not be determined yesterday.

Papenfus, of Gezina, Pretoria, was

sent to Havana for medical treatment after his capture about a year ago.

An SADF spokesman said yesterday the SADF had no comment to make on the imminent PoW swap.

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, reports Sapa, said yesterday Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan were expected to attend the PoW swap.

# Cuthmans for Cape Town

Political Staff

A DIPLOMATIC extravaganza — involving Cubans, Soviets and Angolans — is scheduled for Cape Town at the end of next month.

About 75 Cuban, Soviet, Angolan and American negotiators involved in the joint commission overseeing the peace accord between South Africa and Angola will meet their South African counterparts here on April 28. The South African government is determined to match the hospitality lavished on participants at the meeting of the commission last week in Havana.

But the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Neil van Heerden, admitted yesterday that the conference facilities in Havana could not be matched in South Africa.

## Luxury hotel

The joint commission has booked three floors of a luxury Cape Town hotel for its third meeting. The first was held in Luanda in February. Further meetings are scheduled once a month during the 27-month Namibian independence process.

Mr. Van Heerden said it was expected that about 30 Cubans, 30 Angolans, six Soviets and six Americans would attend the Cape Town meeting.

In a statement yesterday, he said one of the issues on the agenda was joint South African-Angolan monitoring posts required for the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMNC) which expires on April 1.

He said the joint commission agreed in Havana on ad hoc meetings to fill the gap left by the JMNC until a formula for its successor could be found.

At yesterday's briefing, he explained that an on-the-ground mechanism was necessary to deal with day-to-day crises that might occur.

In the statement, he said continued reference by Angola to allegations that South Africa was obstructing the setting up of three outstanding joint monitoring posts on the Namibia-Angola border, "while failing to explain what more they required South Africa to do, does not contribute to a constructive implementation of the settlement process."



SNACKING IN DISTRICT 6 . . . Two circus Indian elephants grazing freely in District Six yesterday conjured up visions of years gone by when elephants roamed the Cape. According to their keeper, Mr James Tinkulu, they are obedient and gentle if spoken to with respect. The elephants are part of the circus, which is in the city.

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# Zaire to halt aid to Unita says Kaunda

The Star's Africa News Service  
LUSAKA — Zaire has agreed to stop letting its airspace be used to supply arms to Unita, says President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

The Africa News Organisation, ANO, reported that President Kaunda said he had raised the question of military supplies reaching the Angolan rebel group across Zaire at a recent meeting with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Sekou.

President Mobutu had agreed to stop letting his country's airspace be used by the United States to aid Unita.

President Kaunda was speaking during a meeting with American representatives of the Educational Fund for Refugees in Africa. He said he could not see President Mobutu succumbing to US pressure to change.

There has been no Zairean confirmation of the move.

It has been widely reported that American planes regularly fly from Zaire to Unita-held territory with military hardware.

The Frontline states have long been trying to force Zaire to halt the aid.

President Kaunda said Zaire's decision would create enormous problems for the rebels.

"Supposing elections in Namibia go well, and South Africa stops aiding Unita, how will the United States deliver these weapons?" he asked.

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# Unita bases in Zaire to be discussed

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The presidents of Angola, Zaire and Zambia are to meet to discuss Unita bases in Zaire.

The outgoing Angolan ambassador to Zambia, Mr Luis Neto Kiambata, said that during the meeting Angola will formally ask Zaire to dismantle five bases which Unita has there.

Yesterday reports from Lusaka quoted President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia as saying that President Mobutu Sese Sekou of Zaire had agreed not to let his country's airspace be used for flights carrying arms for Unita.

President Kaunda is chairman of the frontline states and recently met President Mobutu to discuss the Angolan issue.

It has been reported that American military supplies to Unita-controlled areas in Angola are being ferried through Zaire.

Mr Kiambata yesterday also rejected Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's latest peace plans, describing them as "the work of the United States government".

Dr Savimbi proposed a ceasefire followed by the formation of a government of national unity in which he would not take part. After two years there would be general elections in Angola.

# Cape Town's conference facilities adequate for Cuban-SA meeting

Municipal Reporter

CONFERENCE facilities in Cape Town were very good, and perfectly adequate for the Cuban-Angolan-Soviet "diplomatic extravaganza" scheduled for this city at the end of next month.

This is the opinion of Mr Angus Dodds, chairman of the Western Cape branch of the Federated Hotel, Liquor and Catering Association of SA (Fedhasa), who was asked to comment on remarks this week by Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Van Heerden was reported

to have admitted that the conference facilities in Havana "could not be matched in South Africa".

Mr Robert Desmarais, Mr Van Heerden's personal assistant who has also just returned from Havana, explained that Cuba had built a special conference centre because it chaired the Non-Aligned Movement four or five years ago.

"They have a building just for international press conferences. It has lots of separate conference rooms, and a main hall with a podium facing banks of desks for journalists and six or eight

simultaneous translation booths at the back."

He was sure translation booths could be provided in Cape Town if they were needed.

Mr Dodds, who manages the Mount Nelson Hotel, said top Cape Town hotels could face some problems accommodating large conferences in peak season, but these could easily be solved in consultation with other hotels.

It is understood that three floors of the Cape Sun Hotel have been booked for the third meeting of the joint commission overseeing the peace accord

CAT T.M.F.S. 30/3/89 (5) 220 (1067)

# 'Swell' Castro dispels the ogre

## Political Staff

**BLUSTERY**, bear-hugging Cuban President Fidel Castro is not an ogre at all but is really a swell guy — at least that's the impression that South African diplomats brought back with them from their recent trip to Havana.

Dr Castro, it seems, went much further than his much-publicised remark that "Cuba is not an enemy of South Africa's" in his private talks with the South Africans during the Joint Monitoring Commission meeting in the Cuban capital.

According to South Africa's top professional diplomat, Mr Neil van Heerden, Dr Castro was "unpretentious" and "extremely well informed", as well as "charming", "gracious" and "attentive".

Talking to newsmen about latest developments in the Namibian peace settlement, the director general of Foreign Affairs said that the Cuban leader clearly had extensive contact with South Africans and even displayed a degree of understanding for the country's complicated problems.

He was also less "prescriptive" than the schoolmaster approach South Africans had previously encountered in Europe.

"He is modest in his approach, simply dressed in khaki uniform, and without pretensions," said Mr Van Heerden.

It was also clear that Dr Castro was extremely proud of his country and the fruits of his revolution which had trans-

formed Havana from a casino playground for American gangsters into a place where the locals, who had nothing, now had something to eat and schools to go to.

"He is prepared to say the revolution is far from complete and must be carried through with such things as housing," said Mr Van Heerden.

"But, there are areas about which they justifiably can be proud — such as health services."

While the "ice" has been broken and nobody expects full diplomatic links between the two countries, there are still 27 months of high-level contact to go for the Joint Commission during which the new relationship will no doubt be carefully explored.

## Murdered



# Cape Town's conference facilities adequate for Cuban-SA meeting



Mr Neil van Heerden

Municipal Reporter

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## Angola to open up oil-rich area

LUANDA — Angola was preparing to open up the remaining unexplored areas of its oil-rich seabed to foreign prospectors and developers, oil industry sources said yesterday.

They said the state oil company, Sonangol, would shortly present geological and seismic data on five unallocated offshore blocks on the southern coast.

Oil companies would be invited to this technical presentation of the

blocks, numbered nine to 13, which would take place in London in May or June.

A source said: "It's an attempt to attract interest to this southern zone."

Oil industry officials said Angola's oil production was projected to reach 500 000 barrels a day by the end of 1990. There was expected to be wide international interest in the presentation. — Sapa-Reuter.

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## Angolan govt says 2 000 surrendered

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The Angolan government says at least 2,000 Unita rebels have surrendered in response to its amnesty offer.

Mr Louis Kiambata, the outgoing Angolan ambassador to Zambia, told a press conference here: "The rebels have no choice. They simply have to respond to the clemency offered."

Gradually, he said, more and more Unita soldiers and their families were giving themselves up and renouncing their "terrorist activities".

# Superpowers make date for Namibia peace



5/6/88 AP/ew

THE United States and the Soviet Union favour a target date of September 29 for settling the problems of Angola and Namibia, a senior US official said this week.

The official said this emerged from lengthy talks between US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin during the Moscow superpower summit.

"The two sides here were able to indicate their support for establishing September 29, 1988... a target for resolving outstanding differences", said

## Question hangs over Cuban, SA co-operation

the official, who briefed reporters on condition he was not named.

The date is the 10th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 which called for independence for Namibia. South Africa has continued to rule the territory in defiance of the resolution.

Pretoria has said it would grant independence to Namibia provided

40 000 Cuban troops supporting the Angolan government against SA-backed rebels are withdrawn from Angola.

"We agreed that it would be useful to register the agreement on the target date, which is what I'm doing at the moment," the official said.

The official said there had been significant new momentum in tackling the Angola-Namibia problem

in recent months.

Last month, Crocker chaired a meeting in London of Angolan, SA, Cuban and US officials, the first time the four parties had sat down together since civil war broke out.

The meeting was followed by Angolan-SA talks in Brazzaville later in the month.

The projected deal would also involve the withdrawal of SA troops fighting alongside the rebel Unita movement.

The US official said: "There are important remaining differences... but you can conclude there is a shared US-Soviet belief that the problem should be solved."

The official said the superpowers agreed that there should be an early follow-up meeting. Other US officials said the four parties who were at the London talks were expected to meet again.

Although the Soviet Union did not take part in the talks, it supplies weapons used by the Angolans and Cubans. Crocker has met Adamishin several times in recent months to discuss the Southern Africa situation.

Officials say the main outstanding problem is a timetable for the Cuban withdrawal.

Some US officials have also said privately that there was a question mark hanging over South Africa's willingness to concede full independence to Namibia.