

ANGOLA - GENERAL

1989

# Border swap

## POW deal 'nearly wrecked'

From PETER DELMAR

**RUACANA, Namibia.** Yesterday's prisoner-of-war swap between South Africa, Cuba and Angola was almost wrecked when the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, stalled over releasing two prisoners. South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, disclosed after the successful exchange.

South African Rifleman Johan Pappanus crossed the Angolan-Namibian border a free man at 1.25pm yesterday in exchange for 15 Cuban and Angolan POWs.

But Mr. Botha told newsmen afterwards that things were "touch and go" just a few days earlier. "I think I may now reveal that on Wednesday at a certain stage, it was touch and go and this whole exchange would have been called off," Mr. Botha said at a press conference.

What happened was that two of the Cubans included in the agreement suddenly could not be passed over. Mr. P. W. Botha had personally intervened by sending a special representative to Unita leader D. Torres Savimbi, and by 2am on Thursday, the amnesty had obtained D. Savimbi's go-ahead and plans for the exchange continued.

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First to welcome Rifleman Papenfus was his six-year-old niece, Odette, who brushed aside diplomatic protocol to rush up to her uncle when he walked across the Namibian/Angolan border yesterday afternoon.

Next in line was Brigadier Chris Serfontein, Officer Commanding Sector 10, where Rifleman Papenfus was stationed when he was captured on May 4 last year.

Rifleman Papenfus, 26, shuffled past a group of 15 Cuban and Angolan PoWs released at the specially constructed Beacon 1 border post near the Ruacana Falls watched by some 120 local and foreign newsmen.

His brother Frank and sister Mariette were on hand to welcome him home, as were Mr Pik Botha and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Rifleman Papenfus limped slightly as he walked to freedom. He was flown to Cuba last year to undergo extensive reconstructive surgery after receiving a wound to his left leg.

Among the PoWs swapped was Angolan pilot Domingos Devinez, whose Mirage fighter aircraft landed accidentally in Namibian last year.

As Rifleman Papenfus moved off to an awaiting minibus with his family, reporters asked him how it felt to be home.

"Good. I am very happy," he said.

On the other side of the border, the returning Cuban and Fapla troops were given similar treatment — mobbed by Luanda-based journalists before being whisked away to an official reception and a barbecue.

Military representatives of the three countries sat at a table straddling the border while a joint statement announcing the disbanding of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission was issued.

The commission was established in terms of the Geneva Protocol in August last year to monitor cross-border acts of hostility. In terms of UN Resolution 435, members of the UN's Untag peace-keeping force will take over JMMC functions today.

Later at a press conference, Rifleman Papenfus thanked all those who worked for his release.

He is expected to be removed from the public eye over the next few weeks while undergoing military debriefing. He will also take at least two weeks' leave due to him.

## Papenfus <sup>(S)</sup> in hospital ~~for~~ for tests

### The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Johan Papenfus, the South African prisoner of war who returned home in a historic swop in Namibia, is being treated in a military hospital in Pretoria.

A family friend, Mr J Language, said he understood that Papenfus, his godson, would be in hospital for most of next week.

"His sister Marietha said he looked healthy when he returned, but I understand they are doing tests on him nevertheless."

Mr Language said the Papenfus family were overjoyed to have Johan back. He said they had been particularly worried that a last-minute hitch, when Unita refused to release two Cubans, would mean Johan would not be returned to South Africa.

### IN CUBA

Papenfus was captured in Angola last May and spent most of his 331 days in captivity in Cuba.

On Friday he was exchanged at the Ruacana border post between Namibia and Angola for 12 Angolan and three Cuban soldiers.

His sister Marietha, sister-in-law Benita and six-year-old niece Odette were there to greet him.



PW AND PoW . . . Former prisoner-of-war Rifleman Johan Papenfus is greeted by President P W Botha at Tuynhuys yesterday. Looking on is Mrs Elize Botha. *Eric Miller 22/5/89*

Picture. ERIC MILLER

# Papenfus welcomed home

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday welcomed Rifleman Johan Papenfus back to South Africa at a brief Tuynhuys ceremony attended by several cabinet ministers and senior military brass.

The former PoW appeared somewhat overawed by the occasion and could only manage a barely audible stage whisper when thanking Mr Botha for helping to secure his release when it looked as if the PoW swop last week could be called off.

Before President and Mrs Elize Botha entered the ornate reception room shortly before 1pm, a high-spirited Mr Pik Botha attempted break the ice by cracking jokes with a rather

anxious-looking Mr Papenfus and conversing with his family. He made cracks about the prickly subject of the official use of Pretoria businessman Mr Albert Vermaas' jet and even Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's controversial visit to Mauritius entered the banter.

Mr Botha thanked Mr Papenfus and his family for their patience and endurance during the lengthy process leading to his eventual release last Friday.

Mr Papenfus responded by thanking Mr Botha for writing to Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi last week when it appeared that the PoW swop might be in jeopardy.

Mr Botha replied: "It's a pleasure — otherwise you would still be there."

... 44 ... *and person told me* ... **UK singer's** ...

HOW many words of four letters or more can you make from the letters shown here? Sister of Transvaal, the

a t r e n c s v al an pt om: pr leg err ars

# Transition too fast for Swapo to handle: Crocker

CHT Times 4/4/89

IN an eve of April 1 interview (which will appear in fuller form in a forthcoming issue of Optima), the outgoing assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, had some final observations on the Namibia/Angola settlement he has spent the past eight years mediating.

Perhaps most striking was his belief that the US, having taken the lead role in "creating the realities" that led to the settlement, should now let others, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in particular, shoulder greater responsibility of seeing it properly implemented.

In an echo of Harold MacMillan's "Winds of Change", as well as of President George Bush's inaugural theme, he opined that "there is clearly, on almost every front in southern Africa, a new breeze, a new set of windows that are open, and I think the British, as probably the world's most experienced external power on this set of issues, have been the quickest to pick up on it".

He noted Mrs Thatcher's lightning visit to Windhoek at the weekend "I think she's quite prepared to make it known that the British have a contribution to make and I think she is absolutely right. In fact, in some respects, she has within her grasp more of the elements of creating things than almost anybody else.

## Opportunity

"So if the British have ideas and are prepared to play that kind of leadership role, we would be — I speak for myself here but I don't think I'd be contradicted — the first to cheer... the same would apply on South African issues themselves.

"The door is open for others. It doesn't mean there won't be issues on which we take a lead, but it means there is now plen-

ty of opportunity to go round."

In the immediate term, there was a vacuum to be filled as the new administration got its act together. "We are a large polity and a large government and it takes us a while in a transition to define what we will deal with and what we won't."

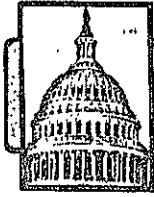
More broadly, however, Crocker appeared to acknowledge that there were serious institutional obstacles to the US driving allied policy in the region. The administration cannot, for example, say we are obligated to provide \$128 m (about R256) towards the expenses of Unifag, and presto, the money is there. Congress must have the last word, and in having it, will likely create all manner of new problems by placing conditions on the funding.

Congress has also seriously limited both the US governmental and private sector roles in Namibia's transition by applying to the territory the same sanctions as it applies to South Africa itself. This might be "folly", as Crocker called it, but it is Congress's wont to demand equally stupid concessions whenever it is asked to undo its previous stupidity.

One may conclude, therefore, that the administration will look to Thatcher to help "create new realities" — a favourite Crocker phrase — both in Namibia and the region generally that will either pull Congress after them or at least restrain it from further ill-advised action. A case in point might be her ability to exploit the "new breeze" to promote negotiation between Pretoria and the ANC.

One aspect of the settlement in which the US will remain principally involved is the question of reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA. It heads Crocker's list of "areas, which if I were staying on, I would be keeping a regular eye on".

"If the MPLA continues to dither on the issue of internal peace or to try and solve it unilaterally, it's going to create a military pressure cooker inside Angola... which is going to put a strain on the Angolan-Cuban-Soviet relationship and it's going to be more difficult for those parties to carry out their side of the bargain."... The US is ready to medi-



Washington Letter by SIMON BARBER

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Dr Chester Crocker "The Cubans would like to get out as soon as possible, that's what they've told us, I see evidence of it."

Crocker is confident that "the Cubans would like to get out as soon as possible, that's what they've told us, I see evidence of it". This leaves the Soviet Union with "some decisions that they haven't yet made... they're going to be left holding the bag because Luanda is going to be without its Cubans pretty soon. So either they're going to let history take its course and be left with that bag, or they're going to be encouraging, more directly than they already are, Luanda to reconcile with Unita."

Whatever he may privately believe about the new allegations of political killing within Unita, publicly Crocker is dismissive. He evidently feels that to lend the charges weight will only encourage those in the MPLA who do not wish to negotiate while at the same time angering Unita's congressional supporters (some of his most strident critics) into causing more problems for the regional settlement as a whole — by holding up Unifag funds, for example.

"Isn't it a rather remarkable coincidence that this is being talked about in this manner at the very moment when the last remaining excuse for Luanda not to talk to Unita has been removed... if one wanted to resist the inevitable, one might certainly profit from the allegations, though I'm not saying the MPLA invented them."

## Pretoria

On the question of Namibia itself, Crocker is concerned that neither Swapo nor any of the other parties is sufficiently prepared for "the monumental changes that are now going to be occurring".

"It's going to be incumbent on the leadership in Pretoria to do its best to make up for lost time in terms of the signals it's sending, not only to the white community but to others who may be nervous or insecure about the test of public opinion that's coming up... it's in the interest specifically of the National Party leadership to have it go right because it's their settlement."

As for Swapo, "I frankly don't think that from what I've seen up till now they ever expected things to move so fast. They have never had to face this kind of political test — how do you organise, what signals do you send, how do you re-integrate people who have been trained only for living in exile and living off the land and living by the gun?"

"What are the friends of Swapo going to do to encourage Swapo to be responsible and learn by the mistakes of others in Africa. The frontline states... have a central role. Do they send a signal of stridency and polarisation or a signal of statesmanship and economic common sense?"

ate if asked — "Sure, but there's nothing new in that. We've always said before that this was an African agenda and the African neighbours are in the best position to play a role. But we have been prepared all along to pass ideas and messages when we're asked to do that and we've already done some of that, frankly."

"Perhaps we're closer today than we ever have been to an actual process that you could call a political process. One day Unita says these are our terms in a very bold, powerful statement. A week later, you see a statement from Luanda which clearly reflects that they got the message."

## Mandate

Crocker sees the problem lying largely within the MPLA where "the atmosphere is frequently one of suspicions and factions and manoeuvring, allegations of corruption, ministerial swaps of portfolios and so on, it's going on all the time."

"But this is a particularly sensitive moment as, and we assume this is happening, President Dos Santos is seeking a mandate to negotiate with Unita... getting the consensus so the people are on board is a big operation... it may be that some people feel very directly threatened in a personal sense because of either the role they've played, the jobs they hold or the skills they have. They may feel vulnerable."

ON PARADE/Willem Steenkamp

THE world has been so busy abusing an unrepentant Mr Sam Nujoma that it would appear we have forgotten that he could not have done it all on his own.

What I mean by this is that this whole insane escapade was only made possible by the Angolans' and Cubans' flat refusal to take any notice of complaint after complaint from Pretoria that Swapo insurgents were laughing off the Geneva Protocol and massing in the shallow area just north of the border.

In terms of the protocol they were supposed to use their good offices to keep Swapo north of the Quitveve Line. In practice they did nothing but make excuses, though it was obvious a dangerous situation was being created.

So one might well ask if this was not a case of bad faith on the part of President Eduardo dos Santos and Pretoria's new good friend, Dr Fidel Castro.

In fact, one begins to wonder whether they or Mr Nujoma were really interested in resolution 435, free elections and a constituent assembly.

One recalls that as long ago as 1978 Mr Nujoma forthrightly declared Swapo was not interested "even in black majority rule. We are fighting to seize power in Namibia" — comments he has never repudiated.

Mr Nujoma might even have been inspired by the example set in 1975 by Angola's ruling MPLA regime, which neatly side-stepped a general election it could not have won by attacking both its rivals. If so, he obviously did not grasp that the general context was entirely different.

The most important question regards the effect the present fighting is going to have on the implementation of resolution 435. It is early days yet, but at least some delay would seem to be on the cards.

I say this because implementation of Namibia and that would then come to

several times that

## Angolans ignored complaints from SA



Mr Sam Nujoma

tation obviously cannot go ahead till Ovamboland has returned to its pre-April 1 condition, when for practical purposes it was at peace and Swapo's military effort had faded out. Neglect to do so will leave the population open to a large-scale intimidation campaign.

Even if there is an immediate cease-fire and return to Angola, Ovamboland would have to be thoroughly swept to make sure that it has been properly "decontaminated", since Swapo has

proved that its word cannot be trusted.

The "decontamination" would have to be carried out by the local forces, since the insurgents are reportedly breaking up into smaller groups, the winking out of which is a tedious and difficult task Untag cannot handle.

People tend to invest the Untag force with capabilities it does not have. The plain truth is that it is a heavily symbolic force which can monitor an uneasy ceasefire but lacks the structure, equipment, local knowledge and operational experience to conduct a counter-insurgency campaign.

This implies that resolution 435's rules of disengagement will have to be changed so that the local forces do the dirty work, with Untag observers attached to each unit, sub-unit or sub-sub-unit. That way the inevitable delay before the pre-April 1 condition returns will be as short as possible.

The only alternative is for the UN to pump in an equivalent force (say 20 000 men) and give it a year or so to pick up the necessary skills.

What worries me the most is the inevitable roiling up of all the old half-buried suspicions resulting from 23 years of warfare; to my mind "internal" Swapo might be best advised to do a UDI from the Nujoma clique and plunge into local politics, fighting on strictly political issues.

I have it on good authority that senior Swapo members have long advocated the abandonment of the "armed struggle", though at least 100 of them are known to have been thrown in jail on the pretext that they are spies.

PS: Why was Unavem not monitoring events in Swapo's shallow-area bases?

[Willem Steenkamp is a reservist in the Citizen Force].

LONDON. — The French paper Le Monde yesterday reported a growing chorus of foreign

# Cubans and Russians spend freely

by TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

RUSSIAN and Cuban visitors to Cape Town this week bought everything from medicine to motor spare parts.

They were journalists and delegates attending the meeting of the Joint Commission on the Namibian peace talks.

A Russian journalist turned down an offer of a trip to Crossroads because he wanted to buy a spare part for his car, kept in Luanda.

Another Russian journalist bought large quantities of heart and ulcer pills for a friend in Luanda.

## R1 000 bill

With a South African journalist acting as the go-between, a chemist in the end gave the medicine to him at cost price but his bill still came to some R1 000.

At a supermarket near the Cape Sun Hotel, where the meeting was being held, Cubans and Russians bought underwear for themselves and girl friends — "red of course", a shop assistant quipped.

Others bought "Cape Town" T-shirts.

The Angolans did not seem to have much money and mostly did window shopping.

Some of the visitors were looking for items such as coffee, and were going to supermarkets today before they set off on a bus trip around the Peninsula with lunch at Simon's Town.

This was arranged by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Some of the visitors will only leave tomorrow afternoon.

Weekend Argus political staff reports that countries which only months ago were facing each other on the battlefield stood together and toasted peace in the shadow of Table Mountain last night.

In an evening of total incongruity countries with virtually nothing in common but the desire for peace sat down around a traditional South African braai at historic Newlands House, Mr Botha's official residence.

A veritable United Nations literally and figuratively gath-

ered under the same yellow and white tent to celebrate the successful outcome of the Joint Commission.

It was a total onslaught of Cubans, Angolans, and Russians. And there was nothing Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who sat opposite Mr Ustinov, could do about it even if he wanted to.

Asked why he was not applying the Suppression of Communism Act he quipped "We are keeping them under close surveillance."

Russian and Cuban taste-buds will soon be seduced by the titillating taste of South African wines.

## Bottles of best

About 40 bottles of the Cape's best will be savoured on Russian and Cuban soil when the delegates return home.

The wines were presented to the Russian and Cuban delegations at the dinner last night.

Each delegate received a bottle of superior cabernet sauvignon and riesling and the delegation leaders, Mr Vyachislav Ustinov of Russia and Mr Carlos Aldana Escalante of Cuba, received a special bottle of 1985 cabernet in a wooden case.

American and Angolan delegates also received a presentation package containing the Paarl-grown red and white wines.

All the wines had special labels with an orange-and-blue band at the top with a sundial and the phrase *Pereunt Et Imputantur* — Latin for "the hours which have passed have not been in vain" — printed in the middle.

Mr Kobus Meiring, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said the phrase was of special significance because of the number of hours the delegations had spent on finding a peaceful solution in Namibia.

## Policeman shot dead

DURBAN. — A Westville policeman, Constable B W Gumede, has been shot dead by an unknown attacker while off duty and not in uniform. Shots fired from a car hit him in the face and chest. — Sapa.



...will enable our industry to achieve even better investment returns for our policy-owners." — Sapa.

## 150 000 CHILDREN DIE EACH YEAR BECAUSE OF CONFLICT

NEW YORK — About 150 000 children in southern Africa die each year because of the effects of conflict, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, says a report published on Tuesday under the auspices of the UN Children's Fund (Unicef). *S 5/4/89*

"By 1988, the number of Angolan and Mozambican children under the age of five whose lives were lost as a consequence of war and destabilisation totalled more people than were killed by atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki." *S 5/4/89*

The report, titled "Children on the Front Line: the impact of apartheid, destabilisation and warfare on children in southern and SA," was drafted for Unicef by eight experts on the region.

The centre-piece of this conflict is SA and apartheid, it says, quoting statistics to show "both 'coloured' and black children are between 14 and 15 times more likely than their white compatriots to die before their fifth birthdays" — Sapa-Reuter. *S 5/4/89*

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# Angola hits out at Swapo chiefs

LUANDA — Angolan President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos delivered a sharp rebuke to Swapo, saying it had failed to control its guerillas when a UN independence plan for the South African-ruled territory, UN security council Resolution 435, went into effect on April 1.

South African authorities say 200 Swapo guerillas and 23 security force members have been killed in the fighting since Saturday. Swapo says its losses are much lower.

"Angola regrets that the Swapo leadership could not exercise total control over its guerillas at the critical moment of the start of Resolution 435 by stopping anyone from crossing the

## SAPA

(Angola/Namibia) frontier," Dos Santos told the meeting.

Six Southern African frontline states on Thursday offered to reinforce United Nations peacekeeping forces in Namibia with their own troops to help end the fighting there.

The offer was made by the leaders of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Tanzania.

## Proposal

The frontline states said they and the Namibian nationalist group, Swapo, would be ready to accept a UN proposal for Swapo guerillas to be disarmed after a ceasefire and remain inside Namibia.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said each of the six frontline states was prepared to provide one battalion to boost the military force of the UN transition assistance group for Namibia (Untag).

"They would be on site to assist the United Nations and not Swapo," President Kaunda said.

He added the frontline states were sending the

proposal to UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar through UN under-secretary for political affairs, Murrack Goulding, who is in Luanda trying to arrange a ceasefire in northern Namibia.

Meanwhile, one of the bloodiest battles in the current fight between Swapo insurgents and the SWA Police and territory force took place in Owambo yesterday, SABC TV news reports.

Thirty police casualties were reported, mostly former members of Koevoet, and an unknown number of Swapo insurgents were injured.

Police used every available vehicle, working through the night to repair damaged ratels and casspirs.

The pitched battle between 200 insurgents, who had been attempting to lie low, and the casspir and ratel-borne security forces raged on for several hours, before the insurgents scattered.

An ambush on the road between Ondangua and Oshivallo was unsuccessful.

The number of Swapo guerillas who have died in action in northern

Namibia last night rose to 252, 73 up from Wednesday official figure of 179, a police spokesman, Chief-Inspector, Kierie du Rand, said last night in Windhoek.

Police expected the Swapo fatalities to continue to rise during the night, he said.

There had been 232 battles in the six days of fighting since Namibia embarked on the road to independence under United Nations supervision.

Ziana reports from Harare that Swapo said yesterday it was willing to announce a cessation of hostilities.

## JMC set to meet

AN URGENT meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission between South Africa, Angola and Cuba for the ceasefire in Namibia would take place in Namibia within the next few days, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Addressing a joint meeting of Parliament, he said the Soviet Union and the United States would participate in the meeting as observers. — Sapa.

**F**OR MOST of the eight years since it was first officially mooted by Chester Crocker in mid-1981, "linkage" has been a dirty word. Even after its embodiment in the accords on Namibian independence signed last December in New York, the United Nations still treats it as it treats most other facts and refuses to acknowledge it. As UN spokesman Francois Gmliani pointed out last week: "We have never agreed to the linkage between the UN plan and those accords."

Too bad, because had the fates of Namibia and Angola not been so tied together, Resolution 435 would now be dead and the mass graves in Ovamboland considerably more crowded than they already are.

**A**ssume, for a moment, that the UN plan could have been implemented in the absence of "linkage" (a fantastic notion in itself), and try to imagine how the plan could possibly have survived Swapo's invasion of northern Namibia in the early hours of April 1. Apart from anything else, the SADF would in all probability now be deep inside Angola.

We have a pretty good idea of how the UN would have responded from the way it did, in fact, respond. Cravenly. There is really no other way to describe the compromise suggested by an extremely harried Secretary General Javier Perez De Cuellar to his men in the field, Marti Ahtisaari in Windhoek and Marrack Gouling in Luanda.

De Cuellar's suggestion was that the Swapo intruders be rewarded for violating the ceasefire by being disarmed and permitted to stay. In other words, he was willing to grant them their principal objective of their adventure. This despite his predecessor's firm stipulation in a letter to the South African Prime Minister on March 9 1979, that "no gain after a conflict may expect to advantage which it was unable to obtain prior to it".

As currently constituted, the UN exists to give the small and inept the

# Disunited Nations must give thanks for Angola 'linkage'

17 Day 11/4/81

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

illusion that they are big and competent. In some respects, this is not a bad idea. A little bit of play-acting is often therapeutic, but only so long as the actors are not let loose in the real world where real things — like lives — are at stake.

The Monday after the incursion began, the UN Security Council met to hear the Secretary General's account of what had happened. By then, most of the members had the facts pretty straight, right down to his military commanders in Ongiva them to put every man and weapon they could lay their hands on over the border while South African forces were confined to barracks as required by the UN plan.

**M**oreover, in order to get out of the room in one piece, De Cuellar was obliged by the Council's non-aligned majority to amend the truth a bit. The current President, Soviet representative Aleksandr Belonogov, admitted that the members were not even shown Ahtisaari's original report, a damning document compiled on the spot by Kenya, Malaysian and Nigerian senior military representatives and Ahtisaari's

Brazzaville protocols and the tripartite and bilateral accords of December 22.

The issue is no longer simply Namibian independence but, to cite the standard phraseology in each of the latter agreements, peace in south-western Africa, a peace that is to be overseen not by the UN but by the joint commission established under the Brazzaville protocol. The UN could have killed 435 last week by succumbing to its institutional mendacity, but the members and observers of the joint commission did not wish it so.

While the UN backed and filled in New York in what seemed an almost conscious effort to force SA into some kind of rash unilateral action upon which blame for the crisis could then be pinned, members of the commission worked each in their own way to keep things together.

The US issued a series of strong public statements, including a detailed and unequivocal legal analysis designed to sink any attempt to let Swapo's intruders remain in Namibia.

**A**ngolan President Eduardo dos Santos preempted any effort by the OAU and his fellow Frontline states to establish a case for Swapo or mediate with the UN plan by publicly rebuking the movement for failing to exercise total control over its men.

The Soviets applied pressure to the necessary soft parts, Pretoria, secured in its position by such support, reacted with commendable restraint.

The commission then met at Mount Eijp and announced that it had agreed on arrangements for the intruders to be taken to Angola, allowing just enough time for Swapo to save face by making it own announcement first.

While the members have had their differences — certainly Angola and Cuba were remiss in ignoring Pretoria's complaints that they had failed to pull Swapo north of the 16th parallel as agreed in the Geneva protocol — the commission shares a common interest in making the settlement work.

Thanks to linkage, that interest is far bigger and more compelling than Swapo's idiocy and its apologists in the UN.

On April 3, Swapo's Theo-Ben Gurirab was still flitting in and out the delegates-only lounge adjoining the Security Council chamber as if he owned the place, the lapse of Swapo's special observer status notwithstanding.

Asked about this, Gurirab replied innocently: "We don't know why we should be the ones most faithful to the agreement."

Fortunately, none of this matters. The territory may still legally belong to the UN, but thanks to linkage the deal through which it is to become independent belongs to other, more serious, parties — SA, Angola, Cuba, the Soviet Union and the US. And while Untag may strictly speaking derive its legitimacy from the Security Council, in fact it is the servant of these five, the facilitator of what they wish to achieve.

**T**he UN, very deliberately, has been short-circuited and with it Swapo, which is why there was no need for a formal Security Council debate last week. The agreements on constitutional principles, the electoral system and the monitoring of SA and Swapo bases, the impartiality package — even Resolution 435 itself — have been subsumed by the New York principles, the Geneva and

CAPE TOWN 12/4/81  
**Unita downs govt plane** 5

LISBON. — Unita Angolan rebels yesterday said they shot down a government military plane in central Angola last weekend. It said the crew were killed when the Soviet-made Antonov-26 was shot down.

... their (Lima)?

# Talks delay handover of guerillas

By Jon Qwelane,

The Star's Africa News Service

OSHIKANGO — Complex and protracted negotiations involving South Africa, Angola and the United Nations Transition Assistance Group over the transfer of four Swapo guerillas from Namibia to Angola were still continuing late yesterday.

Two UN officials, Ms M. Kelley and Mr J Rumbubuye, from the office of UN special representative Mr Maŕtti Ahtisaari, held discussions with the SADF at Oshikango assembly point.

Two of the four guerillas are in hospital in Oshikati. They are members of a four-man group that handed itself to Untag on Wednesday evening.

The two UN officials refused to say why they were there.

## BORDER

They crossed the border on foot and met representatives of Fapla, the Angolan army, on a strip of tarred road.

Untag spokesman Mr Fred Eckhardt said one of the main difficulties which bogged down discussions on the handing over of the guerillas to Angola concerned terminology in the proposed agreement.

He said none of the Swapo men would leave Namibia until the plan for their repatriation was acceptable to all.

Before the two guerillas — involved in shoot-outs with SWA Police last week — were airlifted to hospital, the apparently weaker of the two began crying. Then he started vomiting before stretchers were hastily brought out of the UN helicopter and the two men were placed on them.

# The guerrillas keep their heads down — but 435 looks back on track

WML 14-20/4/89

By SHAUN JOHNSON, In Namibia

THE arrival of four exhausted Swapo guerrillas at the Oshikango assembly point on the "cutline" separating Namibia and Angola this week does not mean that the "Mount Etjo" ceasefire plan will work.

But there are strong signals that the complex independence package is getting back into working order after more than a week of postponements.

A UN representative in Windhoek Cedric Thornberry announced yesterday that procedural issues relating to the independence elections were once again being dealt with by the offices of the South African-appointed administrator-general and the UN special representative.

Coupled with a quick back-down by Administrator-General Louis Pienaar on his earlier proposal that assembling guerrillas be "interrogated" before being allowed to leave Namibia, the developments suggested that the Resolution 435 juggernaut, if not entirely mobile, was at least preparing to move.

Long-delayed elements of the Untag force are now arriving regularly, with the first members of a large group of the UN police contingent expected to arrive from Ireland, Denmark and Sweden today.

In remote bush camps all across northern Namibia, United Nations soldiers hourly ask each other the same question. They want to know — as does the whole of Namibia — when large numbers of Swapo guerrillas will emerge for transportation to bases above Angola's 16th Parallel.

Unless the guerrillas begin to come in, South Africa is certain to express grave dissatisfaction over Swapo's response to the tripartite proposals agreed to by Havana, Luanda and Pretoria at the weekend. Western diplomats in Windhoek say the possibility of further South African military action cannot be ruled out.

Tremendous confusion persists in Owamboland and the Kaokoveld, where the guerrillas are keeping out of sight in the face of a massive South African security force presence. Thornberry said the UN "understands very well the reluctance of (Swapo) people to approach a visible, indeed a menacing South African Defence Force presence, and we are looking into it".

Most of the nine functioning assembly points are located next to major SADF emplacements, and Swapo Information Secretary Hidipo Hamutenya has said from Luanda that his organisation regards the points as "traps".

Australian contingent leader Colonel Richard Warren was unceremoniously ordered off the SADF base adjoining Okankolo assembly point on Wednesday, after he had approached to discuss logistical questions.

And late yesterday, an Untag officer was called in to investigate an alleged contravention of the agreement



Villagers with cloths swathed over their noses bury Plan fighters killed by police in clashes in the Oshikango area, Northern Namibia. The bodies had been lying in the bush for three days. Picture: GUY TILLM, Afrapix

by South African troops.

It was reported that an SADF platoon had dug themselves in around a church and mission school at Empempe. Guerrillas are supposed to have free access to churches in order to hand themselves over.

Local church leaders sent a delegation to Untag and a captain arrived to investigate and report to his superiors.

Then there is the vexed problem of the handover of weapons, which Swapo opposes on the grounds that SADF troops are to remain fully armed. The question did not arise in the case of the Oshikango four, as they had already got rid of their rifles and changed from Plan uniforms into civilian clothes.

Two of the guerrillas are now in the care of Pakistani monitors at Oshikango — awaiting transportation to Angola — and the injured have been moved by helicopter to unnamed "UN medical facilities".

However, this only happened after an altercation between Untag and the South African forces. EPIC MILLER reports that the South Africans tried to get access to the four, but all except a doctor were blocked by Untag.

A heated discussion ensued, during which the South Africans threatened to leave. It ended with the two injured guerrillas being flown out in an Untag helicopter, but in the company of an SADF officer.

None of the four has yet been named, but some details have emerged of the circumstances leading up to their appearance. The four were involved in one of the first firefights on April 1.

One lost the use of his AK-47 during the "contact" when it was struck by police fire.

It is believed that the four heard

about the ceasefire proposals from the local population, and did not hear the UN ceasefire message or the call to return to Angola from Swapo President Sam Nujoma. It seems likely that their decision does not herald a flood of guerrillas at the assembly points.

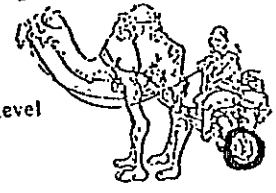
Thornberry insists that the independence plan does not stand or fall on the success of the ceasefire agreement.

Asked what would happen if all the

Swapo forces did not return to Angola, Thornberry said it was "too early to tell", but added there was "a lot of talking" going on, which was "a whole lot better than a lot of killing".

These statements can be taken to mean that short of a major disaster — for example, if unconfirmed reports of a fatal firefight on the border since the establishment of the assembly points turn out to have substance — Resolution 435 has been substantially repaired.

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## Angola involvement cost SA billions

South Africa had paid a very high price for its involvement in Angola and should have learnt a number of lessons from its experiences over the past 15 to 20 years, said Mr Roger Hulley (DP Constantia). South Africa should realise that involvement in foreign civil wars did not pay. (S) (2/21/89) 21/4/89

"We have spent billions of rands unproductively which would have been far better employed in economic development at home. Both the direct and the opportunity cost has been horrendous."

He added that there was a real chance now that the ANC could also be deflected from the armed struggle and be persuaded to take part in a great indaba or national convention. This would be possible if the West and the USSR were to act in concert. — Sapa.



# Radio used to order Swapo back to Angola

WINDHOEK — Commercial radio in northern Namibia was due to begin broadcasting tape-recorded messages by Swapo military commanders last night, telling Swapo insurgents to return to Angola from Wednesday at 6 pm.

The spokesman for the office of the Administrator-General, Mr Gerhard Roux, yesterday said transcripts of the tape-recordings had already been approved.

In terms of the Joint Commission accord, security forces in the north will be confined to base from 6 pm on Wednesday to 6 am on Saturday.

## RIGHT-WING MOVE

The instructions by commanders of Swapo's military wing, Plan, would also be conveyed from vehicles and aircraft in all the languages used by Swapo.

● Leaders of the National Party of South West Africa are to meet the Administrator-General soon to discuss their fears about the implementation of Resolution 435.

● Right-wing organisations, including the AWB and the Conservative Party, are planning a "protest" motorcade to Pretoria or Cape Town.

● A draft proclamation for voter registration for the election of a constituent assembly was published yesterday. — Sapa.

# Russians join the big indaba in Cape Town

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — This city will be invaded by Russians, Cubans, Angolans and Americans from today as delegates arrive for the third scheduled meeting of the tripartite Joint Commission (JC) which monitors the peace accords in Namibia and Angola.

This will be the first official Soviet visit to South Africa since the two countries broke off diplomatic relations in 1953.

The JC will start meeting in the Cape Sun hotel tomorrow morning and is scheduled to continue on Friday and the conclusion will depend upon progress.

Discussions will centre on the agreement reached at the JC's extraordinary meeting last Thursday that security forces in northern Namibia should withdraw to base for 60 hours from 6pm today to allow Swapo insurgents inside Namibia safe passage back to Angola.

The progress of the agreement will be carefully monitored by the JC, diplomatic sources said.

## In town for deadline

They said it was fortuitous that the deadline would expire while the delegations were still in Cape Town, which would allow them to discuss any problems which might arise.

A delegation of six Russian observers will be headed by special diplomatic envoy Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov.

Mr Ustinov has been reported as saying that he regards the JC discussions as an opportunity to outline views on various matters — including the internal situation in South Africa.

The large Cuban delegation of 28, including nine journalists, will be led by Mr Carlos Aldana.

Heading the Angolan delegation of 11 will be General Franca Ndalu.

The South African delegation will be headed by Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and will include the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and Dr Neil Barnard, chief of the National Intelligence Service.

The American observer delegation will be headed by Mr Chas Freeman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

The American and Soviet delegations are due to arrive together this morning on a commercial flight from London.

The Angolans are due to arrive at DF Malan in their own aircraft at 5pm and the Cubans at 9.30pm.

It will not be all work and no play for the diplomats. Ample time has been set aside for leisure activities and South Africa is anxious to repay the hospitality it received at the two previous scheduled meetings of the JC — especially the one in Havana.

Star 27/1/89 (5)

# US Congress divided over help for Unita

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A fierce battle has erupted in the US Congress over the issue of continued American financial and other assistance for the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

Supporters of Dr Jonas Savimbi's liberation movement are pressing the US administration and Congress for a 50 percent raise in financial aid to \$45 million (R113 million) in the coming financial year.

Last year the US transferred an estimated \$30 million (R76 million) to Unita. The money is budgeted as covert assistance as it does not come from the normal US State Department's African-aid account.

Unita itself is pushing for a big boost in aid on the basis that South Africa's assistance to the rebel group has been severed by the regional peace agreements that Pretoria signed with Luanda and Havana.

## Internal reconciliation

Angola's MPLA government, however, is hard at work trying to persuade Washington to cut back its aid to Unita if it really is serious about getting internal reconciliation in the country off the ground.

The House of Representatives and the Senate intelligence committee are this week considering the question of covert aid to Unita.

But there are powerful forces working from within Congress to isolate Unita and cut future aid to it.

One of the leading members of this group is Mr Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Foreign Rela-

tions Subcommittee on Africa, who is trying to get the full House to debate allegations of atrocities by Unita, including allegations that Dr Savimbi personally viewed the burning to death of Unita dissidents.

In recent months there has been an escalation of the propaganda campaign against Unita with major efforts being made to portray the movement as a gang of cut-throat gangsters who press-gang civilians into its armed forces and on to its farms.

Unita is meanwhile putting up a strong case for an increase in American monetary and other assistance.

High on the Unita list is a request for more and better arms, including the second generation of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, long-range artillery pieces and anti-tank weapons.

Unita also wants spare parts for trucks, seeds, agricultural tools, canned food, soap, and clothing for women and children — all of which were formerly obtained from South Africa.

The movement also needs petrol — which South Africa previously supplied — for its large fleet of vehicles and its mechanised weapons.

The US Central Intelligence Agency is reported to be considering dropping petrol, oil and lubricants in large rubber bladders from transport aircraft operating out of Zaire.

Unita is lobbying hard for an increase in aid on the basis of evidence, which it says it has, of Angolan army troop movements and concentrations that suggest a planned new attack on the rebel movement's stronghold in south-eastern Angola.

# 435: Swapo Simply broke rules

BY WILLEM STEENKAMP

ONE month after the fighting restarted in Ovamboland, the situation has become so badly clouded by the claims about who did what and to whom that I find many of my readers rather confused about what the basic issue is.

Which is simply this: That the run-up to implementation of Resolution 435 was proceeding very smoothly till Swapo — deliberately and with malice aforethought — broke the undertaking which had made it all possible by sending a flood of insurgents pouring over the border into Ovamboland.

The fact that some or all of the intruders had been misled by their supporters into believing they would face only a toothless and welcoming Untag force is neither here nor there.

The same applies to all the other side-issues. I have no doubt that some of the insurgents were gunned down when it would have been possible (at least theoretically) to take them prisoner, that in at least one case a number of bodies were left unburied, and that some civilians were shot.

Indeed, I would have been surprised had it been otherwise, given the situation. Consider the circumstances. The army was confined to its bases and peace was about to break out. Suddenly, in total violation of the agreements, herds of heavily armed insurgents poured over

the border, their aims unknown.

This being the case, it is hardly surprising that the police assumed the worst and reacted aggressively, especially when at least some of the insurgents appeared to be no whit more peaceful.

By the time it appeared as if (at least at footslogging level) the intention had been to establish a presence rather than fight, it was too late, since it is always easier to start a war than to stop it — especially when one side hastily blends into the local population.

But I say again, all these are side-issues, horrible though some of the details might be. The fact is that if Swapo's leaders had abided by the agreements none of it would have happened.

So what of the future? Well, in my opinion Resolution 435 will effectively go on "hold" for at least some weeks more while the security forces sweep Ovamboland for arms caches and insurgents who have gone to ground.

What worries me more than a delay is the loss of confidence. Hindsight now shows that Pretoria blundered at last year's Geneva talks when it did not insist that Swapo stayed north of the Qui-leva Line but settled for a promise that Angola

and Cuba would use their "good offices" to ensure this happened.

Can Swapo now be expected to abide by the Geneva agreement in the future? How trustworthy are the Angolans, who were accomplices because they refused to prevent the Swapo build-up?

In 1975 they also promised to take part in a fair and free election, then immediately reneged on

their word because they had little chance of winning it and seized power by military means with Russian and Cuban help. They regretted it later when they realised the price — perpetual vandalism — but their increasing assertiveness ended when Dr Agostinho Neto died suddenly while in Moscow and was replaced by the weaker and more amenable Eduardo dos Santos.

Even if Mr Mikhail Gorbachev keeps his hand out of this particular cookie jar, it is a fact that President Dos Santos is not a strong leader. He tends to be influenced by the various pressures bubbling in his deeply divided regime, which is why he

veers from pragmatism to hard-lining and back again.

In the end it comes back to Angola. As I have said before, it is hard to initiate a peace process in Namibia while the civil war in Angola continues.

Angola sees Swapo as

its natural ally against Unita, particularly if it is forced to let its Cuban garrison go. That was what crippled the 1985 withdrawal agreement and is hampering the implementation of Resolution 435 today. For want of that nail — peace in Angola — Resolution 435's ship may yet be lost.

● Willem Steenkamp is a reservist of the Citizen Force.

## 86 die in Angolan fighting

*April 1974 5/8/81*  
LISBON. — Eighty-six people died in fighting between government forces and Unita rebels in Angola recently, the Angolan news agency, Angop, reported yesterday.

The report said most of the deaths came in fighting in the central provinces of Huambo, Bie and Lunda Sul.

According to Angop, 37 guerillas died after government soldiers moved against rebel positions.

## Angola 'destroys' Unita base

LISBON. — Airborne Angolan army units destroyed an important rebel base in northern Angola, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported yesterday.

The Lusa report, monitored here from the northern Angolan town of Kalandula, said 200 government soldiers attacked the Unita base at Pipanema in Malange province, some 200 kilometres from the Zairean frontier.

Government forces flew to the guerilla base in 10 Soviet-built helicopters that showered the rebels with heavy fire before the army units landed, said the report.

The Pipanema base was a key Unita position in northern Angola and headquarters for 1 000 guerillas in Malange, Lusa reported.

Citing Angolan army sources, the report said 19 rebels died in the attack and some 200 were captured. — Sapa-AP

Briefing

LUANDA — By lift it takes only 30 seconds to get from the lobby of central Luanda's Banco Popular de Angola Building up to the 12th floor. It is a surprising half minute though, for it is long enough to carry the traveller out of one world and into another.

From the street level, Angola after 14 years of bitter civil war offers unretrieved images of physical devastation, administrative paralysis and bankruptcy. Nowhere among the capital's dilapidated houses, boarded-up business premises, and languishing Government offices are there signs that Angola might be headed anywhere but downhill. Certainly there is no indication that only a few flights

above these scenes of economic prostration is a nerve centre of one of the most prosperous and fastest expanding productive sectors in Africa. The 12th floor headquarters of the Cabinda Gulf Oil Company, the largest foreign oil interest in Angola, forms a nucleus of an industry that last year produced 430 000 barrels of oil a day and earned \$2 billion in exports.

The largest oil industry in sub-Saharan Africa after Nigeria's, it is growing fast. In 1987 it increased output by 27 percent, 1988 production rose again by about one-third. With low operating costs, good rela-

tions with foreign oil companies, and large productive areas now being opened up, it is a booming concern with excellent prospects. That such a productive and well-managed sector should exist in the midst of Angola's devastated economy is a paradox, but no mystery. "We are an enclave sector," admits Mr. Will Lewis, general manager of Cabinda Gulf. "Our operations are wholly independent of the rest of the economy and run on very different lines."

Although Angola's Marxist war against UNITA, it has since 1975 remained firmly attached to Western technology, investment and markets. Cabinda Gulf, whose 260 000 barrels a day output makes it the largest of more than 10 US and European oil companies operating in Angola, was one of the first to become involved. In its relationships with the

companies, Angola, a non-Opec member, has remained flexible and open to negotiation with its partners, whose profits are adjusted to actual market prices rather than artificially posted or "official" selling prices. A paradoxical consequence of this flexibility is that foreign oil companies have enjoyed consistently better relations with Marxist Angola than with capitalist Nigeria. Angola is limited in its options for oil profit investments. More than 40 percent of general American oil companies collaboration with the Angolan government directly into its war against

UNITA, and much of the remainder is used to keep stagnant sectors of its economy afloat. As a result of this, Sonangol, the newly formed state oil company, has experienced some difficulty in raising its share of investment funds. Doubts were cast on its continued ability to gain access to external credits in 1986 when the pro-UNITA Reagan administration decided not to renew US Exim Bank lines of credit. The administration had long opposed UNITA, but it can finally be reasoned that American oil companies collaboration with the Angolan government will be the oil sector's long drive back to national prosperity.

The cutting of US credits has been made up, however, by other countries promoting oil industry sales to Angola through their own export credit agencies. Sonangol is now preparing to open up five unexplored blocks in offshore areas. These developments, along with a reduction in military activity following the peace accords signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa last December, promise a bright future for the Angolan oil industry, if not for the country as a whole.

If the government's war will finally be resolved, it will be the oil sector that will fuel Angola's long drive back to national prosperity.

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Cabinda oil will be key to Angola's post-war salvation

If the Angolan government's long war with the well equipped and organised UNITA rebels led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi and supported by the US can finally be resolved, it will be the oil sector that will fuel Angola's long drive back to national prosperity, says a report in the London FINANCIAL TIMES.

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Although Angola's Marxist

If the Angolan government and organised Union reported by the US oil sector that will fuel prosperity, says a rep

MPLA government has taken disastrous economic steps in the 15 years independence, it has taken chances with the sector provides 95 percent of vital foreign exchange earnings. While it has looked to Viet Union as its largest aid donor and Cuba a source of 50 000 troops

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# ANC man kills friend, then himself

LUSAKA — An African National Congress guerilla shot dead his Zambian girlfriend with an AK47 rifle and then shot himself, police said yesterday.

Lusaka's police chief said neighbours in the capital's Mtendere suburb reported hearing the shooting on Sunday. He did not name the two people. — Sapa-AP.

# Bomb explodes in Luanda <sup>Star 9/1/64</sup> 5

LISBON — A powerful bomb exploded in the Angolan capital of Luanda yesterday, damaging the offices of several Western oil firms and injuring a Japanese businessman; the Portuguese news agency Lusa said. It said the explosion wrecked cars along the main coastal road and shattered windows of buildings nearby. Offices of the American oil firm Texaco were badly hit. — Reuter.

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## THE FARM WORKERS MOVEMENT IN NAMIBIA

REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL SERVICE

### AGRICULTURE THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN NAMIBIA

The development of agriculture in Namibia...  
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# Tough choices face African allies

LUANDA. — Hard bargaining and difficult choices face Angola and seven of its African allies and neighbours when they meet in Luanda tomorrow to seek a peace formula to end the 13-year-old Angolan civil war.

The one-day summit of heads of state of Angola, Mozambique, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Congo, Gabon and Sao Tome and Principe is the first concerted regional effort to halt the conflict between Angola's left-wing government and Unita rebels fighting for a share of power since Angolan independence in 1975.

The meeting follows historic peace accords signed by Angola, South Africa and Cuba in December that linked independence for South African-ruled Namibia in 1989 to a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola by mid-1991.

"There is a certain optimism... and we expect satisfactory results," Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem told reporters in Harare.

Western and African diplomats, while recognising the Luanda summit as an important first step towards peace in Angola, said it could

be too early to expect dramatic results.

Unita will not be represented, and Angolan President Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos is resisting pressure from the United States and its African allies to negotiate a political settlement with the rebels.

But his government introduced an amnesty for its opponents in February and diplomats said it appeared to be moving towards some kind of political accommodation that would stop short of recognising Unita or relinquishing its monopoly of power.

In an editorial yesterday the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said the aim of tomorrow's summit is to find "an African solution" to Angola's internal conflict.

It added: "It is known that the internal peace programme adopted by the Angolan government is inspired by the African model for resolving internal conflicts whose common feature is integration and never coalition with adversaries or a multi-party system."

Angola would be drawing on the experience of its African allies and neighbours. — Sapa-Reuter

### Swapo back in Angola

LUANDA — A senior UN official said yesterday Swapo forces had pulled back into Angola and been confined to camps there.

Untag's Maj John Ryan said 5,166 Swapo guerrillas paraded at the weekend at Chibemba, in southern Angola, where they were counted by UN officials.

Swapo said earlier "our fighters are all out".

Ryan spoke as officials from SA, Angola and Cuba, and Soviet and US observers, were meeting on the border to decide if all Swapo fighters had quit Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Angolan president <sup>Star 12/15/84</sup> to unveil peace plan

LUANDA — President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola is expected to outline proposals to end the country's civil war at the one-day conference of seven African leaders which begins today.

Speaking as the leaders of Zambia, Zimbabwe, Zaire, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe gathered in the capital, the President called on the US to end military support for Unita.

Delegates hope to start a process that will reconcile the MPLA government and Unita and end the 14-year civil war. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

people in the public gallery... appeared in court  
Square to spread the news. One of the murders, and an attempted murder, contrast to her all

# Cuba says 400 troops <sup>(5)</sup> leaving Angola each day

*How  
likely*

By John Ryan,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

HARARE — Cuban troops are withdrawing from Angola at the rate of nearly 400 a day — despite delays in the implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia.

A source in the Cuban Embassy here says a shuttle system has been in process for some weeks, with aircraft flying to Havana almost daily. Each aircraft carries between 350 and 400 troops.

"We are eager to get our men home," the official said.

He was unable to say how many troops had already been repatriated. That figure, he said, would have to be supplied by the

Untag monitoring forces in Luanda.

The source said most of the troops in Angola would be flown home.

In January, the Cubans surprised many people who were sceptical about their intention to comply with Resolution 435 by completing the first phase of the negotiated withdrawal process 10 weeks ahead of schedule.

Three thousand troops were repatriated during the first two weeks of that month, although the deadline for them to have left was April 1.

Cuba faces the task of sending home an estimated 50 000 troops in 30 months, with half of them scheduled to leave within 10 months.

# SA wants to post monitors inside Angola, says Pienaar

By Jon Qwelane,  
The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — South Africa has insisted on posting its own monitors inside Angola to make sure Swapo forces are withdrawn north of the 16th parallel, according to the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

He said in Grootfontein yesterday that South Africa had insisted on this right at the meeting of the Joint Military Monitoring Commission (JMMC) at Ruacana this week.

He said South Africa felt the SWA police should continue unhindered in its search for arms caches believed to be still hidden in Namibia.

Mr Pienaar's statement was the first since the JMMC meeting, consisting of South Africa, Angola and Cuba with the US and Soviet Union as observers,

adjourned on Tuesday morning. The meeting was unable to come to a conclusion and was postponed until tomorrow, when it is expected to resume at Cahama, about 180 km inside Angola.

South Africa had no guarantees that the incursions on April 1, which resulted in more than 320 Swapo deaths and close to 30 policemen killed, would not be repeated, Mr Pienaar said.

But, despite this, it was unlikely that Resolution 435 would not go ahead.

South Africa was determined to forge ahead with the implementation of Resolution 435, but several problems could arise and the impartiality of the UN Transition Assistance Group could be among the most important, he said.

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'Enemy air attacks never a threat'

# SAAF supreme in Angola — Malan

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

**WARMBATHS** — Enemy air attacks in the Angolan war had "never turned out to be a real threat to our forces", says General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence.

Addressing the SA Air Force Association's Congress in Warmbaths yesterday, he said, "At one stage rumours were spread that the Air Force had lost its supremacy in the air."

General Malan said that Cuban propagandists argued repeatedly that the peace agreement followed Cuban military successes.

## Position of strength

"Facts, however, dispute this assertion. The reality is that South Africa's military achievements actually forced the Cubans and the Angolans to start talking about the settlement plan for South West Africa/Angola.

"This is why we entered into the talks from a position of strength."

General Malan spelt out the South African involvement in south east Angola which he said began towards the middle of 1987.

He said in contrast to the "vast" combined Angolan and Cuban force which at times numbered more than 23 000 men, there were never more than 3 000 South African troops deployed.

More than 7 000 enemy forces were known to have been killed. "In the same period South Africa lost 31 brave heroes.

"We lost three tanks, four infantry combat vehicles, one fighter aircraft and one light aircraft."

Examples of the losses on the other side were 94 tanks, 14 sophisticated fighter aircraft, 108 armoured personnel carriers, 372 logistics vehicles, 48 missile systems and 8 helicopters.

"We manipulated the air situation in south east Angola to suit us best," General Malan said.

"However when the SAAF was called upon they performed in a fantastic way and achieved, as always, only success.

"The strength and capability of our Air Force should not be underestimated. To put it bluntly: we are not helpless.

"The opposite is true — with our capabilities in the sky we can hit far and hard," he said.

General Malan said that one of the spin-offs of the Namibian/Angolan peace plan was national reconciliation in Angola.



## 2 Germans held in Angola

By Jon Qwelane,

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — Fapla forces of the Angolan government have arrested two German citizens whom they found at the Ruacana falls, the office of the Namibian Administrator-General said yesterday.

The names of the two men were not released, but a spokesman for the Administrator-General said one of them was in full-time employment at the northern Namibian village of Oshakati and the other was

from Ciskei.

The spokesman said the two were found "admiring" the falls, and had apparently inadvertently crossed the border from Namibia into Angola.

He said the Angolan authorities were only doing their duty in acting against people who found themselves across the Namibian border.

"I believe negotiations are at present underway between the Angolan authorities and the German Department of Foreign Affairs," the spokesman said.

# Huge air arms to

CAPE TIMES  
22/5/89

(5)

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — The United States is boosting support for Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in Angola by a large-scale airlift of military supplies directly to the rebel army's headquarters at Jamba.

News of the US airlift is liable to cause a furious diplomatic protest from the government in Luanda.

According to senior Unita officers, the airlift has been launched to coincide with South Africa's withdrawal from bases in the Caprivi Strip.

This withdrawal will rob Dr Savimbi's forces of the bases and supply lines on which Unita has relied since 1976.

The airlift is the first sign of the Bush administration's resolve to continue the level of support for Unita enjoyed during the Reagan presidency.

A question mark has hung over US support for Unita since Washington helped Angola, Cuba and South Africa reach a regional peace plan at the Brazzaville talks late last year.

According to Dr George Valentim, Unita's minister of information, US aircraft are now making regular deliveries of war supplies to Jamba.

The airstrip at Jamba has been tarred recently to accommodate cargo aircraft as large as C-130 Hercules transports which are forced to make low-level dashes across Angolan air space, probably from Shaba province in Zaire.

## Supply dumps

The US airlift is the most direct support ever given to Dr Savimbi by the US.

General Peregrine Wambo, Unita's chief of military intelligence, said the rebel army had found it increasingly difficult to support its war-effort against the MPLA since South Africa ended its support.

With South Africa's withdrawal from Caprivi, Unita has been forced to rely on supply dumps established last year in Zaire by a huge US airlift, consisting of thousands of flights by US Air Force C-141 Starlifter aircraft.

Zaire's attendance at a summit meeting in Luanda last week is seen as a clear signal of a warming of relations with Angola. This may account for why the Americans are now by-passing Zaire and delivering supplies directly to Jamba.

A State Department spokesman in Washington refused to comment on the airlift last night, saying only that the US gave "appropriate and effective support for Unita which we co-ordinate with Congress. We do not discuss the level of aid, its nature or the means of delivery."

Our Defence Correspondent reports that local military observers are puzzled about where the US aircraft were operating from, but ruled out South Africa because of the harm this would do to President Bush's government if word leaked out.

They said it was possible that the Starlifters — huge aircraft with a very long range — were operating from Kenya or one of the West African states of Liberia, or the Ivory Coast.

# Unita

CAC- Trusts 24/5/89  
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## Airlift of refugees snagged

By KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — South African and United Nations officials traded accusations of holding up the independence programme as planners awaited government proclamations that will launch a R90m refugee repatriation effort.

Organisers insist that administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar must repeal some laws deemed discriminatory before they repatriate an estimated 40 000 exiled Namibians.

Senior Untag spokesman Mr Cedric Thornberry said on Monday that Mr Martti Ahtisaari had "put forward absolutely reasonable proposals" on a draft amnesty law, but had received no response from Mr Pienaar.

But a government spokesman said yesterday the administrator-general "has not had any direct response" from Untag on proposals sent a week ago. "As soon as those responses are received, decisions can be taken," he said.

# Money wrangle: Pik asks Cubans

Political Staff

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday that urgent inquiries were being made to the Cuban and Angolan governments following reports that Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola could be delayed because of financial considerations.

Mr Botha, who is in the Far East for talks with the Taiwanese president and foreign minister, said he had been informed of a letter written by Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos to UN secretary-general Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, in which he indicated that Cuban troop withdrawals might be delayed.

In the letter, Mr Dos Santos is reported to have asked the UN to provide R800m to pay for the cost of the withdrawals.

Mr Botha said that while South Africa would welcome the UN paying the costs, there were no provisions in any of the agreements reached to delay the withdrawals because of finan-

cial considerations. Mr Botha said he would also be approaching Mr Perez de Cuellar on the matter.

He flies to Europe today where he is expected to meet a number of high-powered foreign politicians, possibly including US Secretary of State Mr James Baker.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said in a separate statement that the agreement relating to the deployment to the north and gradual and total withdrawal of Cubans from Angola was part of a set of interlocking agreements which together formed the peace package in regard to southwestern Africa.

"These agreements do not make provision for any party to use the burden of financial considerations, which apply equally to South Africa, not to carry out the undertakings and obligations they entered into. Any delay in the implementation of one of these agreements would of course have implications for the others."

BANK Intervention: The dollar's strength demand side. Sort drinks, said kann.

# Worrall blames De Klerk for Rubicon mess

DP CO-LEADER Denis Worrall claimed last night, NP leader F W de Klerk persuaded President P W Botha to change his 1985 Rubicon speech which prompted the rand's collapse.

He added, in a blistering attack on De Klerk at a public meeting in Milnerton, the next president would be more of an economic illiterate than Botha, judging by Sunday's Network TV performance.

Heaping scorn on De Klerk's claim that government was not responsible for the rand's debased value, Worrall, SA ambassador in London at the time, said De Klerk had persuaded Botha to rewrite his Rubicon speech.

"De Klerk should tell the public what

**PETER DELMAR**  
role he played in that episode. It was he, F W De Klerk, who persuaded Botha to rewrite that speech.

"He told him the Transvaal congress (of the NP), which was to come, was more important than the Natal congress. And so the international banks closed down on us and we got Rubicon rands."

Worrall added: "Judging from his answers to the economic questions, De Klerk is more of an economic illiterate than President Botha."

"For him (De Klerk) to say that the unemployment, inflation, soaring costs and general economic misery which South Africans are experiencing is the result of

circumstances beyond the NP government's control, is both insulting and insensitive," Worrall said.

After addressing scores of political meetings in the past two months, Worrall said he could tell De Klerk that the "feeling out there is one of anger - anger at the economic mismanagement, anger at the excessive taxes, anger at rising costs and especially bitterness at the inability to find work for many millions."

Worrall threatened to make the SABC and Network news an election issue unless the corporation proved its impartiality.

"Our stand on the NP's abuse of what should be a neutral public corporation is a principled one," he said.

## Agricultural exports to boost earnings

PRETORIA — SA's foreign exchange earnings will be boosted this year by record export earnings from the best agricultural season in a decade.

SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) economist Koos du Toit said a preliminary estimate based on current trends indicated these could reach, or even exceed, R4,5bn.

"This was assuming, too, that the country's transport system could handle the five-million tons of maize available for export before the year's end."

The SAAU estimates about 25% of the estimated total value of agricultural production this year will be exported.

Total value is expected to exceed R16bn. Maize Board estimates are that exports will earn R1,5bn.

**GERALD REILLY**

The last biggest maize export surplus was in the 1981/82 season, when around five-million tons was exported, earning about R636m in foreign exchange.

Du Toit added that last season's record wool earnings of around R760m could be exceeded.

Sheep numbers were increasing and wool prices were stable.

Sugar earnings too could reach record levels, he said.

Exports from this year's record wheat crop of 3,5-million tons would amount to around one-million tons. Under current rand exchange value, this should realise between R380m and R400m, Du Toit said.

## Swapo back in Angola

LUANDA — A senior UN official said yesterday Swapo forces had pulled back into Angola and been confined to camps there.

Untag's Maj John Ryan said 5166 Swapo guerrillas paraded at the weekend at Chibemba, in southern Angola, where they were counted by UN officials.

Swapo said earlier "our fighters are all out".

Ryan spoke as officials from SA, Angola and Cuba, and Soviet and US observers, were meeting on the border to decide if all Swapo fighters had quit Namibia. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Angola unveils plan to end its civil war (5)

LUANDA — Angola yesterday announced a plan to end its civil war.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos presented the plan to Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe at a one-day summit here, saying it had two parts:

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- Firstly, to eliminate external interference in the Angolan conflict, such as US military aid to Unita; and,
  - Secondly, to create the conditions for a lasting peace inside the country, taking into account emotional and psychological factors.

He gave no details about how it would be implemented. — Sapa-Reuter.

**THE STAR'S FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE**

LISBON — Encouraged by its regional peace accord with South Africa, the Angolan Government is hoping to implement a vast reconstruction plan costing more than R1,4 billion for three southern provinces near the Namibian border.

The Angolan news agency Angop said the plan, which will rely on Western countries for massive aid, was approved in principle last week by Luanda's Council on Defence and Security.

# Huge plan to rebuild Angola

Star 23/5/59

The reconstruction programme for Southern Huila, Cunene and Namibe provinces, the scene of heavy destruction after South African incursions and Unita rebel attacks, envisages a two-pronged investment offensive to raise the money.

Backed by the UN and many Western countries, Luanda will host a donor nations' conference in September in the hope of im-

plementing the plan next January.

The programme calls for \$272 million (about R735 million) to rehabilitate the Atlantic port of Namibe, its railway line to interior Menongue and the regional highway system. Another \$240 million (about R650 million) will be sought for "bettering the standard of living, increasing production and rebuilding other infrastructures".

# 435 — more off than on

FAR be it from me to be unduly pessimistic, but from a military viewpoint the latest developments in Namibia seem to provide few guarantees that Resolution 435 is going to be implemented as planned, if it is implemented at all.

There is no doubt in my mind that the main reason why implementation has been able to get going again is the balance of forces in the region; and if this balance is unduly disturbed one can probably kiss the whole thing goodbye.

Believe me, Resolution 435's crunch period will only arrive at the end of June, when the SWA Territory Force will have been irretrievably disbanded and the SADF reduced to 1 500 men, confined to the Grootfontein and Oshivelo bases.

Funny things have happened in the past few weeks. Till last Friday the South African government was protesting vociferously about the fact that up to 300 insurgents left over from April 1 were still holed up in Ovamboland and that a large number more were still in southern Angola instead of north of the "Quiteve Line", where they were supposed to be.

Then after Friday's Ruacana meeting everything changed. Nothing more was said about the insurgents *in situ* and South Africa accepted the assurances of Angola and Untag that the others were now confined north of the Quiteve Line.

One is tempted to conclude that either Pretoria was lying in the first place or there is some hid-

den agenda to which we mere mortals are not privy.

Whichever is the case, one might also ask whether either Untag's or Angola's assurances are worth the paper they are not written on.

Untag has proved incapable so far of running anything unless the runnees allow it to do so, and the Angolans' track record is a bad one.

## Exploiting

They came to power in 1975 by force of arms after deliberately dodging an election they knew they would not win. In 1984 they solemnly undertook to keep southern Angola clear of Swapo in exchange for a South African withdrawal, then not only broke their promise but actually aided the insurgents.

Earlier this year they allowed Swapo to congregate in their "shallow area" — thus setting the stage for the April 1 incursion — by weaselling out of their responsibilities with claims they could not control insurgents and exploiting the fact that at the Geneva talks Pretoria had carelessly settled for a promise that Luanda would use its "good offices" to restrain Swapo.

Now the Angolans are whining that it is going to cost R2 billion to ship the Cubans home, that they can't afford it and that unless the UN can cough it up (highly unlikely) they might not be able to stick to the 435 time-table.

Why should it cost so much? After all, unlike the SADF, the Cubans do not have to take their

heavy weapons and equipment with them because it all belongs to the Angolans, courtesy of Moscow. In other words, it is more or less a question of loading them on to aircraft or ships and sending them on their way.

The conclusion one is tempted to reach is that the Angolans are busy preparing an alibi for a future date at which there will be many more Cubans still in Angola than there should be — enough, for example, to keep Unita at bay and also lend a bit of fraternal help south of the border in case the wrong people look like being too much of a nuisance.

Am I being cynical? Perhaps. But let us look at this from the Angolans' viewpoint. Unless Swapo dominates an independent Namibia the Angolans' southern border will be insecure (in their view) and at the same time they will be bereft of the Cubans, who have kept them in power since 1975. Seen from this angle, their Geneva undertaking begins to look remarkably like a suicide note.

The question is where this would leave us. The pessimistic view is it will leave us with twice as many Cubans in Angola as there should have been, Swapo dodging freely around Angola's ankles, Untag stumbling about in the bush, SWATF vanished forever and the SADF with 1 500 effectively-neutralized troops.

What price a "free and fair" election then?

● Willem Steenkamp is a reservist in the Citizen Force.



Professor Heyndrickx in Cape Town today.

# Deadly gas used by MPLA

W/G ARKUS  
7/15/87  
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By VIVIEN HORLER  
Weekend Argus Reporter  
A NEW form of cyanide-based nerve gas is being used against civilians and Unita in Southern Angola against which conventional Nato-developed antidotes are worse than useless — they make the victims sicker.  
A Belgian professor of toxicology, who has studied the effects of chemical warfare in the Far and Middle East, including Iran, returned from Jamba in southern Angola this week and slammed the "hypocrisy" of the West for not taking a stand against the MPLA and its use of the gas.  
Professor Aubin Heyndrickx, head of the department of toxicology at the University of Ghent, said he had personally seen 30 patients over the past three years, including children of three and seven years.  
Unita's health authorities knew of 400 people affected, but Professor Heyndrickx said there were undoubtedly many more who had died, or were suffering in remote parts of the territory.

## Cabbages

Symptoms of the gassing include permanent blindness, paralysis, incontinence and memory-loss. "You could call them cabbages — or living cadavers."

The new agent was entirely different from that he had encountered used by Iraq against Iranians in the Middle East, said Professor Heyndrickx. It had a higher residual effect in the area where it was released, and caused more severe symptoms in victims.

And the most sinister effect of all was that when the known Nato antidotes were administered to the victims, they became worse instead of better.

"This means the antidotes are more dangerous than if we did nothing at all.

"What is most satanic about this is that the developers of this gas know precisely how the West treats this type of attack and have created a gas that will combine with our antidotes to worsen the effect.

"It's a big catastrophe, with implications not just for Angola but for the West, because the West has no way of treating this effect."

Professor Heyndrickx and a team of four doctors first visited southern Angola at the request of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in 1986, after local doctors were baffled by strange symptoms being presented by patients.

## United Nations

The European doctors were soon convinced that they were looking at the victims of some type of chemical attack, and using a portable laboratory they found residues of mustard gas and a neuro-toxic agent in the victims' blood and urine.

The team sent a report to the United Nations and the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, and their findings were mentioned in the Press, "but nothing happened".

Last year the team returned to Jamba to find more cases

Turn to Page 3

## NEWS

# Victims 'living cadavers'

From Page 1

and last month they went back again.

During his last visit to Jamba last week there were reports of bombs at Bie, and new patients arrived.

"We encountered again this strange cyanide complex, which seems to react in the blood in a neuro-toxic way."

Professor Heyndrickx said it was only after Iranian victims had been seen in European hospitals that the West accepted Iraq was using chemical warfare.

"I wanted to take five patients from Jamba, including two children of three and five, and a blind boy of 15, back to Belgium with me for treatment and testing, but the Belgian authorities have refused them visas.

"I am very disappointed about this, as Belgium and the Western countries have signed all the conventions, and make all the fuss about human rights, but when it comes to taking a stand and doing something to stop people being gassed, nothing is done.

"It means Dos Santos can gas people as much as he likes, but the West won't do anything about it because it is politically inopportune.

"In Europe they don't believe us when we say people are being gassed. It took four years before the West believed that 'yellow rain' was being used in Laos and Cambodia, and it took three years before the West accepted that Iraq was using chemical warfare.

"Now in Angola it's been three years too."



CSO to market Angolan diamonds

# De Beers in \$180m-a-year diamond deal

*apt Times 11/6/89* *25* *5*

From ROBERT GENTLE

LONDON. — Diamond giant De Beers yesterday announced an historic prospecting, marketing and mining agreement with the Angolan government worth an estimated \$180m a year.

It follows a visit to Luanda in January this year by De Beers deputy chairman Nicholas Oppenheimer during which he met with MPLA president Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

A De Beers spokesman said the actual agreement of intent was formally concluded at that time between Oppenheimer and Noe Baltazar, director-general of the 100% government-owned diamond firm, Endiama.

Detailed discussions are already underway, as are the necessary technical studies, which will lead to increased diamond production and the establishment of joint ventures with De Beers on known sources of diamond-bearing Kimberlite ore.

Under the terms of the agreement, Endiama expects to commence marketing a significant proportion of Angolan diamond production through De Beers' Central Selling Organization (CSO) as early as 1990.

Thereafter, the CSO will in principle handle all of Angola's production through an exclusive marketing agreement.

De Beers and Endiama also intend

to erect a new building in Luanda which will handle the sorting of the diamonds prior to their sale to the CSO.

Angola currently produces about 1m carats a year, 90% of which are of gemstone quality. At market prices of around \$180 a carat, the trade is worth \$180m a year.

Production was seriously disrupted in 1986 at the height of Unita activity in the area when production plummeted to a mere 200 000 carats. In 1980, the figure was about 1.5m carats.

The agreement with De Beers had been predicted by diamond experts years ago, if only because Angola's traditional alluvial deposits were already drying up.

Moreover, hundreds of millions of dollars of investment was needed to develop the Kimberlite ore bodies.

The Financial Times wrote in 1986: "The long-term future of the diamond mining industry hinges on a resumption of prospecting, which has been at a virtual standstill since independence, and on investment in Kimberlite mining."

The paper concluded: "The fate of the industry now hangs on the government reaching a satisfactory arrangement with foreign partners. If this continues to prove elusive, the industry risks complete collapse."

CSO to handle diamond sales

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# De Beers in multi-million Angola deal

LONDON — A prospecting, marketing and mining agreement, worth \$180m annually, had been signed with the Angolan government, De Beers said yesterday.

The agreement came after a visit to Luanda in January by De Beers deputy chairman Nicholas Oppenheimer during which he met President José Eduardo dos Santos.

A De Beers spokesman said the agreement of intent was formally concluded then between Oppenheimer and Noe Baltazar, director-general of the 100% government-owned diamond firm, Endiama.

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ROBERT GENTLE

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"The fate of the industry now hangs on the government reaching a satisfactory arrangement with foreign partners. If this continues to prove elusive, the industry risks complete collapse."

The Angolan deal is by far the most dramatic of the major investment projects foreshadowed in De Beers' 1988 annual report, which showed the company was sitting on a cash mountain of R3,41bn at December 31.

Chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson said at the time about R800m would be invested in the Venetia mine near Alldays in the northern Transvaal where, in a 20-year period, 3.3-million tons of ore would be treated annually, yielding more than four-million carats of medium-quality diamonds.

He also said Namibian subsidiary GDM was opening two mines: an alluvial deposit at Auchas on the north bank of the Orange River, which would be brought into operation next year at a cost of R90m with an anticipated yield of 45 000 carats of large gems a year; and the opening of the Elizabeth Bay mine south of Luderitz in 1991 yielding 250 000 carats a year of smaller gems.

# China hails student massacre as 'victory'

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BEIJING — There are, sadly, a number of governments in the world which might mow down hundreds or thousands of unarmed civilians in order to end an exceptional outbreak of civil unrest.

But there can be few which would, as China did this weekend through its official army newspaper and state radio, go on to publicise the massacre as a great victory.

The worst of this "victory" took place in the centre of Beijing at Tiananmen Square, below the windows of the Great Hall of the People, which is connected by underground tunnels to the walled compound of Zhongnanhai, where the Communist Party leaders have their grace-and-favour houses.

At least some of these ancient grandees must have been there to watch the product of their own order: that the People's Army should be turned upon the people. Perhaps some of them may now be considering that China cannot afford many more such victories.

## Shifting power

The man primarily responsible for the massacre, Mr Deng Xiaoping, remains, at 84, the most powerful single figure in a shifting power structure at the top of the Communist Party, and was regarded until this crisis as China's greatest statesman this century.

A veteran soldier of the Long March and an early ally of Mao Tsetung, he survived the chaos and purging of the cultural revolution to emerge in 1978 after Mao's death, and the fall of the Gang of Four, as the one figure capable of commanding broad enough respect to begin the job of rebuilding the country.

He put more food in the shops, threw the door open to foreign investors, and charmed the world with public relations coups.

It suited Westerners to think of Mr Deng as a liberal, even though he was not. He is a soldier by trade, and an authoritarian communist by conviction. In 1979 he ended a series of free-speech protests at Democracy Wall in Beijing by ordering arrests and

The Beijing massacre was ordered to end a threat to the state — which the students never intended. **ROBERT COTTRELL** reports.

trials culminating in 15 years' jail for leading dissidents.

In 1983 he ordered an anti-crime campaign which resulted in the summary trial and execution of up to 20 000 criminals.

In 1985, the US State Department's Human Rights Report on China estimated that the labour camp population could be as high as 10 million people.

Most of all, Mr Deng is anything but a liberal where the power of the Communist Party is concerned. He believes that it should remain the sole source of political authority in China and that reforms are valuable only insofar as they improve the efficiency of the government and contribute to popular confidence in its strength and wisdom.

He saw the party at its worst during the cultural revolution, as a force for anarchy and division at the whim of madmen and cliques.

The lesson he drew from this was not that the party's monopoly of power was necessarily dangerous, but something close to the reverse: that its power needed to be underpinned by discipline so that it could never again drag the country down into chaos.

The most charitable view of this weekend's massacre would be to attribute it to a paranoid but sincerely held belief by Mr Deng that shooting students was the only sure way of forestalling a collapse of the government's credibility — thus triggering fresh outbreaks of civil unrest and ultimately risking a total breakdown of order.

In fact, however, it was not anarchy which worried him, but another prospect: in the two weeks before the massacre, China's official institutions of power fell into abeyance.

Their apex should have been the standing committee of the Politburo, a five-member group headed by Mr Zhao Ziyang, the liberal-leaning party boss who now faces disgrace and possible trial for sympathising with the students.

The standing committee itself was initially divided over how to quell the demonstrations. And as the crisis mounted, its members lacked the personal authority to resist assertions of power by the older men of Mr Deng's generation.

By defacing Mao Tsetung's portrait, facing over Tiananmen Square from the spot at which he had proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, and erecting a plaster-of-paris Statue of Liberty, the students hastened their fate.

They were not demonstrating for the overthrow of the Communist Party. They wanted a government which was cleaner, fairer and more open. But because they were challenging leaders who believe they are alone the republic, the distinction was lost.

The students were suppressed for a treason they did not intend.

Mr Deng rested heavily for support on Mr Yang Shangkun, the State President and former army commander who survived disgrace under Mao.

At a meeting of generals held while troops rested in the suburbs of Beijing, President Yang spelt out the old men's view. "If we fall from power, the Chinese People's Republic will collapse. Then there will be a restoration of capitalism."

Tiananmen and its adjoining buildings have become a politically sacred place. It was here that, in 1919, an earlier generation of Chinese students gathered on 4 May.

They were protesting against the transfer of colonies on their soil from Germany to Japan. The demonstration touched off a nationwide wave of strikes and boycotts, and more than 1 000 Beijing students were jailed, as Nationalist and Republican feeling ran high. — The Independent News Service.

# The night Beijing wept tears of blood

The People's Army has brought terror to the streets of Beijing. **MICHAEL FATHERS**, Asia Editor of *The Independent*, who was beaten up by frenzied troops, reports on how China's leaders broke faith with their people.

**BEIJING** — It will go down in the annals of China's Communist Party as The Glorious Fourth of June when the army that was founded for the people turned on the unarmed citizens of Beijing to destroy a peaceful student-led democracy movement.

The killing around Tiananmen Square started soon after midnight. It was a different army from the unarmed one which had tried to enter the square on Friday night and failed. This one was told to kill, and the soldiers with their AK-47 automatic rifles and the armoured personnel carriers with their machine guns opened fire indiscriminately, in the air, directly at the huge crowds, at small groups, everywhere.

Everyone expected the army. But no one expected such ferocity, such armour, such numbers. There were more than 100 000 soldiers.

My colleague, Andrew Higgins, was behind at Qianmen Gate, the front entrance to the square. He said the troops surged past the Roast Duck restaurant and were met with a hail of bricks and stones before they opened fire.

To the north, more gunfire could be heard. I moved up a side street heading for the Avenue of Eternal Peace, where tanks had broken through a barrier of burning buses. It was 1.30 am and the start of a huge troop advance to the square. About 50 Chinese and I hid in a tiny lane and watched them. Other people were on the roofs of the houses.

## Gunfire and explosions

Having successfully walked past the soldiers as they moved to the square in the south, I decided to leave the lane and follow this other army to Tiananmen, about half a mile away.

The Avenue of Eternal Peace was deserted. Cracks of gunfire mingled with explosions from two burning buses behind me, military lorry and two jeeps ahead of me.

Further towards the square, on the northern side of the avenue was New China Gate. I looked behind as I walked along the pavement on the opposite side. A squad of army goons, waving pistols, electric cattle prods and batons were running towards me.

They jumped me, screamed at me, pointed a pistol at my head, beat me about the legs with their batons and dragged me across to New China Gate.

Several soldiers broke ranks and ran to me, punching me, kicking me with karate leaps in the back, thighs and chest. There was pure hatred in their eyes. They pushed me down into a kneeling position and had another go at me, whacking me across the back with their rods and kicking until I fell over. They pilled off my spectacles and crushed them into the ground.

They screamed at me. Their first thought was that I was an American. One man who spoke some English realised I wasn't.

## Frenzied brutality

They put two guards beside me. If this is the People's Army, God spare China. They behaved like the Red Guard, with a systematic and frenzied brutality. They were the very institution that was once called out to protect China from the Red Guard excesses. Now they are killing civilians.

The smooth face of the Chinese Communist establishment appeared two hours later, dressed in cream flannels and a pastel T-shirt, the very image of "moderation" that the Foreign Office has come to believe is the few China and whom it can trust over Hong Kong.

"You have committed an unfriendly act," he said. I thought that was a bit much.

"You fell over, didn't you? That's why you have that bruise on your arm."

I also had boot marks and bloodstains on my shirt from a baton blow. My right knee was swollen, my hips were aching, my trousers were ripped.

He confiscated my notebook and gave me a receipt and a written pass to get beyond the army lines into side street.

Andrew Higgins was by now crawling in the mud in front of the vermilion-painted grandstands beside Mao's portrait at the Gate of Heavenly Peace, as bullets whizzed over his head.

At first, he said, there was some panic among the young soldiers when they saw the huge crowd. But they were ordered to open fire. An APC was set alight by a youth who climbed on to it when it stopped. The crew were pulled out and beaten, but students intervened and rescued them.

The army had nabbed me at 2 am. By 4 am when they let me go, the gunfire could still be heard from the square.

At one stage some students came from side streets, shouting "go home, go home" to stalled lorries outside the leadership compound. They were scattered by militia men with clubs like axe-handles, which cracked a few skulls. It was probably the one occasion during the night when they did not use guns.

Along the tree-lined streets beside the Forbidden City, groups of people were talking softly, scared but curious. They treated me as a bit of a hero when they saw my bruises and carried me on the backs of their bicycles for about a mile to the rear entrance of the Beijing Hotel, on the other end of the square.

Soon after I arrived, about 10 tanks and 20 APCs rumbled past the hotel. About half an hour later some of the armour returned again from the square, and in a continuing moving circle, they opened fire all around. Two buses were smouldering outside the hotel. It was a battlefield. It was a lesson in brute power.

I blubbered when I got back to my hotel near midday. I couldn't stop. Perhaps it was shock, or maybe it was because of the carnage. I was weeping for the people of Beijing. I cannot see how they are ever likely to trust their leaders again. — The Independent News Service.

## Briefing

Since Sunday, when the Beijing bloodshed began, cities across China have been paralysed by protest. News agencies provide only fragmentary reports, but the evidence of widespread, if unorganised, unrest is overwhelming.

In Shanghai and Changsha, students have lain down en masse on railway lines; in Wuhan and Canton, vital bridges have been choked with protesters; in Nanking and Shenyang, mock funerals have been held for the Beijing dead, and everywhere the word 'strike' rings in the air.

An ominous warning from the city authorities in Shanghai prompted alarm that there, too, martial law would be imposed.

In Wuhan, military helicopters and jets overflowed the city centre and some reports said two students had already been shot. Nanking, too, was reported tense, with residents saying troops had been stationed on the city outskirts.

The feeling here has completely changed since

# Nationwide protest paralyses cities

the killing in Beijing," said a resident. "People are scared."

In Shanghai, the country's biggest city with 12 million inhabitants, the municipal authorities issued a notice to Western missions that it would soon act to end the disruption caused by news of the Beijing violence, a diplomat reported.

This came as the city was brought to a halt. Bus drivers answered a strike call as students threw barricades across the roads both around the universities and in the city centre and others sat down on railway lines.

There were scattered demonstrations and mock funerals, and food queues built up at shops starved of supplies.

"It's pretty chaotic," said one foreign resident.

Spontaneous protest is rising throughout China. Across the country the word "strike" rings in the air — and fear prevails. **BRIAN CATHCART** reports.

A Western diplomat based in Shanghai said workers all over eastern China were deliberately blocking traffic to prevent people getting to work.

"Declaring a general strike is an actionable offence, but if people simply can't get to work because the traffic is all blocked up, that's a different story," he said.

"There's plenty of organisation behind this. The traffic blocks follow the same pattern in Hefei, Hangzhou, all over."

The Star Tuesday June 6 1989

11

Students had been gathering there daily in recent weeks, trying to board Beijing-bound trains and being prevented by the security forces. In Canton, where news comes over the border from Hong Kong, a student leader said students and workers were filling the streets and blocking the city's five main bridges.

"The whole of Canton is at a standstill. People have refused to work or attend classes," he said.

In Nanking, where 100,000 demonstrated on Sunday night, students were out again yesterday, marching from factory to factory, urging workers to join a strike already supported by teachers.

Drivers, perhaps fearing action by the army, were refusing to transport goods beyond the suburbs while traffic inside the city was halted by a mock funeral procession, complete with people sporting fake bullet wounds and riding screaming in carts.

In Xian, a student leader said 10,000 students and workers had taken to the streets and were blocking all traffic. — The Independent News Service.

In Wuhan, central China, the pattern held good.

"Several thousand people, students and residents, sat on the tracks and stopped trains for hours," said a Western resident. "When unarmed troops came near, people spat on them and forced them back."

Arriving by the lorryload, people in black arm-bands blocked traffic on the city's bridge, one of the vital crossings over the Yangtze river.

Buses were plastered with tributes to Beijing's "martyrs for democracy" and wreaths and wall posters appeared overnight in various parts of the city.

One foreign teacher in Wuhan reported that loud-speakers in the universities had announced that two students were shot by security forces at the railway station on Sunday night.

# Hundreds flee from Angola into Namibia

By Brendan Seery, The Star's Africa News Service

Windhoek — Hundreds more Angolan refugees have fled across the border into northern Namibia, bringing to 1 500 the number who have run away from renewed fighting in southern Angola between Unita rebels and Angolan government troops.

The refugees began arriving on Friday, crossing into Namibia about 25 km east of the Oshikango border post.

Information about the scale of the fighting is scarce, although a Windhoek Sunday newspaper quoted some of the Angolans as saying they had fled their homes after brutalities carried out by joint Angolan Fapla and Swapo groups. The newspaper *Republikein* quoted some of the Angolan refugees as saying that Swapo insurgents were still operating with Fapla units, and were still crossing the border daily.

Angolans reportedly told the paper that marauding Fapla and Swapo bands had burnt down huts, stolen grain harvests and rustled cattle and other livestock. There were also some alleged cases of abduction of civilians.

The Administration for Owambos in northern Namibia has been providing food and medical services.

Authorities in Namibia have reported the arrivals to the representatives of the UN's High Commissioner for Refugees in Windhoek, expressing the hope that the world body will declare the people as international refugees and assist in providing medical and food aid.

## 10 000 Cubans have left Angola

LISBON — About 1 200 Cuban soldiers left Angola yesterday, bringing the total number of Cubans repatriated from the southern African country to more than 10 000, Portuguese media reported.

The Cubans were to leave the Angolan capital Luanda by ship in the second largest single withdrawal since Angola, Cuba and South Africa signed regional peace accords last December.

According to Lisbon independent radio station TSF, the Cubans filed through the capital in a military parade and received military honours.

TSF quoted Cuban officials as saying jobs were guaranteed for all soldiers on return to Havana.

— Associated Press.

Star  
14/6/69

# Unita leader off to New York as dramatic peace bid begins

# SAVIMBI STOOD



S/TTW 18/6/89  
Jonas Savimbi ... his temporary exile is regarded as a coup for SA

## Jackie's day to treasure



## FWW to meet

## Bush next

## month

Sunday Times Reporters  
The President-to-be, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, is due to meet US President George Bush in the third week of July.  
Confirmation of the US invitation comes on the eve of Mr. De Klerk's departure on a 10-day foreign tour during which he will meet four heads of government.  
The decision to invite Mr. De Klerk to the US follows a vigorous debate within the State Department, pitting Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen against Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Kimmitt.  
Mr. Kimmitt, one of Secretary of State James Baker's political

## JONAS SAVIMBI is to go into exile — paving the way for a dramatic breakthrough to end the Angolan civil war.

By KEN POTTINGER, Lisbon

While the charismatic guerrilla leader prepares to quit his bush fortress and move to New York, it has been disclosed that historic peace talks between members of his Unita movement and the MPLA government will be held this week. It will be the first time the two bitter foes have met officially at the negotiating table in 14 years of furious conflict.

Dr. Savimbi has accepted "in principle" that he should make a back seat in the talks aimed at restoring peace and arranging elections, a Unita spokesman said yesterday in Lisbon. The bearded bush warrior would return later to fight for political power at the ballot box.

This week's preliminary MPLA-Unita meeting is the culmination of intense international diplomatic efforts to bring the two sides together in the wake of the settlement in neighbouring Namibia and the departure of Cuban troops from Angola.

Previous attempts were thwarted by Dr. Savimbi's refusal to budge from Jamba, his stronghold in southern Angola. Diplomats in Lisbon say his agreement to go into temporary exile, enabling the peace process to begin, is a coup for South Africa, which has been credited with having persuaded him to get temporarily out of the way.

### Hailed

Two groups, sponsored by Unita and MPLA officials, will meet in the Zairean capital, Kinshasa, for discussions mediated by Ivory Coast Premier Felix Houphouët-Boigny.

The MPLA government's official newspaper, *Journal de Angola*, announced the talks but did not specify what day they would begin. But it hailed the meeting as the first time the two rivals had come together officially.  
The Kinshasa summit will draw up a

## Hooligans terrorise tourists

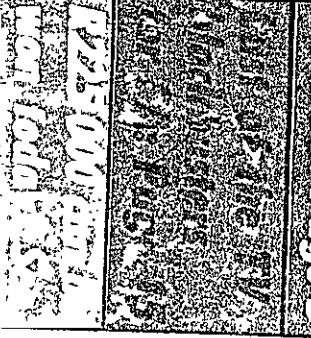
By SIMON ANDREW 344  
RACIAL tension flared in Ruitshenburg last night when white rightwingers vandalised eight cars belonging to black guests at a local hotel. The words "Wild Wolf" were scratched into the paintwork of one car.

The vandalism occurred two days after AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche declared his intention to stand for Parliament in the Bushveld town.

The tourists were from Lesotho.  
"We had just arrived and were standing in the foyer of the Fashone Hotel when three men began manhandling us in Afrikaans," said one visitor, Mr. Sikkender Baidar.

"They then went outside and vandalised all each of our vehicles. After scratching the words 'Wild Wolf' into the paintwork of a Mercedes, they kicked the number plates off all the other cars and just scratched them. I can't imagine what these people have against us

## TANGLED LOVE LIFE OF SHOT ROMEO: Page 5





## JONAS SAVIMBI is to go into exile leaving the way for a dramatic breakthrough to end the Angolan civil war.

While the charismatic guerrilla leader prepares to quit his bush fortress and move to New York, it has been disclosed that historic peace talks between members of his Unita movement and the MPLA government will be held this week.

It will be the first time the two bitter foes have met officially at the negotiating table in 14 years of ruinous conflict.

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The Kinshasa summit will draw up a timetable of further meetings to decide on the establishment of a "contact group".

Some sources are even predicting a "government of unity", including Unita, by the end of July.

The latest developments were described by diplomats in Lisbon yesterday as "more promising than at any other time in recent years".

Portuguese Foreign Ministry sources, who are being kept fully briefed by Luanda emissaries, said: "The underlying situation has changed fundamentally."

Zairean leader Mobutu Sese Seko, long sympathetic to Jonas Savimbi's cause, is said to have been the main architect of the talks.

He has made at least two visits to Angola recently to measure progress on the issue. Other diplomatic efforts involving SA, Gabon and Ivory Coast have been continuing behind the scenes.

Sources say Angolan leader José Eduardo dos Santos has been convinced that he will have to negotiate directly with Unita if peace is ever to be achieved.

### Unity

Unita's spokesman in Lisbon, Alcides Sakhala, said yesterday that Dr Savimbi had accepted the principle of his move to New York while procedures for the country's first national general election are worked out.

He said Unita had proposed setting up a "national unity" or transitional government charged with preparing general elections.

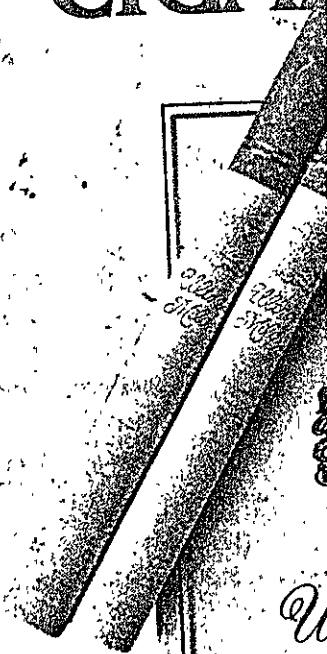
"This could take up to two years. During this time Dr Savimbi has agreed to take a back seat. He would then be our candidate in a free, nationwide election," said Mr Sakhala.

Meanwhile, Unita has extended its unilateral ceasefire until July 24. Rebel sources here say they expect that by then details will have been worked out for the establishment of a new government.

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LIFE OF SHO  
ROMEO: Pag**

**R225 000 ca  
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Business**

**MOVE  
EVEN IN  
CIGARETTES**



**BENSON & HEDGES**

2 Cape Times, Monday, June 19, 1988

# Leaders to meet on Angola

KINSHASA. — About 10 African leaders are expected to meet in Zaire on June 22 to discuss ways of ending Angola's 14-year-old civil war, diplomatic sources said yesterday.

And according to Lisbon reports, the Angolan government and Unita are also to meet this week to open talks to end the country's 14-year-old civil war.

This follows the decision by Unita president Dr. Jonas Savimbi to stay out of a 10-man commission that will be involved in the talks, a rebel spokesman said, but he rejected news re-

ports that Dr. Savimbi had accepted exile.

Leaders from Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome e Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe met last month in Luanda to discuss Angola's "internal problems".

The summit, which supported Angolan president Mr. Jose Eduardo dos Santos' proposal for a peace plan excluding Dr. Savimbi, has been followed by a whirlwind of diplomatic activity and exchanges of messages between states.

Unita spokesman in Lisbon Mr. Alcides Sakala was quoted by the news

weekly Tempo as saying preliminary talks could result in a transitional Angolan government as early as July and that Dr. Savimbi had "agreed to withdraw to New York for some time".

But in Washington, a Unita spokesman said Mr. Sakala had been misquoted and that "it was just a rumor that Dr. Savimbi would accept exile".

Reports in Lisbon at the weekend said Dr. Savimbi's agreement to take a back seat will facilitate the start of negotiations to end the conflict. Luanda has consistently refused to talk to Dr. Savimbi, leader of Unita since its inception.

The well-informed left-wing Lisbon newspaper Europeu said the talks will be held under the auspices of Ivory Coast president Mr. Felix Houphouet-Boigny, one of the architects of the deal. The warring sides have been brought together after intense diplomatic efforts by frontline leaders.

Zairean leader Mr. Mobutu Sese Seko, long sympathetic to Dr. Savimbi's cause, has persuaded Mr. Dos Santos to convene an eight-nation summit of regional African leaders to set a date and conditions for negotiations between Unita and the MPLA, according to reports reaching Lisbon. Daily Telegraph and Sapa-AP-Reuters

DAY, Monday, June 19 1989

(5) (4) 3

## African heads to meet on Angola

8/10 day 19/6/89

LISBON — At least 10 African leaders will meet in Zaire this week to discuss ways to end the 14-year war in Angola.

Right-wing rebels are likely to be involved, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said from Luanda at the weekend.

It was not clear whether a Unita representative would attend the conference, or be in Kinshasa for private, parallel meetings.

Lusa noted that a recent article in the official daily Jornal de Angola appeared to pave the way for peace talks, previously rejected by marxist authorities in Luanda.

"Objective conditions are being created to enable Angolans to discuss their differences with a view to the consolidation of national unity," the newspaper said, according to Lusa.

No date was given for the meeting. Lisbon's Unita spokesman was not available for comment.

Lusa said the countries likely to attend included Angola, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau. A similar summit was held last month.

Last year Angola, Cuba and SA signed peace settlements providing for Namibian independence and the staged withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola. — Sapa-Reuter.

(S) (4) 3

Star 20/6/89 (5)

# Get MPLA and Unita to talk, says MP

By Sue Leeman,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Tory MP Mrs Marian Roe, who has just spent five days at Jamba, Unita's capital in Angola, as guest of the movement, says she believes the climate is now right to bring the MPLA and the rebels together at the negotiating table.

Mrs Roe and fellow Tory MP Dr Charles Goodson-Wickes, who accompanied her, have asked for a meeting with Minister of State in the Foreign Office Ms Lynda Chalker to press the point.

## INFLUENCE

Mrs Roe said yesterday that she and Dr Goodson-Wickes believed the British government should "use its influence and good relationship with Commonwealth friends who are neighbours of Angola, to see if there is a chance for Unita and the MPLA to negotiate".

She said the departure of the South Africans, and scheduled withdrawal of Cubans, had helped create the right conditions.

Mrs Roe said she had asked Unita about reports that talks could only really get under way once leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had gone into exile.

"Although I didn't meet Dr Savimbi — he arrived as we left — I was told there was no question of Savimbi leaving the country until after negotiations.

"He may well stand in the background, but I don't think he will leave."

Mrs Roe said the two MPs were based in Jamba, but did some travelling.

The facilities offered them had been basic: they were put up in mud huts, but Mrs Roe said they had been comfortable.

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# 11 states to talk in Zaire on Angola peace plan

*Star 20/6/89*  
KINSHASA — Eleven southern African heads of state will meet at Gbadolite in Zaire on Thursday to discuss a political settlement in Angola.

Government sources revealed this yesterday, and said they did not rule out participation in the meeting by rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita.

The summit could pave the way for an end to Angola's 14-year civil war through negotiations between the Marxist government in Luanda and the Unita rebel movement.

The talks are expected to be mediated by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

Gbadolite is the hometown of President Mobutu Sese Seko, who has covertly supported Unita.

Besides President Mobutu, other leaders expected are those from Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zambia, Tanzania, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Mali.

The Unita spokesman in Lisbon, Mr Alcides Sakala, has been quoted as saying the preliminary talks could lead to a transitional government as early as July. He added that Dr Savimbi had "agreed to withdraw to New York for some time". — Sapa-AP.

# Angola rejects <sup>5</sup> *CPL-TRIB 2/6/89* talks with Unita

LUSAKA. — The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem, said on Monday that there would be no direct negotiations between his government and the rebel Unita movement.

He said here that the ruling MPLA remained committed to the existing one-party system in the country.

Mr Van-Dunem was reacting to a radio broadcast by Unita which said it was sending a delegation to Zaire with instructions from Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to hold direct talks with the MPLA.

"There will be no direct negotiations," the minister said.

But he indicated the two sides had already had contact through intermediaries and did not rule out the possibility of some kind of informal meeting.

He confirmed that efforts were under way to arrange a summit in Zaire tomorrow of at least eight African heads of state to discuss ways of ending the 13-year-old civil war between the MPLA government and Unita.

Mr Van-Dunem said the government was offering an amnesty to political opponents — including Unita members — under which they are to be re-integrated into normal life, including politics.

He said this strategy formed the basis of a peace plan put forward by the Angolan government which was being discussed with its allies. — Sapa-Reuter

Star 21/6/84

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# Chissano meets Angola at top level

The Star's Africa  
News Service

MAPUTO — President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique held a 70-minute discussion on Monday with a top-level Angolan official as 12 heads of state prepare to meet in Zaire to discuss peace plans for Angola.

No details of the talks between Mr Chissano and the secretary for foreign relations of Angola's ruling MPLA party, Mr Afonso van Dunem, were released, but the Mozambique news agency, Alm, said Mr van Dunem had delivered a special message from the Angolan President.

Following the meeting Mr Van Dunem once again rejected the possibility of negotiations between the MPLA and the rebel group Unita.

He said that regardless of whether or not Unita's leader Dr Jonas Savimbi took part in negotiations, the Angolan government would not negotiate with Unita and was only prepared to grant an amnesty to any rebel who surrendered.

Mr van Dunem's remarks came as a surprise as indications were that the ruling MPLA party seemed ready to accept a compromise under

which Dr Savimbi would go into exile for a two year period to open the way for a government of national unity and elections.

It is understood that one proposal under discussion is for the unification of the MPLA party and Unita followed by elections under a one party state system.

During the weekend President Chissano sent a message to President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire but no details were released. A few days earlier Zaire's Foreign Minister, Mr Nguza Karl I Bond, had been in Mozambique for discussions on the Angolan situation.

## ENVOYS

President dos Santos of Angola has meanwhile received envoys from from the President of Gabon, Mr Omar Bongo, and President Ali Saibou of Niger.

On Thursday the heads of state of Zaire, Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome e Principe, Zambia, Tanzania, Cape Verde, Guine-Bissau, Mali and Ivory Coast are expected to meet in Gbadolite, northern Zaire, to discuss the new peace plans.

The summit could pave the way for an end to Angola's 14-year civil war through negotiations between the Marxist government in Luanda and rebels of the Unita movement.

Last month the leaders of eight African countries met in Luanda to discuss a peace plan which was subsequently approved by the Central Committee of the ruling MPLA party.

# ANGOLA Peace

CAP 7/15 22/6/89

## Savimbi 'set' to accept GOVT's plan

**LUANDA. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi seems ready to accept a peace plan put forward by the country's MPLA government, according to President Eduardo dos Santos.**

On the eve of a special peace summit, Mr Dos Santos said he had been told by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko that Dr Savimbi might accept the principle the government plan to end the civil war which started in 1975.

The summit is being hosted by President Mobutu in Gbadolite, Zaire. More than a dozen African heads of state are expected to attend.

Mr Dos Santos said the plan foresaw integration of Unita into Angolan society and state institutions. It also involved acceptance of an offer by Dr Savimbi to leave the country temporarily and step aside from politics.

Dr Savimbi was reported to have given a news conference yesterday at a bush camp called Boa Esperanca in southern Angola and confirmed his offer to sit out of Angolan politics for two years in exchange for negotiations, but denied that he would leave Angola.

He said he would stand as a presidential candidate in free, democratic elections.

Unita has suggested that free elections should follow a period of transitional government.

To Page 5

From page 1

"Never in 14 years of war have we come so close to peace," he said.

Earlier yesterday the Angolan news agency Angop reported that the government had released about 700 Unita members from Benthaba prison camp in southern Namibe province.

Angop said President Dos Santos had personally ordered the prisoners' release and that they had accepted the government's offer of clemency.

In his bush camp, however, Dr Savimbi said Unita would reject any talk of amnesty or clemency for the guerrillas. "Our army — 75,000 men in the field — will not accept amnesty, clemency or integration" into the MPLA, he said.

Mr Dos Santos said the peace plan could only work if Unita ended hostilities. While Unita continued its military activities the government would not cease operations against the rebels, he said.

Mr Dos Santos said the MPLA's policy-making Central Committee had unanimously approved the peace plan.

An Angolan government delegation, headed by its armed forces chief, Lieutenant-General Antonio dos Santos Franca, left for Kinshasa on Tuesday. The Portuguese news agency Lusa reported that an eight-man Unita delegation arrived in the Zairean capital on the same day.

According to reports in Kinshasa, Dr Savimbi could also take part in indirect talks with Angolan officials in Gbadolite under the mediation of Mr Mobutu or Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny. Dr Savimbi said his delegation in Zaire was willing to be flexible about procedures leading to elections.

The Gbadolite meeting was originally slated for August, but was moved forward "because everything went faster than (leaders of African states meeting recently in Luanda) expected," Angop quoted Mr Dos Santos as saying.

Expected at Gbadolite were leaders from Zaire, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome e Principe, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Tanzania, Congo and Mali.

Zap, the official Zairean news agency, reported that Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and long-time Savimbi ally King Hassan of Morocco could also be present. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

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## Dos Santos accepts integration of Unita into Angola govt

The Star's Africa News Service (S) President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has accepted the integration of Unita into the government in a major step towards national reconciliation.

He has also accepted an offer by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to step aside temporarily from politics.

And in a further sign of the MPLA government's interest in reconciliation, President dos Santos has released 700 Unita prisoners and commuted the death sentences of 50 others.

These major developments were revealed in a



Mr. dos Santos reconciliation.

speech by President dos Santos on the eve of a major summit meeting of several African leaders in Zaire to discuss peace in Angola.

President dos Santos was speaking to Angolan ambassadors called to Luanda to be briefed about the negotiations.

Yesterday, however, Dr Savimbi insisted on direct negotiations between Unita and the MPLA party.

In his speech, monitored in Johannesburg, Mr dos Santos said Unita had accepted the "general lines" of the government's seven-point peace plan and in exchange his government had agreed to take into account the rebels' point of view and

those of the African heads of state involved in the negotiations.

It is understood that one idea being discussed is the unification of the ruling MPLA and the Unita group into a single party.

In his speech yesterday President dos Santos cautioned, however, against "spectacular decisions" which, he said, the Angolan people were awaiting.

"Nobody can guarantee that spectacular decisions will be the best," he said.

At his press conference yesterday in southern Angola, Dr Savimbi said his delegation to the Zaire talks would be willing to be flexible about

procedures leading to Unita-demanded elections and formation of a national unity government.

But, he said, Unita would reject any talk of amnesty or clemency for the guerrillas, Associated Press reported.

"Our army, 75 000 men in the field, will not accept amnesty, clemency or integration into the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)."

"That wording has a political context that means Unita is considered criminal. Our army was not defeated and is not going to be defeated. He said he would remain the head of his party stepping aside



Mr Savimbi stepping aside

# Peace plan — African heads of state meet

By PASCAL FLETCHER of Reuter in Luanda

A meeting in Zaire of more than a dozen African heads of state looks set to launch a peace plan for Angola that will reconcile the left-wing government and the rebel movement Unita, diplomats in Luanda said.



The Western diplomats said Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko had been the driving force in arranging today's peace conference at his jungle palace at Gbadolite in northern Zaire, which will bring together Angola, Zaire and at least 10 other African states.

Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), the US-backed rebel movement which has fought to topple the left-wing government since Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975, said it was also sending a delegation.

"It's an assembly to consecrate a union ... Mobutu is trying to arrange a marriage in the presence of a great African family," said one Western diplomat.

The diplomats said the peace initiative appeared to have two main ingredients:

- A plan for Unita's charismatic but controversial leader Jonas Savimbi to remain outside Angola for up to two years while the two sides discuss and implement reconciliation.

- A process of integration of Unita members into the political system which will maintain the existing constitution and the one-party rule of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

The heads of state of Angola, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Congo, Gabon and Mozambique, who attended a peace

conference in Luanda last month, are all expected in Gbadolite.

They are likely to be joined by leaders from several other nations, such as Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania and Botswana.

"This meeting may very well be the one that sets the whole process in motion," a European diplomat said.

But another added: "Of course, the whole thing may also come unstuck."

Diplomatic sources in Kinshasa were divided over whether the conference might lead to direct contact between Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

"Savimbi and Dos Santos may sit down at the same table, which is something that has never happened before," one source said.

Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem said there would be no direct negotiations between his government and Unita but he did not rule out some kind of informal meeting.

The diplomats in Luanda said Mobutu, who has been accused by Angola of supporting Unita, was anxious to win for himself the title of peacemaker in Angola to boost his image before a visit to Washington scheduled for later in June.

They noted that both the Angolan government and Unita appeared to have softened their positions, apparently under pressure from their superpower backers, the Soviet Union and the United States, both of which wanted an end to the 13-year-old Angolan civil war.

If today's summit is successful, the diplomats expect a joint commission to be set up to discuss in detail the integration of Unita members into the administration and the military.

# 700 Unita prisoners freed in goodwill

MC 643  
22/6/89 (5)

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
LISBON. — Angolan Security Minister Mr Kudy Paima has announced the release three weeks ago of 700 Unita prisoners on orders from President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, according to state-run Angolan news agency Angop.

The announcement was seen by observers in Lisbon as a gesture of goodwill from Luanda on the eve of a summit meeting in neighbouring Zaire today, where African heads of state will discuss peace initiatives to end Angola's 14-year civil war.

In another development, the agency said Mr dos Santos met Namibian Swapo nationalist leader Mr Sam Nujoma for an hour this week in Luanda to discuss "matters of mutual interest."

#### ● African heads meet, page 21.

About 40,000 Namibian refugees are being airlifted home from Angola in accordance with the UN-supervised regional peace agreement on South Africa granting independence to Namibia and Cuba withdrawing its 50,000 troops from Angola.

Mr dos Santos said he accepted Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's proposal to remove himself temporarily from the peace process.

Meanwhile Unita sources in Washington dismissed reports that Dr Savimbi was to go to New York. They said Dr Savimbi's position on the peace process was unchanged: He did not want to impede the talks and did not have to be part of a transitional government, but he reserved the right to run for national office.

The Angolan government has repeatedly refused to negotiate directly with Unita, much less with Dr Savimbi in person.

Mr dos Santos reportedly

told his diplomats he was ready to integrate all other Unita members in Angolan society and its current institutions once the rebels ended hostilities and propaganda against the government.

Last March, Dr Savimbi announced he was willing to declare a ceasefire and stay out of peace negotiations if they led to the formation of a coalition government and elections within two years.

Denying reports Dr Savimbi would go into a two-year exile, Unita officials abroad insisted their leader would remain in Angola and would be "our candidate" in future presidential elections.

At his press conference yesterday in southern Angola, Dr Savimbi said his delegation to the Zaire talks would be willing to be flexible about procedures leading to Unita-demanded elections and formation of a national unity government.

But, he said: "Our army, 75,000 men in the field, will not accept amnesty, clemency or integration. Our army was not defeated and is not going to be defeated."

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**INTERRUPTED JOURNEY:**  
from the liner Maxime Gorky  
Norwegian re

# Savimbi ready for peace - Sese Seko



LUANDA — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said that Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko had told him Jonas Savimbi (top right) might be ready to accept in principle an Angolan Government peace plan.

But Dos Santos told diplomats in Luanda that the peace plan could only be implemented if Savimbi's Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) stopped its war against the left-wing government.

The president was speaking on the eve of a summit hosted by Mobutu in Gbadolite, Zaire, in which more than a dozen African heads of state are expected to launch a

peace process for Angola. Mobutu "told us that the plan could begin sooner than we had previously thought because it may be possible to obtain its acceptance in principle by Savimbi," Dos Santos said.

But he added: "This programme can only be implemented when the elements of Unita stop their military hostilities all over the country and all their propaganda against the legitimate authorities of Angola." He said that while Unita continued its military activities, the government would fight the rebels.

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# Angola: Warring leaders to meet

CAMP Times 23/6/89 (5)

GBADOLITE, Zaire. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi arrived yesterday to address a summit of African leaders, including Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos, seeking to end Angola's 14-year civil war.

Sources here said that Dr Savimbi would be allowed to address the meeting, which would mark the first time that Dr Savimbi and Mr Dos Santos have met face-to-face since 1975.

"I have come in a spirit of openness," Dr Savimbi, head of the US-backed Unita rebels, said as he arrived at this northern Zaire town, the ancestral home of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Zaire government sources said that the 18 heads of state at the summit would hold a closed-door meeting yesterday and Dr Savimbi, who was not originally part of the talks, would then be allowed to meet with the group.

Dr Savimbi's presence here had been in doubt until the last minute. He and Mr Dos Santos both made statements earlier this week suggesting that they did not intend to meet here. — Sapa-Reuter



# Ceasefire 'a first step' says Dos Santos

ARCUS 23/6/87 5

LUANDA. — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said today the ceasefire agreement reached with the rebel movement Unita was a first step towards achieving peace in his country.

In a cautious reaction to the apparently successful outcome of a one-day summit of 18 African leaders in Gbadolite, Zaïre, Mr dos Santos said the results of the meeting were "not bad".

"It's a first step. The future will tell," he told reporters at Luanda airport.

Mr dos Santos said his government was acting in good faith in trying to end its 14-year-old war with Unita.

The Gbadolite summit ended with a handshake between the Angolan President and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and a declaration of a ceasefire to begin tomorrow.

News of the ceasefire accord and the meeting between Mr dos Santos and Dr Savimbi reached Luanda late last night when most of the city's 2-million inhabitants were already asleep.

During the evening, Angolan radio and television had no news of the result of the meeting.

## Impatience

The Angolan Cabinet and senior government officials, led by Defence Minister Pedro Maria Tonha, spent most of the evening waiting at the airport for Mr dos Santos, visibly impatient for news of the summit.

Many of them tuned into foreign radio stations or were given the first information by Western reporters.

Their reaction was a mixture of incredulity and cautious satisfaction. Many senior officials expressed surprise at the rapid results which the peace initiative appeared to have achieved. — Sapa-Reuter.

Handshake seals historic accord

# Leaders agree to Angolan war ceasefire

(5)

Star 23/6/89

Gbadolite (Zaire)

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos have sealed with a handshake an agreement to a ceasefire in their country's 14-year-old civil war.

This has been confirmed by senior Zaire government sources following the summit meeting yesterday of 18 African heads of state at Gbadolite, the remote palace of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The sources said a protocol stated that Mr dos Santos and Dr Savimbi had agreed to stop fighting from Saturday.

"They agreed to a cessation of all hostilities," the sources said.

The chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Moussa Traore, made an indirect reference to the ceasefire in closing remarks at the end of the one-day summit.

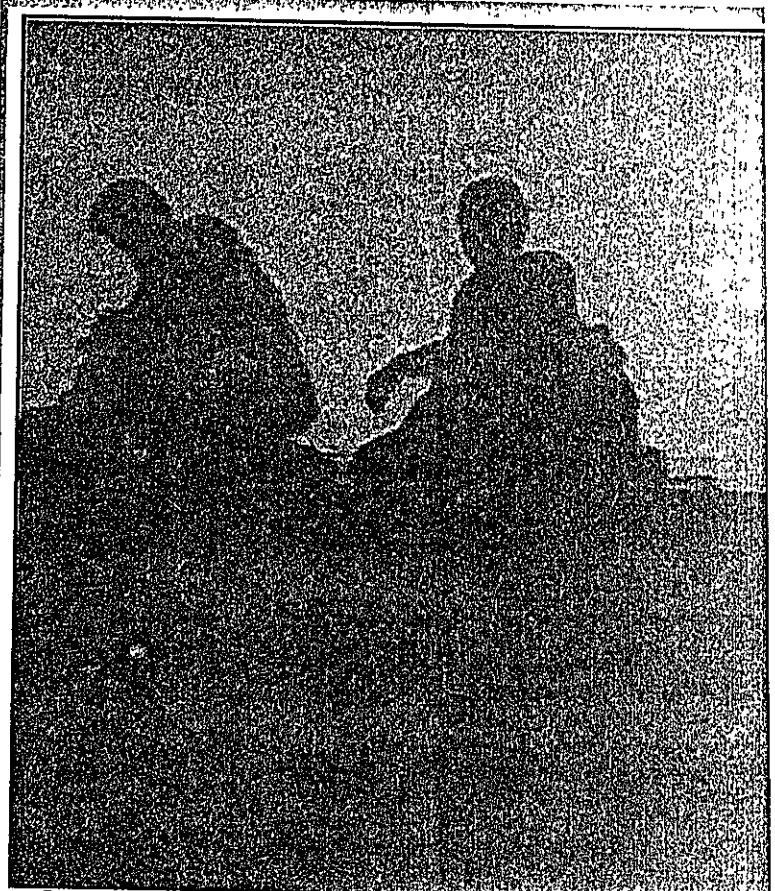
He said the handshake between the two adversaries, at their first face-to-face encounter since the war began in 1975, "symbolises, as of June 24, the end of civil war in Angola".

In an indication of the apparent success of the summit, Dr Savimbi and Mr dos Santos sat near each other for a group photograph at President Sese Seko's luxury villa.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, acting as spokesman for the summit, said the handshake was a "great moment for Africa".

## Diplomatic coup

Dr Savimbi, who had been waiting outside the summit gathering while the leaders met for at least four hours, did not speak to reporters as he walked briskly into a conference room. The African leaders had



Power in silhouette . . . SAAF personnel and a fighter bathed in t

Star 23/6/89

By Craig Kotze, Military Correspondent



## War ga

UPINGTON — South Africa's air defence system works and the SA Air Force is capable of fending off any air attack on South Africa, Air Force Operations Director Brigadier "Speedy" de Wet said yesterday.

This was said about the Air Force exercise "Golden Eagle" to test air defence capabilities, which ends today.

"There is no gap ty," said Brigadier He said correctiv golan conflict had p The exercise st Pretoria, Hoedsp Bloemfontein were Upington.

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of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

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### Diplomatic coup

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The African leaders had assembled for their second such meeting in two months in an attempt to find a solution to the Angolan conflict.

The meeting between Dr Savimbi and Mr dos Santos was a major diplomatic coup for Mr Sese Seko, who is due to visit Washington later this month.

"I have come in a spirit of openness," said Dr Savimbi.

His presence had been in doubt until the last minute. He and Mr dos Santos had both made statements earlier this week suggesting they did not intend to meet here.

It is not yet clear whether there is agreement on Dr Savimbi's future.

In March, Dr Savimbi offered to take a back seat in politics for two years while a transitional government was formed, leading to elections in which he would stand.

But the Angolan government insisted that he go into exile for those two years and integrate his movement into the ruling MPLA government.

Yesterday, however, the gap appeared to have been bridged.

President Kaunda said Dr Savimbi had agreed to abide by a protocol signed by heads of state at a summit in May.

Reuter-The Independent News Service.

● See Page 11.

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23/6/89

principles for dialogue between Unita and the MPLA would be considered a great step forward. The fact that the exercise has an African stamp of approval is generally seen as a good sign. The countries said to be taking part are Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Gabon, Congo, Kenya, Mali, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, and possibly Nigeria. SA was not invited.

African states failed to mediate peace between the MPLA, Unita and the FNLA in 1975. In May this year, seven African states met in Luanda and issued a statement "pledging to assist the MPLA government in creating the conditions for a lasting peace inside Angola." It added they would take into account the emotional and psychological factors involved, seek to end outside interference, and secure Angola's borders.

While Savimbi is not expected personally to attend this week's talks, a Unita team (thought to comprise senior Unita lieutenants such as Tito Chingunji, Paulo Mungo Aliceres, Tony Da Costa Fernandes and Jorge Valentim) has gone to the Zaire venue. It is only in the last two months that some of those men returned to Jamba from abroad, which suggests that something is afoot.

A cautiously optimistic DFA says the talks are important because they could well initiate a process of dialogue, similar to that worked out over Namibia. That, in turn, bodes well for regional peace and economic development. Pretoria, says the DFA, has been working tirelessly for two years to get national reconciliation moving in Angola. Luanda, too, seems to have concluded for a variety of reasons — not least the withdrawal of the Cubans — that it is time to start talking to Unita.

Last December, the MPLA declared an amnesty from February 1989 for anyone in Unita who laid down arms. It also said, apropos a settlement, that it was aware of the "psychological elements and difficulties" — a reference to Unita's ethnic base among the Ovimbundu, which is the largest group in the country. In January, Fapla chief General Antonio dos Santos Franca announced for the first time that his government had held talks with Unita representatives.

Based on certain concessions and conditions Unita announced in March, says Andre du Pisanie of the SA Institute of International Affairs, it's likely the talks in Zaire will include reopening the Benguela railway line, which is strategically important to various African countries.

Another strong commercial incentive

for Luanda to settle lies in its recent admission to the IMF, which probably entailed a commitment to seek peace. There is also its agreement with De Beers, in terms of which the company is to co-operate in mining new kimberlite diamond pipes, and market a significant proportion of Angola's 1m carats through the CSO. And the Soviet Union would like to see a settlement, not least because Angola is its second biggest debtor.

ANGOLA

(S) Final 23/6/89

### Peace talks begin

The prospect of a negotiated solution to Angola's 14-year civil war is looking up — in spite of Jamba's denial of reports that Unita chief Jonas Savimbi will go into exile in order to lubricate such a settlement. Savimbi is in Jamba and has no intention of leaving, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) in Pretoria, who should know.

It is difficult to see Savimbi simply absenting himself from the scene (whatever the level of unease within Unita over his autocratic style). And given Luanda's utter dislike of him, it is indeed difficult to see a swift agreement being reached — with or without Savimbi.

Nevertheless, the sum of regional military, diplomatic, political and economic factors all seem to point to a solution being distilled, if gradually.

A meeting is due to take place at Gbadolite in Zaire this Thursday, attended by about 12 African states and presided over by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, whose relations with Angola have improved markedly. At this stage, agreement on a set of



Savimbi

# Dos Santos offers an olive branch

The Star's Africa News Service

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has accepted the integration of Unita into the government in a major step towards national reconciliation.

He has also accepted an offer by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to step aside temporarily from politics.

And in a further sign of the MPLA government's interest in reconciliation, President dos Santos has released 700 Unita prisoners and commuted the death sentences of 50 others.

These major developments were revealed in a speech by President dos Santos on the eve of yesterday's meeting of several African leaders in Zaire to discuss peace in Angola.

President dos Santos was speaking to Angolan ambassadors called to Luanda to be briefed about the

negotiations.

On Wednesday, however, Dr Savimbi insisted on direct negotiations between Unita and the MPLA party. *Star 23/6/89*

In his speech, monitored in Johannesburg, Mr dos Santos said Unita had accepted the "general lines" of the government's seven-point peace plan and in exchange his government had agreed to take into account the rebels' point of view and those of the African heads of state involved in negotiations.

It is understood that one idea being discussed is the unification of the ruling MPLA and the Unita group into a single party.

In his speech on Wednesday President dos Santos cautioned, however, against "spectacular decisions", which, he said, the Angolan people were awaiting.

"Nobody can guarantee that

spectacular decisions will be the best," he said.

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But, he said, Unita would reject any talk of amnesty or clemency for the guerillas, Associated Press reported.

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"That wording has a political context that means Unita is considered criminal. Our army was not defeated and is not going to be defeated."

He said he would remain the head of his party.

# Ceasefire 'a step towards peace'

*Cont. Tim 24/6/89*

LUANDA. — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday said the ceasefire agreement reached with Unita was a first step towards peace in his country.

In a cautious reaction to the apparently successful outcome of a one-day summit of 18 African leaders in Gbadolite, Zaire, Mr Dos Santos said the results of the meeting were "not bad".

"It's a first step. The future will tell," he told reporters on his return to Luanda.

He said his government was acting in good faith in trying to end its 14-year-old war with Unita.

The Gbadolite summit ended with a handshake between the Angolan president and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, and a declaration of a ceasefire to begin today.

Southern African leaders yesterday hailed the historic handshake as a turning point towards peace in their troubled region.

The move was welcomed by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Mr Mugabe, giving details of the agreement backed by a roomful of African presidents, said it did not specify whether Dr Savimbi would stand aside or go into exile for a period. — Sapa-Reuter

# 30 years on, guns at last silent

Star  
24/6/89

THE ceasefire in Angola announced this week would constitute a major formal step to achieving national reconciliation in the country.

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said this yesterday, adding he was still awaiting details of discussions at the summit in Zaire.

He added that the South African Government had done everything possible to facilitate discussions over the conflict in Angola, and acknowledged the important role played by President Mobutu Sese Seko in finding a solution for the region.

The West African coastal state of Angola has been racked by war for almost 30 years. The fighting was initially to force Portugal to give independence to the country, rich in diamonds, coffee and oil. After independence in 1975 the country became a pawn in a much wider ideological struggle by the superpowers.

Three main national liberation movements, including the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) fought Portuguese rule in a liberation war that began with popular uprisings in 1961.

Lisbon's rule effectively ended in 1974 with the overthrow of Portugal's right-wing dictatorship but civil war between the rival liberation movements broke out almost immediately.

In 1975 South African forces invaded from Namibia in a bid to help Unita and another pro-Western group, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), to gain power. Cuba sent troops to help the Soviet-backed MPLA.

The MPLA, led by President Jose Neto declared independence on November 11 1975 and in 1976 the new state, helped by Soviet arms and Cuban troops, pushed back the Western and South African-backed rival groups.

Angolan support for guerillas of the

Namibian nationalist group Swapo made southern Angola a frequent target of attacks by SA forces who also acted in support of Unita led by Jonas Savimbi.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, a Soviet-trained technocrat, became president after Neto's death in Moscow in 1979. While maintaining Angola's strong links with its communist allies, he worked to increase ties with the West.

International peace efforts aimed at securing independence for South African-ruled Namibia became bogged down. South Africa and the United States sought a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a precondition for Namibian independence.

The US administration revived military aid to Unita in 1986.

In mid-1987, US and Angolan negotiators resumed the search for peace.

A large South African force invaded south-east Angola in late 1987 to halt a Soviet and Cuban-backed government offensive against Unita.

## Reinforcements

The South African troops advanced but despite heavy fighting failed to capture the strategic south-eastern town of Cuito Cuanavale.

Cuban reinforcements poured into Angola and moved southwards to the Namibian border. In March, Angola and Cuba proposed phased Cuban withdrawal.

In May, 1988 South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the United States acting as mediator, launched a peace process aimed at resolving the twin issues of Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal.

The three countries declared a ceasefire in August and South African troops pulled out of southern Angola.

On December 13, South Africa, Angola and Cuba signed the Brazzaville peace protocol that set April 1 1989, as the date to start a UN independence plan for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola by mid-1991. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Savimbi resists exile bid — he'll return to talks

By BRIAN POTTINGER

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has resisted attempts to force him into exile during the delicate peace negotiations between his organisation and the Angolan government.

He will return to his base camp at Jamba in south-east Angola and continue the peace talks which began at the Zairean town of Gbadolite on Thursday.

The peace agreement was sealed by an historic handshake before 18 African heads of government between Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the man who has been waging a 14-year-old guerrilla war against the MPLA government in Luanda.

Confusion emerged immediately after the conclusion of the talks when Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia insisted Dr Savimbi's exile was part of the deal, while President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe insisted that it was not.

Yesterday Dr Savimbi revealed in an interview that his exile had originally been proposed by the MPLA but

had not been part of the compromise worked out at Gbadolite by President Mobutu.

"How could I enter negotiations when the first thing the other party asks is the elimination of Unita leadership?"

Dr Savimbi said the matter had not even been raised at the talks.

The basis of the agreement reached by the two parties is a step-by-step return by Angola to a unified government.

## Proposals

Among the steps:

- A ceasefire which came into effect in principle at 11pm on Friday night;
- Establishment of a number of commissions to begin negotiation;
- Creation of national reconciliation;
- A government of national unity.

The Unita proposal also includes a call for elections for a representative government but agreement on this point could not be reached at

□ To Page 2

# Savimbi rejects the exile bid

□ From Page 1

Gbadolite and further discussions will be needed.

Dr Savimbi said Unita was committed to the process of negotiation as its standpoint dating back to 1975 had been a call for national reconciliation.

He said his movement stood squarely behind the initiative.

He and President Dos Santos had shaken hands and he admired the Angolan president's courage. He hoped he would have no problems within his party.

Although the ceasefire came into effect on Friday, Dr Savimbi cautioned that its monitoring would have to be carried out by the commissions. The possibility of vio-

lent clashes would still exist in the short term.

Dr Savimbi said his organisation had embarked upon negotiation in the knowledge that it was doing so from a position of strength. He denied that any pressure had been brought to bear on him by either South Africa or the United States to reach an agreement with the MPLA.

# Signs of peace in Luanda

Call Trunk 26/6/89  
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**LUANDA.** — The ceasefire in the Angolan war, which came into effect on Saturday, appears to be holding.

Luandans seemed relieved yesterday as the first signs of peace in their country's 14-year-old civil war began to emerge.

The ceasefire could end nearly 30 years of war in Angola which began as a struggle against Portuguese colonial rule in the early 1960s.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi sealed the truce with a historic handshake on Thursday at a summit of 20 African leaders at Gbadolite, Zaire.

In an editorial released in Luanda yesterday, the state news agency Angop congratulated parties at the Gbadolite summit that took place "almost two months ahead of schedule".

Media reports in Lisbon said government officials could meet Unita delegates within the next few days, possibly in Zaire, and an international commission was expected in Luanda next week to verify the ceasefire, diplomats said.

Angolans saw little in their media about the Gbadolite summit, and most do not know the terms of the pact that calls for reintegration of rebel forces into Angolan society and the creation of a national reconciliation commission, chaired by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

In reports on state-controlled radio and television at the weekend, Dr Savimbi was referred to as "Unita president", rather than his previous designations of "traitor" or "bandit leader".

In a separate report yesterday, Angop said the Transport and Communications Ministry had asked Belgium's Societe Generale to start a feasibility study for the redevelopment of the Benguela railroad, that once provided Zaire and Zambia with a vital export route to Angola's Atlantic coast.

Redevelopment of the line will cost an estimated \$350 million (about R980 million). — Sapa-AP

# Savimbi 'exile': Unita Kaunda, disagree

The Argus  
Foreign Service  
in Lusaka

THE future of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi after last week's peace settlement in Zaire comes into effect is still unclear.

A few days before the Gbadolite

PEACE

summit, Savimbi told journalists who flew to his southern Angolan headquarters in Jamba that a form of internal isolation would be acceptable to him.

But the first, and so far the only, African head of state to provide any details of the Gbadolite settlement, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, says the Unita leader has voluntarily agreed to go into exile outside Angola, for a period to be agreed between him and the government in Luanda.

Kaunda told journalists in Lusaka the MPLA ruling party would decide in the next few weeks what "rank" Savimbi should hold, but he was sure Savimbi and President dos Santos would eventually "work together".

Although Dos Santos has himself given no details on the settlement, latest reports from Luanda, quoting unnamed "official sources", say the job of Angolan special representative in Washington has been earmarked for Savimbi.

## Ambassador

It would be a two-year posting, with a rank equivalent to the Angolan ambassador at the United Nations.

However, Unita spokesmen in the United States and Britain remain adamant that there is no question of Savimbi accepting an "exile" of any kind outside Angola.

The Unita leader himself has yet to speak about his prospects following the Gbadolite summit — even his whereabouts are a mystery at the moment.

But, as the Luanda government is only too aware, Savimbi will not allow himself to be out of the limelight for very long, and the position of this charismatic and shrewd politician will be crucial to the future of Angola.



**Don't believe it, says Luanda**

By KOERT LINDIJER  
The Observer, London

LUANDA — People in Luanda have reacted with disbelief to the news of a ceasefire in Angola's 14-year-old civil war. There was no jubilation in the capital city's streets.

"We have been promised peace many times before," said an elderly woman. "It is no longer the Angolan mentality to react swiftly to such news."

The guns fell silent at midnight on Friday. Twelve hours later, people were still waiting eagerly for news. In the long weekend queues at city centre news-stands, and amid lively discussions, civilians and soldiers were fighting for newspapers, offering many times the official price.

The details of the peace plan have still to be revealed to the population.

**Conflicting reports**

The deputy foreign minister, Mr Venancia de Moura, told diplomats that the South African-backed rebel force, Unita, would be integrated into political and social life and into the army. He did not mention the new elections, which Unita has always demanded. There were conflicting reports on whether Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi would be going into exile, but Mr de Moura insisted Dr Savimbi had agreed to do so voluntarily.

Several civilians feared that hardliners in the governing party would never accept a peace deal with Dr Savimbi, despite the party politburo's reported acceptance of the results of the peace conference in Gbadolite, Zaire. Many expressed confusion.

A senior official said it was likely that special army units would be formed for Unita members.

The historic handshake of President Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Savimbi has not been reported in the media here. But some people said they had heard about it on foreign radio stations.

It is more the tone of Angolan news broadcasts than the content that tells peace is coming. For the first time in years, the war with Unita is being described as an internal conflict and not as foreign aggression.

**Details 'still to be worked out'**

Star 26/6/89.

**On the verge of peace after 28 years of war**

In March this year Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi could sense a contingent of journalists was not enthusiastic about him announcing yet another Unita peace proposal at his bush headquarters in Jamba.

"Gentlemen, you must not go home saying I brought you here for nothing. I tell you that I am ready not to take part in any direct negotiations between Unita and the MPLA, not to participate in government structures for a two-year period and to accept Eduardo dos Santos as president. This is news, gentlemen," he said shaking a piece of paper in his ebullient, forceful style.

It was news indeed — but, as so often with historical developments, its importance was only realised a few months later when his sworn enemy, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, also made some concessions by announcing he was now ready to accept the full integration of Unita members into the government, civil service and parliament of the country.

The day after President dos Santos' announcement, the two leaders shook hands in Gbadolite, northern Zaire.

If the handshake and the agreed ceasefire are followed by steps for national reconciliation, Angolans will for the first time in 28 years be able to enjoy peace.

**War of liberation**

In February 1961 war broke out in Angola when a group of Angolan nationalist activists of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA, formed in 1956, attacked a prison. Thus began the war of liberation against Portuguese colonialism.

Unlike other Portuguese colonies where opposition to the Lisbon authorities was united, the Angolan opposition was split into different organisations: the MPLA, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) founded in 1962 and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) founded in 1966.

So deep were the divisions inside Angola's liberation movement that in 1974 when Portuguese armed forces overthrew the dictatorial government at home and promised to pull out of its colonies, it was difficult to find leaders to negotiate with.

The MPLA, regarded then as the group most representative of Angola's people, was itself so badly divided by internal strife that President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia had to arrange a meeting in August 1974 to patch up the internal differences.

The 1975 Alvor agreement between Portugal and the three liberation movements quickly collapsed because of fighting between the MPLA and the FNLA. Attempts by African countries to solve the dispute failed and in August that year Unita, which had tried to remain neutral, declared war on the MPLA movement.

In September/October 1975 the first Cuban

The oil and diamond-rich west African state of Angola is moving towards peace after years of fighting. The details still have to be worked out, but the historic handshake between the two leaders in Zaire opens the way for an end to the conflict. JOAO SANTA RITA of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

combat troops arrived in Angola.

South African troops had meanwhile occupied the Ruacana electrical scheme in southern Angola. In October they launched a full-scale invasion in support of the Unita/FNLA alliance.

But in November 1975 the MPLA, which controlled Luanda, proclaimed the People's Republic of Angola. It was quickly recognised by a number of foreign countries.

South Africa pulled out after the United States refused to carry on supporting the anti-MPLA coalition, which quickly disintegrated.

While the FNLA movement died in exile, Unita, with South Africa's help, quickly rebuilt its forces and managed to wrest control of wide areas of Angola from the MPLA government.

The MPLA in 1977 proclaimed itself a Marxist-Leninist Party.

In 1979 the leader of the MPLA party and founding father of the movement, Agostinho Neto, died of cancer in a Moscow hospital and was succeeded by Moscow-trained oil engineer Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

In the early 1980s Unita extended its operations throughout the country and kidnapped large numbers of foreigners in several areas, while South Africa mounted regular incursions into Angola.

**Resumed aid**

In 1985, after the collapse of the Lusaka agreement calling for a withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and the implementation of Namibia's independence, the United States resumed its military aid to Unita.

The turnaround in the war came in 1987 when South African forces helped Unita defeat a government offensive against rebel-held areas in southeastern Angola.

Cuban reinforcements were called in and moved to the Namibian border.

Last year the United States launched a new peace initiative which resulted in an agreement for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and independence for Namibia.

This led to a thaw in relations between South Africa and some African countries. In May this year representatives of several African states met in Luanda to discuss a possible peace package for Angola.

Details of the agreement will now be worked out by a commission which includes the presidents of Zaire, Congo and Gabon.

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Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told reporters in March this year: "I am ready to accept Eduardo dos Santos as president."

# Too soon to toast Pax <sup>(5)</sup> Angola

By RAMSAY MILNE,  
The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Though the Bush administration hailed the Gbadolite ceasefire agreement between the Angolan government and Unita during the weekend as a "significant-breakthrough", it warned it was only the start of what was likely to be a lengthy process.

One Bush administration spokesman described the accord between Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader, in these cautious terms: "It is an agreement to begin a process of trying to negotiate a political settlement. This is the beginning of a negotiating process that could end up taking quite a while."

The agreement was widely welcomed by US commentators and received extensive coverage in the press and on television. *The New York Times*, describing it as "Pax Angola, made in Africa," described the ceasefire as "excellent news," but cautioned that it was "far too soon to breed out the champagne for a durable peace in Angola."

## Ruthless

Other commentators pointed out that with the Cubans going home, Dr Savimbi found it harder to resist the call for reconciliation from other African leaders, and the mediation offered by President Mobutu, described as "ruthless, consummate survivor who does not pursue legal causes," was the best proof of the changing winds in Africa.

There have been reports that Dr Savimbi might go into exile but American officials said they did not know what he might do or where he might go.

The Unita representative in Washington, Mr Jardo Mendonca, said the ceasefire agreement was "just a starting point in a long and hard journey toward prosperity and stability in Angola."

Unita, he added, rejected the idea of amnesty, claiming it was an offer of exile for Dr Savimbi.

"Dr Savimbi remains the leader of Unita, and his future can be decided only by the Angolan people through fair elections," he said.

# New hope for Benguela railway

LUANDA — Angola, moving swiftly after the ceasefire agreement with Unita, has authorised the Belgian company Societe Generale de Belgique, which owns the Benguela railway, to inspect the line.

The railway, which once carried Zambian and Zairean mineral exports through central Angola to the Atlantic port of Lobito, has been closed to international traffic for more than a decade because of the Angolan civil war.

The Angolan news agency, Angop, yesterday quoted a Transport Ministry source in Luanda as saying that agreement on a peace plan between the government and Unita, reached at Gbadolite in Zaire on Thursday, had improved the conditions in which the railway could be repaired.

Technical experts from the

British firm Tanks Consolidated Investments, which operates the railway for Societe Generale, were expected to arrive in Angola shortly to carry out the study, Angop said.

International donors in January pledged about R250 million for an initial phase of rebuilding work on the railway.

They recommended then that

exile outside Angola for a period to be agreed between him and the Luanda government.

But Unita spokesmen in the United States and Britain remain adamant that there is no question of Dr Savimbi accepting an "exile" of any kind outside Angola.

The Unita leader himself has yet to speak about his prospects after the Gbadolite summit. Even his whereabouts are a mystery at the moment.

● See Page 15.

an end to Angola's 14-year-old civil war was the only way to guarantee the rebuilding and eventual reopening of the line.

● After the agreement on a ceasefire, the future of Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is still unclear.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has said Dr Savimbi has voluntarily agreed to go into

## Savimbi hails truce with Angola

STC 27/6/89  
LONDON — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was quoted yesterday as saying he was happy with the ceasefire agreement worked out between Unita and the Angolan government last week.

The Unita radio station said yesterday that negotiations with the government would continue in Zaire this week.

Last week, Dr Savimbi met Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos at a summit meeting of African heads of state arranged

by President Mobutu Seso Seko. (5)

They agreed on a ceasefire and the setting up of a commission to integrate Unita and the MPLA government.

The key issue of Dr Savimbi's future has not been agreed. The Luanda government has said he has agreed to go into exile, but Dr Savimbi has denied this and said he has only offered to step down from a leading role in politics during a transitional period.

— The Independent News Service.

# Dos Santos: the 'invisible' power behind the MPLA

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Star 27/1/89

If there is anything that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola should learn from the Unita rebel group it is public relations.

Indeed, so poor is Mr dos Santos' public image outside Angola when one talks about Angola only one name comes to mind — Dr Jonas Savimbi, Unita's leader.

Mr dos Santos, in his dark suits and ties, is the antithesis of the flamboyant Savimbi who in his guerilla fighter uniform can easily move a crowd with his ebullience and flair and often appears on international TV screens to state his case.

Yet Mr dos Santos, reserved and earnest, has in the past 10 years been slowly changing the political outlook of the ruling MPLA Party, trying to diversify its foreign relations and open his ravaged country to the West.

It was he who, in 1987, openly admitted that the war against Unita was not the only reason for Angola's chaotic economic situation. The planned socialist economy, he said, had led to "disorganisation, poor entrepreneurial management, rampant indiscipline and corruption".

That same year Angola applied to join the International Monetary Fund, seen by many socialists as the symbol of international imperialism.

## Economic pragmatism

Mr dos Santos was also Angola's first head of state to visit Western countries.

But, despite this economic pragmatism, there has always been a noticeable reluctance by President dos Santos in accepting proposals to negotiate an end to the civil war with Unita and in this respect Mr dos Santos has himself had to make a few changes.

"The MPLA has never at any time had any relations with Unita and does not even think of having talks with Unita," he said in 1983.

Only last week it was reported that he had refused to go to Zaire when he learnt that Jonas Savimbi would be there for peace talks and only the pressure of the Portuguese-speaking African countries had made him go to Gbadolite for the historic handshake with the rebel leader.

It seems that although he had convinced the hierarchy of his ruling MPLA party to negotiate with Unita he was still refusing to the same with the charismatic Dr Savimbi. Indications are that Mr dos Santos did not want to shake the fragile unity of the MPLA which he has ruled by alliance with different fac-

When Jose Eduardo dos Santos became President of Angola in 1979 he was dubbed by some "Moscow's top man in Africa". But since taking power he has been almost unnoticeably changing his country's policies. **JOAO SANTA RITA** of *The Star's Africa News Service* reports.



President dos Santos . . . dubbed "Moscow's man in Africa" when he took over leadership of Angola.

tions and where some top members are known still to favour a military solution for the conflict.

Mr dos Santos can indeed be best described as a "party man" changing his country's and party's policies by consensus rather than by his own actions and will.

Born on August 20 1942, Jose Eduardo dos Santos was the son of a stonemason and a domestic servant and joined the MPLA guerilla movement in 1961 after attending high school in Luanda. He left the country after the Portuguese police starting taking an interest in his political activities.

He became the vice president of the MPLA's youth league in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) and in that same year was appointed the movement's first representative in Brazzaville.

In 1963 the MPLA leadership sent him to Moscow to study and six years later he graduated as a petroleum engineer from the Institute of Oil and Gas at Baku. While in the Soviet Union he married a Russian woman but they parted after Angola's independence.

After graduating he took a course in military communications and returned to play a role in the war against Portuguese domination, seeing action in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda.

In 1974 shortly after the April military coup in Portugal opened the way for Angola's independence he was elected to the MPLA's Central Committee and Political Bureau.

## Foreign Minister

He was Angola's first Foreign Minister for a short period in 1975. Later he also held the portfolio of first deputy Prime Minister and a year before becoming president he was appointed Minister of Economic Planning.

In 1977 Mr dos Santos sided with the late President Agostinho Neto in putting down a revolt by radical Interior Minister Mr Nito Alves and this is regarded by Angola watchers as having been a major step in Mr dos Santos' rise in the MPLA's party hierarchy.

In September 1979 Mr Neto died in Moscow after an operation and, on September 21, Mr dos Santos was, surprisingly to many observers, elected as the new party's leader and country's president.

His election was said to have been a compromise between a radical pro Moscow faction led by Mr Lucio Lara, the chief ideologist in the MPLA who has since been demoted, and a group led by more pragmatic and nationalist elements within the party.

Since then Mr dos Santos has had to strike a careful balance within the party's hierarchy and it remains to be seen if he can carry the MPLA along a road to peace with Unita which would open the way for Angola's economic recovery.

# Talks on Angolan rebels' re-integration

CAD 7/1/89 28/6/89

LISBON. — An Angolan delegation was reportedly headed for Zaire yesterday for talks on the re-integration of Unita rebels into Angolan society.

The delegation is headed by Angolan armed forces chief General Antonio dos Santos, a report from the Portuguese news agency Lusa said.

The delegation is expected to meet with Zairean officials under terms agreed at peace talks mediated by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko last Thursday at Gbadolite.

The Gbadolite agreement calls for the rebels to be integrated into Angolan society and the creation of a national reconciliation commission.



President Jose Dos Santos

# Handshake spells peace for Angola

LUSAKA. - The historic handshake between the leader of the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (Unita), Dr Jonas Savimbi, and the Angolan president Eduardo Jose Dos Santos, at last week's summit meeting in Zaire, has opened up the prospect of peace for the war-ravaged west African territory.

For the past 14 years, the warring parties have been at each other's throats in a civil war which has cost thousands of lives and millions of rands.

The Angolan people have known no peace ever since the Portuguese colonisers deserted the country.

After the summit, Zambian leader Kenneth Kaunda, chairperson of the six-nation Frontline States, held a press conference to declare that peace was in sight for Angola.

"Savimbi and Dos Santos portrayed a spirit of reconciliation at the summit," explained the smiling Kaunda. "Hostilities will soon come to an end in Angola".

The summit lasted six hours and was attended by 18 African heads of state.

Zambians have welcomed the ceasefire with excitement. Zambia shares a common border with Angola.

Western diplomats have indicated their delight at the Angolan people's ability to bring about the settlement themselves without intervention from the West.

"We are greatly encouraged by the news from Zaire that the warring parties have met and that the ceasefire has been agreed upon," said a telex dispatch from the British Foreign Office and released by the British High Commissioner in Lusaka.

"We have not received full details of the agreement, but it seems clear

that this is a substantial step forward for Angola and Africa ... we firmly welcome all concerned," said the message.

An American diplomat based in Lusaka, Mr Thomas Dowling, declared: "The United States is extremely pleased with what has come about between Dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi."

Political observers in Lusaka said praise should also go to the Zairean president, Mobutu Sese Seko, for the role he played in helping to reconcile the two warring parties.

Marshal Mobutu has in the past been strongly criticised by black Africa for providing bases to Savimbi's Unita. The country also acted as a staging ground for arms bound for Jamba, Savimbi's military headquarters in south-east Angola.

The civil war between the ruling Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and Unita began in 1975, soon after the Portuguese abandoned the country.

The MPLA sought the help of Russia, who responded by sending military hardware, advisors and Cuban troops numbering more than 50 000.

On the other hand, Unita called in South Africa and Savimbi was branded a "traitor" for this alliance.

Quietly, the United States began providing funds, arms and training facilities to Savimbi.

A full-scale conventional war blew up. This ultimately involved freedom fighters of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

The South African involvement escalated with troops entering Angola, not only to face MPLA forces but also to rout Swapo and harass ANC training bases.

Peace in Angola will open up fertile virgin land. It will also enable the Benguela railway to be re-established, which will allow Zambia and Zaire to resume exportation of their copper and other minerals through the Atlantic port in Lobito.

Zaire will no longer have to export its copper through East London in South Africa. The same applies to Zambia and Malawi.

# Unita accused of breaking truce

APC Times 11/7/89

LUANDA. — The Angolan government accused Unita guerillas yesterday of violating a week-old ceasefire by sabotaging Luanda's power supply and ambushing a civilian convoy.

National radio quoted a government source as saying that the actions indicated either that Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi could not control his guerillas or that factions within Unita were opposed to a peace plan agreed with the left-wing government.

Diplomats here said that the low-key tone of the radio report suggested that the government was treating the incidents cautiously and would try not to let them disrupt the peace process.

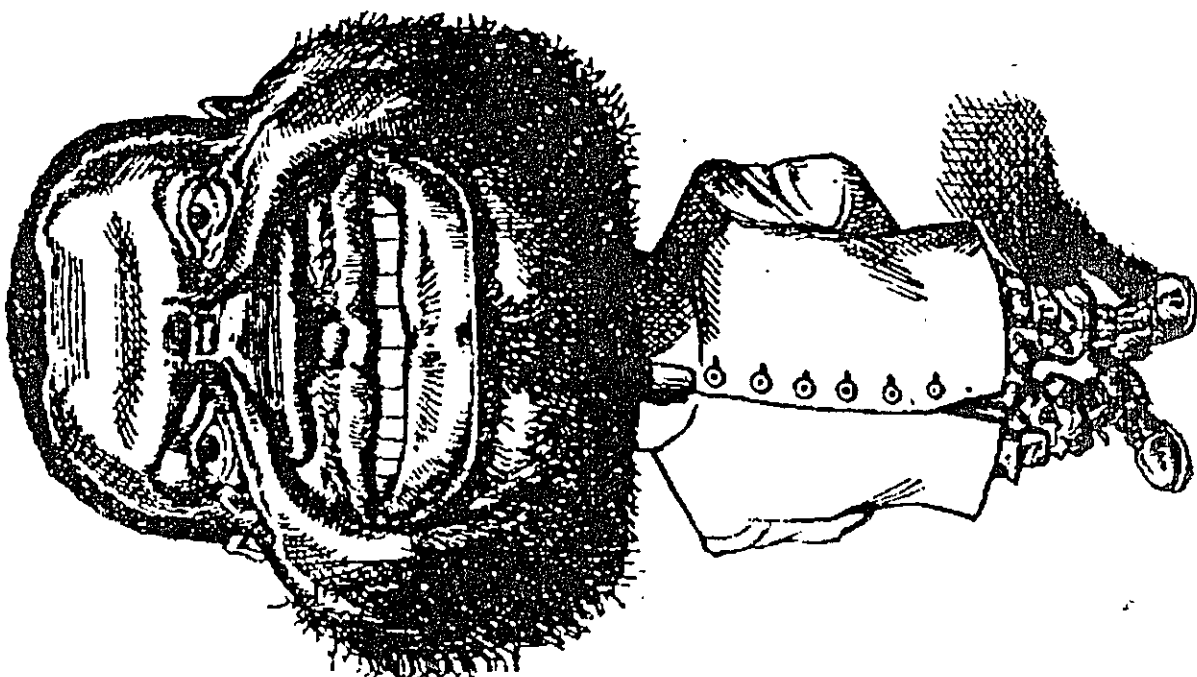
The radio said that the power cut which hit large parts of Luanda on Thursday was caused by sabotage on the power line from the hydroelectric dam at Cambambe. The sabotage took place near Calomboloca in Bengo province.

Referring to what it called "other violations" of the ceasefire, which went into effect at midnight last Friday, the radio mentioned an ambush on a convoy of three civilian vehicles travelling to Kamakupa in central Bie province last Tuesday.

It said that "armed elements of Unita" carried out the attack in which 10 civilians were injured.

The official Angolan news agency Angop reported the ambush on Thursday without directly blaming Unita. — Sapa-Reuter





Will be worse next time

**W**HEN communism seemed to be on the march in southern Africa, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire let his country become a channel for American supplies to Unita, the guerrilla movement that has fought Angola's Marxist government since the country's independence in 1975.

Now that communism is on the retreat, Mr Mobutu has turned peacemaker.

On June 22, in the presence of 16 other African presidents gathered in his native village of Gbadolite, this old survivor got Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos to shake hands with Unita's leader, Mr Jonas Savimbi. This week Mr Mobutu was in Washington, collecting his applause.

The handshake came with a ceasefire, supposed to take effect on June 24. The sounds of war will not stop at once, both sides' armed men are under loose control, and the landscape is strewn with mines that will go on killing people until they are found and made harmless. But the Angola-Namibia peace deal that the Americans helped to organise last year points to a cautious optimism.

South African troops, who had been fighting alongside Unita, have pulled out of Angola. The Cubans promise to withdraw their 50 000-strong expeditionary force from that country by July 1991. Now is the time for the "national reconciliation" the Americans say should follow.

Until recently Mr dos Santos described Mr Savimbi as a bandit, and allowed only secret contacts between his government and Unita. The Zaire summit has made the contacts official. A commission of delegates from the government and the rebels, under Mr Mobutu's chairmanship, has begun trying to work out what "reconciliation" means. Another summit may take place in Zimbabwe. But first two old enemies have to find some common ground.

After attending the Gbadolite meeting, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda said

to prepare the country for its first democratic election.

Who will back down? Some sceptics, who reckon Mr Savimbi is less wedded to democratic principles than he tells his western paymasters, think he might forget the election idea if he were offered a suitable government job. But the government side dreads the thought of, say, vice-President Savimbi. He has an anti-colonialist pedigree as long as that of Mr dos Santos and he has assembled a guerilla army of about 28 000 men.

If Mr Savimbi's future could be settled, the ideological difference between the two sides might not be insuperable. A stiff-necked contingent in the ruling party resists the admission of any Unita people, not least because the newcomers might expose the corruption of some ministers. But another cause of antipathy may be fading. The government hints that it no longer believes in a centrally planned economy. It has joined the International Monetary Fund, though not much has yet come of its promises to make more room for private businessmen and farmers. But peace would probably bring a lot of western investment into this resource-rich country, and that would further erode the dos Santos side's Marxism.

Other things can help. The Russians, who have long armed Angola's soldiers, are now preaching flexibility to Mr dos Santos, just as they are to other fading Marxists in Ethiopia and Mozambique. America's State Department, which wants an Angola settlement, may be telling Mr Savimbi that he cannot count on its support for ever. Angola's neighbours are pressing for peace: Zaire and Zambia, especially, stand to gain from the reopening of the Benguela railway, which joins their copperbelt to the Angolan coast. Squeezed from all sides, the negotiators on the reconciliation commission may indeed find themselves reaching a deal.

# Jonas Savimbi COMES Out of the bush

*W/E News 11/7/91*

that reconciliation would require Mr Savimbi to go into temporary exile. Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano said that Unita people would be given jobs in the Angolan government's civil service and army. Both ideas have the support of Mr dos Santos, since they seem to add up to Mr Savimbi and his men getting the shorter end of the stick.

The Savimbi people want a different kind of peace, one in which they are not absorbed by the institutions of the ruling party. They say they are determined to guard their independence, and to keep Mr Savimbi at their head. They are prepared to take part in a government of national unity, but only if one of its main tasks is

# Angola needs major economic reforms

5  
LUANDA — An end to Angola's 14-year-old civil war will lift a crippling burden from the economy of a country which is potentially one of the richest in Africa.

But while peace will allow Angola to freely tap its rich reserves of oil, diamonds and fertile land, western diplomats and businessmen say urgent and effective economic reforms are also needed to guarantee development.

Angola's left-wing government and the rebel movement Unita agreed a ceasefire and tentative peace plan on June 22, boosting hopes of finally securing the prosperity that has eluded its nine-million people since independence from Portugal in 1975.

The war has, since 1975, halted agricultural production, paralysed transport and severely curtailed diamond mining. Defence spending swallowed over 40% of the annual budget.

Only the oil sector, protected by government and Cuban troops, remained largely unaffected, and oil has been the lifeblood of the economy, accounting for 95% of all foreign exchange earnings.

Angola's left-wing MPLA government in 1988 launched an economic recovery plan marking a departure from the rigid central planning and state control that had characterised its socialist economic policies since independence.

The plan, known as SEF, will reduce state control and overhaul loss-making state firms; open up the economy to private enterprise and ease curbs on prices, wages and the exchange rate,

replacing them with a more market-oriented economic system.

Angola is also urgently seeking to reschedule with western creditors part of its foreign debt, which now totals \$6bn, including servicing payments. To be able to do this, it has applied to join the IMF, whose council of directors approved the request in June.

A confidential World Bank report on the economy in 1988 recommends a large devaluation of the kwanza, a lifting of price controls and effective measures to cut the budget deficit.

Government hopes that peace and improvements in foreign investment laws and procedures will attract foreign companies who already play a leading role in the thriving oil industry.

## Rebuilding

With the end of fighting, the country's extensive road and rail transport system will benefit immediately.

A programme has already been launched to start rebuilding the war-hit Benguela Railway that bisects Angola's farming heartland and can carry Zambian and Zairean mineral exports.

Agriculture will benefit. Before independence and the outbreak of war, Angola was a net food exporter and a major coffee producer.

Diamond mining, also badly hit by the war, has nevertheless improved since 1986, producing over one-million carats in 1988. This is expected to rise dramatically. — Reuter.

## Victory wrangle resurfaces

# Cuba won <sup>(5)</sup> Angolan war, claims Castro

### Political Staff

Controversy has again arisen over who won the Angolan war following claims by Cuba's President Fidel Castro that his tactics outwitted the South Africans.

South Africa, on the other hand, stands by its claim that its military victory in support of Unita resulted in peace negotiations, according to a Defence Ministry spokesman.

### Two interpretations

President Castro made his claims in a detailed account of the closing stages of the war in southern Angola.

Dr D A S Herbst, communications chief for Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, said at the weekend there appeared to be two interpretations of President Castro's claims in published versions of his account — one in which he admits defeat and one in which he claims victory.

However, it had been widely acknowledged that had it not been for the military defeat suffered by the Cuban and Angolan forces, there would not have been peace in the region.

Dr Herbst said it had been repeatedly stated that the South African forces, which never numbered more than 3 000, had

achieved "fantastic victories" in Angola.

This had occurred in the battles which began towards the end of 1987, initially at Lomka River, north of Mavinga, where there had been a concentration of Cuban/Angolan forces.

Because of that situation, South Africa had entered in support of Unita and drove the Cuban/Angolan forces out and northwards in the direction of Cuito Canavale.

In those battles, which continued till early 1988, only 31 South African were killed, compared with 7 000 to 10 000 members of the Cuban/Angolan forces.

Ninety-four Soviet tanks were destroyed in addition to radar systems and missile launchers. According to estimates, the Cuban/Angolan losses amounted to something like R3 billion.

### 'Bravado'

Dr Herbst said Castro was known as a person "who speaks with bravado".

But there could be no doubt that Cuba had been given a "bloody nose" in the final stages of the war. South Africa's military successes opened the way for the diplomats to move in, and then the peace process began, he said.

● See Page 9.



# Angola peace before year out — Cohen

By ALAN DUNN  
Political Staff

*Micus 4/7/89 5*

FINAL settlement in Angola would come before the year was out, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, said last night.

Continuing his note of optimism about developments in the southern African region, he said national reconciliation and the peace process in wartorn Angola was "coming along quite nicely".

Mr Cohen was speaking on the doorstep of the Union Buildings after talks lasting more than an hour with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha. He is due today to see the Mr F W de Klerk, United Democratic Front leaders and the African National Congress leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, as well.

"I expect final settlement in Angola certainly before the end of this year," Mr Cohen said. The peace process in that region was on track, and efforts to bring peace to Mozambique were on the right track as well.

## Useful

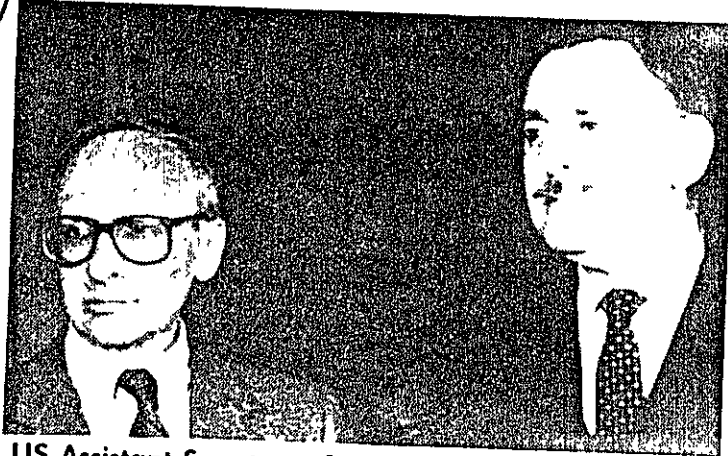
Mr Cohen, President Bush's top African policy maker, said recently Mr Botha had suggested the US should become involved in the Mozambique peace project "and we are now exploring how to do that".

He said the Bush Administration was prepared to enter the Mozambican initiative "more deeply" than the Reagan Administration had been, and would "possibly talk to the Renamo (rebel) group if President Chissano considers this useful to his efforts to bring peace to the country".

Mr Botha said he had found the discussions with Mr Cohen very useful. They followed talks he had had with Mr Cohen in Rome, and with US Secretary of State James Baker.

Mr Botha said they had talked briefly of the importance of events taking place in southern Africa, Mozambique, the implementation of the United Nations peace plan for Namibia, and US-South African relations.

Responding to a question on what he had meant previously by progress in the country depending on black people, Mr Cohen said there was a symbiotic relationship between black and white South Africans. There had to be a negotiated settlement.



US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, left, and Mr Pik Botha.

## Funeral Mass for Archbishop Naidoo

By KAREN STANDER  
Religion Reporter

*Micus 4/7/89*

THE funeral Mass for Archbishop Stephen Naidoo will be held in the Good Hope Centre next week following requiem Masses in all parishes in the archdiocese.

Bishop Lawrence Henry, auxiliary bishop of the Cape Town diocese, was yesterday elected diocesan administrator to take charge until the appointment of a new archbishop, who will be appointed by the Vatican after a consultation process which usually takes about a year.

The Rev Clifford Stokes, chancellor of the diocese, said Bishop Henry was elected by the college of consulters convoked in terms of the provisions of church law.

Two requiem Masses were to be held in London today for Archbishop Naidoo.

Archbishop Naidoo, 51, died in his sleep on Saturday at his brother's home in London where he was recovering from an angina attack.

His body will be brought



Bishop Henry

back to Cape Town where it will lie in state in St Mary's Cathedral from Tuesday next week.

The lying-in-state will begin with a requiem Mass at 10am and a vigil will be held throughout the day and night until 10am on Wednesday when the cathedral will be closed.

The funeral Mass in the Good Hope Centre will be held at 2pm on Wednesday and a private burial will follow at the cathedral.

Cohen predicts US policy change

# Settlement in Angola before 'end of year'

Star 4/7/89

5

Political Correspondent

There will be a final settlement in Angola before the end of the year, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen said last night.

Speaking as he left the Union Buildings in Pretoria after more than an hour of talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, Mr Cohen was optimistic about developments in the southern African region.

He said national reconciliation and the peace process in war-torn Angola was "coming along quite nicely".

Today, Mr Cohen sees National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk, United Democratic Front leaders and banned African National Congress leader Mr Govan Mbeki.

"I expect final settlement in Angola certainly before the end of this year," said Mr Cohen, adding that the peace process in the region was on track, as were efforts to bring peace to Mozambique.

His remark about Mozambique points to a strong desire in the West to see settlement there, as Mr de Klerk learnt during his recent overseas trip.

It also appears to indicate an eagerness in the South African Foreign Ministry to launch peace efforts in Mozambique.

Mr Cohen, President George Bush's top Africa policymaker, said recently Mr Botha had suggested the US become involved in the Mozambique peace effort.

## Exploring

"We are now exploring how to do that."

The Bush administration was prepared to become involved in the Mozambique initiative more deeply than the Reagan administration, and "possibly talk to Renamo if President Chissano (of Mozambique) considers it useful to his efforts for peace".

Mr Botha said he had found the discussions with Mr Cohen very useful. They had talked briefly of the importance of events taking place in southern Africa and Mozambique, implementation of the United Nations independence plan for Namibia, and US-South African relations.

Mr Cohen met members of the Democratic Party for lunch yesterday and met Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Replying to a question on what he had meant when he said recently that progress in South Africa depended on black people, Mr Cohen said there was a symbiotic relationship between black and white South Africans. There had to be a negotiated settlement.

"Nothing can be done unilaterally in this country anymore," he said, noting that this was his personal analysis, not that of the Bush administration.

Asked whether his policy would be any different to the Reagan administration's much criticised policy of constructive engagement, he said: "You can expect it is going to change."

# Dos Santos picks up peace talks (5)

LUANDA — Angolan president José Eduardo dos Santos left for the Congo yesterday to huddle with two other African presidents in an attempt to salvage talks he broke off with Angolan rebels after they reportedly violated a week-long ceasefire meant to end the 14-year civil war.

Angolan sources said the meeting would take place in the town of Pointe Noire with Congo president Denis Sassou N'Guesso and Gabon president Omar Bongo, both of whom have taken a leading role as mediators in inter-African conflicts.

Dos Santos returned home on Saturday after breaking off talks in Kinshasa, Zaire, with Unita rebels.

The Angolan government claimed Unita had violated the ceasefire, signed on June 22 in Gbadolite, Zaire, and sealed with a handshake between Dos Santos and Unita chief Jonas Savimbi.

Yesterday Angolan news agency Angop said five people died last Thursday when Unita rebels attacked a convoy of vehicles belonging to a local coffee co-operative

near the town of Cambambe, 180km south-east of Luanda.

Angolan authorities said 10 people were injured in another attack on a civilian convoy and blamed Unita for sabotaging power lines leading from the Cambambe dam to Luanda.

## Denial

In an editorial yesterday Angop called the ceasefire the "indispensable condition" for seeking peace.

Unita issued a statement in Lisbon on Saturday denying breaking the ceasefire and affirming "total engagement in the process of peace and national reconciliation begun on Gbadolite".

The diplomatic shuttling over the weekend between Luanda, Lusaka and Kinshasa and Dos Santos's departure yesterday indicated Angola's interest in getting talks back on the track, diplomats said. — Sapa-AP.

LUSAKA — Angola accused Unita rebels yesterday of 30 violations of a ceasefire agreed two weeks ago.

Briefing foreign diplomats in Luanda, Foreign Minister Mr. Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem also accused Unita of trying to distract the terms of a peace plan agreed on at a summit of African leaders in Gbadolite, Zaire.

Last Friday the Angolan government suspended direct talks with Unita because of the alleged violations and demanded an explanation from the rebels. Unita denies violating the cease-

# Angola accuses Unita of 30 ceasefire violations

fire. Mr. Van-Dunem, whose remarks were quoted by Angolan national radio, said that since the ceasefire went into effect Unita had systematically destroyed power lines and pylons carrying electricity to the capital Luanda and other cities.

"Supply columns have been attacked, villages have been killed, their inhabitants kidnapped, their goods destroyed or

stolen," added Mr. Van-Dunem. He said a unit of the Angolan armed forces had also been

bombarded by mortar shells. He did not say when or where specific incidents occurred but said his government would provide evidence of the violations. The Minister added that Unita and its leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi were trying to "play tricks" with the details of a peace plan agreed between the Unita leader and Angolan President Jose

Eduardo dos Santos at the Gbadolite summit.

"The government says the peace plan, which it says was accepted by Dr. Savimbi, is based on the idea of integrating members of Unita into the Angolan population, government and armed forces. Publicly, it says that details of special treatment to be given to Dr. Savimbi will be kept secret as agreed at the summit.

But privately, Angolan officials say Dr. Savimbi accepted an idea for him to temporarily keep out of Angolan politics and even leave the country to facilitate the peace process.

Dr. Savimbi has since said he will not go into exile and that Unita members will not integrate into the ruling MPLA party but are ready to join a government of national unity. The Angolan government will not accept a multiparty system

and Unita members must be integrated into the existing structures, Angola's new ambassador to Portugal, Mr. Rui Mingas, said at a press conference in Lisbon.

He indicated that Unita, as a political organisation, would have to disappear. "We are not talking about the participation of Unita or of members of Unita either in the army or in the government. We are talking about their full integration into the Angolan family," said Mr. Mingas. He said this did not mean that everyone would have to join the ruling MPLA party. "Not all Angolans are or can be members of the MPLA party and there are members of the government who are not members of the party," he said. However, integration did not mean political pluralism and there was no question of Unita becoming an opposition political party. — The Star's Africa News service-Rouner.

Iron may aid

## Confidence on Angola peace

Blair 6/7/89 (5)  
ABIDJAN — US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said yesterday he was confident the Angolan civil war could be ended, and that he believed the time was almost ripe for talks on the conflict in Mozambique.

"Reconciliation in Angola has taken a first step forward, but there is much to be done. Talks will be tough and difficult, but we are confident that they will lead to a durable peace," he told an airport news conference in the Ivory Coast capital Abidjan.

Cohen, who has been in SA, is due to attend a session of the joint monitoring commission supervising the Angolan and Namibian peace process in Luanda on July 7 and 8 before visiting other countries in the region. — Sapa-Reuter.



## Define ceasefire controls - Savimbi

ABIDJAN (Ivory Coast) — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday called for ways to verify compliance with a two-week-old ceasefire agreement that both sides in Angola's civil war accuse the other of violating. (S)

"I think we have so far had 47 violations on the part of the MPLA. We have to study the mechanisms of the ceasefire and define controls," Dr Savimbi told a news conference in Abidjan.

The MPLA said on Wednesday it had noted at least 30 violations of the ceasefire by Unita.

Dr Savimbi said the Angolan government had continued bombarding Unita positions. *stay 1/15/89*

### AMMUNITION

Reconnaissance flights over Unita-controlled territory and operations to resupply government forces with food and ammunition were also continuing, he added.

On Wednesday Angolan

Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem, briefing foreign diplomats in Luanda, accused Unita of trying to distort the terms of the peace plan.

Mr Van-Dunem said that since the ceasefire went into effect Unita had systematically destroyed a number of power lines and electricity pylons.

The Minister added that Dr Savimbi was trying to "play tricks" with details of the peace plan.

5 wmail  
7-13/7/89.

WEEKLY

# Torture outcry crocodile tears — Swapo

SWAPO has reacted to the international outcry over allegations that it tortured and killed dissidents in Angola by describing the claims as part of a South African campaign to weaken the movement.

More than 100 former detainees who returned to Namibia under United Nations protection last week said they were subjected to horrific torture in Angolan camps — held in underground pits and forced to confess they were South African agents.

Both the United States and South African governments have expressed

**Claims that dissidents had been subjected to horrific abuse in its camps were part of a campaign to discredit Swapo, the movement said this week.**  
**SHAUN JOHNSON reports**

“grave concern” over the allegations. Speaking from Windhoek yesterday, Swapo information secretary Hidipo Hamutenya said the claims of maltreatment of prisoners were “part of a longstanding campaign to weaken Swapo”, planned and implemented

by South Africa.

“South Africa trained 50 000 Namibians to fight against Swapo and independence,” he said. “Only a cynic of the highest order would not accept that they also trained a fifth column of spies.

“In a war situation these agents who infiltrated the ranks of Swapo had to be isolated and neutralised — why now the crocodile tears for them?”

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha says as many as 2 000 detainees are still being held by Swapo.

He is to raise the matter at a meeting

of the Joint Monitoring Commission in Luanda today, and the US State Department has requested a report from the Angolan and other Southern African governments.

According to Swapo, the number of detainees was 201. This is the figure the UN High Commissioner for Refugees is working with.

Hamutenya said all had been released and “I want to assure you that we didn’t kill any of the detainees, nor did Swapo ever authorise any torture. If it happened at all, it would have been an excess outside the rules and regulations of Swapo.”

Regarding allegations that people were still in detention, Hamutenya said: “Botha is flogging a dead horse. The issue is closed. Some have opted to return to Namibia, others haven’t — we are not holding anybody.”

South Africa’s administrator-general in Namibia, Louis Pienaar, has refused to release Namibian political prisoners until he is satisfied that all Swapo’s detainees are free.

The “inevitability” of the detention camps was merely one of the “painful and tragic consequences of a long, very bloody war imposed on Namibia by South Africa,” Hamutenya said. “That was the first crime.”

He believed the issue was now being used in an attempt to divide Namibians further. “But the strategy will fail. These people (the detainees) must have their say, and then the Namibian people will decide.”

“But I think South Africa is underestimating the level of bitterness against the war. Thousands and thousands of Namibians perished, many of them as a direct result of betrayals. You couldn’t very well ask people to go and fight and die for their land and then say you would not deal with those who were betraying them.”

“It was not possible to release the detainees until the ceasefire was signed.”

# Odd as it sounds, we are Angola's last, best hope

by Ken Owen 10/7/89

KEN OWEN

**T**HE clock on the tower that guards the entrance to Luanda harbour stopped long ago at an hour past midnight. The clock stares sightlessly across a city that has been wrenched and cracked by the great destructive forces unleashed when the Cuban army installed the communist MPLA as government 15 years ago.

Daubed on the broken window of one of the great Portuguese trading houses, now an abandoned shell, is the old slogan: "A luta continua" — the struggle continues. And so it does, in ways more bitter than any pre-liberation "freedom fighter" could have imagined.

To describe Luanda after an absence of 20 years is difficult. None of the images that come to mind — the back streets of Cairo, the squatters' camps of Peru, our own Crossroads — really matches the desolation of modern Luanda.

**B**roken shutters swing across empty windows, air conditioners have been ripped out of the walls, as in Maputo, and the holes have been left gaping; the tiled roof of a beautiful terracotta colonial house has crashed across a corner of the verandah, and a family has moved under the remaining corner.

An office skyscraper, topped by a decaying sign that reads "Flat", has been occupied by families and is draped with laundry. Newspaper is pasted over the wide windows. On the roof, a new arrival builds a grass hut. Acres of shopfloor are boarded up, or left open to the tropical rain and the wind.

Worst of all, the drains are bursting, from neglect and from the pressure of people who have come to the capital. Sewage seeps across the road that sweeps, in a palm-lined arc, around the bay that used to be, when I last visited in 1969, one of the most graciously beautiful vistas in Africa.

The smell follows me into a bookshop where a disconsolate man is rapidly dusting shelves of socialist trash from Brazil, comic-book he-

roes depicted in postures of violent struggle on the covers.

I offer a five-dollar note in an attempt to buy the only interesting thing in the place, a copy of Samora Machel's "The Enemy Within", in English. The poor man quails in evident terror, and waves me and my American money out of the shop. Foreign currency offences are not, it seems, taken lightly.

The smell of drains follows me into a food shop, where the stock includes a dusty bottle of Glenfiddich whisky and a yellow Donald Duck toy, some bread rolls, some tinned food (including rusty tins marked "Coka" in Cyrillic script), and some cheap clothing. It is the only food shop I find in hours of slogging. The place next door offers pump flanges and footvalves. At a nearby apartment block, the drain pipes have cracked, and evil-smelling fluid runs down the wall to gather in a foetid pool in the street, green with slime.

The mosaic sidewalk along the harbour, famous for its primitive motif, has crumbled. The sea wall, built of hexagonal concrete blocks, bulges and cracks under the weight of bad drainage. Urchins swarm about it like rats; the rats are as impudent as urchins. There has, we hear, been an outbreak of cholera.

In the Church of Our Lady of Nazareth, built in 1662, the exquisite blue tiles that cover the main walls have begun to come loose, and have been replaced — two of them in the wrong order, so that an angel's head now caravells under sail where her head should be. The women who kneel before a red-robed statue of Christ, hands raised in supplication, moan and mutter in desperate prayer. Some of them, losing patience with the silent Christ, pound the altar with their fists.

**T**he church offers its own consolation; outside, there is none. A European ambassador complains that the banks will not issue, nor honour, cheques. To pay the grocery bill, the embassy sends a letter to the bank manager, asking him to transfer funds to the seller; the bank acknowledges the instruction by letter, and the merchant delivers his merchandise against the bank's letter.

Angola, says the diplomat, used to produce textiles from its own cotton; now it imports the cotton and, when he recently visited the mills, they

were idle for lack of electric power, and lack of spare parts.

The hotel is good three-star quality, run by the French Meridien chain; the marmalade comes from Brazil, the butter from Portugal, the condiments from various parts of Europe. Angola produces oil in quantity, but the money it earns goes for foreign weapons, foreign goods. The bureaucrats who crowd the old Portuguese administrative offices, have good cars; the back streets are crowded with wrecks.

Amid the desperate poverty, the government can provide 27 black Mercedes 280S sedans, so that we sweep through the shattered streets behind shrieking sirens. All traffic comes to a halt for the passing war-Benzi; the ragged populace stares without expression.

Two diplomats, one European, the other Asian, agree disconsolately that it will take 15 years after a peaceful settlement with Jonas Savimbi — plus external aid on a large scale — to stop the disintegration.

Into this desolation, the Namibian peace settlement has come as a blessing from heaven. South Africa, opening a window to Africa, is perceived now as a gigantic power, a rich industrial society, the only force that can conceivably stop Middle Af-

rica's relentless slide into misery. So the Angolans, and indeed the foreign diplomats, clamour to speak to Neil van Heerden, leader of the South African delegation.

Those who can't reach Van Heerden — assorted intelligence men, over-jolly Russians ("My wife is learning Afrikaans," says one man proudly), engaging Cubans, Romanians and Yugoslavs, even Americans, engage any South African they can find. Some do not realise that I am a journalist and I come in for some of the wooing.

South Africa stands at the centre of a frail hope that peace can come to the region, and that development can be resumed. South Africa, one official tells me in so many words, is Africa's only remaining chance. An Angolan warns of the folly of destroying the industrial infrastructure of a country, and driving away its managers and entrepreneurs, in the struggle for liberation.

**T**he message from every quarter is the same: the Namibian peace has changed perceptions of South Africa in a fundamental way. South Africa is seen as amenable to negotiation; difficult to engage, but trustworthy when it has pledged its word. The appalling prospect of endless war against the region's super-power — I quote an American — has lifted a bit. Neither Africa nor diplomacy is unfamiliar to me, but I have not previously encountered anything like the wistfulness, the longing to be friends, that I found in Luanda.

The anti-colonial revolution has gone appallingly wrong. From Luanda to Dar es Salaam, from Maputo to Brazzaville, African states are being wrenched and torn by forces poorly understood, and beyond their control. The revolution that freed them from the colonial powers has made them slaves to chaos.

The only stability they see lies to the south, the only strength great enough to meet their needs. They are desperate to make a new start, and we shall be very foolish indeed if we don't at least try to help them to do so.

# Savimbi problem delays Angolan talks

11 Dec 10/7189

(5)

**LUANDA** — The future of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi appeared to be a sticking point in discussions at the weekend between Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen over stalled peace talks to end Angola's civil war.

Angola is insisting that Savimbi agree to a temporary withdrawal or self-exile from the country while peace is worked out and Unita members are incorporated into Angolan life.

Following the summit of African leaders in Gbadolite, Zaire, on June 22, where Dos Santos and Savimbi shook hands and agreed to a June 24 cease-

fire, there were reports Savimbi had accepted such conditions, but Dos Santos called an Angolan delegation home from peace talks in Kinshasa, Zaire, last weekend on the grounds that Unita had violated the ceasefire.

Savimbi had previously agreed to sit out of Angolan politics for two years before returning to participate in democratic elections, but last week in the Ivory Coast and in an interview with a Portuguese newspaper, he denied making such a concession.

Dos Santos said he told Cohen that Savimbi's withdrawal was "the key element for the solution of Angola's internal problems."

"It was a very friendly and constructive meeting, and I believe we'll be

able to expand our dialogue in the future," Cohen said.

The US, which has funded Unita with \$15m a year in military aid, is calling

for direct and substantive talks between Savimbi and Angola's marxist government in return for diplomatic recognition withheld since independence from Portugal in 1975.

"We have always supported normalisation of relations with the US," Dos Santos said. "And if it were possible to sign some kind of accord today, we'd be prepared to do so, but we understand the US is not yet ready."

Cohen has continued to express optimism over a final, peaceful outcome to the various conflicts in the region.

"I think we'll go towards an eventual settlement," he said, referring to the civil war. "It may be a long process,



● SAVIMBI



● DOS SANTOS

but I believe it will be successful. I believe it is now an African issue."

Diplomats here have suggested that a US gesture, such as agreeing to a low-level representation, could be a sign of support for Dos Santos.

Following a meeting with Portugal's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation José Manuel Durao Barroso, Dos Santos said Portugal could play an important role in the Angolan peace process.

Cohen was also in Luanda to attend the fourth meeting of the tripartite commission monitoring the agreement between Angola, Cuba and SA, helping to end the civil war and leading to Namibian independence. — Sapa-AP

## SA soldier to be released <sup>(5)</sup>

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has undertaken to release a member of South Africa's 202 Battalion being held in prison in Luanda. *SW 10/7/87*

The undertaking was given at the conclusion of the fourth meeting of the joint commission of South Africa, Angola and Cuba in Luanda.

The announcement of the imminent release of Rifleman Petrus, of the Kayango battalion, whose surname is not known, follows a visit to him in prison by the International Red Cross. — Sapa.

# Angolan peace process will go on, says Cohen

By Brendan Seery,

The Star's Africa News Service  
WINDHOEK — US Assistant  
Secretary of State for African  
Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, says  
he does not believe that the re-  
ported violations of the Angolan  
ceasefire will derail the peace  
process.

Speaking at Windhoek airport  
after a brief visit to Namibia,  
Mr Cohen yesterday said it was  
to be expected that a ceasefire  
after 14 years of war could not  
be implemented within 24 hours.

He said he believed the Ango-  
lan nation was "so exhausted by  
war" that negotiations would  
soon be resumed.

Mr Cohen said when negotia-  
tions resumed between the  
MPLA and Unita, they would be  
difficult and long, "but I believe  
it will end with a unified Angola  
which will have achieved na-  
tional reconciliation".

During his stay in Windhoek  
Mr Cohen held talks with SA Ad-  
ministrator-General Mr Louis  
Pienaar and UN special repre-  
sentative Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Mr Cohen said he believed im-  
plementation of the Resolution

435 independence plan for Na-  
mibia had now "gone beyond the  
irreversible stage".

He added he was concerned  
about reports of the fear engen-  
dered by the police presence in  
northern Namibia, and of the re-  
patriation of the remainder of  
the people who had been re-  
leased from detention by Swapo.

He added that, during the two  
days he spent in South Africa  
last week, he had been en-  
couraged by what he saw as a  
"considerable amount of new  
thinking going on inside South  
Africa". From black and white  
leaders he had heard the word  
"negotiation" used extensively.

"I believe that after the Sep-  
tember 6 elections, there is  
some hope for a move towards a  
negotiated settlement."

He refused to comment, how-  
ever, on whether President  
George Bush might set certain  
preconditions for a meeting  
with National Party leader Mr  
F W de Klerk, and he likewise  
would not be drawn on future  
US policy in the region, save to  
say that it was under review  
and that Mr Bush would be the  
person to enunciate it.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma leaving a Cairo hotel yesterday.

Picture: REUTERS.

## Talks with rebels resume (5)

LUSAKA — Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem said peace talks between the government and the rebel movement Unita will resume this month, Angolan national radio reported yesterday. *S (Dm 11 7) 84*

The government suspended talks with Unita more than a week ago after accusing the rebels of breaking a ceasefire agreed at a summit of African leaders in Zaire on June 22.

### Visit

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said on Saturday the talks would be resumed once the ceasefire was restored.

Angolan radio did not say when or where the talks would restart.

Speaking to reporters in Luanda on Sunday, Van-Dunem also criticised what he called the incoherence of US policy towards Angola.

He said Washington, while maintaining it supported a plan by the Angolan government to end the country's 14-year-old civil

war, continued to support Unita.

Van-Dunem was speaking after a visit to Luanda by US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs Herman Cohen.

Washington has never recognised the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government which declared independence from Portugal in 1975.

□ LISBON — Angola's UNITA rebels killed 13 people in the latest violation of a ceasefire agreed last month, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

The agency said the rebels killed 11 civilians last Friday in an attack on a supply convoy near Chinguar in the central province of Bie.

The previous day two people were killed in an ambush outside Caculama in the northern province of Malanje, Angop said, citing official sources in Luanda.

Angola's Marxist government and the UNITA rebels have swapped charges of violations since the ceasefire went into effect on June 24. — Sapa-Reuter.

by announcement



# EC mission for southern Africa

PARIS — European Community foreign ministers agreed yesterday to send a mission to Angola and Mozambique to demonstrate support for peace moves in southern Africa.

French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, after chairing a meeting of the 12 ministers, told a news conference some had also wanted an EC delegation to visit SA.

But he said most felt it would be better to wait until after the elections and the expected transfer of power from President P W Botha to NP leader F W de Klerk.

The delegation would involve officials of the so-called troika of the EC's present, past and next chairmen — France, Spain and Ireland.

Said Dumas: "The mission will allow us

to appreciate how the Community can support the efforts of certain governments to achieve national reconciliation and re-launch their economies".

Ministers expressed concern about events in Israel, where Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's Likud party has toughened conditions for elections in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

EC leaders recently argued against such conditions fearing they would choke off the Middle East peace process.

Dumas said ministers agreed to study providing more aid for Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Diplomats said they agreed to ask China to allow international observers at trials following the recent protests. — Sapa Reuter.



5

# Unita repeats demands in Lisbon

Own Correspondent

LISBON — The Angolan rebel movement Unita reiterated its demands for free elections, a new constitution and a new order in Marxist-ruled Angola at a Press conference held in Lisbon yesterday.

Unita representative in the Portuguese capital Alcides Sakhala said that while Unita strongly supported the Ghadolite accords — signed in Zaire on June 22 — the process of peace was only now beginning. Unita and the ruling MPLA government would be putting forward their proposals in a series of discussions starting in Kinshasha shortly.

He declined to put a timetable on the process but some sources admit it could take as long as two years to pacify the country and reach agreement on power sharing, demilitarisation, elections and a new constitution.

Sakhala said the former colonial power, Portugal, had missed the boat and now had no role to play in furthering the peace process. He attacked the Lisbon govern-

ment's uncritical support for the Marxist regime in Angola, saying a more even-handed approach was needed from a country which had handed over Angola at independence to three Liberation movements, among them Unita.

He squashed "once and for all" continuing speculation that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi had agreed to go into exile during the peace process. He said the rebel leader had merely agreed not to participate in any future transition government in Angola.

In a communique read during the conference, Unita demanded that Lisbon formally recognised the Unita delegation in Portugal, set up in 1975, and established "institutional relations" with the guerrilla movement. This should include the dispatch of a government official to Unita's Jamba headquarters to meet Jonas Savimbi.

# SPARECO

## Spareco Holdings Limited

# 'Angola used deadly gas in war'

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US Defence Department is investigating claims that the Angolan government used Soviet-made chemical bombs against Unita as recently as April this year.

Professor Aubin Heyndrickx, head of the Department of Toxicology at the University of Ghent in Belgium, is currently in Washington to brief Defence Department experts and other influential Americans on his findings of the use of a deadly new gas, calcium cyanide, in the Angolan war.

## ATROCITY

He said in an interview on Wednesday that it was alarming that much of the Western world had closed its eyes to the atrocity of chemical warfare in Angola. Much of this had to do with the fact that Western countries were keen to improve relations with the Soviet Union or because they were anxious to see reconciliation between the MPLA and Unita.

The fact remained, though, that the Soviet Union had apparently been testing a devastating new type of chemical bomb in the jungles of Angola — a weapon for which the Western countries were completely unprepared.

Professor Heyndrickx said between 400 and 500 Angolan civilians were suffering from irreversible damage to their sensory organs as a result of the chemical weapons.

His tests had shown the gas used in the bomb was a simple and cheaply-manufactured compound of calcium and cyanide  $\text{Ca}(\text{CN})_2$ . It was released over a target area in a mixture of gas and dust. The closer victims were to the point of detonation, the more seriously they were affected.

He said his findings had been supported by academics in other European capitals, but there were also people who had tried to insist that the victims he had tested were suffering from tropical diseases or viruses.

Professor Heyndrickx said Unita had located the whereabouts of an unexploded chemical bomb, and there were sites in Angola where the calcium cyanide dust could still be found.

## PEACE TALKS

He challenged any authority to verify his findings by visiting the area, taking samples and testing the victims.

● Sapa-AP reports from Luanda that direct peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita rebels were to resume in the Zairese capital of Kinshasa on Sunday, sources close to the government said yesterday.

Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dumern said talks would probably start before the end of July, but a Unita spokesman told journalists in Portugal on Wednesday that a rebel delegation had left for Kinshasa in the hope of meeting government officials for talks.

# Angolan ceasefire source of concern

Defence Correspondent

SADF Chief General Jan-  
nie Geldenhuys yester-  
day expressed concern  
about whether the cease-  
fire declared in Angola  
between Unita and the  
MPLA would be hon-  
oured.

Addressing a Pretoria  
Press Club lunch, he said  
he was "very worried"  
about the situation be-  
cause a ceasefire usually  
followed talks, whereas  
in this case the ceasefire  
had preceded the negoti-  
ations.

Turning to Namibia, he  
said many Untag troops  
there tried to be impar-  
tial, but there had also  
been many cases of bias  
— even some against  
Swapo. The question of  
intimidation by Swapo  
was, in fact, a more seri-  
ous matter.

Cuban withdrawal  
from Angola was going  
according to schedule,  
according to all indica-  
tions. There were even  
cases of Cuban forces  
leaving ahead of sched-  
ule, so "they appear to be  
serious about sticking to  
the agreement".

986-14-15 17/7/89

## Angolan talks face ceasefire problem

**KINSHASA.** — Peace talks aimed at ending the 14-year civil war in Angola resumed yesterday morning, with negotiators faced with finding a way to stabilise a ceasefire.

Foreign minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem led the Angolan delegation which had originally pulled out of the talks two weeks ago, claiming guerilla leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's forces were violating the ceasefire.

Dr Savimbi, the leader of Unita, arrived in the Zaire capital yesterday morning for a meeting with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, government sources here said. Dr Savimbi has excluded himself from direct participation in the meetings.

Dr Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos agreed to a ceasefire and peace negotiations on June 22. Under the agreement, the ceasefire was to begin on June 24.

The Angolan national news agency, Angop, said its delegation left on Saturday for Kinshasa, carrying a special message for Mr Mobutu. The agency also said Angola's council of ministers held a special session on Friday to discuss the government's plan for the negotiations. — Sapa-AP

# Objections to IMF membership 'purely political'

*by Dan 7/7/84*  
LISBON — Angola yesterday urged Western countries to ignore US objections to its application to join the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Briefing foreign diplomats, Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem dismissed US opposition as "purely political" and pledged his country would meet IMF obligations.

Bankers say Angola needs IMF and World Bank membership to help reschedule about \$4bn of foreign debt and carry out economic reforms.

Van-Dunem referred to peace moves under way to end 14 years of civil war and said IMF aid could help Angola rebuild social and economic infrastructure destroyed in the war.

The minister, whose remarks were carried by the Angolan news agency Angop monitored in Lisbon, said IMF

officials were due to vote on the matter on July 18. He called on the diplomats to use their influence.

At the same time Unita leader Jonas Savimbi called for ways to verify compliance with the two-week-old ceasefire agreement that both sides accuse the other of violating.

Savimbi told a news conference in the Ivory Coast economic capital of Abidjan that there had been 47 MPLA violations of the ceasefire.

The MPLA said earlier it had noted at least 30 violations by Unita.

Savimbi denied his men had violated the ceasefire, but he said it was not clear from the Gbadolite agreement what constituted a violation.

"Is air reconnaissance a violation of the ceasefire or not? Resupplying garrisons: is it a violation or not?"

Savimbi said the peace process had a long way to go, but he was still optimistic and for Unita "there is no question of going back".

On Wednesday Van-Dunem accused Unita of trying to distort the terms of the peace plan.

Privately, Angolan officials say Savimbi has accepted an idea for him to temporarily keep out of Angolan politics and even leave the country.

But Savimbi said he did not intend to disappear quietly.

"If I'm not dead and haven't been killed they cannot ask me nicely to go elsewhere," he added.

"I am going to stay at the head of my movement until we can organise elections. The idea of exile shows a certain weakness on the part of the other side." — Sapa-Reuter.

# DP delegates go to Angola and Maputo

A DP delegation will meet Angolan government members in Luanda today and is expected to meet Mozambique government representatives in Maputo before returning to SA tomorrow.

Delegation leader and DP co-leader Wynand Malan confirmed from Lusaka yesterday that the delegation would meet the Angolan government today. He could not confirm if Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos would be present, but sources said he was expected to be.

Malan would not confirm if the party would proceed to Maputo for talks with

EDYTH BULBRING

President Joaquim Chissano and members of his government, but DP sources said the delegation was expected there.

The delegation met the ANC and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda at the weekend. Malan described the talks with Kaunda as "excellent".

Kaunda indicated a willingness to meet NP leader F W de Klerk. He told Malan he would "size up" De Klerk and if he got a positive response he would even be prepared to meet De Klerk again in Pretoria.

Malan said it was agreed stability in the southern African region could be achieved only by understanding and communication.

The delegation discussed the DP's vision and explained its aim to promote interaction among all political organisations.

"Whatever happens in the general election and whatever government emerges, contact with that government will have to be continued and promoted," Malan said.

The two parties agreed that unless the southern African states "got their houses in

□ To Page 2

## DP delegates

order", Western investment could go to Eastern bloc countries in the light of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's initiatives and glasnost policy.

This could jeopardise economic development and much-needed capital investment in the southern African region, Malan said.

It was agreed heads of the Frontline states could play a major role in stabilising the southern African region and needed to promote the concept of talking, with a view to negotiation, he said.

It was also agreed talks should be held without preconditions being met so that preconditions, regarded as obstacles to negotiations, could be resolved by talking.

Kaunda felt very strongly there was potential for a volcanic eruption in SA because of the NP government's apartheid policy, Malan said.

The DP conveyed the message there was fluidity in SA politics and a window of opportunity was opening for real political progress provided all political parties could communicate.

It is believed the DP delegation hoped to convey the same message to the Angolan and Mozambique governments.

Malan said the ANC, with whom they spoke for seven hours, was becoming more flexible and aware of the need for new initiatives, but he would not elaborate on this.

□ From Page 1

# Moz-SA talks to include peace

# New start to Angolan talks

Cape Times 18/7/89

5

JOHANNESBURG. — President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique says that although an agenda has not yet been drawn up for his meeting tomorrow with the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, he is sure the peace initiatives in Southern Africa, including the independence of Namibia, will be one of the matters discussed.

Meanwhile, reports from Harare say that Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe yesterday welcomed the latest meetings between President P W Botha, Mr De Klerk and black leaders, but warned that there would have to be one man one vote before apartheid was abolished in his eyes.

Commenting on the meeting between President Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Mugabe said he had agreed with fellow non-aligned movement leaders "that the mere release of Mandela would not be a solution if apartheid continues".

He also said yesterday that his government would "take action" if it was satisfied that South Africa was funding the Zimbabwe Unity Movement led by Mr Edgar Tekere, the news agency Ziana reports. — Sapa

KINSHASA. — Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko met delegations from both sides in Angola's civil war on Sunday, clearing the way for direct talks to resume tomorrow, an Angolan spokesman said.

Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, in announcing the resumption of talks, suspended when his government accused Dr Jonas Savimbi's guerrillas of violating a ceasefire, said it was hoped the meetings would be fruitful.

The talks are aimed at ending the 14-year civil war. The most pressing task will be to stabilise a ceasefire that was to have begun June 24. — Sapa-AP

WHEN I visited the Museum of the Revolution in Havana last March, it struck me as odd that the exhibit commemorating the "glorious victory" at Cuito Cuanavale should have been secreted away from public view in a side corridor. Now there seems to be an explanation. Fidel Castro had yet to decide who should be credited. The general to whose genius the glory might logically have belonged was shot at dawn last Thursday.

Division General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, commander of the Cuban expeditionary force in Angola between November 1987 and January this year — the man, in other words, sent in to clean up the mess after Unita and the SADF had thrashed the MPLA and its Soviet advisers at Mavinga — was executed on charges, principally, of attempting to smuggle cocaine to the US in cahoots with Colombia's notorious Medellin Cartel.

Or so, at least, the Cuban people and the world have been asked to believe. The transcripts of those sections of Ochoa's "trial" that were broadcast on Cuban television, and other evidence, suggest that the truth is rather different. The general may, tangentially, have been involved in the drug trade, but that was not the reason for his arrest and liquidation.

### Settlement

Ochoa, according to those who knew him (including diplomats involved in the Angola/Namibia settlement process) was a man of striking countenance and much intelligence and charisma. He knew his mission was to preside over Cuba's last hurrah in Angola and that the "he-

# Drug trade was not reason for Ochoa's

4th Trib 18/7/89 (5)

roic" defence of Cuito was, therefore, a vain-glorious fraud, designed to cover a retreat that had already been decided. The 15 000 new troops who followed Ochoa came to save Cuban face, not the MPLA.

Defence Minister Raul Castro, Fidel's brother, quoted the general as saying, "I have been sent to a lost war so that I will be blamed for the defeat". That was, indeed, his view. By late 1987, the Cubans genuinely believed the MPLA's number was up and that it was time to negotiate a settlement even if the Angolans themselves disagreed. That, it is now clear, was why it was such a critical development when Havana asked for a seat at the negotiating table. The Cubans were determined to finish things even if the MPLA harboured dreams of fighting on.

### Sugar

Ochoa, as Raul Castro also noted (in tones of deep recrimination), was popular with his troops. He shared their broad (and mutual) contempt for the Angolans and did not see why his countrymen should have to stick around, far from their families and the relative comfort of home, merely to achieve a peace that would preserve the Castro brothers' honour.

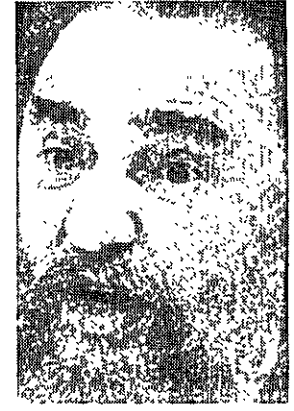
Funds were short. The Cuban economy was in ruins, the Soviets had cut their subsidy, the



**OCHOA SANCHEZ ... genius Cuban commander in Angola executed last week.**



**RAUL CASTRO ... complained Ochoa was popular with his troops.**



**FIDEL CASTRO ... had not decided who to credit with victory at Cuito Cuanavale.**

Angolans were unable and unwilling to pay their bills. As a professional loyal to fellow Cubans — if not their government — Ochoa was forced to rely on extraordinary means to keep the show going. He turned, like countless Cuban officers before him, to the Candonga, the black market.

To finance construction of two airstrips, one outside Luanda, the other near Namibia, he had his officers sell sugar, the one commodity of which the Cubans had plenty, for dollars which then, according to witness Colonel Antonio Rodriguez Estupinan, were exchanged for kwanzas at a rate of 2 500 kwanzas to the dollar, nearly a thousand times the official rate.

Anxious as they were for real money, Angolan entrepreneurs obviously found this a little rich

for their blood and were soon offering uncut diamonds for the sugar. At first, the Cubans bit, even acquiring an electronic device to test whether the stones were genuine. It was not a happy enterprise. One officer testified that there were problems with the machine because of the frequent power cuts in Luanda. Ochoa then ran into a more serious fact of life called the central selling organisation. No reputable dealer or jeweller would touch the merchandise, meaning that it was relatively valueless.

### Accepted

And so it was with most of the general's endeavours to raise cash. An attempt to sell meat to a French middleman in the Congo (where Cuban officers seemed to

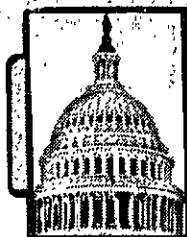
come and go as they pleased), failed because the meat, imported from Cuba, was of inferior quality. Televisions were also shipped over but no one would buy them because they were incompatible with Angola's broadcast system. In a number of other deals, the Angolans just seemed canny businessmen.

But then, the Cubans were not above ripping off the Angolans either. Ochoa admitted that he had accepted money from President Eduardo dos Santos (\$5 m (about R14 m) according to the military prosecutor) to purchase five C-130 transport aircraft (the MPLA was and is desperately short of airlift) and "one or two batteries of long-range Howitzers, the G-5 kind". The purchase order was never filled, even though US intelligence sources



Figure 2.6.1: OUTPUT: FOOD SECTOR 1978-1988

# real death



**Washington Letter**  
by SIMON BARBER

think South African suppliers would be more than eager to sell the equipment through a third country.

## Popular

Where did all this money go? According to subordinates called to the witness stand, Ochoa insisted nothing be taken out of Angola, as per standing orders. Even those staging the show found themselves hard put to establish that the general had enriched himself. A piddling \$40 000 (R112,000) seems to have found its way to a bank account in Panama but that may well have been part of the government's own sanctions-busting operation.

## 2.6.2 EMP

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Ochoa also said, or rather was allowed to say, that he had used proceeds to purchase radio equipment for the Cuban military back home. All in all, he seemed rather more interested in obtaining air conditioners, improving barracks and otherwise looking after the welfare of his own men.

This is the real clue to Ochoa's demise. As Raul Castro complained, he was popular. That, as the French government learnt during the Algerian crisis, is a dangerous thing for a general to be when he has a large number of disillusioned veterans at his back — veterans, in Ochoa's case, who had not only been pressed into fighting a meaningless war in a distant and none too hospitable land, but who also had very little to return home to except the welcome of some smarmy apparatchiks on the Havana docks and an empty promise of employment.

## Anxiety

Whether or not he had designs against Castro, and there is reason to believe he did, Ochoa posed a serious threat to the regime. Because of his military exploits in Ethiopia during the '70s, and elsewhere, he was one of the few men Fidel had allowed the State-run Press to turn into a star. People recognised

and cheered him on the streets. Worse, he had strong ties to Moscow and was an admirer of Mikhail Gorbachev, whose economic and political reforms he wished Cuba to emulate. Finally, he was a member of a rising generation that knows it will inherit but sees itself blocked by the layer of entrenched bureaucracy that lies between it and Castro.

Proof of the regime's anxiety about the man is that they did not simply make him disappear in an airplane accident or some such tragic accident. A piece of theatre had to be staged, that he might be made to seem the devil incarnate — a man who grubbed for money by the vilest means while his soldiers laid down their lives at Cuito Cuanavale. Then, as an example and to prevent him becoming a rallying point, he had to be shot.

To make sure he played the game, his children were brought to see him in jail on Father's Day.

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APC Times 19/7/89  
**Angola: 5**  
**Unita and  
govt meet**

**LUANDA.** — Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem says talks slated for today between his government and Unita rebels could develop a "solid and durable" peace in a country wracked by 14 years of civil war, a state newspaper said yesterday.

Mr Van Dunem spoke after a meeting with Zairean President Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, the mediator in talks due to resume in Zaire to discuss mechanisms for monitoring a June 24 ceasefire.

Mr Mobutu met both Mr van Dunem and Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi on Sunday for talks anticipating the resumption of official negotiations.

Rebel spokesmen deny government reports that today's talks will include discussion of Unita members' integration into Angolan society. — Sapa-AP

## Angola optimistic about talks

LUANDA — Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro van Dunem said talks designated for today between his government and Unita rebels could develop a "solid and durable" peace in a country wracked by 14-years of civil war, a state newspaper reported yesterday.

Van Dunem spoke after meeting Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, mediator in the talks due to resume in Kinshasa, Zaire, and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, to discuss mechanisms for monitoring a June 24 ceasefire. BIDM 19/7/89

An Angolan government delegation abandoned the first round of negotiations on July 1, claiming rebels had violated a truce agreed between Savimbi and President José Eduardo dos Santos in Gbadolite on June 22. (S)

Both sides have reported ceasefire violations.

But there has been confusion over just what was agreed to in Gbadolite.

The Angolan government claims Savimbi pledged to leave the country temporarily while Unita members were integrated into existing structures in Angola under an approved government peace plan.

But Unita spokesmen have rejected this and called for a transitional government consisting of members of both sides. — Sapa-AP.

OMT-7428 20/7/89 (5)

## Angola revokes medal

LUANDA. — Angola's national assembly has voted to revoke a decision granting the country's Medal of Merit to Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, the Cuban general executed on July 13 after conviction for narcotics smuggling, official sources said yesterday.

Ochoa was for many years the commander of Cuban forces backing Angola's Marxist-orientated government.

The assembly had decided to grant him the award for "services to the fatherland".

Sources in Luanda also said the Angolan government was to appeal for compensation from Havana, claiming Ochoa had been paid for military equipment that was never delivered. — Sapa-AP

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# Oil from Angola, hints DP

*CMT-TWB 2017/89*  
Political Staff

(S) ~~DP~~

THE Angolan government had indicated that it was prepared to look at supplying South Africa with oil and resuming air links, Democratic Party MP for Green Point Mr Tian van der Merwe said yesterday.

He said it was obvious that a non-apartheid government or a DP government would have immediate results in opening doors in Southern Africa.

(Report by B Sreek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

*(Handwritten scribble)*  
B/day 20/7/89

*(Handwritten scribble)*  
5 B/day 20/7/89

### Tekere men held by CIO in Zimbabwe

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Two members of Edgar Tekere's opposition party, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement, have been detained by the Central Intelligence Organisation in the south-eastern town of Chipinge.

ZUM spokesman Davison Gomo said Chipinge party chairman Mike Musamirapamwe and an ordinary member, Ralph Kurehwa, were picked up by CIO officers on Tuesday and were being held at an undisclosed place.

Gomo said the two were detained the previous day and cross-questioned about ZUM activities in the Chipinge area.

### MPLA 'cannot dictate'

LISBON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has said his rebel movement does not have to make concessions in talks with the Marxist government aimed at ending the country's 14-year-old civil war.

Savimbi said the only solution to the Angolan conflict was for Unita to share power with the MPLA.

"The MPLA cannot dictate conditions, because Unita is stronger and does not belong to the MPLA," Savimbi said in an interview from his headquarters in Jamba, televised in Portugal on Tuesday night.

Meanwhile, the official Zairean News Agency AZAP reported yesterday Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko would set up a group to monitor the Angolan ceasefire.

AZAP, quoting reliable sources, said an observation commission would be set up without delay to spell out how the ceasefire should be enforced and ensure strict compliance. — Sapa-Reuter.



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## SA politics 'block Angolan relations'

ANGOLAN Justice Minister Fernando van Dunem saw the unacceptability of SA's political system as a block to improved relations with SA, DP co-leader Wynand Malan said yesterday. (S) (3-11-89)

In a statement issued after his return from Lusaka, Luanda and Maputo, Malan said his DP delegation spent two hours with Van Dunem and his justice and foreign affairs officials.

Malan said issues raised by the delegates included reconciliation with Unita, the implementation of resolution 435 and

EDYTH BULBRING

economic co-operation and development in the region. B/Daily 20/7/89

The DP delegation argued that constructive links, independent of government, could be established with Angola.

Van Dunem said his government was committed to reconstructing the framework of the country's constitution. Angola foresaw a political solution to its war with Unita, and did not want to solve it by military means.

## Pilots who 'spied for SA' face firing squad

LISBON. — An Angolan tribunal has sentenced two air force pilots to death for spying for South Africa.

Humberto Campos Abrantes and Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira face the firing squad for passing military secrets to Pretoria, the Portuguese news agency, Lusa, said yesterday.

Campos was said to have passed on classified information including the strength of the air force and the arms it possessed.

### FOR PERSONAL GAIN

Setas was charged with planning to divert a Soviet-made MI-25 helicopter to South Africa, where he would have been paid R2,5-million and given protection.

Mr Justice Augusto Costa Cerneiro told the court the two had sacrificed the country's interests for personal gain. — Sapa-Reuter.

Lakeland on



Star 2/17/89

(S)

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## Death sentences for two spy pilots

LISBON — An Angolan tribunal yesterday sentenced two Air Force pilots to death for spying for South Africa, the Portuguese news agency, Lusa, said.

Captain Humberto Campos Abrantes and Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira face the firing squad for passing military secrets to

Pretoria from 1984 and 1985 respectively, it said.

Campos was said to have passed on classified information including the strength of the Air Force and arms it possessed.

Setas was charged with planning to divert a Soviet-made MI-25 helicopter to South Afri-

ca, where he would have been paid one million dollars.

Judge Augusto Costa Cerneiro said they had sacrificed the country's interests for personal gain. "The security of our armed forces, people and state were put aside for the interests of imperialism." — Sapa-Reuter.

# Two 'SA spies' to die

LISBON. — An Angolan tribunal yesterday sentenced two Air Force pilots to death for spying for South Africa, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

Humberto Campos Abrantes and Jose Jorge Setas Ferreira face the firing squad for passing military secrets to Pretoria in 1984 and 1985 respectively, it said.

Abrantes was said to have passed on classified information, including the strength of the Air Force and arms it

*City Times 21-7-89*  
possessed.

Ferreira was charged with planning to divert a Soviet-made MI-25 helicopter to South Africa, where he would have been paid \$1 million (R2,7m) and given protection.

Judge Augusto Costa Cerneiro said the two had sacrificed the country's interests for personal gain.

"The security of our armed forces, people and state were put aside for the interests of imperialism, particularly of South Africa and Unita."

Off. Trip 28/7/89 (5)

## Zairean plan accepted

LISBON. — Angola has accepted a Zairean plan to monitor the ceasefire between government troops and Unita rebels, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

“The Angolan government fully agrees with the proposals made by (Zairean) President Mobutu Sese Seko concerning the ceasefire,” Angolan armed forces chief General Antonio Franca said.

General Franca said he understood that the rebels agreed with some parts of the Zairean plan but wanted time to think over other aspects.

President Mobutu, chief mediator in the Angola peace talks, is to set up a group to monitor the ceasefire. — Sapa-Reuter

Star 25/7/89 (5)

## Angolans accept the monitoring of ceasefire

LISBON — Angola has accepted a Zairese plan to monitor the ceasefire between government troops and Unita rebels, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

“The Angolan government fully agrees with the proposals made by (Zairese) President Mobutu Sese Seko concerning the ceasefire,” Angolan armed forces chief General Antonio Franca said, according to a dispatch monitored in Lisbon.

General Franca said he understood that the rebels agreed with some parts of the Zairese plan but wanted time to think over other aspects.

Mr Mobutu, chief mediator in the Angola peace talks, is to set up a group to monitor the ceasefire, which each side claims has been violated by the other since coming into force on June 24.

The talks are due to resume in Zaire next Monday, according to General Franca, who heads the Angolan delegation.

Unita rebels have fought the Marxist government since the former Portuguese colony won independence 14 years ago.

But a tentative peace agreement was worked out last month at a summit of African leaders in Zaire. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Unita, MPLA blame one another for plane crash

ARGUS 26/7/89  
LISBON. — The official Angolan news agency has said Angola's Unita rebels shot down an aircraft, killing 42 people, but the guerrilla group denied it was responsible and accused the government of trying to derail peace negotiations.

Angop news agency quoted Angolan military sources as saying the Antonov-26 was hit by a ground-to-air missile on Sunday while on a domestic flight over an area of eastern Angola partly controlled by Unita.

But Mr Norberto Castro, a Unita official in Lisbon, rejected the report. "There was no Unita attack," Mr Castro said on Portuguese television. "Unita had nothing to do with it."

He said he had been in touch with

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi who assured him the group was not involved.

Mr Castro blamed members of the ruling MPLA party who he said were trying to abort moves to end the 14-year-old civil war.

The aircraft, on a flight from Luena to Cazombo, attempted an emergency landing in a rural area about 40km from Cazombo but burst into flames.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that although the United States could not confirm that an Angolan aircraft was shot down or that Unita was responsible, any violation of the ceasefire was of great concern to the United States. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Unita blast plane from the sky

LISBON. — Angola's Unita rebels shot down a plane on an internal flight on Sunday, killing 42 people, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported yesterday from Luanda.

Lusa, quoting Angolan military sources, said the Antonov-26 was hit by a rebel missile and crashed as it tried to make a forced landing.

The plane was on a flight from Luena to Cazombo, according to the agency, which did not say whether it was carrying civilians or military personnel.

Lusa said six people survived the crash at Chana about 40km from Cazombo in the eastern province of Moxico. The missile hit one of the plane's engines, the sources said.

A shaky ceasefire to end the 14-year war has held since a summit of African leaders in Zaire on June 22. Peace talks in Zaire, stalled amid mutual charges of ceasefire violations, were due to resume next Monday.

"This is not just a case of violating the ceasefire," a military source told the agency. "In the past 72 hours Unita has clearly stepped up its war effort again.

"Angola cannot allow Unita to act with impunity," the source was quoted as saying when asked if the plane attack could wreck the peace process. — Sapa-Reuter



B/Day 26/7/87. (5)

# 42 killed when Unita downs military plane

LUANDA — Unita rebels shot down a Soviet-built Angolan military plane on a domestic flight, killing 42 of the 48 people on board, the state news agency Angop reported yesterday.

The plane, a twin-propeller Antonov 26, was carrying a delegation of regional officials from Luena to Cazombo in eastern Moxico province on Sunday, when it was hit in the left engine by a missile, a military official in Luanda said.

According to the official, the plane was forced to make a crash landing in the bush about 42km west of Cazombo.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa reported a woman and a 15-year-old child were among six survivors, but Cazombo's municipal commissioner died in the crash.

Unita's spokesmen in Lisbon could not be reached for immediate comment.

"This is more than a ceasefire violation," Lusa quoted an unnamed military source as saying yesterday, adding that reports of Unita attacks on government troop positions had increased over the weekend.

## Attacked

"Angola cannot tolerate Unita continuing to act with impunity," Lusa quoted the source as saying, adding that the spate of violations could force the government to postpone talks with the rebels due to resume in Zaire next Monday.

On Sunday, the rebels attacked and occupied the towns of Quimbele and Cuimba, near the Zairean border, the Luanda official said.

And Unita forces ambushed vehicles in Lunda South province on Monday, killing 16 people, and fired mortars over Kuito, the provincial capital of Bie, killing two or three people, he added.

Quimbele has been mentioned recently as a possible northern Angolan base for Unita rebels, in addition to its current southern Jamba stronghold.

The government delegation was apparently on its way to Cazombo to explain to provincial populations the terms of an agreement reached with Unita in Gbadolite, Zaire, last month, the official said.

Government forces and Unita rebels have accused each other of violating the Gbadolite ceasefire, which only lasted a week. — Sapa-AP.

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# Fidel Castro's story: How I ended the war in Angola

By SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The fashionable view says Pretoria agreed to withdraw from Angola and Namibia, tail between legs, a spent force. In other words, sanctions and Fidel Castro won the day.

This is not the analysis that emerges from Castro's version of events in his speech to the Cuban Council of State on July 9 when it met to confirm the death sentence on Division General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, chief of the Cuban Military Mission in Angola from November 1987 to January this year.

Instead, it becomes clear that by late 1987 Castro had concluded that the MPLA was a military and economic basket case, whipped in the field and four years behind in the trifling \$20 m a year the Cubans claimed to be charging for their services. South Africa and Unita had won. For Castro, the only acceptable course was to stage a display of military prowess and go home.

Castro was so determined that nothing should embroil his army longer than absolutely necessary that he virtually abandoned all other duties to finish the war from Havana. To ensure the MPLA would not prevaricate behind his back he obtained a Cuban seat at the negotiating table then last June, in case South Africa tried to thwart his exit by challenging him on the battlefield, he gave orders that Oshakati was to be

## CUBAN LEADER RECALLS SINGLE-HANDED EFFORT

bombed and the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme destroyed.

The immediate purpose of the July 9 speech was to denigrate Ochoa's role in the last year of the war by portraying him as lazy, incompetent, insubordinate and venal. To make this credible, Castro felt it necessary to describe the defence of Cuito Cuanavale and Cuba's subsequent flanking offensive towards the Namibian border in detail. He even quoted from cables he sent Ochoa and his field commander, General Leopoldo Cintra Frias.

This is the picture Castro painted...

When Ochoa reached Luanda in November 1987 the Angolan army and its Soviet advisers were in headlong retreat after their rout at Mavinga. As Castro put it, "the situation grew extraordinarily worse because of the increasing South African onslaught and the danger that the concentration of Angolan troops at Cuito Cuanavale would be annihilated".

On November 15 Cuba began landing the first of 15 000 reinforcements,



Angola and the Namibian border — scene of operations for Fidel Castro's do-or-die attempt to quit southern Africa with some dignity.

including "our best pilots". "Everybody was asking us to do something," Castro explained, adding, with thinly veiled contempt for his allies, "we understood that even though we were in no way responsible for the errors that had led to that situation, we could not sit still and allow a military and political catastrophe".

Meanwhile, there was panic and mutual recrimination at the Angolan-Cuban-Soviet operations centre in Luanda. "Many problems had to be solved." Ochoa, to judge from remarks last month by Cuban Defence Minister Mr Raul Castro, Fidel's brother, was appalled by what he found, reportedly remarking: "I have been sent to a lost war so that I will be blamed for the defeat."

In mid-December word reached Havana that the joint command had agreed, allegedly with Ochoa's blessing but in his absence, to what appeared to be a general retreat from Cuito Cuanavale and Menongue — the next town up the road to Huambo — north to the Benguela line "because a new situation had arisen in central Angola caused by Unita actions supported by South African advisers".

Though Castro's account is somewhat muddled here, it appears Unita was close to taking Luena on the eastern end of the Benguela line and was mounting operations

flatly rejected this, signalling on January 12 that "as long as South Africa's intentions are not totally clarified, there must be no thought of moving" forces north.

The following day the SADF and Unita attacked the three Angolan brigades holding a defensive line to the east of Cuito Cuanavale and separated from the town by the Cuito River. The Cubans, who at that point "did not have a single man in Cuito", promptly ordered "a tactical group with a tank battalion, artillery and other weapons" to the front from Menongue.

Castro had made up his mind that the Angolans would make a stand at Cuito. By his own account, he told the MPLA Cuba was taking charge. There followed a "battle" of wills as Castro peppered his generals with almost daily orders to pull back and shorten the defensive line — comprising the 59th, 25th and 21st Angolan Brigades strung out over 15 km about 18 km east of the Cuito River — so that it could be covered by artillery to the west.

The Angolans were hopelessly slow in complying. Ochoa was briefly recalled to Havana and told in no uncertain terms to "overcome any resistance from our Angolan allies to readjust the front lines". To no avail. "Days and days went by and the front

have been possible had they to managed to cut off the Angolans they had run Fapla to ground. The Angolans were no longer a factor in the war. On the other hand, the Cubans had secured their flank.

It was time for Castro's grand stroke — the gesture that would save Cuban honour unhampered by Angolan incompetence and why Castro had been adamant Cuito should not fall. On March 10, under generals Cintra Frias and Miguel Lorente Leon, a reinforced Cuban main force was ordered to the Namibian border. "The most important of all strategic operations had begun".

By early June the Cubans, having met almost no resistance, had built a fortified airbase at Cahama and were at work on a second at Xangongo. Advance units were at least as far south as Chipa, 50 km north of Caluque. What was really significant, however, was that Castro now believed — three weeks before the second round of tripartite negotiations in Cairo — that "the peace process had become irreversible".

His one major concern was that the South Africans would mess up his gesture by giving battle. He cabled Ochoa on June 7: "News of a possible South African surprise air attack... should not be underestimated... be ready to counter-attack with as many aircraft as possible".



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standably wanted to  
redeploy forces out of  
Cuito and Menongue to  
meet these attacks and  
avoid encirclement.

On January 2 1988  
Ochoa advised Havana  
that "the South Africa  
ns had withdrawn, there  
is no longer a crisis si  
tuation in Cuito, and cer  
tain troop movemements  
can be made". Castro  
was not interested in  
regrouping to fight an  
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lines were not readjust  
ed."

On February 14 the  
South Africans did as  
Castro feared, crashing  
through the 5 km gap be  
tween the 21st and 59th  
Brigades and encircling  
the latter. "A very diffi  
cult situation emerged.  
They could have gone as  
far as (the only bridge  
back into Cuito) and cut  
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The Cubans counter-  
attacked with armour, los  
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dead, by Castro's count.  
Far too many, in his view,  
and mitigated only by the  
fact that "the enemy had  
to use more than 100  
vehicles". At all events, it  
created a diversion and  
gave the Angolan bri  
gades time to retire to  
wards the river. There  
they were trapped, the  
South Africans having  
destroyed the bridge.

In the days that fol  
lowed, Castro became in  
creasingly animated, dem  
anding to know how  
many tanks he had on  
each side of the river and  
why the Angolans were  
still not consolidating  
their lines.

On February 21 he ca  
bled Ochoa in Luanda:  
"We have lost many days  
and cannot understand  
how our instructions, or  
simply our points of view,  
are conveyed to our people  
in Cuito. We do not know  
who the person responsible  
for receiving and imple  
menting our instructions  
is..."

"It seems to us that ade  
quate precautions are not  
being taken. The area com  
manders are not aware of  
the political, military and  
moral consequences that a  
disastrous confrontation  
with the forces to the east of  
the river could cause. These  
forces would not even have  
a few ships to do something  
comparable to what the  
British did at Dunkirk."

With the arrival of  
General Cintra Frias, the  
defenders managed to  
dig in along the river,  
protected by minefields,  
artillery and anti-aircraft  
cover. The South Africa  
ns launched several un  
successful assaults then  
sat back to bombard  
the town.

This was obviously not  
the face-saving demon  
stration Castro wanted.  
While the South Africa  
ns had not scored the strate  
gic victory that might

possible to completely des  
troy the Ruacana reser  
voirs and transformers ...  
plans also should be pre  
pared to hit Oshakati and  
nearby airbases ... the Ca  
hama group and every  
thing available will have to  
be used ... do not wait for  
orders to attack if there is a  
strong enemy attack."

These were extraordi  
nary instructions, appar  
ently given without con  
sultation with the  
Angolan Government  
which had reached a tac  
it understanding with  
Pretoria that the Ru  
acana complex was not to  
be touched. Castro mere  
ly sent a telex to Presi  
dent Eduardo dos Santos  
informing him that he  
had ordered his generals  
"to place all forces on a  
state of maximum alert,  
to take all security meas  
ures and to have our air  
craft ready to take off  
and repel the attack".

If he was less than can  
did with Dos Santos, Cas  
tro was equally deter  
mined that all other  
parties should be aware  
of his plans. "We notified  
the Soviets ... we were  
warning everyone of the  
danger of the possibility  
that we might have to  
launch a strong attack in  
northern Namibia".

The South African air  
attack did not materia  
lise. Instead, on July 26,  
South African artillery  
bombed Cuban units  
near Chipa. Castro decid  
ed the shelling was insu  
fficient to merit a strike  
on Ruacana and cabled  
Ochoa: "The first step  
must be a strong air at  
tack against the camp,  
military installations and  
South African personnel,  
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Twelve South Africa  
ns died in the attack, the  
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the South Africa ns "re  
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tarily", just as Castro  
hoped they would. He ca  
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sponse. Now it is up to  
them to decide what to do  
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Five weeks later all  
parties accepted the New  
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This was the climax of  
the war. From Calueque  
the negotiators took  
charge.

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# Castro planned to bomb Oshakati

CMT Times 27/7/89

Staff Reporter

PRESIDENT Fidel Castro planned to bomb Oshakati at one stage during the Angolan war, according to information from Havana.

In an address to the Cuban Council of State on the war, Dr Castro revealed that the bombing raid had been planned so that his forces could emerge from the war with their honour intact.

If the South Africans hit his troop deployments, he said on June 7 last year in a cable to Major-General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez chief of the Cuban military mission in Angola: "Do not wait for orders to carry out the attack."

But the South Africans did not attack — and so neither did the Cubans.

● Fidel Castro's story — Page 6

# ld to s bill

electricity account was registered in his name.

er, council officials wishing to recover costs found the owner had not paid a substantial deposit for the use of the house from a tenant of his still living in the house and the owner was nowhere to be found.

use was eventually sold this house and the highest bidder, at the time, was the same tenant who had previously paid the owner a "deposit" for the house.

possessed RSC properties in the area were owned by Mr Petrus A. and Mrs B Fraser, both born in the Transvaal. Taxes on the Wet's 693m<sup>2</sup> plot (valued at current market prices) had not been paid in 1983. Taxes on Mrs Fraser's 495m<sup>2</sup>, R4 000 plot had not been paid since 1976.

man said the council's overall revenue for the year remained fairly stable at R1.5 million, while more and more ratepayers paid their rates monthly rather than annually as times got tougher.

# Brewery to open in Table Bay

CMT Times 27/7/89

Municipal Reporter

AN INDEPENDENT brewery based in Knysna was granted a liquor licence last Wednesday to brew and sell beer in the Waterfront development section of Table Bay Harbour.

But the brewers are keeping quiet about it. Mr Lex Mitchell, owner of Mitchells Brewery, declined to comment yesterday and passed the query on to Mr Mike Williams, one of his managers, who in turn passed it on to the Victoria and Albert Waterfront Company.

No confirmation could be obtained from there yesterday, but another unnamed reliable source said the liquor licence was passed last Wednesday.

The operation is expected to be on stream by September or October this year.

comment and pictures in the Cape Times

ACCORDING to the fashionable view, Pretoria agreed to withdraw from Angola and Namibia with its tail between its legs, a spent force. In other words, sanctions and Fidel Castro won the day. This is not the analysis that emerges from Castro's own version of events in his speech to the Cuban Council of State on July 9, when it met to confirm the death sentence imposed on General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, chief of the Cuban military mission in Angola from November 1987 to January this year.

Instead, it becomes clear that by late 1987 Castro had concluded that the MPLA regime

# Fidel's fight not to lose face

was an irredeemable military and economic basket case, whipped in the field and four years behind in the trifling \$20m a year the Cubans claimed to be charging for their services. SA and Unita had effectively won. For Fidel, the only acceptable course was to stage a unilateral display of Cuban military prowess and go home.

So determined was Castro that nothing

should embroil his army longer than was absolutely necessary that he virtually abandoned all other duties to run and finish the war from Havana. To ensure the MPLA would not prevaricate behind his back, he sought and obtained a Cuban seat at the negotiating table. And finally, last June, in the event SA tried to thwart his exit by challenging him on the battlefield, he gave orders that Oshakati was to be

bombed and the Ruacana hydro-electric scheme destroyed.

The immediate purpose of the July 9 speech was to denigrate the role Ochoa played in the last, climactic year of the war by portraying him as lazy, incompetent, insubordinate and venal. To make this credible, Castro evidently felt it necessary to describe the defence of Cuito Cuanavale and Cuba's subsequent flanking offensive towards the Namibian border in unprecedented detail. He even quoted from cables he sent Ochoa and his field commander, General Leopoldo Cintra Frias ...

**T**HIS IS the picture Castro painted. When General Ochoa reached Luanda in early November 1987, the Angolan army and its Soviet advisers were in headlong retreat following their rout at Mavinga.

As Castro put it: "The situation grew extraordinarily worse because of the increasing South African onslaught and the danger that the concentration of Angolan troops at Cuito Cuanavale would be annihilated."

On November 15, Cuba began landing the first of 15 000 reinforcements, including "our best pilots". "Everybody was asking us to do something," Castro explained, adding with thinly veiled contempt for his allies: "We ourselves understood that even though we were in no way responsible for the errors that had led to that situation, we could not sit still and allow a military and political catastrophe to occur."

Meanwhile, there was panic and mutual recrimination at the joint Angolan-Cuban-Soviet operations centre in Luanda. "Many problems had to be solved."

In mid-December, word reached Havana that the joint command had agreed, allegedly with Ochoa's blessing but also in his absence, to what appeared to be a general retreat from Cuito Cuanavale and Menongue — the next town up the road to Huambo — north to the Benguela Line.

On January 2, 1988, Ochoa advised Havana that "the South Africans had withdrawn, there was no longer a crisis situation in Cuito and certain troop movements could be made".

**C**astro was not interested in regrouping to fight another day and flatly rejected this, signalling on January 12 that "as long as SA's intentions are not totally clarified" there must be no thought of moving forces north.

On January 13 the SADF and Unita launched an attack on the three Angolan brigades holding a defensive line to the east of Cuito Cuanavale and separated from the town by the Cuito River.

The Cubans — who at that point "did not have a single man in Cuito" — promptly ordered "a tactical group with a tank battalion, artillery and other weapons" to the front from Menongue.

Castro had made up his mind that the Angolans would make a stand at Cuito. By his own account, he told the MPLA that Cuba was taking charge. Castro peppered his generals with almost daily orders to pull back and shorten the defensive line — three Angolan brigades strung out over 15km, 18km east of the Cuito River — so that it could be covered by artillery positioned to the west.

The Angolans were hopelessly slow in complying. Ochoa was briefly recalled to Havana and told in no uncertain terms to "overcome any resistance from our Angolan allies in order to readjust the frontlines". To no avail.

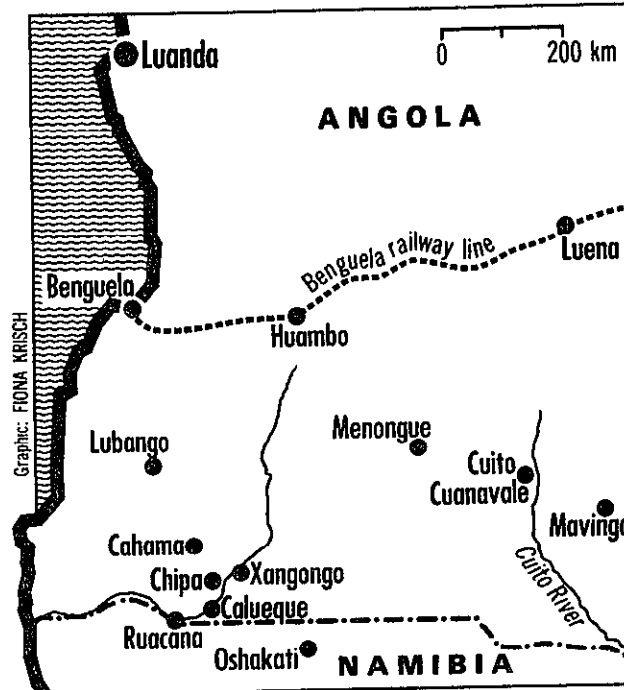
On February 14, the South Africans did exactly as Castro feared,

# Castro explains why Angola lost battle against the SADF

SIMON BARBER in Washington



□ CASTRO ... "News of a possible South African surprise air attack ... should not be underestimated"



crashing through the 5km gap between the 21st and 59th brigades and encircling the latter. "A very difficult situation emerged. They could have gone as far as (the only bridge back into Cuito) and cut off three entire brigades" — more than 3 500 Angolan soldiers.

The Cubans counter-attacked with armour, losing seven tanks and 14 dead, by Castro's count. Far too many in his view and mitigated only by the fact that "the enemy had to use more than 100 vehicles". It gave the Angolan brigades time to retire towards the river. There they were effectively trapped, the South Africans having destroyed the bridge with "unmanned aircraft".

In the days that followed, Castro became increasingly animated, demanding to know how many tanks he had left on either side of the river and why the Angolans still failed to consolidate their lines.

On February 21, he cabled Ochoa in Luanda: "We have lost many days and cannot understand how our instructions, or simply our points of view, are conveyed to our people in Cuito. We do not know who the person responsible for receiving and im-

plementing our instructions is ... something is wrong with the line of communications for passing on our orders.

"The area commanders are not aware of the political, military and moral consequences that a disastrous confrontation with the forces to the east of the river could cause. These forces would not even have a few ships to do something comparable to what the British did with its fleet at Dunkirk."

With the arrival of General Cintra Frias, the defenders at last managed to get their act together, digging themselves in along the river protected by minefields in front and artillery and anti-aircraft cover from the rear to the west of the bridge. The South Africans launched several unsuccessful assaults but then sat back to bombard the town from a distance.

While the South Africans had not scored the strategic victory that might have been possible had they managed to cut off the Angolans before they regrouped, they had effectively run the Fapla to ground. The Angolans were no longer a factor in the war. On the other hand, the Cu-

bans had secured their flank for the next move.

It was time for Castro's grand, solo stroke — the gesture that would save Cuban honour unhampered by Angolan incompetence, and the reason Castro had been so adamant Cuito should not fall.

On March 10, under Generals Cintra Frias and Miguel Lorente Leon, a newly reinforced Cuban main force was ordered south to the Namibian border from Lubango. "The most important of all strategical operations had begun."

By early June, the Cubans, having met virtually no resistance, had constructed a fortified airbase at Cahama, and were at work on a second at Xangongo. Advance units were at least as far south as Chipa, about 50km north of Calueque. Castro now believed — three weeks before the second round of tripartite negotiations in Cairo — that "the peace process had become irreversible".

His one major concern was that the South Africans would mess up his gesture by giving battle. He cabled Ochoa on June 7: "News of a possible South African surprise air attack ... should not be underestimated ... be

ready to counter-attack with as many aircraft as possible; to completely destroy the Ruacana water reservoirs and transformers. Plans also should be prepared to hit Oshakati and nearby airbases ... the Cahama group and everything that is available will have to be used for this ... do not wait for orders to carry out the attack if there is a strong enemy attack against our troops."

These instructions were apparently given without prior consultation with the Angolan government, which had reached a tacit understanding with Pretoria that the Ruacana complex was not to be touched.

Castro merely sent a telex to president Eduardo dos Santos informing him that he had ordered his generals "to place all forces on a state of maximum alert, to take all security measures and to have our aircraft ready to take off and repel the attack".

If he was less than candid with Dos Santos, Castro was equally determined that all other parties should be aware of his plans. "We notified the Soviets ... we were warning everyone of the danger of the possibility that we might have to launch a strong attack in northern Namibia."

The South African air attack did not materialise. Instead, on July 26, South African long-range artillery bombarded Cuban units near Chipa. Castro decided that the shelling was not sufficient to merit a strike on Ruacana.

**H**e cabled Ochoa: "The first step must be a strong air attack against the camp, military installations and South African personnel in Calueque and its environs ... if the enemy's artillery can be located, strike it harshly."

Eleven South Africans died in the attack, the dam was hit and Pretoria "raised a big fuss". But the South Africans also "restrained themselves militarily" — just as Castro hoped they would.

He cabled again: "We have given them our initial response. Now it is up to them to decide what to do and if they should continue the escalation." Five weeks later all parties accepted the New York principles.

This was the climax of the war. From Calueque on the negotiators took charge. There were hiccups, to be sure. Castro informed Ochoa as late as October 10 that an "impasse" had been reached and that there might have to be another demonstration.

But this, it seems, was designed less to frighten the South Africans than to sober up the Angolans, who were waiting for the outcome of the US presidential election before they finally committed to the tripartite agreement.

The Ruacana and Calueque dams would once again be the targets, but — as Castro told his commander: "I do not think the South Africans want to resume the hostilities."

This is not the story of a South African defeat. It is the story of an Angolan defeat and how, with considerable nerve and panache, the Cubans extricated themselves from it.

## Angolan talks to continue in spite of crash

LISBON — Angola's ambassador to Portugal said yesterday a plane crash that killed 42 people in Angola at the weekend should not stop peace talks with Unita. 6/19/75 27/7/75

Rui Mingas said in an interview with Portuguese state RTP television the crash should not hinder the continuation of negotiations with Unita.

A military official in Luanda said yesterday the Soviet-built Antonov 26 was forced to crash land on Sunday after being hit in the left engine by a missile fired by Unita forces.

Portuguese news agency Lusa yesterday quoted a military source in Luanda as saying the attack and a recent increase in rebel activities, could force the government to postpone peace negotiations with Unita due to restart next Monday.

### Faction (5)

Unita's Washington office yesterday denied its forces had shot down the plane when it was 42km west of Cazombo in eastern Moxico province.

"Unita suspects that a faction of the MPLA not supportive of the negotiation process is responsible for placing the blame on Unita," a statement said.

It added that the rebels were still "committed to the spirit of Gbadolite" — the June 22 summit in Zaire, where Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and rebel leader Jonas Savimbi sealed truce in Angola's civil war with a handshake.

Both sides have accused the other of violating the ensuing ceasefire that lasted only a week. — Sapa-AP.

BUSINESS

AID donors and foreign investors are gearing up for what promises to be one of the largest reconstruction programmes undertaken in Africa — the Angolan economic recovery.

With the MPLA and Unita having agreed on a ceasefire in Angola, and with the country's admission to the International Monetary Fund looking almost certain, the Portuguese government is already promoting the concept of a "Marshall Plan" backed by Western donors with assistance from the European Community.

Foreign interest in Angola stems not only from its strategic location in Southern Africa but also from its enormous resource base. The country could be one of the richest in Africa. Angola is the second-largest oil producer in sub-Saharan Africa and has extensive deposits of diamonds, high-grade iron, gold, manganese and other minerals. It also has a rich agricultural base.

But reconstructing the country's economy will be an enormous task. The civil war and South African invasions have caused a dramatic decline in production in most sectors of the economy, destroyed infrastructure and productive capacity, disrupted transport networks and forced the exodus of 600 000 people to the cities.

The conflict has imposed a heavy burden on the budget — defence now accounts for more than 40 percent of government expenditure.

Angola survived adversity mainly thanks to the booming oil sector

# Marshall Plan' mooted to rebuild shattered Angola

which provides over 95 percent of its foreign exchange earnings and 50 percent of government revenues.

But the dramatic decline in oil prices in 1985 exposed the fragility of the oil-dependent economy and highlighted fundamental flaws in the country's economic management. It became clear that political and economic changes would be needed to stimulate domestic production and attract donor assistance and foreign investment.

Last year the government launched its Economic and Financial Recovery Programme, providing the framework for economic reform and representing a radical departure from the doctrinaire policies pursued since 1975. Key elements included reducing the state's budget deficit, restructuring the finances of public enterprises, strengthening the financial system, rescheduling external debt and adjusting the exchange rate.

The government also proposes structural reforms such as stimulating the private sector, giving increased autonomy to enterprises and revising the foreign investment law.

The Angolan authorities have recognised that stimulating agricultural

**Angola, a country rich in natural resources but devastated by years of war, is to be reconstructed with the help of foreign investors**

production will require promoting the peasant sector with higher producer prices, greater availability of consumption goods, improved trade networks and greater technical assistance.

Progress on these reforms has been hampered by continuing insecurity, declining oil prices and infighting within the MPLA.

But the government has liberalised price controls and has succeeded in rescheduling \$3-billion (R8,4-billion) of foreign debt.

The thirty exchange rate issue was partially resolved in March when the government announced there would be a two-phase 200 percent devaluation of the kwanza. This appears to be only a first step: there's still a huge gap between the official and black market rates — 29,92 kwanza per dollar officially, but 3 000 kwan-

za per dollar on the black market. The artificially high exchange rate has been a major cause of the decline in Angola's agricultural exports.

A number of areas are likely to emerge as focal points for investment and aid assistance once the country's security situation improves.

Oil will continue to dominate the economy for a long time to come. Proven crude oil reserves stand at 1,84-billion barrels and Angola will step up production to around 500 000 barrels per day in an attempt to compensate for falling oil prices and maintain foreign exchange earnings. The government hopes for further exploration and development of oil fields.

Angola is also seeking to rejuvenate the diamond industry. The National Diamond Company of Angola (Endiama) recently reached an agreement with Lazare Kaplan International of New York to import and process diamonds. The contracts means almost all the diamond output from Angola is assured of a market and should increase earnings to \$180-million (R500-million) this year.

Investment in oil and diamonds to boost the country's foreign exchange earnings will provide some of the capital required for reconstruction. But Angola will also need large capital inflows.

Foremost among the projects will be the rehabilitation of urban infrastructure in Luanda, whose population has swelled to over 1,5-million. Preliminary cost estimates for water supplies, sanitation and housing amount to over \$100-million (R270-million). Upgrading these facilities is considered essential in the capital city, where cholera has reached epidemic proportions.

The largest infrastructural project being planned is the development of the Lobito Corridor and the reopening of the 1 347km Benguela railway line linking Angola with Zambia. The war-damaged railway line, deemed important for Angolan trade and foreign exchange earnings as well as for the SADC countries, has been out of action since 1976.

A 10-year \$600-million (R1,6-billion) investment programme was launched at a specially convened conference in Luanda in January. Donors were reluctant to commit themselves to funding the plan, but should the ceasefire hold, Belgian-owned Tractebel, which owns the line, should be able to carry out its feasibility study on the repair of the line.

Of all the areas in Angola likely to receive assistance, the Fifth Region, in the south-west corner of the country bordering Namibia, is highest on the list of priorities. The strategic importance of the region, which includes the provinces of Huila, Namibe and Cunene, has been enhanced by the prospect of Namibian indepen-

A comprehensive development plan has been prepared for the region, together with a package of fundable projects. The regional programme is a test case for the government's economic reform package and has been given high priority by the government. Western donors appear keen to exploit the region's potential. The pace of development in Angola is certain to accelerate over the coming year as donors and foreign investors put aside their cautiousness if the ceasefire holds. But the size of the reconstruction programme envisaged will necessitate a massive injection of foreign capital, much of it aid-assisted. A major cause of concern will be the ability of the country to absorb these large capital inflows and maintain a cohesive programme, given the acute shortage of technical administrative and managerial skills. — FASA Trade and Investment

# Ambush! Unita in turnabout

BIE (Angola). — Through the tall, yellow grass, the enemy convoy suddenly comes into view, 21 trucks loaded with food, ammunition and soldiers, escorted by two Soviet BTR armoured cars.

The convoy moves at the pace of two files of infantry shadowing the vehicles on both sides.

The Unita commander, Colonel Diogenes Implacavel, speaks softly with his eyes to his binoculars. "If it were bigger," he says, "I would only have attacked the rearguard. But, this one we'll destroy completely."

The Unita assault squad is 550 guerrillas strong, armed with rifles, mortars, anti-tank and anti-aircraft rockets. The strategy is to open fire only when the entire convoy comes level with the ambush site.

## Cacophony of noise

Suddenly, and against all plans, there is a burst of automatic fire. The guerrillas manning the anti-tank rockets were to have struck first, knocking out the BTRs.

The machine-gun fire comes from the convoy. We have been spotted.

The world explodes in a cacophony of noise. The tall grass is aflame. Platoon commanders yell hectic orders through the smoke.

We jump through screens of burning undergrowth, running on the charred ground. I am afraid my boots will melt, such is the heat.

Now the enemy infantry is firing at us with light machine-guns. The armoured cars have separated from the convoy. One turns its heavy machine-gun on the ambush squad.

A hundred metres away, guerrillas are looting a

truck which has been hit. There are tins of Portuguese sausages among the spilled bounty.

Four men emerge through the smoke, carrying a heavy object in a blanket. It is our first casualty, blood pumping from a hole in his chest.

We move forward toward the centre of the action. Three more dead trucks are up ahead, the ammunition in one exploding with the sound of nails being hammered into a tin. A petrol tank bursts.

Several corpses lie along the other side of the track. They wear the Korean-made camouflage uniform of the enemy. A Unita soldier runs up to them under direct fire and removes their guns.

Some of the fire comes from the Soviet armoured car, its heavy gun sweeping the road with a hail of bullets. A man falls and begins to moan. Somebody shouts for the medic. The man is the medic. His left leg has been ripped clean off by the 14.5mm bullet.

A brief counter-attack by the MPLA forces, bullets flying lower and more densely over our heads. Mortars begin popping and screams of pain announce that some have found the range.

Then, it is over. In the gathering gloom, a train of Unita guerrillas walk from the scene with dozens of tins of sausages on their heads, Thai tuna fish and a typewriter with no ribbon. Eight Kalashnikovs and four new light machine-guns have also been captured.

Colonel Implacavel is told by radio that nine trucks have been destroyed.

Our own losses are five wounded and one, the medic, dead. Had he been in a Western army he undoubtedly would have lived.

RADEK SIKORSKI, a Polish photo-journalist, was on the scene of the last Unita ambush of MPLA forces in Angola, just eight days before the two sides signed a ceasefire agreement on June 24. This is his account in words and pictures.



A machine-gunner girdled with ammunition.



A Unita mortar crew prepare their weapon.

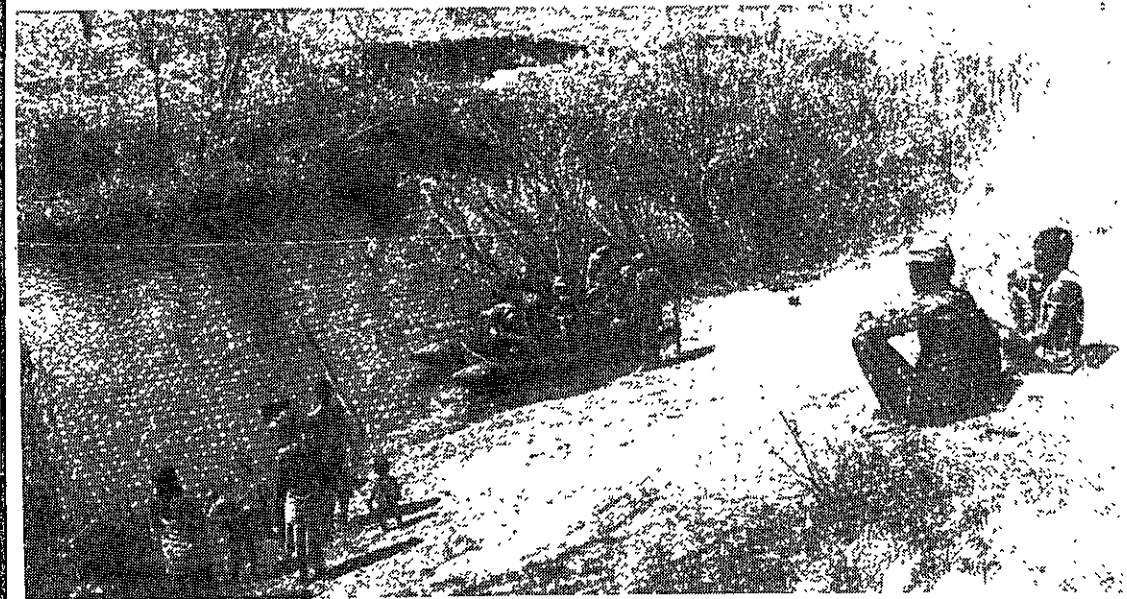
22 · Weekend Argus, July 29 1989

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NEWS



Unita fighters spread out through the southern-Angolan grassland.



Guerrillas board a "rubber ducky" for the trip up-river to the ambush site.

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SECTORAL ANALYSIS

A CONTROVERSY has blown up over who won the Angolan war, following claims by Cuba's President Fidel Castro that his tactics outwitted the South Africans.

South Africa, on the other hand, stands by its claim that its military victory in support of Unita resulted in peace negotiations, according to a Defence Ministry spokesman.

President Castro was speaking before his state council and over Cuban radio, apparently in justification of the execution of Cuba's military head in Angola at the time, General Arnado Ochoa Sanchez, on charges of theft, corruption and racketeering.

His account involves the battle of Cuito Canavale — widely, but controversially, claimed to have been the major turning point in the war.

President Castro acknowledged that the Angolan conflict was in fact turning so bad for Cuba that he dropped most of his normal duties to take personal charge and run the war effort from Havana, increasingly going over the heads of his generals at the front.

He revealed that at one stage it became so critical that the South Africans came close to wiping out three full brigades.

### All-out bid

Cuba threw everything into the war, and had the South Africans struck with their aircraft he had plans ready to launch counter air attacks to destroy the Caluque and Ruacana dams and hit the SADF's northern Namibian bases.

Dr D A S Herbst, communications chief for Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, said today there appeared to be two interpretations of President Castro's claims in published versions of his account — one in which he admits defeat and one in which he claims victory.

However, it had been widely acknowledged that had it not been for the military defeat of the Cuban and Angolan forces, there would not have been peace in the region.

Dr Herbst said it had been repeatedly stated that the South African forces, which never numbered more than 3 000, had achieved "fantastic victories" in Angola.

This had occurred in the battles which began towards the end of 1987, initially at Lomka River, north of Mavinga, where there had been a concentration of Cuban/Angolan forces.

Because of that situation, South Africa had entered in support of Unita and had driven the Cuban/Angolan forces out and northwards towards Cuito Canavale.

In those battles which continued till early 1988, only 31 South Africans were killed, compared with 7 000 to 10 000 members of the Cuban/Angolan forces.

BYERHANS, ESTERHUSE  
Political Staff

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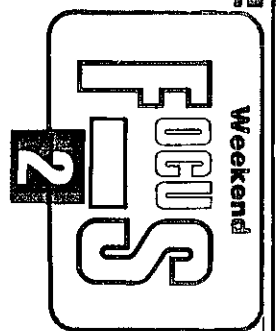
'We won,' says Castro  
but SADF claim victory  
in 1987 Angolan battle





12.1.1978

**IN A DRAMATIC AND DETAILED STATEMENT FIDEL CASTRO TELLS HOW HIS TACTICS OUTWITTED THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND SAVED THE DAY, NOT ONLY MILITARILY BUT ALSO DIPLOMATICALLY AS THE PEACE ACCORDS WHICH ENDED THE WAR WERE SIGNED BY SOUTH AFRICA AND CUBA.**



**C**UBA'S President Fidel Castro has given a dramatic and detailed account of the closing stages of the war between Cuba and South Africa in southern Angola, disclosing that at one stage the South Africans came dangerously close to destroying three full brigades at Cuito Canavale.

So serious was the situation that President Castro dropped all his duties to personally direct war operations from Havana, bypassing his commanding general in Luanda to give specific orders on troop movements and contingency planning on the southern front.

The Cuban president fretted that if Cuba was beaten by South Africa in Angola, not only would Cuba's honour be taken but the whole revolution would be lost. He was therefore ready to hit South Africa hard should the war escalate and Cuba started to lose. Plans were drawn up to destroy both Calheque and Ruacana dams, and to hit the SADF's northern Namibia bases with massive air attacks.

In the end, according to Castro, his tactics outwitted the South Africans and saved the day, not only militarily but also diplomatically as the peace accords which ended the war were signed by South Africa and Cuba.

**W**HAT would have been a Dunkirk for the hapless Angolan forces on the eastern banks of the Cuito River became a trap for the South African and Unita forces, according to the Cuban leader.

Castro gave his account during a two-hour ...

# Why SA blew it at Cuito Canavale

■ Cuba's commandant general in Angola, the same general Ochoa, was lazy and did not file reports. He also did not believe the South Africans were any threat in southern Angola. In fact, he believed the rumours that South Africa was withdrawing. To resolve the situation without humiliating Ochoa, Castro appointed a commanding general for the southern front, technically under Ochoa, but who would take orders directly from Havana, and Castro.

By DAVID BRAUN,  
Weekend Argus  
Foreign Service  
■ Washington

The three Papia brigades retreated towards the river.

■ The South Africans did launch an attack, but not with the SA Air Force. On June 26 South African land forces opened fire with their artillery. More than 200 rockets were fired at Tchippa, where the Cubans were dug in. Castro cabled his generals: 'We must respond to today's artillery attack against Tchippa. We believe that the first step must be a strong air attack against the camp, military installations, ...'

meeting in Havana. The speech was broadcast in its entirety on Cuba's domestic radio and television services this month. Transcripts of the speech in English have now surfaced in the US.

The purpose of the speech, for which Castro ordered every member of the State Council to be present, was to explain why it had been necessary to denounce and execute Cuban war hero General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez on charges of theft, corruption and racketeering.

The context of Castro's account of the Angolan war was to show how General Ochoa, at the time when he was head of Cuba's military mission in Angola and should have been devoting himself entirely to working for his country in its hour of greatest need, had been enriching himself on the black market.

Castro's version of the war greatly boosted his own "heroic role". He claimed to be personally agonised by every single Cuban casualty and his personal attention to the comfort of his troops went as far as his orders that a special ice-cream factory be set up for them and his daily enquiries that they are receiving enough candy and chocolate.

**HIGHLIGHTS** of Castro's speech included:

■ Cuba could be said to have gambled everything on the Angolan war. It sent its best weapons and 50 000 men, the equivalent of the US sending 1.2 million of its men to war.

■ Between November 7 and 15 1987 the increasing South African onslaught threatened to destroy or annihilate the concentration of Angolan soldiers in Cuito Canavale. Then not a single Cuban troop was in the area, and Castro asked his Angolan counterpart, President Eduardo dos Santos, if Cuba could take over the responsibility of defending Cuito Canavale.

■ Cuba sent in its best pilots and troops on November 15 to avert a political and military catastrophe.

General Ochoa's plan to move the Fapla (MPLA forces) 58th and 10th brigades from Menongue to Cuanza. As long as South Africa's intentions were not totally clarified, there must be no thought of removing the brigades, he said. Otherwise the Cubans at Menongue would be totally alone.

The next day, the SADF mounted a strong attack east of the river at Cuito, along a very extensive front defended by three Fapla brigades — the 21st, 59th and 25th. There was a 5km gap between the brigades.

**C**UBA still did not have a single man in Cuito, but immediately it started pouring in advisers — experts in artillery, tanks and other weapons. The nearest Cuban forces were still 200km away at Menongue, and there was thick bush between them and Cuito.

■ South Africa dislodged the 21st brigade and the two other brigades were threatened. Cuba pushed in its first troops — a tactical group with a tank battalion, artillery and other weapons. The Fapla 10th brigade was also ordered to Cuito.

■ A few days later, on the 17th, Mr Castro sent a telegram to the front, saying he did not intend crossing the Cuito River to the east, but reducing the defence ring east of the river by withdrawing the 59th and 25th brigades to well-fortified positions closer to the river. These two brigades must cover the east flank to enable the Fapla 8th brigade resume its mission to carry supplies.

Castro said in the telegram the position of the 59th and 25th brigades was very unsafe, and their lines could be broken from the direction where the 21st brigade had been dislodged.

■ The position became confused as the Fapla forces fought to re-establish their lines according to Castro's orders. On January 26, he sent a cable which said he did not understand what was going on in Cuito. From the cable, it seems that Castro was enormously frustrated by Fapla's commanders, and there are hints of disagreement between the two allies (at this stage, the Cuban soldiers were still cutting their way through the bush from Menongue, and Fapla was alone at Cuito).

The cable from Castro, according to the way he recalled it in his speech, said: "Who has the highest authority in Cuito? Often you do not bother to explain to us what is being done, despite the fact that we are not inflexible in our points of view and that we are always prepared to hear your opinion."

**C**ASTRO said in his speech: "These instructions were sent on the 17th and by the 26th nothing had been done. It was exasperating."

■ To exert his authority over the Angolans and overcome any resistance to his instructions, President Castro immediately summoned General Ochoa to Havana to discuss the situation.

General Ochoa returned to Angola on February 5 with specific instructions to see the lines at Cuito were redrawn as ordered by Castro.

■ St Valentine's Day, February 14, South Africa launched what Castro described as its big offensive, against the 59th brigade. The South Africans smashed through the lines, marched through the five-kilometre gap between the 21st and 59th brigades and began to surround the 59th.

Castro described it like this: "A very difficult situation emerged. They could have gone as far as the bridge and cut off three entire brigades."

**A**T this stage the Cuban tank battalion had already arrived on the scene, and units from it, together with Fapla tanks, formed a combined company which immediately launched a violent counter-attack. The SADF had to use more than 100 vehicles against this counter-attack.

The counter-attack stopped the SADF, but in the process the Cuban/Fapla company lost all seven of its tanks and 14 Cubans were killed.

rated him for consistently underestimating possible South African actions.

■ The cable said: "I will not hide from you the fact that here we are bitter over what happened, because it had been foreseen and words of caution were issued on several occasions. We insisted on the readjustment of the frontlines for almost one entire month. What happened, of course, forced a readjustment."

■ The situation was extremely dangerous for the three Fapla brigades. Castro sent a cable on February 20 which warned that if South Africa broke through the lines of defence, the Angolan forces would find themselves with their backs to the river and would face casualties from drowning, attacks, and the prisoners could be countless.

The cable said: "This would be a catastrophe. If this happens, it will be very difficult to defend Cuito, and the political and moral consequences for the Angolan armed forces and the Angolan government would be terrible."

■ The next day, Castro sent another cable, which claimed South Africa had destroyed a bridge that linked east with west with unmanned aircraft (aviones automaticos).

This cable said he could not understand why a whole week had passed since the events of February 14, and with the exceptions of only two battalions from the 21st brigade, about 3 500 Angolan soldiers still had not gone west of the river.

"What will happen if tomorrow the enemy breaks through the lines and uses all its strength against the river area," Castro raged.

He said the area commanders at Cuito were not aware of the political, military and moral consequences that a disastrous confrontation with the forces to the east of the river would cause. "These forces would not even have a few ships comparable to what the British did with its fleet in Dunkirk."

■ The Cuban leader ordered a heavily fortified defensive position using no more than a brigade on the eastern side of the river. Tanks and artillery were to be used on the east side of the river, and all the remaining Angolan forces were to be moved immediately to the west, he insisted.

■ The Cuban general in charge of the southern front, General Leopoldo Cintra Frias, nicknamed Polo by Castro, was sent personally to Cuito. He was able to at last get the lines relocated as Castro wanted them.

■ The SADF ran into the eastern fortified position. Castro described it thus: "As soon as they began to get near, they would be hit by artillery, they would encounter anti-aircraft attacks, they would walk on to minefields, and they several times crashed headlong into the defensive position which they were never able to conquer. During this period we had almost no casualties. Cuito Canavale became a trap for the enemy."

■ On March 10, the South African attack on the east having been contained, the Cubans and Angolans were confident enough to start advancing with their right (west) flank). Motorised Cuban scouts started encountering South African scouts, and a number of skirmishes ensued.

■ By June, the Cubans were approaching the Namibian border too far to fall under the Cuban air umbrella based at Lubango and Matala, 250km to the north. Castro had ordered a southern airfield to be built at Cahama. Trucks, bulldozers and haulers were sent with great speed from Cuba to build the airfield.

■ On June 7, Castro cabled generals Ochoa and Polo that news of a possible South African surprise air attack against Cuban and Angolan troops should not be underestimated. He ordered them to place anti-aircraft units on maximum alert. Cuban Air Force planes were placed on standby at Cahama airfield, which had just become operational.

The cable said: "Be ready to counter-attack with as many aircraft as possible to completely destroy Ruacana water reservoir and transformers. Plans should be prepared to hit Oshakati and nearby air bases as a response to the attack and according to the size of the enemy action... do not wait for orders to carry out the action if there is a strong enemy attack against our troops. Our attack must be sudden and quick."

Castro then notified Luanda and Moscow of the danger of an imminent South African air attack and of the possibility that Cuba would retaliate with a strike in Namibia. He also poured in more Cuban units with surface-to-air missiles.

the enemy's artillery can be used to hit it harshly."

■ Cuba hit Caluqueque on June 27, killing several South African soldiers guarding the installation. Castro waited to see what would happen next. He placed all his forces on full alert, awaiting any possible response.

"You must be ready to strike hard against the enemy bases in northern Namibia. In other words, you must have a response ready in the event of a massive enemy air attack," he cabled his generals.

He concluded the cable: "We have given them our initial response. Now it is up to them to decide what to do and if they should continue the escalation."

■ The South Africans made a huge fuss of the attack on Caluqueque, but they restrained themselves militarily.

■ The peace talks meanwhile bogged down. On October 10, Castro cabled his commanders: "The negotiations have reached an impasse. The South African demands are unacceptable. Because great expectations had been made in Brazzaville, we took an inflexible position in New York."

"Although there is talk of new meetings in Brazzaville, we must not lend too much importance to the matter. We must prepare for the impasse, although I do not think the South Africans want to resume hostilities. We must remain alert, especially to guard against the risk of air attacks."

■ Castro ordered his frontline units to remain at Caluqueque and Ruacana (in case he should want to destroy them). Apart from these and a joint Cuban/Angolan unit which remained at Tchipa, he withdrew his forces to the Cahama-Xangongo line. He deployed anti-aircraft units along the Cahama-Mucupe-Humbe-Xangongo line. He ordered his aircraft to be ready to protect the Cuban forward units at Tchipa, Ruacana and Caluqueque. If the enemy attacked the frontline units, the two water installations were to be blown up, he said.

Castro noted Western reports that there was a big South African build-up on the other side of the Namibian border. He cabled his field commanders: "Our duty is to be prepared for any outcome. This struggle will be won by the side that has the best ability to resist."

■ The South Africans never did attack. Castro told the State Council this was because they realised that the Cubans were very powerful and had taken security measures such as the construction of the airport and anti-aircraft weapons. Cuba had achieved its fundamental objectives without sacrificing thousands of lives.

■ An interesting aspect of Castro's speech was his comments on the Luanda government. He said he was virtually in charge of that government in 1988. "We were in charge of the government from mid-November until the end of that year. We devoted all our time to that struggle, to the war. It could not have been otherwise. We had to take responsibility for whatever happened there."

But in order to do this, he neglected his duties in his own government. "We did not even attend to government affairs, at least I did not attend to them. I devoted at least 80 percent of my time to this battle," he said.

Castro said his revolution was at stake in Angola. If it was a decisive battle against apartheid, representing a defeat of large proportions, it was also a battle for the revolution, which could have meant a huge defeat for the revolution, no matter how noble, just or altruistic Cuba's cause.

He said: "There is no doubt — and this will be historically documented for the glory of our fatherland, our party, and our heroic combatants — that a situation that had seemed hopeless was mastered and peace was attained."

■ Castro claimed an intense concern for the wellbeing of his troops. He said: "We even sent candy to the soldiers. There was not a single day that I did not ask the High Command how many tons of candy, cookies, or chocolates had been sent to the soldiers, how were the soldiers doing, what kind of nylons (as heard by the translator) they had, how they were sleeping, what kind of mattresses they had, what kind of food they ate."

■ Angola, it seems, was charged only R56-million a year for its civilian aid from Cuba. The military aid was provided free, according to Castro. Angola had not even paid the R616-million Cuba had been entitled to over the past six years, he said.

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# Angolan peace talks delayed

LISBON. — Peace talks between Angola's government and Unita rebels have been delayed and guerillas have again broken a ceasefire, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

The agency, monitored in Lisbon, said a third round of talks, due to have opened in Kinshasa on Monday, was postponed because Zaire's President, Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, who is to act as mediator, was abroad.

Official sources gave no new date for the negotiations, which centre on how to monitor the

shaky five-week-old ceasefire. But Angop said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos might meet Mr Mobutu beforehand.

Angop also reported that the pro-Western rebels, who have fought Angola's Marxist government for the past 14 years, killed 17 people and damaged an army helicopter in recent attacks.

The helicopter was hit by gunfire and was forced to make an emergency landing in the northern province of Uige. No other details were given.

Unita rebels shot down an airliner on a domestic flight nine

days ago, killing 42 people, according to the government. Unita has, however, denied carrying out the attack.

The government says the rebels have killed more than 200 people, mainly civilians, since the ceasefire was negotiated at an African summit in Zaire on June 22.

President Dos Santos, speaking in Luanda, accused the rebels of trying to wreck the tentative peace plan.

"Unita is trying to sabotage the peace efforts, divide the Angolan people and expose our country to neo-colonialism." Sapa-Reuter

Political comment in the ...

APR 15 1975

# Unita kills 13 civilians

LISBON. — Unita rebels, flouting a negotiated ceasefire, have killed 13 civilians in scattered attacks over the past four days, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday.

The agency said the bloodiest raid took place on Tuesday when the rebels shot dead six villagers in Bolongongo.

A third round of talks on how to monitor the truce should have opened this week but was postponed because Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, the mediator, was abroad. — Sapa-Reuter

# Hero: Angola strikes were 'wasted effort'

W/ARGUL 5/8/89 5

By SAM SOLE  
Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

DURBAN. — The pace of events on the sub-continent has left one modest soldier bewildered about the meaning of the war he fought on and across South Africa's northern borders.

Graham Green, 21, of Durban, recently received the SADF's Honoris Crux medal for rescuing an officer under fire during an offensive deep inside Angola in late 1987.

He is grateful for the award, but the reasons why he risked his life have become less clear since the withdrawal from Angola and the beginning of the independence process in Namibia.

"It seems like our strikes into Angola were a waste of effort — trying to prevent the inevitable. We thought we were fighting to save South West, not just to give it away."

As a national serviceman, Graham was a member of a mechanised infantry battalion that pushed into Angola in September 1987 in support of Unita units which were being beaten back in a fierce offensive by Angolan Fapla forces.

## Show of force

"Fapla was moving down against Unita. We were told Unita was battling to hold its ground so we'd put on a show of force, scare Fapla off, and then pull back.

"Nobody believed we would actually hit a contact. We just thought once we moved up and

they saw the Ratels (armoured cars) they'd pull back.

We moved into Angola and then carried on going till we hit Fapla forces, near and around Cuito Cuanavale.

"We worked closely with Unita. They'd find Fapla, then we'd move through and they'd slide back so we could take them on with the Ratels and Casspirs."

The attack as a result of which Graham was recommended for the award came about halfway through the three months his unit spent inside Angola.

"We moved out about 2am and lined up in formation about seven, with Ratel 90s alternating with 20s (which carry troops).

"Unita pulled back behind us and we went through. We were told there were tanks, mortars and infantry armed with RPG 7 rockets ahead, though the bush was too thick to see much.

"Sitting in the back of the Ratel we couldn't see what was going on anyway, though there was firing all around and we would occasionally pass a burnt out Fapla tank or logistical vehicle.

"Eventually it looked as if we had them on the run. Then the Ratel next to us was shot out.

"The attack stopped so that those people could be pulled out. The gunner from the Ratel that was hit turned the turret round — the driver can't get out otherwise — while we gave covering fire.



Graham Green with his Honoris Crux medal.

"The gunner and driver were both injured but they got out and helped their lieutenant out and ran back behind our lines. But the lieutenant collapsed — that was when I jumped out to get him.

"I honestly can't say if I was being shot at — I couldn't hear a thing. But I know I kept as

close to the ground as possible. The injured man was lying on his stomach. I just grabbed him under the armpits and dragged him back. He died five hours later."

Six weeks later Graham's company was relieved in the field and a month later he was back in civvy street.

*Capt. Trunk 5/8/89*  
**Unita accused  
of violations** **5**

LISBON. — Angola yesterday accused right-wing Unita guerillas of a string of raids which it said proved they were still violating a ceasefire agreed upon in June.

Angola's leftist government and Unita have repeatedly accused each other of violating the truce agreed upon at an African summit in Zaire on June 22.

Peace talks have been suspended several times amid ceasefire violation accusations. — Sapa-Reuter

# BUSINESSMEN CHALLENGED

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

**BLACK** businessmen have been challenged to contribute towards solving the community's problems by becoming part of the liberation struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Opening the 25th annual conference of Nafcoc at Sun City, Dr Nthato Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic-Association, said businessmen should support their community financially in programmes such as bailing out political trialists and prisoners, giving relief to political detainees and establishing bursary funds.

Motlana, who holds positions in several community organisations, said businessmen should do their best to empower the black community to fight unjust laws. They must also help small business develop.

The Mass Democratic Movement, United Democratic Front and other movements had done much to fight apartheid, he said.

He said he was not calling on businessmen to



**Dr Motlana . . . join liberation struggle.**

address meetings at Regina Mundi or speak at commemoration services, but was asking them to be part of the liberation struggle against racial laws.

The conference, whose theme is "Rededication towards hastening a new socio economic order in South Africa," is attended by more than 1 000 delegates from all parts of South Africa, African states and overseas.

Among the guests are American Professor Prakash Sethi, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, the Reverend Peter Storey and ministers of various bantustan governments.

Motlana said Nafcoc must train and educate the black masses for economic empowerment. Blacks must stop depend-



**Mr Sam Motsuenyane . . . Nafcoc leader.**

ing on hand outs from local and overseas donors.

"We seem to be lazy and not doing enough to uplift ourselves. The path towards black liberation has many road blocks and we need to be united in our fight," he said.

Earlier Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane said Nafcoc would have to evolve appropriate strategies that will provide realistic solutions to the problems of black economic empowerment.

# Zaire: Jealousy <sup>5</sup> undermining talks

KINSHASA. — Zaire said yesterday that jealousy on the part of other African leaders was undermining peace talks organised by President Mobutu Sese Seko to end the 14-year-long Angolan civil war.

The talks between the Angolan government and Unita rebels led by Dr Jonas Savimbi were scheduled to continue yesterday near the capital but there was no official word on whether they had met.

There have been widespread rumours of a rift arising from published remarks by Dr Savimbi accusing Mr Mobutu of hastening the peace process in order to appear a peacemaker in advance of his June visit to Washington.

But Unita's spokesman in Lisbon denied that Dr Savimbi disagreed with the Mobutu-mediated Gbadolite accord in June which set up the peace talks.

Unita and the Angolan government agreed at Gbadolite to a ceasefire and subsequently began peace talks overseen by Mr Mobutu. — Sapa-Reuter



# Cuba and Angola 'thrashed'

Nov 11/8/89  
By Norman Chandler,  
Pretoria Bureau

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Cuba and Angola were decisive losers of the war in Angola, the Minister of Defence said last night. They had been given "a thrashing".

Claims by Cuban President Fidel Castro that South Africa had been beaten were false, General Magnus Malan said when reacting for the first time to recent speculation about the battles which led to the peace plan in south-western Africa.



The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

He told a banquet in Pretoria that too many lies had been told about who won or who lost.

General Malan said at the function, marking the 25th anniversary of the telecommunications company, Plessey South Africa, that the SADF had been involved in southern Angola on a limited scale from August 1987 until early 1988 "and at no stage were there more than 3 000 of our men involved".

General Malan said that it was due to high morale, good training and superb weaponry that "fantastic successes" were achieved in Angola.

"The Cuban and Angolan armies lost between 7 000 and 10 000 men. We lost 31 brave heroes.

"The enemy lost 94 tanks against three of ours, and a large amount of the enemy's sophisticated weaponry was destroyed. A conservative estimate of the losses suffered by the Cubans and the Angolans is R3 billion."

General Malan said that Cuba had embarked on what he termed "a desperate propaganda campaign to make people believe they (Cuba and Angola) had won the war — (but) the facts speak for themselves", he said.

"In the meantime, President Castro has on at least two occasions publicly stated that his army were given a thrashing."

It was South Africa's military success which resulted in the Cubans and Angolans negotiating "and the way cleared for the peace plan for south-western Africa and for independence for Namibia".

During his address, General Malan praised the way the local R10 billion electronics industry had developed, and said that it was set to become the biggest industry in the manufacturing sector within the next two years.

He said that South Africa was establishing its position as the technology leader in Africa.

(Report by N Chandler, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

# Angolan peace talks 'on track'

KINSHASA — Peace talks in Zaire aimed at ending Angola's 14-year civil war hit snags last week but diplomatic sources say an agreement to meet again indicates that they remain on track.

"We have always known the discussions would be difficult and would take time. But they are continuing and there was no breaking off, as people said there would be," one Western diplomatic source said at the weekend.

Angola's Marxist-leaning government and Jonas Savimbi's right-wing Unita rebels began talks after an African summit convened in June by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

More talks were planned for Thursday, Zairean radio said on Friday, and Mobutu would report on progress to an African summit meeting in Harare on August 22.

(5) Friday 14/8/89.  
The latest round of talks, held here, opened under a cloud on Tuesday because of remarks Savimbi made in an interview in which he allegedly accused Mobutu of pushing too fast.

The official Zairean Press was quick to interpret this as an attempt by jealous African leaders to sabotage the talks and accused them, without naming names, of wanting to snatch away a Nobel peace prize from Mobutu. Diplomatic sources tend to discount such talk as an over-reaction, but there was no doubt that Savimbi's remarks had stung.

## Mediator

On Saturday the Zairean daily *Elima* published a photograph of the Unita delegation posing with Mobutu, saying it had reaffirmed its confidence in him as mediator.

The talks are secret and little of

substance has been leaked. One diplomatic source said the two sides appeared to be getting along but were talking through a mediator.

Diplomats here think Mobutu may be able to announce a breakthrough on ceasefire monitoring when he meets other African heads of state later this month.

Mobutu had proposed establishing monitoring points in Kinshasa, the Angolan capital Luanda, and at Savimbi's base at Jamba in southern Angola, they said.

The two sides have accused each other of numerous violations since the ceasefire took effect in June.

"It seems to me they are getting closer at least on the ceasefire aspects," a Western diplomat said. "Then they can get to the politics. I am certain Mobutu would like to have an agreement (on the ceasefire) before August 22." — Sapa-Reuter.

## Education body hits at the DET

THE Mamelodi Education Forum has condemned the Department of Education and Training for allegedly conspiring with the Mamelodi Town Council in setting up a junior council.

Mamelodi elected its first junior mayor and deputy mayor from high school pupils in the township recently.

The elections took place in the local council chamber and 18 members of the junior council, pupils from high schools in the township, took part.

Already plans are afoot to have a junior council in Soweto at the beginning of November this year.

The MEF, comprising parents, teachers, students and community organisations, has written a letter to the DET protesting against students being used by the council.

Star 18/8/89

# Planes bombed rebel-held town, reports Unita

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebels said yesterday that air force jets had strafed and bombed a guerilla-held town, killing eight hospital patients and wounding many others.

But according to a report broadcast on independent Lisbon radio, TSF, yesterday, 600 people died on Saturday when Angolan government aircraft bombarded Unita positions at Mavinga, in southern Cuando Cubango province.

The rebels responded with artillery fire, TSF reported, but gave no further details.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon said: "In another flagrant breach of the ceasefire, MiG-23 jets attacked Mavinga on Saturday. Eight women patients were killed when a hospital was hit and many people were injured."

Unita spokesman Mr Alcides Sakala said Mavinga was packed with refugees.

"We are accused of violating the truce while in reality it is the government that is putting the whole peace

process at risk," Mr Sakala said. The Luanda government says almost 500 people have been killed by Unita rebels since a ceasefire was agreed at an African summit in Zaire on June 22.

The two sides have held three rounds of talks to find ways of monitoring the shaky truce effectively. The rebel spokesman said the Mavinga raid was unlikely to affect the negotiations.

● In Angola, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday reaffirmed his support for shaky peace talks to end the country's 14-year-old civil war.

Speaking at the opening of the sixth session of Angola's people's assembly on Wednesday, President dos Santos said the summit of African leaders in June, that set up a short-lived ceasefire and sporadic talks between government and rebels, had been "worth the effort" Angola's state news agency, Angop, reported yesterday.

Both sides have swapped accusations of violations but yesterday's report is apparently the most serious clash since the truce. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Unita accuses govt of 'attacks'

LISBON. — Unita rebels yesterday accused the Luanda government of launching troop movements in recent days to boost its position in current peace talks.

In a statement received here, the Unita insurgents warned they might retaliate.

"(Unita) knows how to respond to this warlike adventure with all the means at its disposal," said the statement, signed by chief of military staff General Amos Chilingutula. "The (government's) aggressive and provocative stance is directly linked to the movement of its troops, with the sole objective of gaining an advantage in negotiations."

Unita said government troops had advanced from Cuito-Cuanavale towards the rebel stronghold of Mavinga in the south of the country and from Yondocunene towards the border with Namibia.

Unita officials later told reporters that 19 civilians had died in a bomb raid on Mavinga's hospital on August 5. They said foreign pilots, possibly Cubans, had launched the bombardment in MiG-23s.

Spokesman Mr Norberto Castro said Unita remained open to dialogue with the government but that rebels were forced to fight back. He said Unita hoped Luanda would quickly agree to mechanisms to oversee the truce so that the peace process could advance.

Angolan officials were unavailable for immediate comment.

Both sides have accused each other of violating a ceasefire agreed on on June 22 in Zaire and peace talks have hit snags several times.

The latest Unita charges were made as government and guerilla representatives were due to meet again in the Zairean capital of Kinshasa, where Gabon's President Omar Bongo and his Congolese counterpart Mr Denis Sassou-Nguesso arrived yesterday for talks with President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Zaire radio said the three heads of state were preparing for an African summit meeting on the 14-year Angolan conflict which is due to be held in the Zimbabwean capital of Harare on Tuesday. President Mobutu is expected to report to the summit on his efforts to mediate in the conflict.

Unita officials could not confirm whether rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi would attend the Harare summit, but they expressed hope the meeting would give impetus to the peace process.

A 12-member Angolan delegation, headed by the country's army chief of staff, has been in Kinshasa since Wednesday, the Angolan embassy said.

There has been no word of the Unita delegation.

— Sapa-Reuter

newspaper magnate Mr  
d in traditional Moroccan  
Forbes, in a kilt, at Mr  
arty in Tangier. PICTURE: REUTERS

col. 1 sides, through the Soviet Union, the  
US, and South Africa's other Western trad-  
ing partners, to reach a peaceful solution.  
The OAU is understood to be seeking a

setbacks for the planned talks in Kinshasa  
a rebel Unita delegation is less likely to  
attend, diplomats say. Angolan MPLA  
government and Unita representatives  
apartheid ends.

# Breakdown in Angolan peace talks

LÚANDA. — The Angolan government recalled its  
representatives from peace talks with Unita rebels  
in Zaire as clashes in the 14-year-old civil war  
intensified, reports said yesterday.

Armed forces chief General Antonio dos Santos  
France and a 12-man delegation arrived in the  
Zairean capital of Kinshasa on Wednesday, but re-  
turned to Luanda on Friday after waiting 48 hours  
for a rebel delegation. (The Portuguese news agency  
Lusa said yesterday that Unita's negotiators arrived  
in Kinshasa on Friday).

And the government announced that negotiations  
would not resume till after tomorrow's summit of  
African leaders in Harare, where Zairean President  
Mobutu Sese Seko, mediator in the talks, was to give  
a progress report. Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is  
not expected to attend the meeting. Diplomatic  
sources said no Unita delegation was expected.

Meanwhile, reports continued of large-scale  
clashes between government forces and Unita. An-

CM: 7/15 2/1/87 (S)

golan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Dr  
Savimbi sealed a short-lived truce on June 22 at a  
summit of African leaders in Gbadolite, Zaire. The  
ensuing ceasefire lasted one week.

Yesterday's state daily Jornal de Angola an-  
nounced the first major military incident in months  
to involve Cuban troops, gradually withdrawing  
from Angola under the terms of international peace  
accords signed last year in New York.

The newspaper said six Cuban soldiers died last  
Monday during a rebel attack on a supply column  
near the village of Ganda, central Benguela pro-  
vince.

"The irresponsible actions of Unita leave no al-  
ternative but to act with all our means to guarantee  
our defence, liberty and independence," the daily  
said in a front-page editorial.

The government said in a statement that a MIG-23  
fighter jet went missing on Saturday in southern  
Cuito Cuanavate province, currently off limits to

journalists.

Jornal de Angola also accused the United States  
of supplying Unita with technical equipment to  
strengthen rebel radio broadcasts from Maun, in  
northern Botswana.

Unita's Black Cockerel radio, meanwhile, moni-  
tored in Luanda, said yesterday that some 150  
people died and many more were injured last week  
when government forces attacked the town of Ma-  
vinga in Cuando Cubango.

Unita officials told a news conference in Lisbon  
on Friday that government troops had launched a  
major three-pronged attack in the south-eastern  
provinces of Cuando Cubango, Moxico and Cunene,  
using Soviet-built MIG-23s and long-range artillery.

A Unita communique also accused Luanda of  
bomb raids on several villages and rebel bases on  
Thursday and Friday in which seven civilians were  
killed and eight rebels injured. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

negotiations.

## Angola (5) - call for details

South Africa 21/8/89

SOUTH Africa has requested details concerning renewed fighting in Angola from the governments of Cuba and Angola in order to consider what action it may take to help maintain peace; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Commenting on reports that Cuban leader, Fidel Castro, had threatened to delay the withdrawal of his troops from Angola following clashes with the rebel movement, Unita, Botha said any incident which may jeopardise implementation of the various agreements to establish peace in South Western Africa detrimentally affected the interests of all countries of the region.

Civil war clashes on the increase

# Angola recalls reps from peace talks

LUANDA — The Angolan government recalled its representatives from peace talks with Unita rebels in Zaire, and clashes in the 14-year-old civil war intensified, government and rebel-controlled media reported yesterday.

Armed Forces Chief Antonio dos Santos Franca and a 12-man delegation returned on Friday to Luanda from Zaire, state TPA television reported.

And the government announced negotiations would not resume until after this week's summit of African leaders in Harare, where mediator in the talks, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, was to give a progress report.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa yesterday said dos Santos Franca arrived in Kinshasa on Wednesday but returned after waiting 48 hours for a rebel delegation. Unita's negotiators arrived on Friday, the agency said.

Meanwhile, reports continued of large-scale clashes between government forces and Unita.

Yesterday's edition of the state daily *Jornal de Angola* announced the first major military incident in months to involve Cuban troops, who are gradually withdrawing from Angola under the terms of international peace accords signed last year in New York.

According to the paper, six Cuban soldiers died on Monday during a rebel attack on a supply column near the village of Ganda, central Benguela province.

"The irresponsible ac-

tions of Unita leave no alternative but to act with all our means ... to guarantee our defence, liberty and independence," said the daily in a front page editorial on Saturday.

### Broadcasts

*Jornal de Angola* also accused the United States of "unscrupulous interference in Angola's internal affairs "by allegedly supplying Unita with technical equipment to strengthen rebel radio broadcasts from Maun, in northern Botswana.

Unita's Black Cockerel radio, monitored in Luanda yesterday, said some 150 people died and many

more were injured last week, when government forces attacked the town of Mavinga, Cuanda Cubango, with Soviet-built Mig 23 fighter jets and long-range artillery.

Earlier reports put casualties as high as 600.

The government has given no official confirmation of any major military operations, but southern Cuando-Cubango province is currently off limits to journalists and a military statement released on Saturday said a Mig 23 went missing on Saturday during a routine flight between Menongue and Cuito Cuanavale.

Unita officials told a news conference in Lisbon, Portugal, on Friday,

that government troops had launched a major three-pronged attack in the southeastern provinces of Cuando-Cubango, Mexico and Cunene.

### Independence

Western-backed Unita has been fighting the government and its estimated 50 000 Cuban allies, to force a power-sharing agreement since shortly after Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

Unita was not party to the US-Brokered New York accords, that paved the way for a Cuban pull-out and Namibian independence from South Africa. — Associated Press.

## PROJECT MANAGEMENT DIPLOMA

THE COLLEGE OF MANAGEMENT  
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COMMERCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

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# US pledges to support Savimbi

CAP. Unit 22/8/88

RABAT, Morocco. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, whose rebels have been accused by Cuba's President Fidel Castro of endangering the Angola peace process, has been promised continued American support — but has also been asked by the United States to go easy on attacking MPLA and Cuban troops.

US Senator Bob Dole, leader of the Republicans in the Senate, met Dr Savimbi here on Sunday and promised him continued congressional aid.

However, diplomatic sources in Lisbon said the Cuban, Soviet and US governments were "concerned" about recent Unita attacks on Cuban forces. The governments were in close contact last week, after six Cuban soldiers manning a supply column died in the first Unita attack involving Cubans in months.

## Unita threat to Angolan peace — Castro

The sources said US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen met Dr Savimbi on Saturday in Rabat in an attempt to persuade the rebels to moderate their military activities.

The attack on the Cubans led to President Castro repeating a warning that Unita's actions might slow the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban soldiers from Angola.

President Castro took his complaint to the United Nations yesterday in a letter to the Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

The alleged Unita attack took place in the Benguela province

and Angolan authorities say Unita has staged several attacks in spite of a ceasefire agreement reached on June 22.

Unita said yesterday that they had shot down an Angolan MiG-23 fighter near the south-eastern town of Mupende and the pilot was killed.

Yesterday President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola left Luanda for talks with African leaders in Harare where he will take part in an eight-nation special peace commission to review the peace process.

Dr Savimbi, meanwhile, told a news conference yesterday in Rabat that he was "optimistic" about the peace process and was ready to sign a permanent ceasefire with the MPLA.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Mr Pik Botha, reiterated yesterday that he had approached Cuba and Angola for details on fighting in Angola. — Sapa-Reuter

# Defiance 5

HARARE - Eight African heads of state on Tuesday moved to persuade defiant Unita rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi to accept a six-point peace plan for Angola, in a meeting held to breathe new life into the initiative.

The presidents of Zaire, Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Gabon, Congo, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe reaffirmed their support for the eight-week-old plan.

But the initiative to end the 14-year-old civil war in Angola is threatened by disputes over peace terms and alleged violations of a ceasefire.

Savimbi, leader of Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) did not attend the meeting in Harare.

Savimbi

# Unita is 'violating ceasefire'

From BRENDAN SEERY  
Argus Africa News Service  
in Windhoek

**A**N American clergyman has accused Unita of systematically violating the Angolan ceasefire, and attacking innocent civilians.

Dr Benjamin Chavis — who is Executive Director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ — claimed that he had personally witnessed a Unita mortar attack on the town of Huambo in southern Angola. He said an Angolan husband and wife had been killed, and their young daughter badly injured in the bombardment, which took place on August 18.

A visibly angry Dr Chavis told reporters he had sent a telegram to President George Bush informing him of the attack, and "asking him to reconsider his support of Unita. The clergyman claimed that since the Angolan ceasefire was signed in Gbadolite, Zaire, on June 24, Unita had "systematically" been violating it and attacking civilians. During this period, the Angolan government forces had adhered to the agreement by remaining in their bases.

Dr Chavis added: "As a citizen of the United States, I don't want my tax dollars sending landmines to Unita, I don't want my tax dollars giving Unita Stinger missiles".

He said that when he got back to the United States, he would make a full report when he returned to the United States, but had spoken about the matter to representatives of the US State Department in Windhoek.

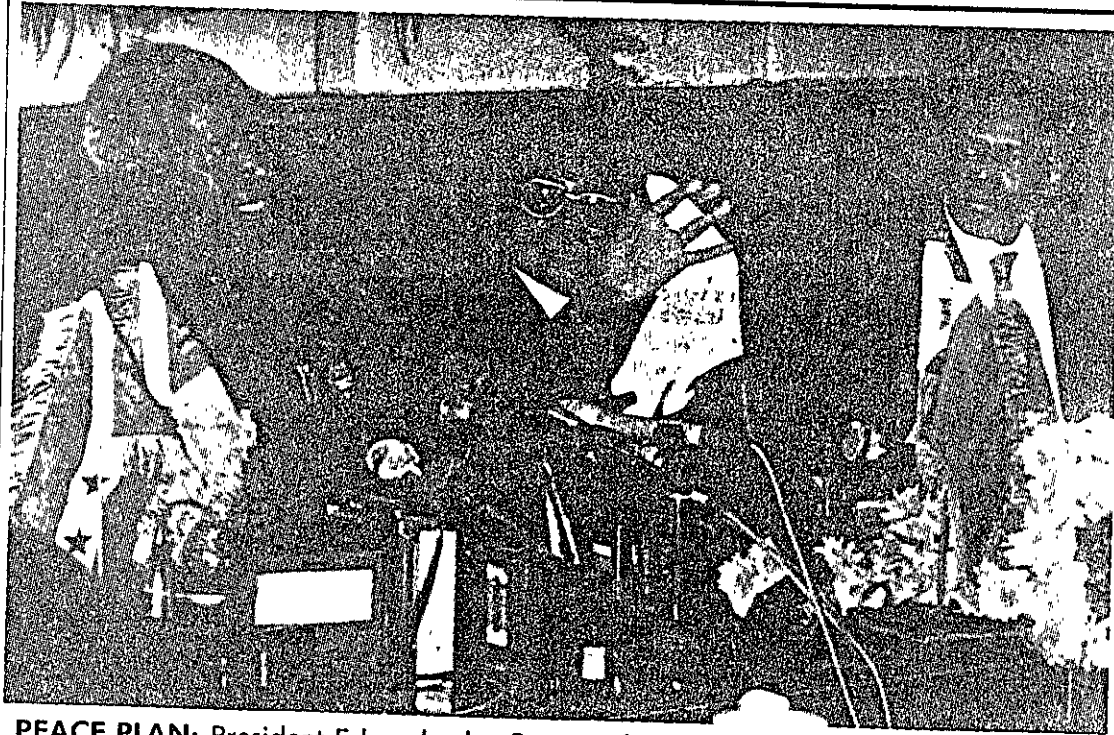
Dr Chavis flew into Windhoek with a group from the non-profit Citizens Energy group.

The group, headed by Michael Kennedy — son of assassinated US Presidential candidate Robert Kennedy — brought pharmaceuticals, toys, shoes and other supplies for the church organisations involved in the refugee repatriation and rehabilitation programme.

ANGOLA



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**PEACE PLAN:** President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola (right) and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe (centre) listen to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda at a Press conference at the end of a meeting on the peace plan for Angola.

# Kaunda confident on <sup>ARGAS</sup> Angola settlement plan <sup>23/8/89</sup>

From JOHN RYAN  
Argus Africa News Service  
HARARE. — Angola's shaky settlement plan received a boost here when the eight African nations assigned to monitor the peace proposals issued a communique which suggested that differences between the MPLA government and Unita were on the point of being ironed out.  
And the chairman of the monitoring group, Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, indicated to a Press conference yesterday that the Zairean leader, President Mobutu Sese Seko, the mediator in negotiations, had undertaken to deliv-

er by September 18 Dr Jonas Savimbi's signed agreement on a lasting ceasefire and a date for his temporary retirement.  
The eight nations have agreed to hold their next summit meeting in Kinshasa on that date.  
A ceasefire was accepted in principle, but not formally endorsed, when Dr Savimbi and Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos met at Gbadolite in Zaire on June 22.  
Asked how settlement plans were proceeding, President Kaunda said: "Wait until September 18. It is very near. This summit is not daunted. This summit will continue until we succeed."

rocco said Dr Savimbi was offering the MPLA government a permanent ceasefire in exchange for certain assurances.  
In answer to a question about whether the Unita leader had agreed to retire as part of the Gbadolite deal, President Kaunda said: "Dr Savimbi was a bit difficult, but eventually he agreed. It was hard work but that's how it happened. And the South African leaders (who have supported Unita's long struggle) were involved and accepted it."

The eight member nations of the monitoring group are Zaire, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Gabon, Congo, Mozambique, Angola and Sao Tome and Principe.

A report from Rabat in Mo-

# Namibia: Fears that Castro may halt Cuban withdrawal

By GERALD L'ANGE, Editor, Argus Africa News Service

THERE are fears in diplomatic circles that the Namibian independence exercise may be set back by the deteriorating military situation in Angola.

In Pretoria and other capitals it is feared that if the situation worsens Cuba might halt or even reverse its troop withdrawal from Angola.

President Castro has already suggested, following the killing of six Cuban soldiers by Unita, that the timetable for the withdrawal might be "unfavourably influenced."

This would in turn throw a shadow over the Namibian independence process, which South Africa has tied firmly to the Cuban troop withdrawal.

The Namibian exercise, having surmounted all the major problems it has so far encountered, is generally seen to be heading with reasonable certainty towards the independence election in November.

However, any major interruption of the Cuban troop withdrawal would almost certainly arouse serious misgivings by South Africa, which asserts that a strong Cuban presence in Angola could prejudice the Namibian election in favour of Swapo.

Suggestions that Cuba might halt its troop withdrawal came from President Fidel Castro after six Cuban soldiers had been killed by Unita in Angola's Benguela province, which is on the Atlantic coast and far from Unita's normal area of operations.

According to information circulating in Harare, where the Angolan peace initiative was this week being discussed by Organisation of African Unity leaders, the six Cubans were executed after being wounded and captured in a Unita attack.

President Castro said in a letter to United Nations Secretary-General Ja-

vier Perez de Cuellar that the Cubans were engaged at the time in a peaceful supply operation.

He warned that the action could have "serious consequences" and could "unfavourably influence compliance with the timetable for the Cubans' withdrawal."

Up to now the withdrawal has proceeded ahead of schedule, with all Cuban troops moving north of the 15th parallel as agreed and 16 000 having returned home. But the majority of the troops — about 30 000 — are still in Angola and theoretically capable of re-joining the conflict.

South Africa is trying to get more information about the clashes in Angola. But Foreign Minister Pik Botha said this week that any incident which might jeopardise implementation of the various agreements to establish peace in south western Africa detrimentally affected the interests of all countries of the region.

## Major offensive

The MPLA has withdrawn its delegation from the negotiations with Unita that were taking place in Zaire and has claimed that Unita has launched a major military offensive.

Unita has in turn accused the Luanda government of launching a major, three-pronged attack in the southeast, where Unita has its headquarters at Jamba.

Unita is believed to fear that the MPLA may use the informal ceasefire to improve its military position on the ground to give itself a strong bargaining position in the negotiations.

Diplomats do not believe President Castro would lightly halt the Cuban troop withdrawal but are nevertheless taking his threat seriously. Much will depend, they feel, on whether there are any further Unita attacks on the Cuban forces.

Diplomats recognise that any attacks on Cuba's forces undermine its ability

to maintain the claim on which its withdrawal is based — that it is getting out not as a loser but with honour, undefeated and successful in its mission in Angola.

The Namibian independence process has been described by the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, as "irreversible."

He was talking about the situation on the ground in Namibia rather than about the Cuban troop withdrawal, which at the time appeared to be going smoothly.

It would nevertheless be difficult for South Africa to try to halt or reverse the implementation of the complicated independence process stemming from Resolution 435 even if there were a hiccup in the Cuban troop withdrawal. There is simply too much at stake, too many countries and people involved, too much money committed, too many expectations aroused.

Unita was deliberately left out of the agreement on Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal and therefore is beholden to no one and free to do as it likes. And Cuba's agreement to withdraw its troops is conditional on their not being attacked.

But Cuba would have to be very badly embarrassed by anything Unita did before it would seriously consider halting the withdrawal.

And even if it did so Pretoria would have to demonstrate that it posed a very direct threat to the fairness of the Namibian election before it could cry foul and get international sympathy.

A far more likely scenario, analysts believe, is that the Cubans would try to defend their honour with a powerful, highly visible strike at a Unita target and then carry on with the withdrawal.

But the worries persist that there might be more than bluster behind President Castro's statement.

AFRICA

ARGUS 24/8/89  
5

# Angolan situation threatens Namibia freedom process

THERE are fears in diplomatic circles that the Namibian independence exercise may be set back by the deteriorating military situation in Angola.

In Pretoria and other capitals it is feared that if the situation worsens Cuba might halt or even reverse its troop withdrawal from Angola. President Castro has already suggested, following the killing of six Cuban soldiers by Unita, that the timetable for the withdrawal might be "unfavourably influenced."

This would in turn throw a shadow over the Namibian independence process, which South Africa has tied firmly to the Cuban troop withdrawal.

The Namibian exercise, having surmounted all the major problems it has so far encountered, is generally seen to be heading with reasonable certainty towards the independence election in November.

However, any major interruption of the Cuban troop withdrawal would almost certainly arouse serious misgivings by South Africa, which asserts that a strong Cuban presence in Angola could prejudice the Namibian election in favour of Swapo.

Suggestions that Cuba might halt its troop withdrawal came from

in a peaceful supply operation. He warned that the action could have "serious consequences" and could "unfavourably influence compliance with the timetable for the Cuban troops' withdrawal."

Up to now the withdrawal has proceeded ahead of schedule, with all Cuban troops moving north of the 15th parallel as agreed and 16 000 having returned home. But the majority of the troops - about 30 000 - are still in Angola and theoretically capable of rejoining the conflict.

President Castro said in a letter to United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar that the Cubans had been engaged at the time

discussed this week by organisation of African Unity leaders, the six Cubans were executed after being wounded and captured in a Unita attack.

President Fidel Castro from Unita's normal area after six Cuban soldiers had been killed by Unita in Angola's Benguela province, which is on the Atlantic coast and far

# Angola: 'SA-US arms damaging accord'

*APC News 24/8/89*

**HARARE.**—Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos yesterday accused South Africa and the United States of continuing to arm Unita rebels and said their leader Dr Jonas Savimbi would lose all credibility if he reneged on a nine-week-old peace agreement.

Mr Dos Santos, commenting on an apparent deadlock in a Zairean-brokered initiative to end Angola's 14-year civil war, told reporters in Harare that Dr Savimbi was still trying to achieve his political ambitions with the help of Pretoria and Washington. He said these traditional allies of Unita continued to arm the rebels despite the current peace initiative and accords signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa in December.

"We are involved in a process of peace... supplying arms does not help that process," he said. The Angolan leader attended a summit in Harare on Tuesday of eight African presidents who reaffirmed their support for the main points of a peace

plan for Angola announced at the historic June 22 meeting between Mr Dos Santos and Dr Savimbi in Gbadolite, Zaire.

Mr Dos Santos said Dr Savimbi had agreed to cooperate with the peace plan which foresaw a ceasefire, temporary and voluntary exile for Dr Savimbi and the integration of Unita members into the existing government, army and other institutions.

But the Unita leader has subsequently demanded the formation of a coalition government and free elections. Angola's government claims Unita has committed dozens of violations of the ceasefire that began on June 24.

"If he (Savimbi) now rejects what he previously accepted, what credibility can he have to continue talking, what confidence can he inspire in us? ... None," Mr Dos Santos said.

He hoped the Unita leader would "return to reason" by the time the presidents of Zaire, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Gabon, Congo and

Sao Tome and Principe met again in Kinshasa on September 18 to review the peace process.

More Angolans had died in fighting since the June 24 ceasefire than in the previous part of the year, he added.

The Angolan president said Dr Savimbi and his Unita movement were "a destabilising factor — not only in Angola, but regionally".

Mr Dos Santos said a Unita attack on August 14, which killed six Cuban soldiers, was a serious violation of the New York accords.

It was also announced yesterday that the Angolan government had launched a diplomatic offensive in Zimbabwe to solicit emergency aid for the war-ravaged country.

Trade and Commerce Minister Mr Dumilde Rangel said Angola estimated it required \$273 million (R737m) in emergency aid for about 600 000 displaced people. — Sapa-Reuters

# Namibia freedom on razor-edge in Angola

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28/2/87

There are fears in diplomatic circles that the Namibian independence exercise may be set back by a deterioration in the military situation in Angola.

In Pretoria and other capitals it is feared that if the situation worsens Cuba might halt or even reverse its troop withdrawal from Angola. President Castro has already suggested, after the killing of six Cuban soldiers by Unita, that the timetable for the withdrawal might be "unfavourably influenced".

This would in turn throw a shadow over the Namibian independence process, which South Africa has tied firmly to the Cuban troop withdrawal.

These fears may have been eased by the apparent progress made recently in the effort to reconcile the MPLA government and Unita rebels, reported to the Organisation of African Unity this week.

But the fears will not be eliminated until there is no longer any danger of the Cubans being attacked by Unita, either deliberately or during attacks on MPLA targets.

The Namibian exercise, having surmounted several obstacles, is generally seen to be heading with reasonable certainty towards the independence election in November.

However, any major interruption of the Cuban troop withdrawal would almost certainly cause serious misgivings in Pretoria, which maintains that a strong Cuban presence in Angola could prejudice the Namibian election in favour of Swapo.

According to information circulating in Harare during the recent OAU meeting, six Cubans were executed after being wounded and captured in a Unita attack.

President Castro said they had been engaged in a peaceful supply operation and he warned that the action could have "serious consequences" and could "unfavourably influence compliance with the timetable for

Despite claims of progress in the Angolan peace initiative, continued fighting is casting worrying shadows over the Namibian independence exercise, reports **GERALD L'ANGE** of The Star's Africa News Service.

the Cuban troops' withdrawal."

Up to now the withdrawal has proceeded ahead of schedule, with all Cuban troops having moved north of the 15th parallel as agreed and 16 000 having returned home. But the majority — about 30 000 — are still in Angola and theoretically capable of rejoining the conflict.

South Africa is trying to get more information about the events in Angola. But Foreign Minister Pik Botha said this week that any incident which might jeopardise implementation of the various agreements to establish peace in south-western Africa detrimentally affected the interests of all countries of the region.

### Whistling in the dark

The optimism professed at the Harare mini-summit appears to be contradicted by events on the ground in Angola. The informal ceasefire agreed on by the MPLA and Unita leaders at Gbadolite in Zaire has repeatedly been breached. Last week the MPLA withdrew its delegation from the negotiations in Zaire and has since claimed that Unita has launched a major military offensive.

Unita has in turn accused the Luanda government of launching a major, three-pronged attack in the south-east, where Unita has its headquarters at Jamba. Unita is believed to fear that the MPLA may use the informal ceasefire to improve its military position on the ground to give itself a strong bargaining position in the negotiations.

Diplomats do not believe President Castro would lightly halt the Cuban troop withdrawal but are nevertheless taking his threat seriously.

They recognise that any attacks on Cuba's forces undermine its ability to maintain the claim on which its withdrawal is based: that it is getting out not as a loser but with honour, undefeated and successful in its mission in Angola.

The Namibian independence process has been described by the Administrator-General, Mr Louis Plenaar, as "irreversible." He was talking about the situation on the ground in Namibia rather than about the Cuban troop withdrawal, which at the time appeared to be going smoothly.

It would nevertheless be difficult for South Africa to try to halt or reverse the implementation of the complicated independence process stemming from Resolution 435 even if there were a hiccup in the Cuban troop withdrawal. There is simply too much at stake, too many countries and people involved, too much money committed, too many expectations aroused.

Unita was deliberately left out of the agreement on Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal and therefore is beholden to no one and free to do as it likes. And Cuba's agreement to withdraw its troops is conditional on their not being attacked.

But Cuba would have to be very badly embarrassed by anything Unita did before it would seriously consider halting the withdrawal. And even if it did so Pretoria would have to demonstrate that it posed a very direct threat to the fairness of the Namibian election before it could cry foul and get international sympathy.

A far more likely scenario, analysts believe, is that the Cubans would try to defend their honour with a powerful, highly visible strike at a Unita target and then carry on with the withdrawal.



# Unita at war<sup>5</sup> again: Pik pleads for peace

CAPL. T. P. S. 25/8/89

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Angolan peace initiative appeared on the verge of breakdown last night, adding urgency to President F W de Klerk's meeting with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko today.

Salvaging the fragile peace process is the key item on the meeting agenda.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who is accompanying Mr De Klerk, last night appealed to all parties in Angola to act with restraint and pursue negotiations

in terms of the Gbadolite peace accord brokered by Mr Mobutu.

Mr Botha said he had been in touch with Unita after it was reported that their forces were back at war, ending the tentative two-month-old truce.

Sapa-Reuter reported Unita spokesmen as saying a government military offensive had violated the truce and forced it to take up arms again. They also accused other African states of meddling in the fragile peace process.

Mr Botha said he had been in

contact with a representative of Unita who had denied that Unita had adopted an offensive position.

The breakdown in the Angolan peace process is not just linked to the numerous violations of the ceasefire. Unita is insisting it be given an opportunity to test its support by popular opinion, while the MPLA says that as its government is recognised throughout the world, Unita members should merely be absorbed into existing structures.

● De Klerk on trial — Page 3

www.angolapage.com

# SA pair aim to put ceasefire back on track

16645 25/8/89

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Angola ceasefire was in jeopardy today as Acting-President Mr F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha flew to meet Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, hoping to put it back on track.

Mr Botha said last night at a NP meeting in Boksburg that he had been in direct contact with a Unita official just before the meeting, who assured him Unita had not declared war again as reported.

Mr Botha said that he viewed the situation as serious and hoped he and Mr De Klerk could take it up at today's meeting with President Mobutu — who has brokered the Angola peace talks — and Monday's meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Unita issued a statement yesterday in which it said "the Angola people sadly accept that the war has resumed."

However Mr Botha, who has been closely involved with the Angola peace initiative, said the senior Unita official he had spoken to assured him that Unita had not opened a new offensive.

Mr Botha said there had been reports that Unita was upset with the stand taken by the OAU conference in Harare on the Angolan ceasefire, and had opened a newer offensive.

## Agreement

Mr Botha said Unita believed a communique issued by the OAU in Harare had differed fundamentally from the original Gdabolite agreement in terms of which a ceasefire agreement was reached, and an accord to begin negotiations for national reconciliation and the control of troops.

Mr Botha said he hoped to take the matter further with President Seko, the man who brochured the Gdabolite agreement, today and with President Kaunda on Monday.

Referring to reports that President Kaunda would present Mr De Klerk with an ANC plan for a negotiated settlement in South Africa, Mr Botha said South Africa's future constitutional dispensation would be decided by South Africa itself.

(Report by P. Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

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56

Unita denies declaring war again, says Pik

# FW in bid to save Angola ceasefire

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Angola ceasefire was in jeopardy today as Acting State President, Mr FW de Klerk, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, flew to meet President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, hoping to put it back on track.

Mr Botha said last night at a National Party meeting in Boksburg that just before the meeting he had been in contact with a Unita official, who assured him Unita had not declared war again — as reported.

Mr Botha said he viewed the situation as serious and hoped he and Mr de Klerk could take it up at today's meeting with President Mobutu — who has brokered the Angola peace talks — and at Monday's meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

It is Mr de Klerk's first venture into black Africa since becoming Acting State President last week, and his second since becoming leader of the National Party earlier this year.

In July he met Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo.

Mr de Klerk and his entourage are expected back in South Africa later tonight.

Unita issued a statement yesterday in which it said "the Angola people sadly accept that the war has resumed".

Mr Botha, who has been closely involved with the Angola peace initiative, said the senior Unita official he had spoken to assured him that Unita had not opened a new offensive but had merely alerted its troops to be on the defensive.

Mr Botha said there had been reports that Unita was upset with the stand taken by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) conference in Harare on the Angolan ceasefire, and that it had opened a new offensive.

He said the Unita representative assured him these reports were not true. The representative told him Unita had merely alerted its troops to be on the defensive — apparently fearing action from MPLA troops.

Mr Botha said Unita believed a communique issued by the OAU in Harare had differed fundamentally from the original Gdabolite agreement, in terms of which a ceasefire agreement was reached and an accord to begin negotiations for national reconciliation and the control of troops was agreed on.

Unita attacked the Harare conference statement in a communique issued yesterday, saying the Angolan people were "deeply sorrowed that the war had restarted".

## ANC 'desperate'

Referring to reports that President Kaunda would present Mr de Klerk with an ANC plan for a negotiated settlement in South Africa, Mr Botha said South Africa's future constitutional dispensation would be decided by South Africa itself, by leaders and organisations who were now silent.

He said ANC moves to present negotiation documents to South Africa through African leaders were a "desperation measure" as the ANC's "Russian masters" had told it that the season of violence and the time for bomb-throwing had passed.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

SPK 25/10/89



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# Angola's peace: A common platform on wobbly stilts <sup>W Mail</sup> (5)

25-31 Aug 89

*For all the hand-shaking, the Angolan peace is built on very shaky ground, reports*  
**JULIAN BORGER in Harare**

A SUMMIT meeting in the Zimbabwean capital on Tuesday involving eight African leaders failed to halt the disintegration of the Angolan peace process — producing, instead, a “common platform” that may only further entrench the differences between the two warring parties.

The peace process was set in motion by the historic handshake earlier this year in Gbadolite, Zaire, between arch-foes Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

The symbolic breakthrough raised hopes of a quick resolution to the 14-year-old civil war, but nothing was signed and it was soon clear that both sides had different views of what had been agreed. The hastily-arranged ceasefire did not last a week.

Tuesday's meeting of the eight leaders who make up the Committee for Reconciliation in Angola ended with a communiqué that spelt out their interpretation of the Gbadolite Accord, and it is obviously not one designed to appeal to Unita.

The communiqué called for “respect for the constitution and principal laws of the People's Republic of Angola” and the “integration of Unita elements in the institutions of ... Angola.”

Unita, however, wants to keep its own identity in a multi-party system and will resist any resolution that simply absorbs it in a monolithic one-party state.

Unita can also be expected to fight the clause that envisages “Jonas Savimbi's temporary and voluntary retirement”, a prospect that Savimbi has said is unacceptable.

Dos Santos, however, claimed on Wednesday that Savimbi agreed to his own retirement in Gbadolite. “If Savimbi now rejects what he previously accepted, what credibility can he have to continue talking?” he asked. “What confidence can he inspire with us?”

Reports from Gbadolite say the understanding that Savimbi should temporarily withdraw from the Angolan political stage was to have remained secret, but was prematurely publicised by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda in an interview after the meeting. This provoked an instant denial from Savimbi.

The desire of some involved in the peace process to gain maximum points for “statesmanship” seems to have bedevilled the peace process from the very start. The Angolans here say privately that, at the initial meeting of the Committee of Eight leaders in Luanda in May, it was never envisaged that Unita or Savimbi would be brought into the process as

early as the Gbadolite meeting. They say his presence there was sprung on Dos Santos only a few hours before the handshake.

Few observers believe it was a matter of pure coincidence that the momentous Gbadolite meeting was slotted in a week before Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko's tour of the United States, where he was under fire for his human rights record.

This rushed diplomacy left nothing signed on paper, and neither side sure of what had been agreed. Savimbi is clearly determined not to have an agreement foisted on him that does not give Unita a central role. Available evidence is that Unita was first to break the tentative ceasefire at the beginning of July, and this may have been a reminder to the Committee for Reconciliation not to take Savimbi's participation in their plans for granted.

The fighting has since escalated with Unita downing two Angolan government planes, and the rebels have now claimed that Luanda is bombing the Unita-held town of Mavinga, in the southern province of Cuando Cubango.

Dos Santos this week confirmed the worsening of the situation, saying that more Angolans had died in the month since the ceasefire than in the first six months of the year put together.

The eight-man summit is scheduled to reconvene in Kinshasa on September 18, but no details have been given on how their mediator Mobutu is going to get the two sides together again. Last Thursday, the two sides were scheduled to meet in Kinshasa but the Unita delegation, for unknown reasons, only arrived on Saturday, by which time the delegation from Luanda had already left.

Perhaps the best reason for hope, in the midst of all the misunderstandings, is that resolution of Angola's economic predicament hinges on the achievement of peace.

The trade minister, Dumilde Rangel, chose the day after the summit to launch a new emergency appeal, here in Harare, for \$275 million in international assistance aimed at Angola's displaced population — estimated at more than 600 000.

The success of any such relief programme would depend on a lasting peace, and that, Rangel conceded, could now take years.



Zambian President  
Kenneth Kaunda

# Angola: It's back to war again

By JULIAN BORGER, Harare

ANGOLA is back at war. The Unita rebels yesterday announced they had abandoned the fragile peace process which produced a ceasefire with the Luanda government, and "violently rejected" the communique issued by the Harare summit of eight African leaders on Tuesday.

In a broadcast from the rebel headquarters at Jamba in south-eastern Angola, Unita's radio station, Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel, said Tuesday's Harare communique had been received with "surprise and sadness" by the rebel leadership.

The "group of eight", chaired by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda had reaffirmed their support for a Zairean-brokered plan to end the 14-year war and said they would persuade Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to accept it.

Yesterday's Unita statement, simultaneously released in Lisbon, said full-scale war with the Angolan gov-

ernment would begin again, signalling the end of the two-month truce.

"All Angolan people have sadly had to accept that war has resumed," the statement said. Listing 11 points to justify the decision, Unita said an Angolan government offensive had violated the truce and forced the rebels to take up arms again.

Other African leaders were accused of "meddling" in the peace process.

In a clear rejection of the "group of eight's" interpretation of what had been agreed when Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi shook hands in Gbadolite, Zaire, on June 22, Unita said "the Harare conference erred in not understanding what must be done in Angola".

Lisbon Unita representative Alcides Sakala said the guerrillas were still "ready to talk peace (but) we must respond to the (Angolan) government's

adopting of the military solution".

Although Luanda, backed up by Lusaka and Harare, insists that Savimbi made a number of undertakings at the June meeting, Unita will not be budged on several issues.

Most importantly, it rejects the "temporary and voluntary retirement" of Savimbi.

Unita also baulks at the Harare claim that it had agreed to be integrated into the "institutions of the state of the People's Republic of Angola".

Since June both parties to the conflict have regularly accused each other of violating the ceasefire and several rounds of scheduled talks have broken down.

On Wednesday this week Dos Santos challenged Savimbi to accept the Harare communique.

The Jamba response puts the principal blame on the Angolan government which, the statement said, "had chosen the path of armed struggle."

⑤ ~~SECRET~~ Wmair 25-31/8/89

200 dead  
in fighting  
in Angola

# SA, Zaire's salvage plan

From MIKE ROBERTSON

LISBON.—The Angolan government and Unita said yesterday that more than 200 people died in fighting over the past week in central and southern Angola.

Units claimed they killed 77 government soldiers who attacked their positions earlier this week.

In a statement released in Lisbon, Unita said six of their soldiers died and 19 were injured in the clashes in the provinces of Cuand-Cuabango, Cunene, Huambo and South Cuanza.

The statement said Unita shot down a Soviet-built Mi-25 helicopter and destroyed four tanks. Angop said the casualties occurred when Unita attacked a supporting column and villages. — Sapa-AP

by all parties when the original peace accord was agreed on in Zaire.

Although both governments have declined to give further details, it is likely that South Africa will hold a series of talks with Unita and African governments involved in the peace process — probably Zambia and Mozambique.

Zaire, on the other hand, is likely to hold talks with the MPLA government in Angola and possibly Zimbabwe.

The aim of the talks is to identify points of difference and try to reach a compromise on them.

Differences between the ruling MPLA government and Unita have arisen over two main issues.

They are whether the rebels should be absorbed into the existing system in Angola or allowed to test their popularity in elections and the role to be played by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Mr De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Foreign Affairs director general Mr Neil van Heerden, met Mr Mobutu and his Foreign Minister, Mr Nguzi Karl i Bond, for almost three hours.

Mr Botha, releasing a joint statement after the talks, said subjects which had been discussed had included the "present delicate situation in Angola."

"Views were exchanged regarding this issue which will require further follow up at the appropriate levels."

Mr Botha said both leaders had agreed the discussions had been positive, opportune and constructive "particularly at this critical stage."

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mobutu, he said, had agreed to stay in close contact.



FAREWELL . . . Acting President Mr F W de Klerk shakes hands with President Mobutu Sese Seko at the end of his day visit.

**Briefing**

# Castro outlines the military strategy that 'foiled the enemy'

In a dramatic speech, President Fidel Castro has given his version of the last stages of the war in Angola. He details his role, from Havana, in the southern Angola fighting, reports DAVID BRAUN of The Star Bureau.

WASHINGTON — Cuba's President Fidel Castro has given a dramatic and detailed account of the closing stages of the Cuba-South Africa war in southern Angola.

He disclosed that at one stage the South Africans came dangerously close to destroying three full brigades at Cuito Cuanavale.

So serious was the situation that President Castro dropped all his official government duties to personally direct war operations from Havana. He bypassed his commanding general in Luanda to give specific orders on troop movements and contingency planning on the southern front.

The Cuban president fretted that if Cuba was beaten by South Africa in Angola, not only would Cuba's honour be taken but the whole revolution would be lost. He was thus ready to hit South Africa hard should the war escalate and Cuba start to lose.

Plans were drawn up to destroy the Cuito and Rucana dams, and to hit the SADF's northern Namibia bases with huge air attacks. In the end, his tactics outwitted the South Africans and saved the day — not only militarily but diplomatically, as the peace accords which ended the war were signed by South Africa and Cuba.

Thanks to his strategy, what would have been a Dunkirk for hapless Angolan forces on the eastern banks of the Cuito River, became a trap for South African and UNITA forces.

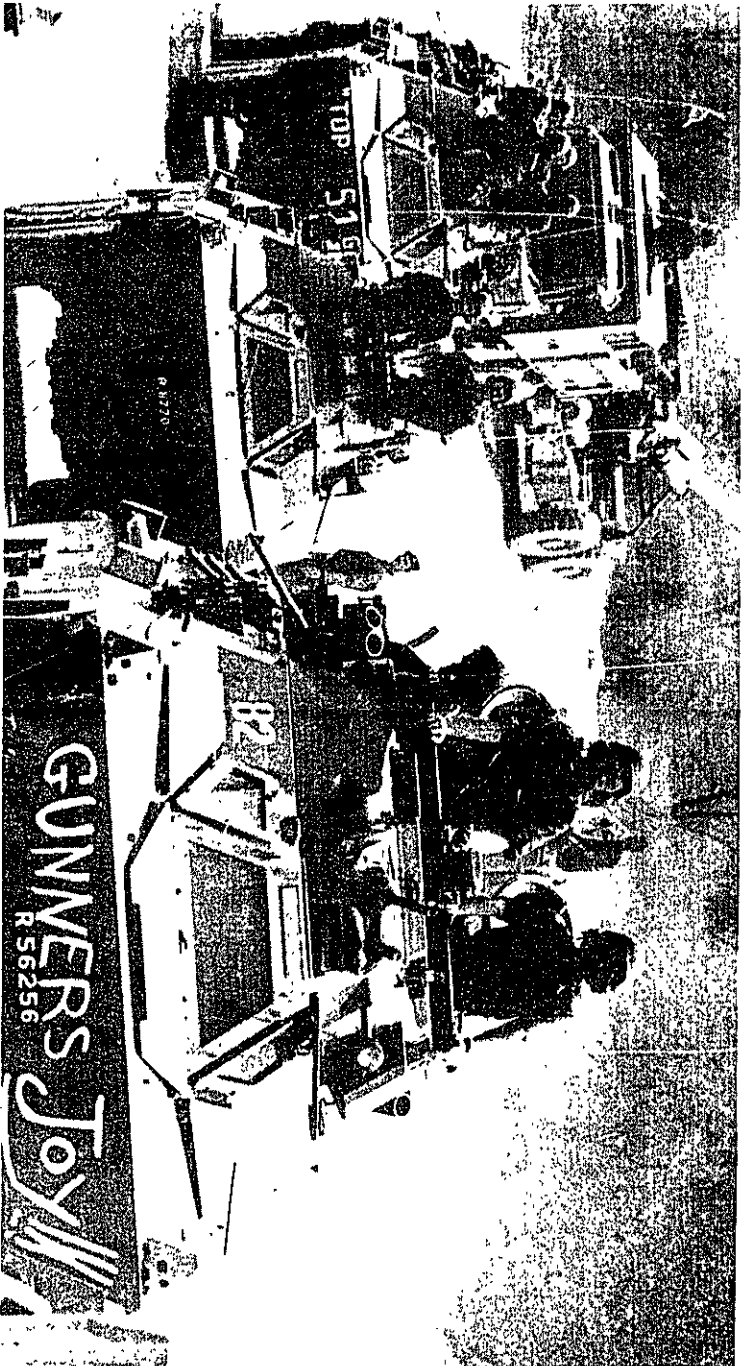
Mr Castro gave his account during a two-hour speech before a full Council of State meeting in Havana on July 9. The speech was broadcast on Cuba's domestic radio and television services a few days later.

The purpose of the speech, for which Mr Castro ordered every single member of the council to be present, was to explain why it had been necessary to denounce and eviscerate Cuban war hero General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez on charges of theft, corruption and racketeering.

The context of Mr Castro's account of the Angolan war was to show how General Ochoa, when he was head of Cuba's military mission in Angola and should have been devoting himself to working for his country in its hour of need, had been enriching himself on the black market.

Highlights of the speech included:  
● Cuba could be said to have gambled everything on the Angolan war. It sent its best weapons and 50 000 men.  
● Between November 7 and 13 1987 the increasing South African onslaught threatened to destroy the concentration of Angolan soldiers in Cuito Cuanavale.

At that time not a single Cuban troop was in the area. President Castro asked his Angolan counterpart, President Edmar, what would have been a



RETRAIT... South African troops pull out of Angola at the end of the war against Cuban and Frelimo forces.

# 'I took over command of the forces in Angola'



units with surface-to-air missiles.

● The South Africans did attack, but not with the SA Air Force. On June 26, South African land forces opened fire. More than 200 rockets were fired at Tchitupa, where the Cubans were dug in.

Mr Castro caibed his generals: "We must respond to today's artillery attack against Tchitupa. We believe the first step must be a strong air attack against the camp, military installations and South African personnel at Caluque and its environs. We must do the best we can to prevent the loss of civilian lives."

● Cuba hit Caluque on June 27, killing several South African soldiers guarding the

**Yvut would have been a  
Dunkirk for the hapless  
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African and UNITA  
forces — according to  
Castro.**

do was Santos. If Cuba could take over the responsibility of defending Cuito Cuanavale, Cuba sent in its best pilots and troops on November 13 to avert a political and military catastrophe.

● Cuba's commander general in Angola General Ochoa was lazy and did not file reports. He also did not believe the South Africans were a threat in southern Angola. In fact, he believed rumours that South Africa was withdrawing.

● To resolve the situation without humiliating General Ochoa, Mr Castro appointed a commanding general for the southern front, technically under General Ochoa but taking orders directly from Havana.

● By January 1988, Mr Castro overruled General Ochoa's plan to move the Fapla (MPLA) forces 50th and 10th brigades from Menongue to Canza. As long as South Africa's intentions were not clear, there must be no thought of removing the brigades, he said. This would leave the Cubans at Menongue on their own.

● The next day, South Africa mounted a strong attack east of the river at Cuito, along an extensive front defended by three Fapla brigades, the 21st, the 9th and the 25th. There was a 5 km gap between the brigades.

● Cuito still did not have a single man in Cuito, but started pouring in advisers — experts in artillery, tanks and other weapons. The nearest Cuban forces were still 200 km away at Menongue, with thick bush between.



**GOING HOME** ... Members of the first contingent of Cuban troops to be withdrawn from Angola march to waiting planes at Luanda airport which flew them back to Havana.

of the river by withdrawing the 9th and 25th brigades to well-fortified positions nearer the river. These two brigades were to cover the east flank, enabling the Fapla 8th brigade to resume carrying supplies.

Mr Castro sent in the telegram that the position of the 9th and 25th brigades was unsafe and their lines could be broken from the direction where the 21st brigade had been dislodged.

● The position became confused as the Fapla forces fought to re-establish their lines according to his orders. On January 26, he sent a cable which said he did not understand what was going on in Cuito. From the cable, it seems President Castro was frustrated by Fapla's commanders. There are hints of disagreement between the allies (at this stage, the Cuban soldiers were still cutting their way through the

east side and everything else and all the remaining Angolan forces were to be moved immediately west, he insisted.

● The Cuban general in charge of the southern front, General Leopoldo Cintra Frías, nicknamed Polo by Mr Castro, was sent personally to Cuito. He was able to, at last, get the lines relocated as Mr Castro wanted them.

● The South Africans ran into the eastern fortified position.

Mr Castro described it thus: "As soon as they began to get near, they would be hit by artillery, they would encounter anti-aircraft attacks, they would walk on to minefields, and they several times crashed headlong into the defensive position which they were never able to conquer. During this period we had almost no casualties. Cuito Cuanavale became a trap for the enemy."

● The battle on the east having been contained the Cubans and Angolans were confident enough to start advancing with their right (west) flank. Motorised Cuban scouts started encountering South African scouts and a number of skirmishes ensued.

● By June, the Cubans were approaching the Namibian border and were too far to fall under the Cuban air umbrella based at Lubango and Matala, 250 km to the north.

● Mr Castro ordered a southern airfield to be built at Canama. Trucks, bulldozers and haulers were all sent from Cuba to build the airfield with great speed.

● On June 7, Mr Castro cabled general Ochoa and Polo that news of a possible South African surprise air attack against Cuban and Angolan troops should not be underestimated. He ordered them to place anti-aircraft units on maximum alert.

● Cuban Air Force planes were placed on standby at Canama airfield, which had just become operational. The cable said: "Be ready to counterattack with as many aircraft as possible, to completely destroy Ruacana water reservoir and transformers."

● Plans should be prepared to hit Oshokana and nearby air bases as a response to the attack and according to the size of the enemy action. Do not wait for orders to carry out the action if there is a strong enemy attack against our troops. Our attack must be sudden and quick."

● The South Africans made a barefaced attack on Caluque but restrained themselves militarily.

● Peace talks meanwhile bogged down.

On October 10, Mr Castro cabled his commanders: "The negotiations have reached an impasse. The South African demands are unacceptable. Because great expectations have been made in Brazzaville, we look an inextinguishable position in New York.

Although there is talk of new meetings in Brazzaville, we must not lend too much importance to the matter. We must prepare for the impasse, although I do not think the South Africans want to resume hostilities. We must remain alert, especially to guard against the risk of air attacks."

● Mr Castro ordered his frontline units to remain at Caluque and Ruacana in case he should want to destroy them. A joint

**Plans were drawn up to destroy both Caluque and Ruacana dams, and to hit the SA Defence Forces' northern Namibia bases with massive air attacks.**

bush from Menongue, and Fapla was alone at Cuito. Mr Castro had been given command of all forces in Cuito by Luanda.

The cable from Mr Castro, according to his speech, said: "Who has the highest authority in Cuito? Often you do not bother to explain to us what is being done, despite the fact that we are not inflexible in our points of view and that we are always prepared to hear your opinion."

Mr Castro said in his speech: "These instructions were sent on the 17th and by the 26th nothing had been done. It was exploding."

● To exert his authority over the Angolans and overcome any resistance to his instructions, President Castro immediately summoned General Ochoa to Havana to discuss the situation. General Ochoa returned to Angola on February 3 with specific instructions to see the lines at Cuito were redrawn as ordered by Mr Castro.

● On St Valentine's Day, February 14, South Africa launched what Mr Castro described as its big offensive against the 9th brigade. The South Africans smashed through the lines, marched through the 5 km gap between the 21st and 9th brigades and began to surround the 9th.

Mr Castro described it like this: "A very difficult situation emerged. They could

back to the river. The cable said: "This would be a catastrophe."

"If this happens, it will be very difficult to defend Cuito, and the political and moral consequences for the Angolan Armed Forces and the Angolan Government would be terrible."

● The next day, Mr Castro sent another cable which claimed South Africa had destroyed a bridge linking east and west with unannounced aircraft. He could not understand why a whole week had passed since the events of February 14, and why with the exception of only two battalions from the 21st brigade, about 3,500 Angolan soldiers still had not gone west of the river.

"What will happen if tomorrow the enemy breaks through the lines and uses all its strength against the river area?" Mr Castro raged. He said the area commanders at Cuito were not aware of the political, military and moral consequences that a disastrous confrontation with the forces to the east of the river would cause. He said: "These forces would not even have a few ships comparable to what the British did with its fleet in Dunkirk."

● The Cuban leader ordered a heavily fortified defensive position using no more than a brigade on the eastern side of the river. Tanks and artillery were to be used on the

installation. Mr Castro wanted to see what would happen next. He placed all his forces on full state of alert, awaiting any possible response from South Africa.

"You must be ready to strike hard against the enemy bases in northern Namibia. In other words, you must have a response ready in the event of a massive enemy air attack. We have given them our mutual response. Now it is up to them to decide what to do and if they should continue the escalation."

● The South Africans made a barefaced attack on Caluque but restrained themselves militarily.

● Peace talks meanwhile bogged down.

On October 10, Mr Castro cabled his commanders: "The negotiations have reached an impasse. The South African demands are unacceptable. Because great expectations have been made in Brazzaville, we look an inextinguishable position in New York.

Although there is talk of new meetings in Brazzaville, we must not lend too much importance to the matter. We must prepare for the impasse, although I do not think the South Africans want to resume hostilities. We must remain alert, especially to guard against the risk of air attacks."

● Mr Castro ordered his frontline units to remain at Caluque and Ruacana in case he should want to destroy them. A joint

**Castro was enormously frustrated by Fapla's commanders, and there are hints of disagreement between the two allies.**

Cuban/Angolan unit remained at Tchona, and all other forces were withdrawn to the Canama-Xangongo line. He deployed anti-aircraft units along the Canama-Xangongo-Humbe-Xangongo line. He ordered his aircraft to be ready to protect the Cuban forward units.

If the enemy attacked the frontline units, the two water installations were to be blown up. Mr Castro noted Western reports that there was a big South African bank-up on the other side of the Namibian border.

He cabled his field commanders: "Our duty is to be prepared for any outcome. This struggle will be won by the side that has the best ability to resist."

● The South Africans never did attack.

Mr Castro told the State Council this was because South Africa realised the Cubans were powerful and had taken security measures. Cuba had achieved its objective without sacrificing thousands of lives.

● An interesting aspect of Mr Castro's speech was his comments on the Luanda Government. He said he was virtually in charge of that government in 1986.

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Mr Castro said his revolution was at stake in Angola. If it was a decisive battle against apartheid, it was also a battle for the revolution, and could have meant a huge defeat for the revolution.

**HERO** ... Fidel Castro's version of the war greatly boosted his own heroic role.



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● The South Africans ran into the eastern fortified position.

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● The battle on the east having been contained the Cubans and Angolans were confident enough to start advancing with their right (west) flank. Motorised Cuban scouts started encountering South African scouts and a number of skirmishes ensued.

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● On June 7, Mr Castro cabled general Ochoa and Polo that news of a possible South African surprise air attack against Cuban and Angolan troops should not be underestimated. He ordered them to place anti-aircraft units on maximum alert.

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● The South Africans made a barefaced attack on Caluque but restrained themselves militarily.

● Peace talks meanwhile bogged down.

On October 10, Mr Castro cabled his commanders: "The negotiations have reached an impasse. The South African demands are unacceptable. Because great expectations have been made in Brazzaville, we look an inextinguishable position in New York.

Although there is talk of new meetings in Brazzaville, we must not lend too much importance to the matter. We must prepare for the impasse, although I do not think the South Africans want to resume hostilities. We must remain alert, especially to guard against the risk of air attacks."

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# Castro outlines the military strategy that 'foiled the enemy'

In a dramatic speech, President Fidel Castro has given his version of the last stages of the war in Angola. He details his role, from Havana, in the southern Angola fighting, reports DAVID BRAUN of The Star Bureau.

WASHINGTON — Cuba's President Fidel Castro has given a dramatic and detailed account of the closing stages of the Cuba-South Africa war in southern Angola.

He disclosed that at one stage the South Africans came dangerously close to destroying three full brigades at Cuito Canavale.

So serious was the situation that President Castro dropped all his official government duties to personally direct war operations from Havana. He bypassed his commanding general in Luanda to give specific orders on troop movements and contingency planning on the southern front.

The Cuban president fretted that if Cuba was beaten by South Africa in Angola, not only would Cuba's honour be taken but the whole revolution would be lost. He was thus ready to hit South Africa hard should the war escalate and Cuba start to lose.

Plans were drawn up to destroy the Cahenge and Ruacana dams, and to hit the SADF's northern Namibia bases with huge air attacks. In the end, his tactics outwitted the South Africans and saved the day — not only militarily but diplomatically, as the peace accords which ended the war were signed by South Africa and Cuba.

Thanks to his strategy, what would have been a Dunkirk for hapless Angolan forces on the eastern banks of the Cuito River, became a trap for South African and UNITA forces.

Mr Castro gave his account during a two-hour speech before a full Council of State meeting in Havana on July 9. The speech was broadcast on Cuba's domestic radio and television services a few days later.

The purpose of the speech, for which Mr Castro ordered every single member of the council to be present, was to explain why it had been necessary to denounce and execute Cuban war hero General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez on charges of theft, corruption and racketeering.

The context of Mr Castro's account of the Angolan war was to show how General Ochoa, when he was head of Cuba's military mission in Angola and should have been devoting himself to working for his country in its hour of need, had been enriching himself on the black market.

Highlights of the speech included:

- Cuba could be said to have gambled everything on the Angolan war. It sent its best weapons and 50 000 men.

- Between November 7 and 15 1987 the increasing South African onslaught threatened to destroy the concentration of Angolan soldiers in Cuito Canavale.

At that time not a single Cuban troop was in the area. President Castro asked his Angolan counterpart, President Eduar-



RETREAT . . . South African troops pull out of Angola at the end of the war against Cuban and Fapla forces.

# 'I took over command of the forces in Angola'

units with surface-to-air missiles.

- The South Africans did attack, but not with the SA Air Force. On June 26, South African land forces opened fire. More than 200 rockets were fired at Tchipa, where the Cubans were dug in.

Mr Castro cabled his generals: "We must respond to today's artillery attack against Tchipa. We believe the first step must be a strong air attack against the camp, military installations and South African personnel at Calheque and its environs. We must do the best we can to prevent the loss of civilian lives."

- Cuba hit Calheque on June 27, killing

## Dunkirk for the hapless Angolan forces became a trap for the South African and Unita forces — according to Castro.

do dos Santos, if Cuba could take over the responsibility of defending Cuito Canavale.

Cuba sent in its best pilots and troops on November 15 to avert a political and military catastrophe.

● Cuba's commandant general in Angola, General Ochoa, was lazy and did not file reports. He also did not believe the South Africans were a threat in southern Angola. In fact, he believed rumours that South Africa was withdrawing.

● To resolve the situation without humiliating General Ochoa, Mr Castro appointed a commanding general for the southern front, technically under General Ochoa but taking orders directly from Havana.

● By January 1988, Mr Castro overruled General Ochoa's plan to move the Fapla (MPLA forces) 58th and 10th brigades from Menongue to Cuanza. As long as South Africa's intentions were not clear, there must be no thought of removing the brigades, he said. This would leave the Cubans at Menongue on their own.

The next day, South Africa mounted a strong attack east of the river at Cuito, along an extensive front defended by three Fapla brigades: the 21st, the 59th and the 25th. There was a 5 km gap between the brigades.

Cuba still did not have a single man in Cuito, but started pouring in advisers — experts in artillery, tanks and other weapons. The nearest Cuban forces were still 200 km away at Menongue, with thick bush between.

● South Africa dislodged the 21st brigade and the two other brigades were threatened. Cuba pushed in its first troops — a tactical group with a tank battalion, artillery and other weapons. The Fapla 10th brigade was also ordered to Cuito.

● A few days later, on the 17th, Mr Castro sent a telegram to the front, saying he did not intend crossing the Cuito River to the east, but to reduce the defence ring east



GOING HOME . . . Members of the first contingent of Cuban troops to be withdrawn from Angola march to waiting planes at Luanda airport which flew them back to Havana.

of the river by withdrawing the 59th and 25th brigades to well-fortified positions nearer the river. These two brigades were to cover the east flank, enabling the Fapla 8th brigade to resume carrying supplies.

Mr Castro said in the telegram that the position of the 59th and 25th brigades was unsafe and their lines could be broken from the direction where the 21st brigade had been dislodged.

● The position became confused as the Fapla forces fought to re-establish their lines according to his orders. On January 26, he sent a cable which said he did not understand what was going on in Cuito.

From the cable, it seems President Castro was frustrated by Fapla's commanders. There are hints of disagreement between the allies (at this stage, the Cuban soldiers were still cutting their way through the

have gone as far as the bridge and cut off three entire brigades."

At this stage the Cuban tank battalion had arrived and units from it, with Fapla tanks, combined to immediately launch a violent counter-attack.

This stopped South Africa but the Cuban/Fapla company lost all seven of its tanks and 14 Cubans were killed. The three Fapla brigades retreated towards the river.

● Mr Castro sent a cable to General Ochoa, urging him to keep a cool head. He also berated him for consistently underestimating possible South African actions.

● The situation was extremely dangerous for the three Fapla brigades. Mr Castro sent a cable on February 20 which warned that if South Africa broke through the lines of defence, the Angolan forces would find themselves with their

## Plans were drawn up to destroy both Calneque and Ruacana dams, and to hit the SA Defence Force's northern Namibia bases with massive air attacks.

bush from Menongue, and Fapla was alone at Cuito. Mr Castro had been given command of all forces in Cuito by Luanda).

The cable from Mr Castro, according to his speech, said: "Who has the highest authority in Cuito? Often you do not bother to explain to us what is being done, despite the fact that we are not inflexible in our points of view and that we are always prepared to hear your opinion."

Mr Castro said in his speech: "These instructions were sent on the 17th and by the 26th nothing had been done. It was expiring."

● To exert his authority over the Angolans and overcome any resistance to his instructions, President Castro immediately summoned General Ochoa to Havana to discuss the situation. General Ochoa returned to Angola on February 5 with specific instructions to see the lines at Cuito were redrawn as ordered by Mr Castro.

● On St Valentine's Day, February 14, South Africa launched what Mr Castro described as its big offensive against the 59th brigade. The South Africans smashed through the lines, marched through the 5 km gap between the 21st and 59th brigades and began to surround the 59th.

Mr Castro described it like this: "A very difficult situation emerged. They could

east side and everything else and all the remaining Angolan forces were to be moved immediately west, he insisted.

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"Plans should be prepared to hit Oshokati and nearby air bases as a response to the enemy action. Do not wait for orders to carry out the action if there is a strong enemy attack against our troops. Our attack must be sudden and quick."

Mr Castro then notified Luanda and Moscow of the danger of an imminent South African air attack and of the possibility that Cuba would retaliate with a strike in Namibia. He also poured in more Cuban

—US: L. B. ON. V. T. CASTRO WILL NOT . . . would happen next. He placed all his forces on full state of alert, awaiting any possible response from South Africa.

"You must be ready to strike hard against the enemy bases in northern Namibia. In other words, you must have a response ready in the event of a massive enemy air attack," he cabled his generals. He concluded the cable: "We have given them our initial response. Now it is up to them to decide what to do and if they should continue the escalation."

● The South Africans made a huge fuss of the attack on Calneque but restrained themselves militarily.

● Peace talks, meanwhile, bogged down.

On October 10, Mr Castro cabled his commanders: "The negotiations have reached an impasse. The South African demands are unacceptable. Because great expectations have been made in Brazzaville, we took an inflexible position in New York."

"Although there is talk of new meetings in Brazzaville, we must not lend too much importance to the matter. We must prepare for the impasse, although I do not think the South Africans want to resume hostilities. We must remain alert, especially to guard against the risk of air attacks."

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## Castro was enormously frustrated by Fapla's commanders, and there are hints of disagreement between the two allies.

Cuban/Angolan unit remained at Tchipa, and all other forces were withdrawn to the Cahama-Xangongo line. He deployed anti-aircraft units along the Cahama-Mucpe-Humbe-Xangongo line. He ordered his aircraft to be ready to protect the Cuban forward units.

If the enemy attacked the frontline units, the two water installations were to be blown up. Mr Castro noted Western reports that there was a big South African build-up on the other side of the Namibian border.

He cabled his field commanders: "Our duty is to be prepared for any outcome. This struggle will be won by the side that has the best ability to resist."

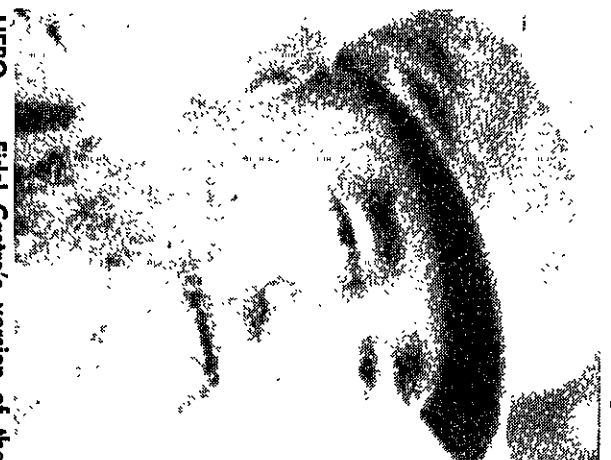
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HERO . . . Fidel Castro's version of the war greatly boosted his own heroic role.



WELCOME TO ZAIRE: General Mobutu Sese Seko escorts Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha at Goma airfield yesterday.

## SA, Zaire form joint plan for Angolan peace

**ALAN DUNN**

GOMA (Zaire) — South Africa and Zaire have forged a joint emergency strategy to try to rescue the tottering Angolan peace effort.

Acting President F W de Klerk agreed with President Mobutu Sese Seko here yesterday that they should move quickly in an effort to patch up floundering attempts at peace in Angola.

The two decided in about three hours of talks how to tackle and try to smooth over differences between southern African leaders on how Angolan peace is reached.

General Mobutu, the chief mediator between the various parties involved, yesterday determined with Mr de Klerk exactly what moves to make next and who should make them.

It could start in Living-

stone on Monday with Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha meeting Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, a key figure in the present equation.

"Time is of the essence," said one South

African diplomat.

If the tricky repair process does not work, and full-scale war resumes in Angola between the government and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels, there is a fear that hostilities there may

"contaminate" the peace process in Namibia.

The Angolan issue is expected, on the South African side, to dominate Mr de Klerk's talks with Dr Kaunda on Monday.

Angola and General Mobutu's role as the

main conciliator apparently occupied much of the discussions yesterday. In a joint statement, both sides described the problem as "delicate".

"Views were exchanged regarding these issues which will require follow-up at appropriate levels," the communique said.

Mr de Klerk and General Mobutu agreed to remain in close contact.

In what were characterised as wide-ranging talks, Mr de Klerk gave the Ziarean leader a review of all important developments in southern Africa, stressing the importance of regional co-

### De Klerk chews over his childhood with Pres Mobutu

GOMA (Zaire) — "When I was a small boy," acting President F W de Klerk said as he set about the plate of chicken before him, "my mother told me that if I didn't mind my manners, she would take a picture of me."

President Mobutu Sese Seko chuckled at the anecdote as he tackled his lunch, enjoying the punchline even more: "Now it's coming true!" Mr de Klerk exclaimed, cameras clicking and whirring at the start of their lunch in the garden of General Mobutu's summer palace on Lake Kivu yesterday.

This was the second of Mr de Klerk's ventures into

Africa, a decidedly unusual one compared with his summit with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo last month.

The Boeing 737, carrying Mr de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, officials and 51 news people, landed at 9 am, after a four-hour flight, on a bumpy runway at this town in north-eastern Zaire, bordering Rwanda and Uganda. "We didn't invent it, we per-

ALAN DUNN

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## Leaders concentrate on Angolan peace efforts

SOUTH African acting State President FW de Klerk and Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko agreed at a meeting in Zaire on Friday to try to salvage Angola's faltering peace, a statement said.

The joint statement issued at the end of almost three hours of talks in eastern Zaire, said the two leaders held wide-ranging discussions on topics including "the recent delicate situation," in Angola.

"Views were exchanged regarding this issue which will require a follow up at the appropriate level," the statement, read by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, said.

The leaders, who met at Mobutu's lakeside residence in this mountain-ringed touring town, near the Rwandan border, also

discussed the independence plan for Namibia and developments in Southern Africa, the statement said.

De Klerk and Sese Seko "agreed the discussions were positive, opportune and constructive".

De Klerk flew back to South Africa immediately after the talks, his first with a major black African leader since taking power from former South African State President PW Botha earlier this month. - Sapa



FW de Klerk and Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, pictured after the SA party's arrival.

# Savimbi meets De Klerk

*Sowetan 28/8/87*  
JONAS Savimbi, leader of Angola's Unita rebels, met South African acting president F W de Klerk on Sunday to discuss a faltering peace accord with the Luanda government.

In a rare public appearance after the meeting, Savimbi told a news conference: "I hope peace will get back on the rails."

But the man who has fought Angola's Marxist government for 14 years sharply attacked Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Savimbi accused him of deliberately misrepresenting a peace pact signed in Gbadolite, Zaire, in June.

According to Kaunda, Savimbi agreed to retire temporarily from politics while his Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) fighters would disarm and return to civilian life in

Angola.

Seven African presidents who met in Harare last week backed Kaunda's interpretation and called on Savimbi to honour the accord.

But Savimbi says he agreed to nothing of the sort.

Since Gbadolite, Savi-

mbi has rejected a government amnesty offer, the idea of integration and his temporary retirement. He wants the formation of a coalition government and elections.

Both sides in the Angolan conflict have accused each other of violating a ceasefire agreed

in the June 22 accord.

At the news conference, Savimbi said De Klerk had briefed him on his meeting with President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire on Friday.

Zaire, the chosen mediator in the peace bid, is trying to salvage the peace pact.

# Salvage Plan

Own Correspondent

**PRETORIA. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi expressed optimism yesterday, after a surprise meeting here with acting President FW de Klerk, that the Angolan peace process could soon be back on track.**

The meeting was the first step in a plan for salvaging the faltering peace talks that was agreed on by Zaire and South Africa on Friday.

Mr De Klerk, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, briefed Dr Savimbi yesterday on Friday's talks with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The briefing came on the eve of today's historic meeting in Livingstone, Zimbabwe, between Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Mr De Klerk, who is accompanied by the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, and senior officials.

If today's talks are successful it could mean a regional summit for Mr De Klerk with the heads of state of South Africa's neighbours.

Dr Savimbi said yesterday's meeting had been initiated by President Mobutu who had asked Mr De Klerk to pass on a message to him.

The message from President Mobutu was that the Gbadolite declaration was the only document which formed the basis of his peace initiative.

The principles contained in this document were:

- The desire of all sons and daughters of Angola to put an end to the war and to proclaim national reconciliation to the world.

- The cessation of all hostilities by proclamation of a ceasefire which came into force on June 24.

- The establishment of a commission charged with finalising the means of implementing this plan, with the mediation of President Mobutu.

However, President Kaunda is backing an interpretation of the Gbadolite accord favoured by the MPLA government which suggests that the original agreement was critical of US intervention in Angola, accepted the retention of the present Angolan constitution and accepted that Dr Savimbi be sent into exile.

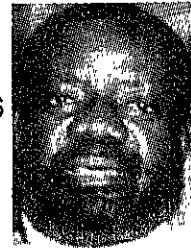
After President Kaunda issued a statement backing this interpretation

of the Gbadolite accord in Harare last Wednesday, Dr Savimbi accused President Kaunda of deliberately misrepresenting the accord and angry Unita officials said they were back at war.

However, Unita has since backed off from this position after being given an assurance by President Mobutu that the Harare statement has no official status.

Dr Savimbi said it was important to work for a new ceasefire in Angola, to define the mechanisms by which the ceasefire would be implemented and to start discussing political accommodation between Unita and the MPLA

**Why Savimbi sent his troops back to war**



SEE PAGE 3

At today's meeting in Zimbabwe, Mr De Klerk faces the challenge of persuading President Kaunda that the position he has adopted is not facilitating the peace process.

Interviewed on BBC radio news yesterday, President Kaunda insisted that his primary objective at today's meeting will be to find out about Mr De Klerk and what he stands for.

He said the questions uppermost in his mind will be: "Is he a man of principle? Does he respect human beings as we do? Is he the man to bring about changes in South Africa?"

President Kaunda denied that he was acting as a "broker" for the ANC and said he would not press Pretoria about talks with the ANC today.

"I'm going as leader of Zambia because I know that if we don't succeed in bringing about peaceful change we will not have more than two years before we have an explosion."

Sapa-Reuter reports that President Kaunda arrived in Livingstone yesterday, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Luke Mwanashiku.

They spent the night at the Intercontinental Hotel where today's talks are to take place.

Mr De Klerk's aircraft is expected to arrive at Livingstone at 6am and the talks are due to start about an hour later.

Cape Times 28/1/89 (5)

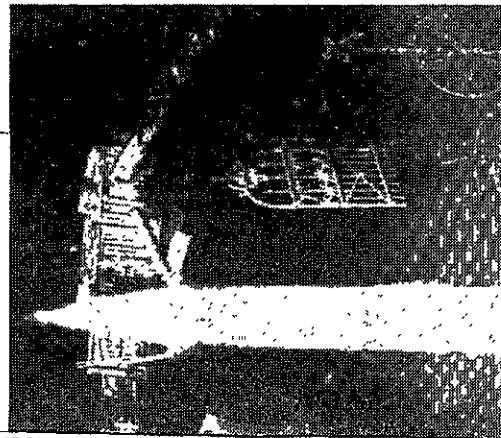
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east with the central and northern areas where Unita forces must operate in order to apply real military pressure — the only option open to Dr Savimbi in the event of complete political deadlock.  
The MPLA would have to cut that supply line to have any hope of containing Unita, whose military planners have long assumed that any serious MPLA offensive would, as in the past, begin with — or would soon include — an attack on Mavinga.  
The main MPLA thrust has been supplemented by probes along Unita's south-west defences near the border with Namibia.  
The approach to Mavinga from the position held by the MPLA is a daisy-chain of flood plains impassable during the rainy season, but at present a rock-hard motorway for armour, which the MPLA has in abundance,

a legacy of Cuban and Russian backing. Unita has only a couple of captured armoured vehicles, which it trundles out to show to foreign visitors in Jamba, its self-styled capital, but considerable numbers of new Land Rovers equipped with anti-tank weapons.  
The tree line bordering the plains is bristling with such defences and the plains themselves are heavily mined.  
It seems the MPLA broke out of the salient they occupy at Cuito Cuanavale, where last year South African and Cuban artillery slugged it out for months on end, and advanced about 25km before being held.  
The significant feature of the action on this front is that not even Unita is claiming that Cuban ground forces have taken any part in it.

Under the terms of UN resolution 435, Cuban forces have been restricted to north of the 15th parallel — which virtually runs through Cuito Cuanavale — since the beginning of this month.  
Uppermost in Dr Savimbi's mind is the political snub contained in the refusal to let him attend the OAU summit on Angola.  
He was infuriated by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, the OAU chairman, who said that Dr Savimbi had agreed to go into temporary exile.  
There can be little doubt that Dr Savimbi's order to resume fighting is his way of saying that he is no longer willing to be excluded from the Angolan debate, which continues today — again without him — in a first meeting between Mr De Klerk and Dr Kaunda. — Sunday Telegraph



# FW flies to meet Kaunda in Livingstone

## ANC and Angola

5/28/89  
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Getting to know you . . . Mr Pik Botha, Mr F W de Klerk and President Mobutu at their lakeside meeting in Zaire last week.

# will dominate talks

### Political Staff

Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk flew into Zambia this morning to meet and "get to know" one of South Africa's oldest and most resolute critics, President Kenneth Kaunda, in talks likely to be dominated by the shaky peace in Angola and by our internal problems.

The South African delegation will raise the question of mounting tension in Angola over the mechanics of reconciling Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement with President Eduardo dos Santos's MPLA government.

This follows Mr de Klerk's talks on Friday with President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire, and with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in Pretoria yesterday.

South Africa's diplomats, who are playing a mediatory role, are regarding the challenge as urgent and absolutely vital to peace in the region.

Renewed civil conflict in Angola would have a serious impact on the Namibian independence process.

### On trial

President Kaunda has given notice he wants to discuss South Africa's internal problems and will question Mr de Klerk on the National Party's promises.

"The regime is on trial," he said recently.

He wants to know how Mr de Klerk intends ending apartheid and finding his own path to national reconciliation.

Lurking in the background — not least because of former president Mr P W Botha's vituperative resignation address — is the ANC and the notion that today's meeting is the first step to negotiations. The OAU-backed ANC settlement plan, approved last week, is expected to be on the table for discussion.

Dr Kaunda has said he wants to get to know Mr de Klerk — the meeting was at his suggestion — and will almost certainly want to convince him of the need to talk to the ANC. He has said he will brief the ANC and the Frontline leaders on his talks with Mr de Klerk.

The meeting is due to last only a few hours. Mr de Klerk has an election engagement in Natal tonight.

### Angry response

But it has become increasingly clear that what at first was destined to be merely a symbolic engagement is now being regarded as a business meeting to assess soberly the dispute that has arisen over the drive for reconciliation in Angola, and to find ways to secure and reinvestigate that initiative.

President Kaunda's interpretation of the Gbadolite Agreement of June 22 which, he said, provided for the exile of Dr Savimbi and the integration of Unita into the MPLA, has led to an angry response from the Unita leader. He swiped harshly at Dr Kaunda for having made "misleading and destructive" statements.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).



# LEADERS MEET

# SUCCESS

**LIVINGSTONE.** — Acting President Mr F W de Klerk scored a significant success in his 2½-hour talks yesterday with Zambia's president Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

The two men held their first meeting in a hotel in this Zambian town, which lies within earshot of the thundering torrents of the Victoria Falls.

The faltering peace process in Angola headed the agenda and at the end of the day Dr Kaunda had agreed that the Gbadolite Declaration — and not any statements issued since — should remain the key document for peace between Angola's MPLA government and the Unita movement.

The Unita rebel group threatened to resume full hostilities against the MPLA government after Dr Kaunda

last week claimed that the agreement reached at Gbadolite, Zaire, in June, required Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to retire.

A top source close to the talks said afterwards Dr Kaunda and Mr De Klerk had "got on very well — there was complete rapport between them".

Mr De Klerk said the talks had been a good opportunity to get to know a senior Southern Africa leader. Later he told journalists that he found Dr Kaunda "a pleasant person, an earnest Christian".

Earlier fears of Dr Kaunda presenting Mr de Klerk with an African National Congress ultimatum for negotiation — which caused a traumatic cabinet showdown and the resignation of former President Mr P W Botha — were unfounded.

The ANC was not mentioned specifically at all and some journalists saw this as a victory for Mr De Klerk.

"I had the opportunity to give a positive vision of the future in which South Africa is going to break out of the cycle of conflict," Mr De Klerk told reporters.

Dr Kaunda said he would have to confer with other African heads of state before responding specifically to several points raised in the talks.

Asked about Mr De Klerk's proposals, Dr Kaunda was strikingly conciliatory: "There are certain basic principles which he says he intends to implement. About those, I see no disagreement at all."

Mr De Klerk said of Dr Kaunda: "I got the impression he listened very carefully. His reaction was a positive one, but also a wait-and-see one."

Mr De Klerk said an African summit was one of Dr Kaunda's visions — "one which we share" — but he said this would have to be on the basis of non-interference in the domestic affairs of

other countries.

When asked by a journalist if he supported Mr De Klerk's desire to find a negotiated and peaceful settlement in South Africa, Dr Kaunda replied simply: "Well said."

Before the talks started about 10am, Dr Kaunda took Mr De Klerk on a walk to view the Victoria Falls.

Simon Barber reports from Washington that Mr De Klerk has been given "six months" to start serious negotiations on ending apartheid, as saying in yesterday's Washington Times.

After that, "it becomes more difficult to suggest he needs more time to move in that direction", an official said, suggesting that the administration would not fight new sanctions initiatives from congress. Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter



**LEADERS MEET**... Mr F W de Klerk with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and Foreign Minister Mr P W Botha in Livingstone yesterday. Pictures: REUTER



# FW confident Angolan peace plan on track

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Staff

THE Acting President, Mr F W de Klerk, is confident his talks with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda have helped get the Angolan peace initiative back on track and have strengthened South Africa's influence in frontline Africa.

Mr De Klerk believes South Africa's case is now better understood in Zambia and that the "get to know you" encounter has helped extend Pretoria's lines of communication in the region.

And Dr Kaunda, it seems, was impressed enough by Mr De Klerk's explanation of his vision for a new dispensation in South Africa during the two-hour talks in Livingstone yesterday to withhold judgment on his promises. He will wait and see.

## CONVINCED

The Zambian president also seems to have been convinced by his South African visitors to publicly acknowledge Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko's mediatorship of the Angolan peace process within the terms of the Gbadolite Agreement and, in effect, not to interfere with President Mobutu's work.

The summit appears to have brought more unity on the worrisome question of the Gbadolite Agreement, though doubt remains on whether everyone is in accord on its interpretation.

The South Africans, however, were confident after the talks that the agreement was no longer in jeopardy.

Mr De Klerk, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and senior diplomats flew into Zambia early yesterday for the meeting.

Earlier speculation that the meeting could prove a diplomatic trap that would embroil the South African leader directly in an ANC-related debate proved groundless, partly because the Angolan crisis shouldered such a possibility off the agenda, and also, it is apparent, because both Dr Kaunda and Mr De Klerk were determined to stick to the orig-

inal idea of getting to know each other.

Speaking at a Press conference after noon, Dr Kaunda would not be drawn on what he thought of the new NP leader, saying such matters would first be discussed with his "colleagues". Mr De Klerk said later that Dr Kaunda had "listened carefully to what I said and his reaction was positive, but a wait-and-see one".

By Mr De Klerk's own account, he took a firm stance on the importance of recognising the sovereignty of states and of not interfering in neighbours' domestic affairs. He insisted he would not discuss South Africa's internal politics except where they impinged on regional matters.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



**PRESS CONFERENCE:** President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia talks to the Press after talks with Mr F W de Klerk (centre) and Mr Pik Botha (left) in Livingstone.

# Intense effort to refloat Angola peace initiative

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3/18/89  
(5)

## Mobutu may meet Jonas Savimbi

**A** MEETING between Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko and the Angolan rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, is on the cards as part of the intense diplomatic activity in southern Africa to get Angolan peace efforts firmly back on track.

**AFRICA**

Both South Africa and the United States apparently feel that such a meeting soon, possibly in Zaire, would be a "useful exercise" to patch up differences between the two men, sources said yesterday.

(Michael Morris of the Political Staff reported this week that the Acting President, Mr F W de Klerk, is confident that his talks with President Kaunda have helped get the Angolan peace initiative back on track).

It is understood that the United States is keen that the two men make their peace after Dr Savimbi made scathing remarks recently about Mr Mobutu, the chief mediator for Angolan peace.

Sources said the US would be well placed to arrange such a meeting because it had considerable leverage with both men: the US supplies Dr Savimbi and his Unita bush-fighters with arms via Zaire, and Mr Mobutu has strong ties to America.

South Africa has already started a series of report-back briefings following acting President F W de Klerk's diplomatic shuttle in the last

By **ALAN DUNN, Political Staff**

five days to Zaire and Zambia.

Envoys are updating Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and Mr Mobutu on Mr de Klerk's talks on Monday with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda.

While the Monday meeting at Livingstone seemed to ease the crisis surrounding the tenuous Angolan peace effort, sources said all principals involved would first have to be informed of developments before it could be described as fully "back on track".

Dr Kaunda is due to brief his Organisation of African Unity colleagues and seek their approval, possibly within the next four days — he is scheduled to attend a meeting of non-aligned countries in Belgrade at the weekend, where he should see some of the countries he said he wanted to consult.

He is then expected to signal South Africa, which has played go-between in the rescue attempt for Angolan peace, what his position is on the Gbadolite Declaration, a broad agreement for peace between Dr Savimbi and the Angolan government clinched on June 22.

Dr Kaunda and an OAU committee's interpretation of the declaration caused a furore when they claimed part of it was that Dr Savimbi

would go into voluntary retirement and Unita would be integrated into the MPLA, the ruling party in Angola.

Dr Savimbi hotly disputed these claims. It was these added points which plunged the entire Angolan peace process into crisis.

Meanwhile, Michael Morris of the Political Staff reports that the Acting President, Mr F W de Klerk, is confident that his talks with President Kaunda in Livingstone have helped get the Angolan peace initiative back on track and have strengthened South Africa's influence in frontline Africa.

Mr De Klerk believes South Africa's case is now better understood in Zambia and that the "get to know you" encounter has helped extend Pretoria's lines of communication in the region.

And Dr Kaunda, it seems, was impressed enough by Mr De Klerk's explanation of his vision for a new dispensation in South Africa during the two-hour talks in Livingstone this week to withhold judgment on his promises. He will wait and see.

The Zambian president also seems to have been convinced by his South African visitors to publicly acknowledge President Sese Seko's mediatorship of the Angolan peace process within the terms of the Gbadolite Agreement and, in effect, not to interfere with President Mobutu's work.

...person stayed away  
Samancor's Witbank plant.

## Cuba 'keeping to agreements'

BELGRADE — Cuba assured the non-aligned summit yesterday that it remained committed to the agreements on Angola and Namibia, and was following its troop withdrawal timetable "in strict detail". 5

The Cuban commitment was made by the first vice-president, Mr Raul Castro, brother of Cuban leader Dr Fidel Castro. 6/9/84

Dr Castro announced at the last moment that he would not be going to the Belgrade summit. His brother said economic and political tasks and international duties were the reason. —  
Special Correspondent.

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# Angola confirms meeting

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LUSAKA. — Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem has confirmed that he and his South African counterpart, Mr Pik Botha, have held talks in the Mozambican capital Maputo, Angolan national radio said yesterday.

The radio, monitored by Reuters in Lusaka, said the two met for three hours on Monday.

It was the first official Angolan confirmation of the meeting, the first high-level contact between South Africa and Angola since the launch on June 22 by African leaders of a peace initiative aimed at ending Angola's 14-year-old civil war.

Western diplomats in the region said it was likely the two ministers had discussed the faltering Angolan peace process.

Fighting between the Angolan government and opposing Unita-forces has intensified in the past two months despite the ceasefire. — Sapa-Reuter

## Savimbi says govt doesn't want peace

LISBON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday accused the Angolan government of trying to seize a rebel stronghold.

Citing this as proof Luanda was not serious about peace, he said the offensive against Mavinga, in southern Angola, involved more than 3 000 men and 25 tanks. The government has denied the offensive.

Savimbi claimed the army suffered heavy losses and withdrew towards Cuito Cuanavale.

"The attempt to take Mavinga is flagrant proof that the government is not prepared to negotiate an honest and frank

end to the armed conflict in our country."

The government claims its troops have only taken up arms for counter-attacks.

Fighting in the 14-year-old civil war has flared in recent weeks despite a ceasefire agreed on June 22 at a summit of African leaders in Gbadolite, Zaire.

Both sides, which blame each other for the collapse of the truce, differ on what was agreed and have suspended talks.

Savimbi insisted yesterday he was still open to discussing an end to fighting. — Sapa-Reuter.

## A fortunate foray

If former President P W Botha had had his way, no meeting at Livingstone would have taken place between his designated successor, F W de Klerk, and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda two weeks ago. This would have robbed Pretoria of the key role — unforeseen at the time — it is currently playing in clearing up confusion over the Gbadolite Declaration.

Less well known than the Nkomati Accord and Resolution 435, Gbadolite (as diplomats call the declaration) is, nonetheless, as important. To say that 435's implementation in Namibia and the maintenance of Nkomati between SA and Mozambique hinge on Gbadolite, is no exaggeration.

The declaration was named after the much-lauded June 22 meeting between more than 20 African heads of State or their representatives at Gbadolite in Zaire to discuss an agreement to end the 14-year-old Angolan civil war. The appearance of Unita's Jonas Savimbi at Gbadolite and the subsequent acceptance (according to Savimbi) of three principles — a ceasefire, national reconciliation and the establishment of a joint commission to implement the plan — promised to lead southern Africa into a period of peace.

That was until two months later when, after a conference of the eight southern African heads of State in Harare, Kaunda an-



nounced that Savimbi had accepted voluntary exile (*Leaders* September 1). This interpretation of the declaration and the looming breakdown of the peace process, dominated De Klerk's Lake Kivu meeting with Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, the mediator in the Angolan conflict. Savimbi's hurried visit to Pretoria underlined the gravity of the situation which had developed.

In the light of this, the De Klerk-Kaunda meeting seemed to have justified the palace rebellion at Tuynhuys. De Klerk, aided by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Director-General Neil van Heerden, unexpectedly found himself in a position to brief the Zambian president on Mobutu's and Savimbi's interpretations of Gbadolite.

Gbadolite, as a peace accord, has serious loopholes. This much Van Heerden admitted after Livingstone. In a recent discussion, the SA Institute of International Affairs' John Barratt and Stellenbosch Africa Studies head Willie Breytenbach concurred.

Both pointed to the short time it took to reach an agreement of such importance. It differed vastly from the painstaking manner in which the Namibian peace process had developed, Barratt said.

Future relations between SA and the MPLA government of Jose Eduardo dos Santos depend greatly on a possible agreement, in which Savimbi and Unita will feature. Despite overtures from Angola to lure SA into a bilateral agreement, SA has made it clear that its diplomatic and physical support for Unita — limited as it may seem — remains a political reality. Nonetheless, a good working relationship was struck between Angola and SA during the Namibian peace negotiations.

Though Gbadolite was a vague concept, Radio Nacional de Angola broadcast the text of the declaration in Portuguese on June 23.

It made no reference to a proposal that Savimbi would go into voluntary exile. Though he gave no explanation as to what prompted him to state that Savimbi would go into exile, Kaunda promised his SA guests that he would get back to them on this issue.

Savimbi remains in a difficult position. As mediator, Mobutu sees his honour attached to a settlement. At the same time, he holds the keys to Unita's supplies but he has no similar hold on the MPLA. Understandably,

Unita fears a one-sided settlement.

On the other hand, the US has a long-standing relationship with Zaire and the Bush administration has reaffirmed its commitment of support to Unita. This much Savimbi confirmed in Pretoria.

A few certainties have surfaced: Unita will not accept an open-ended ceasefire;

the MPLA wants a ceasefire and is not keen to enter political negotiations, fearing a loss of support from the masses in Luanda.

For SA, the danger of the Namibian peace process stalling remains a dangerous prospect in the continuing Angolan conflict. An about-turn by Cuban forces would almost certainly see the end of Namibia's hopes for independence.

Under the new regime in Pretoria, Savimbi is still highly regarded and there would be no move to sacrifice him — unless SA interests were at stake. Savimbi himself may make it easy on SA by accepting an ambassadorial post in a future Angolan government of national unity.

At the moment, much depends on Kaunda's role as honest broker. With Mobutu and Mozambique's Joachim Chissano, he remains a powerful African statesman and De Klerk may yet count his blessings for the early meetings he had with them.

# Angolan war

LONDON — Angola's civil war has started again but it is unlikely to threaten the regional peace process which is bringing Namibia to independence and removing Cuban troops from Angola.

Following the deaths of six of its soldiers in a rebel attack, Cuba has threatened to reconsider the withdrawal of its 50 000 troops from Angola but diplomats say that the commitment of the superpowers, South Africa and Angola to the Brazzaville Accords will not allow the regional agreement to come unstuck.

But the Angolan civil war is as intractable as ever.

## Upstaging tactics

The government and Unita rebels have recently performed a complicated diplomatic ballet trying to upstage each other and shift responsibility for the collapse of the ceasefire on to their opponents.

In a coup de theatre on June 22, President Mobutu Sese Seko Zaire brought together President Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader who has fought the government for 14 years. Their handshake was witnessed by 18 African leaders and it seemed peace had broken out. The Gbani Declaration was issued, committing the parties to a ceasefire and national reconciliation.

It now appears that President Mobutu told President dos Santos that the Unita leader had agreed to go into temporary exile and to allow his Unita movement be absorbed into existing State structures. As this version was made public, Dr Savimbi angrily announced he

## RICHARD DOWDEN

agreed to nothing except the declaration.

The ceasefire broke down almost straightaway and hostilities have escalated. Last week there were reports, denied by the government, that it had launched an offensive on Mavinga and were pressing southwards. Meanwhile, delegations from the MPLA government and Unita have come, waited and gone from Kinshasa, the Zairean capital, denouncing each other for lack of interest in talks or peace.

When the leaders of the Frontline states endorsed the MPLA's version, Dr Savimbi angrily abrogated the ceasefire. Since then Zaire, South Africa, the US, and several African countries have been struggling to put negotiations back on the rails.

South Africa, Unita's former supplier; the United States, Unita's current backer; and Zaire, through which US supplies reach Unita, have not welcomed Dr Savimbi's decision to return to a shooting war and have begun to distance themselves from him.

Unita was a useful lever for the US but now the Angolan government has gone along with the US plan for the region, it is no longer needed. US sources say that Washington will not end its military support for Unita, estimated at up to \$45 million this year, but is strongly encouraging Dr Savimbi to return to the negotiating table.

Dr Savimbi has responded by calling a special congress of Unita later this month to which all Angolans and foreign observers are invited. It will provide a platform for him but it will also enable to him to judge how many friends he still has. — *The Independent*, London.

# erupts

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# again



# New bid to restore peace in Angola

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KINSHASA. — A last-minute attempt to revive the stalled peace process in Angola will be sponsored next week in Kinshasa by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Eight African heads of state and Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi are scheduled to meet on September 18 in the Zaire capital to discuss restoring the ceasefire, and taking steps to end the bitter 14-year Angolan civil war.

In June, President Mobutu brokered a peace agreement in his home town of Gbadolite, endorsed by 17 African leaders, and ratified by an historic handshake between Mr Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Edouardo Dos Santos.

"Fighting never totally came to an end in Angola, specially in the South and South-Eastern parts of the country, near the Zambian and Namibian frontiers, but its intensity has been quite low, when compared to previous combat levels," said a Western diplomat in Kinshasa.

Unita declared last month that it was no longer respecting the cease-

fire, and that it was out of the question that Mr Savimbi go into voluntary exile.

Nevertheless, the Western diplomat added that "Cuban troops continue to be withdrawn from Angola according to schedule". As in Afghanistan, the armed forces of the pro-Soviet government in Angola are being reinforced by increased arms shipments and training.

President Mobutu has spearheaded the African drive to find a key solution for Angola.

Much of the \$50 million (R140m) a year American aid for Unita transits through Zaire, so by threatening to choke it off, President Mobutu is likely to have a convincing argument to force Mr Savimbi to come to the peace table ready to negotiate seriously.

Western diplomats also point out that Unita's position is weakening as the coming independence of Namibia will deprive the rebel movement of direct access to South African support.

● Unita rebels said yesterday they had killed 50 government troops in renewed fighting. — Daily Telegraph

## Joint Commission meets

WASHINGTON — A South African delegation travels to Havana, Cuba this week for the latest meeting of the Joint Commission which monitors the Angola/Namibia accords.

They will meet with their counterparts from the Angolan and Cuban governments, and representatives from the Soviet Union and the United States. (S)

The South African delegation, led by Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, includes Chief of the Defence Force General Jannie Geldenhuys and head of the National Intelligence Service Dr Niel Barnard. — The Star Bureau.

# SA aid to Unita may harm peace <sup>(S)</sup> claim

*8 Day 12/19/89*  
LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos claimed SA was continuing aid to Unita rebels and warned that the regional peace process in southern Africa could reach "a dangerous impasse", the state news agency Angop reported yesterday.

In a dispatch from Luanda, monitored in Lisbon, Angop quoted Dos Santos as saying Unita still received South African aid "that used to be open, but has become clandestine".

It said Dos Santos said a clause in regional peace accords signed last December in New York would allow Angola and Cuba to suspend repatriation of some 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola, if SA was found to be violating the agreement.

Dos Santos also criticised the US for continuing to provide some \$15m to \$18m in aid a year to Unita and for planning the transfer to northern Angola of the rebels' current southern stronghold of Jamba, Angop reported.

Dos Santos's remarks were made at the end of a 24-hour official visit to Hungary last Thursday and were published yesterday by Angop.

Angola was also trying to resolve the problem of Unita with neighbouring Zaire, Angop reported dos Santos as saying.

Unita has been fighting to force the Marxist government in Luanda to share power since shortly after Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

A truce sealed by Dos Santos and rebel leader Jonas Savimbi on June 22 in Gbadolite, Zaire, collapsed one week later.

## Clashes

Direct talks between government and rebels broke down and Savimbi formally renounced the truce on August 24, after eight African leaders lent support to dos Santos at a summit in Harare, Zimbabwe.

In recent weeks, armed clashes have been reported between government troops and Unita.

Meanwhile, the leaders of eight African countries will meet later this month to boost the flagging peace process in Angola, the official Zairean press agency reported yesterday.

Quoting Foreign Minister Nguz Karl I. Bond, the agency said the meeting would be held next week in Kinshasa.

Present at the meeting are to be the heads of state of Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia will preside over the talks, the agency said. — Sapa-AP.

# Unita says govt used poison gas

By Ken Vernon

The Star's Africa News Service

CUNZUMBIA RIVER (Angola)

— The Angolan rebel movement Unita has accused the Angolan government of using poison gas against Unita troops in an offensive against rebel strongholds in south-east Angola.

Unita's chief of military intelligence, General Wambu "Kasitu" Chindondo, said 66 Unita soldiers had to be hospitalised because of the effects of the gas.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said at a press conference at his Jamba headquarters last night that the process to negotiate an end to the 14-year civil war would not be abandoned.

## Soviets accuse rebels of attacks

The Star's Africa News Service

The Soviet Union has accused the Angolan rebel group Unita of undermining the peace process in Angola.

In a strongly worded statement released yesterday in the Angolan capital, Luanda, the Soviet Union said that, faced with continued attacks from Unita, the Angolan government was being "compelled to take measures to ensure national security and national interests".

Analysts see the release of the statement as a clear indication that the Soviet Union will continue supporting the MPLA government in Luanda.

The statement said South Africa still supported Unita.

But he said peace talks brokered by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko had stalled and said Unita would not attend a negotiating session planned for September 18.

Dr Savimbi said the MPLA government must have been planning the offensive against his territory at the same time as he and President Eduardo dos Santos were shaking hands at Gbadolite in Zaire last June.

The first journalists to enter Unita-held territory since the historic handshake were shown a scene of utter devastation at the site of the three-day long "battle of Cunzumbia River".

Unita's battlefront commander, General Ben Ben, said a 3 000-man government force supported by 60 tanks which had broken out of the government stronghold of Cuito Cuanavale on August 18, was trapped against the banks of the Cunzumbia River 10 days later and "destroyed" in a savage two-day artillery barrage.

Unita said a government offensive in the south-west of the country was also halted.

Unita said a total of 273 government troops died in the two offensives. In addition 49 tanks and armoured vehicles and 56 other vehicles were destroyed and a MiG 23 was shot down. Unita losses were given as 40 dead and 91 wounded.

The MPLA government has accused Unita of initiating the fighting.

See Page 13.

some Iscor shares

Iscor: 2 billion at R2?

Star 12/9/89

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Air force pilots 'in training' in USSR

# Angola may get new support planes

By Joao Santa Rita,  
The Star's Africa News Service

The Angolan air force could soon be strengthened by several of the Soviet SU-25 close-support planes which were used with some success in Afghanistan.

The Angolan government newspaper, *Jornal de Angola*, said last week that several Angolan pilots were being trained at an undisclosed place in the Soviet Union on the SU-25.

The authoritative "Jane's All the World's Aircraft" says the SU-25 attained full operational capability in 1984. Nato codenamed it "Frogfoot".

## Operational

The plane was deployed in Afghanistan "to support the Russian ground forces fighting in mountain terrain".

"The emphasis during operational use in Afghanistan is said to have been on techniques for co-ordinating low-level close support by fixed-wing aircraft and Mi-24 helicopter gunships," the publication says.

SU-25 aircraft are known to be operational in Czechoslovakia and Iraq.

*Jornal de Angola* said the plane was used "to attack ground targets at low altitude".

"Heavily armoured, with a strong capacity for difficult manoeuvres, the SU-25 is particularly resistant to anti-aircraft fire. Thus, in Afghanistan

the SU-25s even managed to escape from the 'Stinger' (anti-aircraft missiles)," it said.

The newspaper said the plane could carry eight 500 kg bombs, 256 57 mm and higher calibre rockets as well as guided missiles. It could also be fitted with anti-tank bombs.

"Jane's All the World's Aircraft" says the plane is also fitted with one twin-barrel 23 mm gun.

The Angolan air force is known to have several MiG-19, 21 and 23 as well as Su-22.

"Jane's" says the SU-25 has a top level speed of 880 km/hr and a combat radius of 556 km.

In its feature article, the Angolan newspaper said more than 300 Angolan pilots and "technicians" had been trained so far at an air force school in the Soviet Union in MiG and SU planes since 1976.

The newspaper said it had been able to visit the base because of the Soviet Union's new "Glasnost" policies.

It did not name the base but said it had a museum where the wrecks of an American Phantom fighter plane and a French "Mirage", shot down in the Middle East by "former pupils", were on show.

*Jornal de Angola* said that at the base, the Angolan and other pilots from the Third World spent more than half of their tuition time in "practical" lessons.

They also studied philosophy, political economy, high mathematics, military history, aircraft construction and aerodynamics.

# Angola peace ends in savage battle

17645 12/19/89

## Angolans 'talking peace, plot war'

Argus Africa News Service  
JAMBA (Angola). — Unita  
leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has  
not ruled out a negotiated  
peace settlement for Angola,  
but at the same time has ac-  
cused the Angolan government  
of plotting war while talking  
peace.

Speaking at a Press confer-  
ence at his Jamba headquar-  
ters late last night, a visibly  
upset Dr Savimbi said the  
MPLA government must have  
been planning the present of-  
fensive against his territory at  
the same time as he and Presi-  
dent Eduardo dos Santos were  
shaking hands at the Gbadolite  
palace of Zairean President  
Mobutu.

### THREE MONTHS

"It takes at least three  
months to plan such a double  
offensive," he said, pointing out  
that the Gbadolite meeting had  
taken place just two months  
before the offensives began.

He said the peace talks me-  
diated by President Mobutu  
had stalled, and that Unita  
would not be attending a nego-  
tiating session planned for Se-  
ptember 18.

"Unita will have an extraor-  
dinary congress from Septem-  
ber 23 to 29, where the party's  
stance on peace talks will be  
discussed and a policy decided.  
The present talks are not work-  
ing because they were not pre-  
pared properly, and we need a  
different process."

In spite of the setbacks, he  
said he had no regrets about  
the historic handshake with  
President dos Santos.

"If we had shaken hands 14  
years ago perhaps this war  
could have been avoided," he  
said.

### Don't miss the bus!

Pensioners — catch our free  
bus to the Hypermarket at  
Brackenfell. Don't miss The Ar-  
gus on Thursday.

By KEN VERNON  
Argus Africa News Service  
CUNZUMBIA RIVER  
(Angola). — The Angolan  
rebel movement, Unita,  
has accused the Angolan  
government of using poi-  
son-gas against Unita  
troops in an offensive  
against rebel strongholds  
in south-east Angola that  
has broken a fragile cease-  
fire.

According to Unita's chief of  
military intelligence, General  
Wambu "Kasitu" Chindondo, 66  
Unita soldiers had to be admit-  
ted to hospital because of poi-  
son-gas attacks, although no-  
one was killed.

Despite the government of-  
fensive, Unita leader Dr Jonas  
Savimbi said at a Press confer-  
ence at his Jamba headquar-  
ters yesterday that the process  
to negotiate a peaceful solution  
to the country's 14-year civil  
war would not be abandoned.

"We cannot say that a cease-  
fire has been broken because  
we never formally agreed to a  
ceasefire" he said.

### Devastation

He admitted peace negotia-  
tions brokered by Zairean  
President Mobutu Sese Seko  
had stalled. "We need to find a  
different process because this  
one is not working," he said.

The first group of journalists  
to enter Unita-held territory  
since the historic peace hand-  
shake between Dr Savimbi and  
Angolan President Eduardo dos  
Santos at Gbadolite in Zaire  
last June were shown a scene  
of utter devastation at the site  
of the three day "Battle of Cun-  
zumbia River".

According to Unita's battle-  
front commander, General Ben  
Ben, a 3 000-man government  
force supported by 60 tanks  
which had broken out of the  
government stronghold of Cuito  
Cuanavale on August 18, was  
trapped against the banks of the  
Cunzumbia River 10 days  
later and "destroyed" in a sav-  
age artillery barrage.

"We lured them into our trap  
and surrounded them on three  
sides against the river," said  
General Ben.

"While they were expecting a  
mass infantry attack, we sent  
in special penetration teams on  
hit and run attacks, and then

when we had pinpointed their  
positions exactly, we hit them  
with heavy mortars."

He said the remainder of the  
troops had fled back towards  
Cuito Cuanavale, but were not  
pursued by Unita troops whose  
orders were to maintain their  
positions along the Cunzumbia  
river.

### "Stalin organ"

At one major logistics base  
within the government perime-  
ter a Soviet-made "Stalin, or-  
gan" loaded with munitions ex-  
ploded in a massive fireball  
after a direct hit from a mor-  
tar shell.

More than 40 government  
soldiers perished and six vehi-  
cles were destroyed in the huge  
explosion.

Three weeks later the area  
was still littered with shattered  
remnants of AK-47's, live  
122mm artillery shells and bits  
of bloodied uniforms.

Trees were splintered up to  
100 metres from the centre of  
the blast.

According to Unita, another  
government offensive in the  
south-west of the country was  
also halted, and a total of 273  
government troops died in the  
two offensives.

In addition 49 tanks and ar-  
moured vehicles were de-  
stroyed, 56 other vehicles were  
also destroyed while a Mig-23  
was shot down, apparently by a  
United States supplied 'stinger'  
missile. Unita losses were given  
as 40 dead and 91 wounded.

### Artillery fire

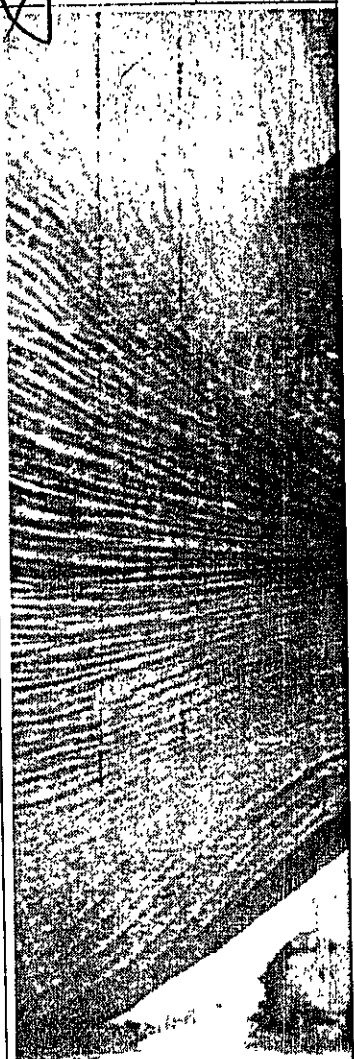
At the scene of the wreckage  
of the downed Mig-23, just 45  
kms south-east of Cuito Cuan-  
avale and 15 kms from where  
government troops had dug-in,  
the rumble of artillery fire  
from the town could clearly be  
heard.

Pointing to the wreckage of  
the Mig, General Chindondo  
asked: "Who broke the  
ceasefire?"

The MPLA government has  
accused Unita of initiating the  
fighting, saying it was only de-  
fending itself.

Earlier this month the Ango-  
lan government reported heavy  
fighting around the country but  
said its armed forces were act-  
ing in self-defence.

The official Radio Angola  
accused Unita of intensifying at-  
tacks on civilians.



## Union in

17645 12/19/89  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Na-  
tional Union of Metalworkers  
(Numsa) has reached a historic  
pay and working conditions  
agreement with six motor in-  
dustry manufacturers affecting  
about 30 000 workers, a union  
spokesman said.

Numsa spokesman Mr Les  
Kettledas said the agreement  
would "eliminate differences in  
the benefit packages among  
the different manufacturers,  
and has laid the basis for

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There was no mistaking h

# Namibia peace talks delayed

ARCUS  
13/9/89

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The Argus  
Foreign Service

HAVANA. — The latest round of talks between South Africa, Cuba and Angola on progress in implementing the Namibia peace accords has been delayed for 24 hours.

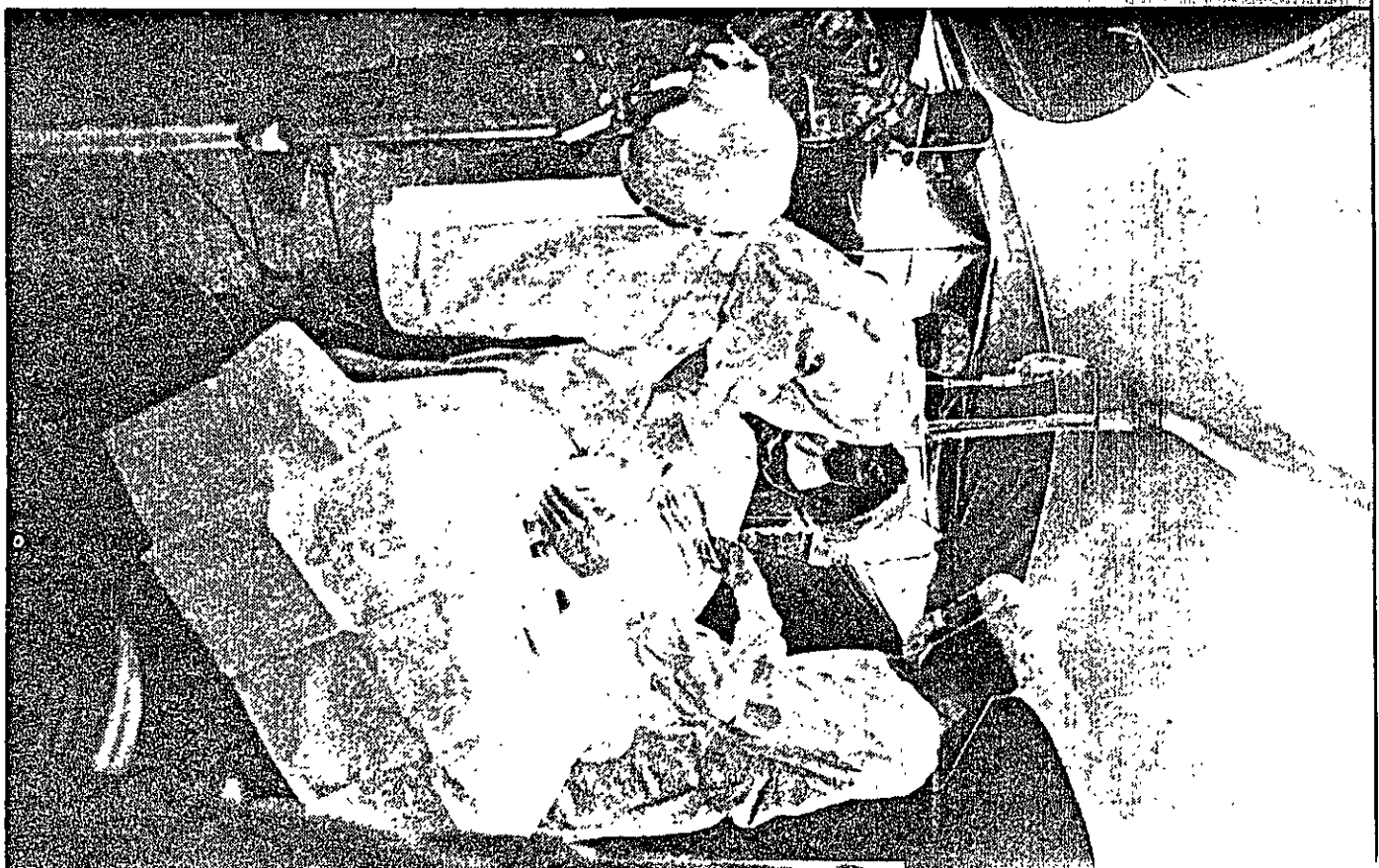
Cuban officials said yesterday there was no special reason for the delay, other than to give the various delegations more time to settle in.

Delegations from the three countries as well as the US and the Soviet Union are gathering in the Cuban capital for a scheduled meeting of the joint commission set up to monitor the peace agreements, which ended South African and Cuban involvement in the Angolan civil war and which launched the independence process for Namibia.

Members of the 17-member South African delegation started arriving in Havana on Monday. Secretary general for Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden, the delegation leader, was scheduled to fly in from Madrid late last night.

# Unita trooper tells of 'poison gas burning'

SPW 13/1/69



Unita medical orderlies trained in basic surgery operate on the wounded leg of a soldier in the Unita hospital at Mavinga. The operating theatre is a tent with a canvas floor, but with the sides partly open to the outside air.

MAVINGA (Angola) — For nineteen year old Joao Antonio the battle of Cunzumbia River came to an end with a fierce burning sensation in his chest and throat, and blood pouring from his nose as he lost consciousness.

What confused him most as he fell to the ground was that he had not felt himself being shot.

He had only seen two "bombs" exploding nearby as MPLA troops drove past in mechanised armour.

But there was a happier ending than might be expected to this frightening scenario, for Joao woke up in the arms of his comrades — the victim of a poison gas attack, according to Unita.

## Funny masks

The incident took place during last month's government offensive into Unita held territory by 3 000 MPLA troops who, according to Unita, used poison gas in their attacks on Unita strong points.

Interviewed later at Unita's John Tucker military hospital in Mavinga, Joao, who doesn't look a day over 13, said his last memory was seeing "the enemy" riding past him with funny-looking masks covering their faces.

Two "bombs" exploded nearby he recalled, one very close to him, and he began feeling disorientated almost immediately before the burning sensation forced him to the ground.

Unita has alleged for more than two years that the MPLA government uses poison gas

Unita has soldiers suffering from what they say are poison gas attacks in its hospitals, but as yet no incontrovertible proof exists that gas has in fact been used. But the troops tell frightening stories of finding themselves helplessly falling to the ground without having been shot, feeling a burning sensation. By KEN VERNON, The Star's Africa News Service.

weapons in its attacks on the rebel movement, but no incontrovertible proof exists to support the allegations.

Alongside Joao in Ward "G" of the hospital were seven other equally young looking soldiers, also suffering from the effects of poison gas, said Unita doctors.

The doctors denied the possibility that the youthful soldiers might merely be suffering from shell-shock after their close encounter with death in the form of the grenade throwing, mechanised force of government soldiers that over-ran their position on the Cunzumbia River front three weeks ago.

"When those bombs started to land I didn't think I would survive" said private Antonio, but he nevertheless is eager to return and fight for Unita.

For Lieutenant Jose Kafunda being shot in the same battle was less traumatic, as it was the third time he had been wounded.

The leader of a special penetration unit, dressed in MPLA

uniforms and operating behind the enemy lines, death is almost a constant companion for these men, and the piece of shrapnel that tore into Lieutenant Kafunda's shoulder as he and his unit ambushed part of the government mechanised force came as no surprise.

He told me that within a day he had been evacuated to Mavinga, a feat scarcely credible given the 200 kilometres of bone-jarring dirt tracks between Cunzumbia and Mavinga.

An inspection of the John Tucker military hospital in Mavinga, named after a mission educated Angolan doctor, revealed that perhaps nothing is impossible.

## Dusty theatres

Operations are performed in thatch cottages with dirty canvas floors with dust swirling in through open windows, while "surgeons" wear surgical masks and sterilised gloves.

While the team of journalists invited to watch an operation were required to also don sterile masks, the curious soldiers peering in through the open windows were not.

According to the deputy director of military health for Unita, Colonel J Domingos, Unita can treat over 1 000 bed cases daily in its 36 permanent, semi-permanent and mobile field hospitals.

All the hospitals treat civilian as well as military patients, and last year a total of almost 12 000 cases requiring hospitalisation were recorded, he said.



## 66 needed treatment - Unita

# Angola accused of poison gas attack

By Ken Vernon  
The Star's Africa News Service

CUNZUMBIA RIVER (Angola) — The Unita rebel movement has accused the Angolan government of using poison gas in an offensive against its strongholds in the south-eastern parts of the country.

Unita's chief of military intelligence, General Wanbu "Kasitu" Chindondo, said 66 Unita soldiers had to be taken to hospital because of the gas.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said at a press conference at his headquarters in Jamba that the process to negotiate an end to the 14-year civil war would not be abandoned, but peace talks brokered by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire had stalled.

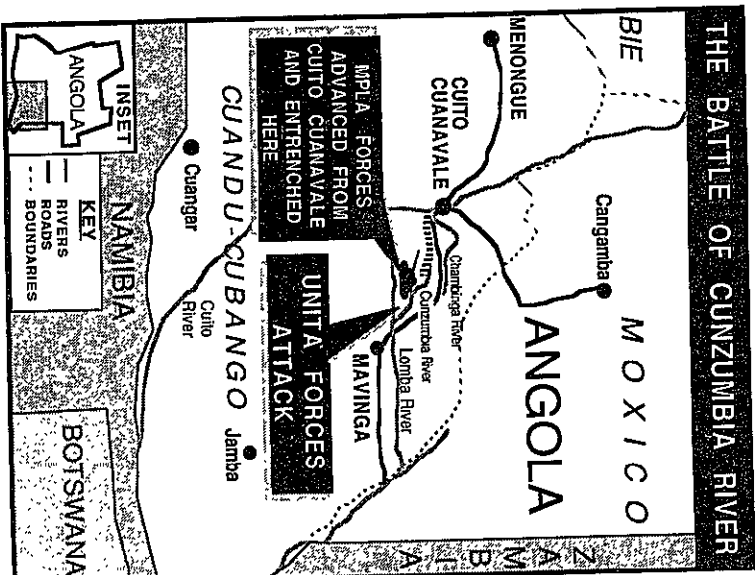
### Artillery barrage

Journalists have been shown a scene of utter devastation at the site of the three-day long "battle of Cunzumbia River".

Unita's battlefront commander, General Ben Ben, said a 3,000-man government force supported by 60 tanks which had broken out of the government stronghold of Cuito Cuanavale on August 18, was trapped against the banks of the Cunzumbia River 10 days later and destroyed in a savage two-day artillery barrage.

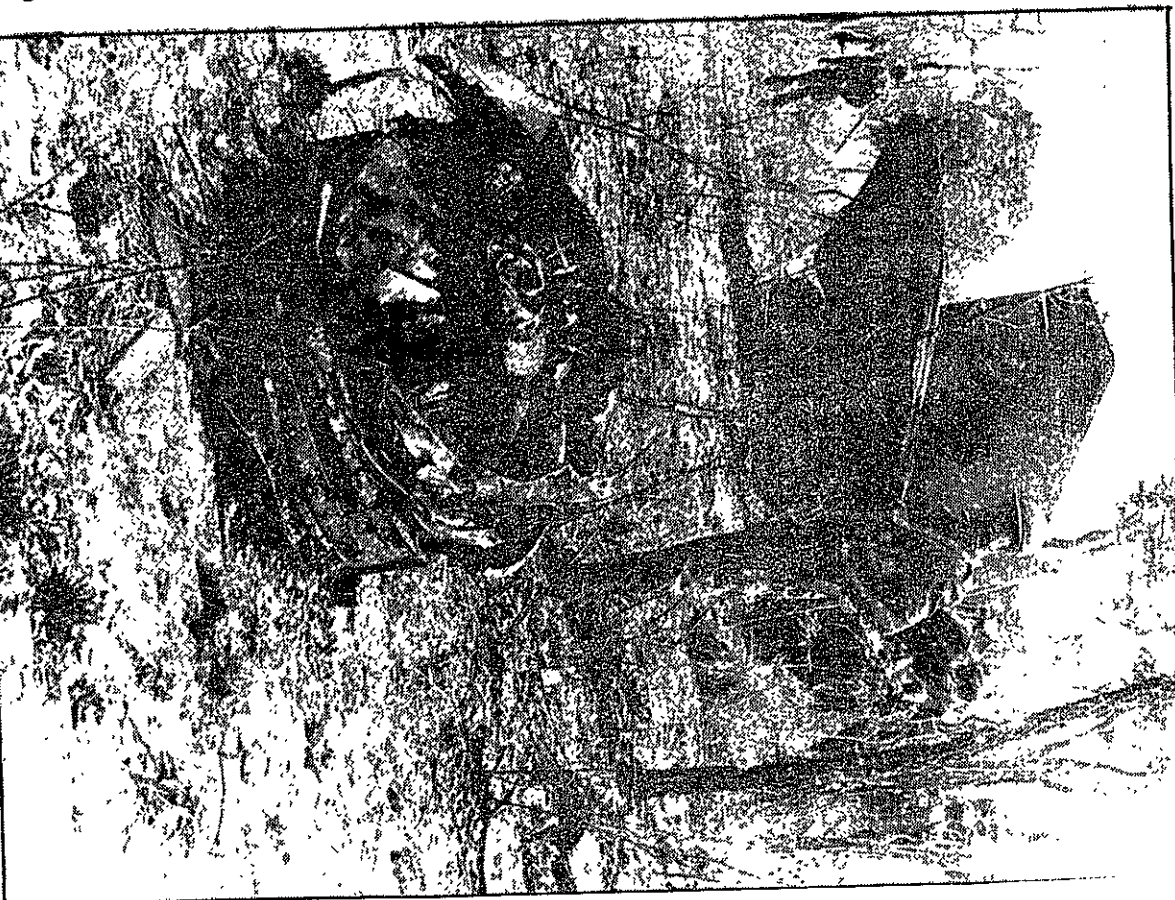
Three weeks later, the area was still littered with the remnants of AK-47s, 122 mm shells and bits of bloodied uniforms.

Unita said a government offensive in the south-west of the country was also halted. A total of 273 government troops had died in the two offensives. In addition, 49 tanks and armoured vehicles and 56



other vehicles were destroyed. A MiG 23 was also shot down. Unita losses were given as 40 dead and 91 wounded. The MPLA government has accused Unita of initiating the fighting.

See Page 17.



Shot down... a Unita soldier inspects an engine part of a MiG-23 shot down at the beginning of the August offensive from Cuito Cuanavale.

5

# Unita spurns the ceasefire

Argus Africa News Service  
and Special Correspondent  
in Kuzumbia River



**G**OVERNMENT troops and Unita rebels have waged fierce battles recently in southeast Angola, and the rebels say they will not attend next week's summit aimed at salvaging a crumbling peace initiative.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, speaking here at his bush headquarters in Jamba, accused the Angolan government of planning and launching offensives after the two sides agreed to a ceasefire June 22.

The truce collapsed quickly and there has been heavy fighting near the southeastern city of Cuito Cuanavale with more battles expected, Savimbi said.

"The present peace talks are not working because they were not prepared properly and we need a different process," Savimbi told newsmen.

Savimbi did not criticize Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who arranged the ceasefire and will host an eight-nation African summit beginning on Monday to keep the peace efforts alive in the 14-year-old civil war.

Mobutu has supported Unita politically and allowed the United States to send assistance to the rebels through Zaire.

The Angolan government will be at the talks, but Savimbi said Unita will not attend. The rebels plan a special congress September 23-29 to discuss their position on the negotiations, he said.

Savimbi seeks a temporary power-sharing accord with Angola's Marxist government that will eventually lead to free elections in what is now a one-party state.

He renounced the ceasefire August 24 because of the increasing hostilities, but said he still believed peace talks could succeed.

The Angolan government accused Unita of repeated ceasefire violations before Savimbi called off the truce.

Savimbi said that Unita forces are under orders not to launch offensives, but would fight to defend territory they now occupy.

Unita said it repulsed a major attack August 27-29 near the Kuzumbia River, about 70 km southeast of Cuito Cuanavale, where the government usually launches offensives against Unita strongholds in the southeast.

Journalists who visited the battle site saw remains of Soviet-built tanks, armored vehicles and a downed MiG-23 fighter plane, all destroyed by the rebels.

General Arlindo Bena, Unita's deputy chief of staff, said 3 000 government soldiers engaged in the fighting. He said 273 government troops were killed and 569 wounded, while 40 Unita fighters were killed and 76 hurt.

Unita said government soldiers used poisoned gas on the rebels, a charge the guerrillas have made several times in recent years. Dozens of Unita fighters at a hospital in Mavinga said they were

suffering from nausea, chest and stomach pains allegedly caused by poison gas.

Unita said it had no evidence that Cuban troops were involved in the fighting. Cuba has been withdrawing its 50 000 soldiers from Angola under a treaty signed last December by Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

South Africa says it has abided by the treaty, but Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos claimed recently that South Africa continues to aid Unita.

Unita has accused the Angolan government of using poison-gas against Unita troops in an offensive against rebel strongholds.

According to Unita's chief of military intelligence, General Wambu "Kasitu" Chindondo, 66 Unita soldiers had to be admitted to hospital because of poison-gas attacks, although no-one was killed.

Despite the government offensive, the Unita leader said that the process to negotiate a peaceful solution to the country's 14-year civil war would not be abandoned.

"We cannot say that a ceasefire has been broken because we never formally agreed to a ceasefire," he said.

He admitted peace negotiations brokered by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko had stalled. "We need to find a different process because this one is not working," he said.

The first group of journalists to enter Unita-held territory since the historic peace handshake between Dr Savimbi and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos at Gbadolite in Zaire last June were shown a scene of utter devastation at the site of the three day "Battle of Cuzumbia River".

According to Unita's battle-front commander, General Ben Ben, a 3 000-man government force supported by 60 tanks which had broken out of the government stronghold of Cuito Cuanavale on August 18, was trapped against the banks of the Cuzumbia River 10 days later and "destroyed" in a savage artillery barrage.

"While they were expecting a mass infantry attack, we sent in special penetration teams on hit and run attacks, and then when we had pinpointed their positions exactly, we hit them with heavy mortars."

He said the remainder of the troops had fled back towards Cuito Cuanavale, but were not pursued by Unita troops whose orders were to maintain their positions along the Cuzumbia river.



**DEVASTATION:** The scene of devastation when one lucky mortar fired by Unita shell blew up a "Stalin Organ", turning the tide in a fierce battle. Below: A Unita soldier raises arms and surveys the wreck of a Mig shot down in the battle.



## Mangled weaponry in the killing fields

From **JONATHAN SHARP**  
in Kuzumbia Base

**M**ANGLED weaponry, shell-blasted trees and the chilling debris of modern combat litter the latest killing field in the Angolan civil war.

"I send you the kiss of victory," wrote a soldier to his wife in a letter that was never sent because its smoky remnants were found in a shellhole.

But this battle, fought in a desolate corner of the African

bush, was not one that the soldier's leaders in the far-away Angolan capital of Luanda will relish.

The wrecks of more than 20 government military vehicles, including two Soviet-made T55 tanks, lie shattered, victims of the pro-Western rebel Unita guerrillas who have fought leftist Luanda forces for the past 14 years.

Shells and bullets, live or spent, still litter the churned earth although the Unita victors have buried their own and their enemy's dead.

The battle, which broke out last month near a muddy riverlet called the Kunzumbia, was one that international diplomacy was supposed to prevent.

In June, Angolan leader Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, his counterpart in Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), shook hands in Gbadolite, Zaire, apparently sealing an accord that held out hope for peace.

But a ceasefire failed to hold. Both sides accused the other of multiple violations

and the accord was in shreds. Last weekend Unita escorted reporters by truck across roadless bush country to the battle zone in southeast Angola to give its version of events which have dragged the former Portuguese colony back into the mire of war.

According to General Arlindo Bena, a Unita commander who favours the pseudonym "Ben Ben" and sports a pair of designer sunglasses, a 3 000-strong government force advanced on August 18 from Cuito Cuanavale just west of the rebel enclaves.

# A single shell turns tide for Unita

By KEN VERNON  
Argus Africa News Service

ONE lucky mortar shell fired literally in the dark, turned the battle of the Cunzumbia River in Unita's favour.

The shell landed in the middle of a government logistical area serving the 3 000-strong government force, which was braced for a Unita infantry attack. It scored a direct hit on a Soviet-made Stalin-organ loaded with munitions.

The resultant massive blast tore the heart out of the MPLA attack, killing more than 40 soldiers and destroying six vehicles.

"That one shell was crucial," said the Unita battle commander, General Ben Ben. "It turned the battle our way and must have demoralised the enemy."

According to Unita commanders, the battle began after the MPLA force broke out of the government stronghold of Cuito Cuanavale, where it had been confined by Unita forces and shattered the morale of the MPLA soldiers since a combined South African and Unita force defeated a previous offensive at the end of 1987.

The aim of the attack appears to have been to test Unita defences in the area after the withdrawal of South African forces under the Tripartite agreement reached with Cuba and Angola last year.

Tank tracks radiating away from the blast scene tore through MPLA trenches and over uprooted trees, mute testimony to the terror the massive blast must have caused in the middle of the night.

Three weeks later the site of the explosion reminded journalists mostly of pictures of the stark scenes in the aftermath of the Hiroshima atom bomb blast. Trees in the immediate vicinity of the Stalin-organ had been splintered at their base, while those up to 150 metres away were bent and charred — shredded of all leaves and branches.

Bits of bloody tattered uniforms hung from the skeletal remains of the machines of war, torn boots lay mixed with scorched letters and live howitzer shells.

"The enemy were taken completely by surprise by our bombardment, they didn't believe we could mount such an artillery attack with the help of the South Africans" said General Ben.

"With the enemy expecting a mass infantry attack from the east, we instead infiltrated the rear of the enemy positions with special penetration teams, small groups of three or four men trained to destroy vehicles with grenades and to pin-point exact locations of enemy concentrations."

## 'Cuban pilots sent back to Angola'

AP/6/27  
19/10/87  
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JOHANNESBURG. — Cuban air force pilots have been sent back to Angola following the deterioration of the military situation there, according to reports published in Lisbon.

The respected weekly, *Expresso*, said that 47 Cuban jet fighter and helicopter pilots, who had been withdrawn from Angola, were returned at the end of last month to help the Angolan military face the sudden increase in fighting.

Analysts point out, however, that the return of the Cuban pilots does not mean that the withdrawal agreement signed with South Africa is being violated.

As long as the number of Cuban soldiers in Angola does not go above the agreed number, Cuba is free to send back to Angola any soldiers it wants.

# Mozambique, Angola fighting worries Pik

Political Staff and The Star's  
Africa News Service

The various sides in both Angola and Mozambique had stepped up hostilities in an attempt to win advantage at the negotiating table, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said today.

Mr Botha said he viewed the increased fighting in both countries "with concern", but felt peace talks could still go ahead.

The Lisbon weekly, *Expresso*, said at the weekend that 47 Cuban jet fighter and helicopter pilots who had been withdrawn from Angola were returned at the end of last month to help the Angolan military face the sudden increase in fighting around the country.

Cuba is free to send back to Angola any soldiers it wants as long as the number of Cuban soldiers presently in Angola does not go above the number in the withdrawal agreement signed with South Africa, analysts pointed out yesterday.

By the end of next month, Cuba will have to have withdrawn 50 percent of its 50 000 troops from Angola.

At the same time, the remaining troops must be stationed north of the 13th parallel.

Delegations from South Africa, Angola, Cuba, the United States and the Soviet Union are gathering in Havana for a scheduled meeting of the joint commission set up to monitor the Angolan peace agreements.

8/Day 13/9/89 (S)

# Battles threaten Angolan peace talks

JAMBA — Government troops and Unita rebels have waged fierce battles recently in south-east Angola, and the rebels say they will not attend next week's summit aimed at salvaging a crumbling peace initiative.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, at Jamba on Monday, accused the Angolan government of launching offensives after the two sides agreed to the June 22 ceasefire.

Savimbi said there had been heavy fighting near the south-eastern city of Cuito Cuanavale and more battles were expected.

"The present (peace) talks are not working because they were not prepared properly and we need a different

process," Savimbi told journalists. Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko arranged the ceasefire and will host an eight-nation African summit beginning on Monday to keep the peace efforts alive in the 14-year-old civil war.

### Peace talks

The Angolan government will be at the talks, but Savimbi said Unita would not attend. The rebels plan a special congress for September 23-29 to discuss their position on the negotiations, he said.

However, he said he still believed peace talks could succeed.

The Angolan government accused Unita of repeated ceasefire violations before Savimbi called off the truce.

Savimbi said that Unita forces are under orders not to launch offensives, but would fight to defend territory they now occupied.

Unita said it repulsed a major attack on August 27 near the Kuzumbia River, about 70km south-east of Cuito Cuanavale.

Journalists who visited the battle site saw remains of Soviet-built tanks, armoured vehicles and a MiG-23.

Unita's deputy chief of staff General Arlindo Bena said 3 000 government soldiers engaged in the fighting. He said 273 government troops were killed and 569 wounded, while 40 Unita fighters were killed and 76 wounded.

Unita said government soldiers used poison gas on the rebels and dozens of Unita fighters at a hospital in Mavinga

said they were suffering from nausea, chest and stomach pains allegedly caused by poison gas.

Unita said it had no evidence Cuban troops were involved in the fighting.

### Killed

In Lisbon yesterday Sapa-Reuter reported that Unita rebels were at open war again after the breakdown of the two-month-long truce.

Unita said they killed 32 government soldiers in scattered clashes last Friday in areas ranging from the northern province of Malanje to Cumene in the south.

The rebels said the biggest battle took place in Cumene where 15 soldiers were killed.

They also said 11 soldiers died in an ambush in the central province of Cuanza Sul. The other government casualties resulted from smaller actions. Three rebels were killed, Unita said.

Meanwhile ANO reports that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, on a one-day-visit to Hungary, condemned the intention of the US — "as the main promoter of destabilisation in Angola" — to transfer the support base of Unita from the south to the north of the country.

He stressed that SA's support for Unita — "although less than before" — continued and recalled that under the terms of the New York accords, if SA violated what had been agreed upon, Angola and Cuba could suspend the withdrawal of Cuban troops.



## Mugabe's plane was detained in Belgrade

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — Yugoslav officials detained an Air Zimbabwe Boeing 707 at Belgrade Airport on

# Blackout prevents Havana meeting

*Copy sent 14/12/89*  
By SIMON BARBER (S)

HAVANA. — National Intelligence Service chief Mr Neil Barnard had talks with his Angolan and Cuban counterparts yesterday to compare assessments of the continued presence of Swapo combatants below the 16th parallel in southern Angola.

They were to present a report to the joint committee which never convened last night because of a power cut after a severe electrical storm.

The cut came just as the delegates were entering the hall. They waited in total darkness for about 30 minutes before the meeting was cancelled.

"We have reason to feel dissatisfied — people have tended to deal with this in an off-hand manner," Foreign Affairs administrator-general Mr Neil van Heerden said beforehand.

There were "rumours in Ovamboland" that Swapo might use military force if it fared badly at the polls, and there were "people in our system who keep reminding us that (Swapo's April 1 incursion) could happen again", Mr Van Heerden said.

Apart from allaying such fears, resolving this issue would make it easier to decide the fate of Koevoet members still in Swapol, he said.

# Unita to boycott peace summit

*CMT Tavis 13/1/89 5*

JAMBA. — Unita is refusing to attend next week's summit aimed at salvaging a crumbling Angolan peace initiative.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, speaking on Monday at his bush headquarters in Jamba, accused the Angolan government of planning and launching offensives after the two sides agreed to a ceasefire on June 22.

The truce collapsed quickly and there has been heavy fighting near Cuito Cuanavale with more battles expected, Dr Savimbi said.

"The present (peace) talks are not working because they were not prepared properly and we need a different process," Dr Savimbi told journalists.

Dr Savimbi did not criticise Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who arranged the ceasefire and will host an eight-nation African summit beginning on Monday to keep the peace efforts alive in the 14-year-old civil war.

President Mobutu has supported

Unita politically and allowed the United States to send assistance to the rebels through Zaire.

The Angolan government will be at the talks, but Dr Savimbi said Unita would not attend. The rebels plan a special congress on September 23-29 to discuss their position on the negotiations, he said.

Dr Savimbi said that Unita forces were under orders not to launch offensives, but would fight to defend territory they now occupied.

Unita said it repulsed a major attack from August 27 to 29 near the Kuzumbia River, about 70km south-east of Cuito Cuanavale, where the government usually launches offensives against Unita strongholds in the south-east.

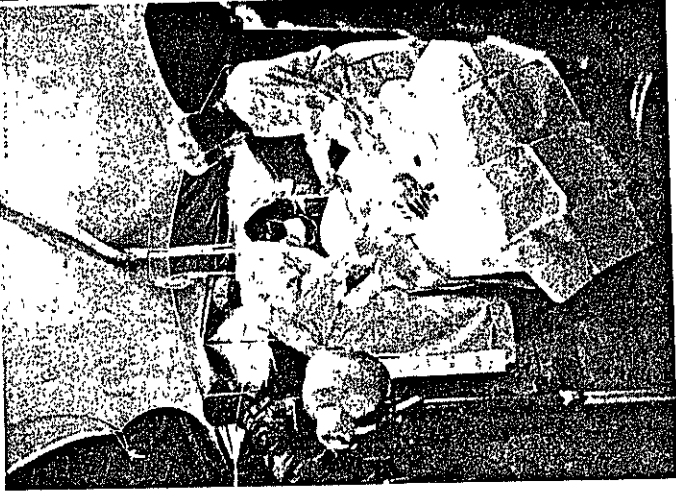
Journalists who visited the battle site at the weekend saw remains of Soviet-built tanks, armoured vehicles and a downed MiG-23 fighter plane, all destroyed by the rebels.

Unita said government soldiers used poisoned gas on the rebels. — Sapa-Reuter

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# Unita hospital cares for victims of Angola war



**SURGEONS AT WORK:** An operation proceeds on a young soldier shot in the leg during the Cunzumbia River battle. The soldier had to wait three days before reaching the operating theatre.

**Argus Africa News Service**  
**MAVINGA (Angola).** — For nineteen-year-old Joao Antonio the battle of Cunzumbia River came to a end with a fierce burning sensation in his chest and throat, and blood pouring from his nose as he lost consciousness.  
What confused him most, as he fell to the ground was that he had not felt himself being shot.

But there was a happier ending than might be expected to this frightening scenario, for Joao woke up in the arms of his comrades — the victim of a poison gas attack, according to Unita.  
The incident took place during last months government offensive into Unita held territory by 3 000 MPLA troops who, according to Unita, used poison gas in their attacks on Unita strong points.

Interviewed later at Unita's John Tucker military hospital in Mavinga, Joao, who doesn't look a day over 13, said his last memory was seeing "the enemy" riding past him with funny looking masks covering their faces.  
Two "bombs" exploded nearby, he recalled, one very close to him, and he began feeling disorientated almost immediately before the burning sensation forced him to the ground.

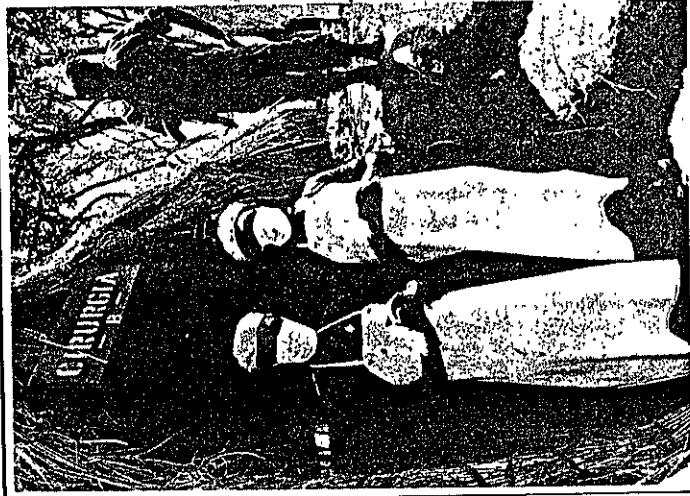
Unita has alleged for more than two years that the MPLA government uses poison gas weapons in its attacks on the rebel movement, but no incontrovertible proof exists to support the allegations.  
Alongside Joao in Ward G of the hospital were seven other equally young-looking soldiers, also said to be suffering from the effects of poison gas said Unita doctors.  
The doctors denied the possibility that the youthful soldiers might merely be suffering from shell-shock after their close encounter with death in

vinga, a feat scarcely credible given the 200 kilometres of bone-jarring dirt tracks between Cunzumbia and Mavinga.  
An inspection of the John Tucker military hospital in Mavinga, named after a mission educated Angolan doctor, revealed that perhaps nothing is impossible.  
Operations are performed in thatched cottages with dirty canvas floors, with dust swirling in through open windows, while "surgeons" wear surgical masks and sterilised gloves.

According to the deputy director of military health for Unita, Colonel J Domingos, Unita can treat over 1 000 bed cases daily in its 36 permanent, semi-permanent and mobile field hospitals.  
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For Lieutenant Jose Kafunda being shot in the same battle was less traumatic. It was the third time he had been wounded.  
The leader of a special penetration unit, dressed in MPLA uniforms and operating behind the enemy lines, death is almost a constant companion for these men, and the piece of shrapnel that tore into his shoulder as he and his unit ambushed part of the government mechanised force came as no surprise.

He told me that within a day he had been evacuated to Mavinga.



**BUSH HOSPITAL:** Surgeons outside the crude but effective thatched operating theatres and wards of the John Tucker military hospital at Mavinga.



# 'Cuba unlikely to renege on troops'

AP 45  
18/9/89  
(5)

## The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — South Africa had no reason to believe Cuba would renege on the agreed schedule for the withdrawal of its troops from Angola, the Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said here.

He said in an interview last night that South Africa had warned Cuba and Angola at a meeting of the Joint Commission between the three countries in Havana last week that there would be very serious consequences if agreements between them were to be tampered with.

Mr Van Heerden was asked to react to comments made in Havana on Friday by the Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ricardo Alarco, to the effect that Cuba would change its schedule of troop withdrawal from Cuba if Unita continued with its attacks on the MPLA.

Mr Van Heerden said last night he had made it very plain during last week's talks that the whole process was interconnected and if one part of it was interrupted the entire process would be endangered.

He was referring to the formal agreements between the three countries which provide for the withdrawal of Cuban and South African troops from Angola.

Mr Van Heerden said his delegation expressed the view that all parties must ensure the process was not threatened.

"Nothing happened at the meeting which could cause them (the Cubans) to say that (the schedule of Cuban troop withdrawal would be changed)," he said.

He said when the matter of Unita's attacks was raised, and particularly the attack on the column which caused six Cuban soldiers to be killed, he had pointed out that the three countries should not start fiddling with any part of the process because it was all interconnected and it could all come to a grinding halt.

ANGOLA

⑤ *Final* 15/9/89.

## Saving Gbadolite

Another round of top-level discussions between SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Loy van Dunem, is due to take place at Ruacana on the Angolan-Namibian border within the next few days.

Angolan sources tell the *FM* that the meeting — one of a series of recent discussions between Botha and Van Dunem — will be a follow-up to their efforts to solve the problems which have been threatening the Namibian peace process.

Botha and Van Dunem recently met in Maputo to discuss the problems which have arisen from different interpretations of the Gbadolite Declaration between the MPLA government of Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the Unita rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi (*Current Affairs* September 8). A breakdown in the peace negotiations between Savimbi and Luanda could have serious repercussions on the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

This week's meeting will take place after the expected return to Windhoek of Swapo leader Sam Nujoma, who was due in the Namibian capital as the *FM* went to press.

Both Botha and Van Dunem will do the groundwork for the meeting due on September 18 in Kinshasa between heads of the Frontline states to discuss Gbadolite. Other regional questions — among them the economic interdependence of the southern African countries — will also be discussed at Ruacana.

The Kinshasa meeting is seen by diplomatic observers as crucial to resolving the problems of the war-torn region. However, lasting peace can only be achieved after further meetings.

### Harare key

An interesting relationship has developed over the last few months between SA and some of its radical neighbours. Observers say SA has moved much closer to countries like Mozambique and Angola, but point out that the key to longer-term solutions still lies with Zimbabwe. The SA-Mozambique-Angola relationship could be a future catalyst in dealings between Pretoria and Robert Mugabe.

A recent setback in SA/Zimbabwe affairs was the missile attack across the border at Beit Bridge.

Some observers see the attack as an act of sympathy with the demonstrations of the mass democratic movement. If so, it does not necessarily mean that the attack was launched with Mugabe's knowledge or even the approval of the MDM. As the *FM* went to press, officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs were awaiting a detailed report on the Beit Bridge incident from SA's trade representative in Harare.

Southern African diplomats were all surprised at the attack, especially against the background of Mugabe's positive stand on

⑤ *Final* 15/8/89.

Savimbi's future after the Gbadolite Declaration.

Gbadolite has also been threatened by the efforts of French-speaking African states to discredit the role of Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, whom the Frontline states chose as mediator in the Angolan conflict. Leaders like Ivory Coast's Felix Houphouet-Boigny apparently distrust Mobutu.

There is also a growing feeling in diplomatic circles that the administration of US President George Bush has continued its blind support of Savimbi even though SA's role has diminished. This was underlined by Savimbi himself at a recent press conference in Pretoria: in reply to a question, he was quick to point out that Unita receives assistance from SA no longer.

SA diplomats say that while they are sympathetic to Savimbi (and his anti-Marxist stand), Pretoria has accepted that there are limits to its support for him — especially given the realities of the search for peace in Angola and the region.

# Pik's Angola meeting

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Pedro de Castro van Dunem, are expected to meet today for crucial talks on southern Africa.

Scheduled talks between Mr Botha and Mr Van Dunem were foiled yesterday when technical problems grounded the plane that was to transport the Angolan Minister.

Mr Van Dunem was due to meet Mr Botha at the border town of Ruacana. His plane was held up at Cahama, only 200km from the frontier.

The two Ministers last met on September 7 in Maputo to discuss Angolan peace prospects, bilateral co-operation and southern African regional issues.

Meanwhile, SIMON BARBER reports from Havana

## is on today

By SUNDAY TIMES FOREIGN DESK

that Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarco has warned that renewed fighting between Unita and the MPLA could force Cuba to slow the withdrawal of its troops from Angola.

But in Bloemfontein yesterday, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said South Africa would continue its friendship and contact with Unita's president, Jonas Savimbi.

Contact was being maintained because it was impor-

tant that a settlement be reached between Angola's warring factions.

Gen Malan said: "South African and Unita forces fought together in battles and won fantastically — we make no secret of our contact and friendship.

"We know we have a positive role to play in this regard, and our role is being recognised.



MAGNUS MALAN

### Attack

"The exportation of revolutionary activities from neighbouring states to SA is unacceptable and rejectable.

"South Africa reserves the right, like any self-respecting country, to counter such activities, even if circumstances require us to cross our borders to take action against terrorists who hide in other countries."

Mr Alarco insists Cuba has every right to change the schedule because South Africa is continuing to provide Unita with "supplies and resources" in violation of the Tripartite Accords.

The South African delegation, led by Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden emerged from the commission's final session this week looking visibly drained by what he described as a "gang attack" on South Africa by Angola, Cuba, and the Soviet observer delegation.

The South Africans find particularly galling the Cuban insistence on brandishing as gospel reports by a US lawyers' group, the Council for Namibian Independence, which has charged that the proposed election process is "fatally flawed".

## Havana talks <sup>(S)</sup> heavy going <sup>Star</sup> 15/9/89

By David Braun

HAVANA — The joint commission of South Africa, Angola and Cuba meeting in Havana made heavy weather on the first day of talks yesterday.

The talks started at 10 am but only the fourth of seven items had been reached by 6 pm. There were indications of several tough exchanges.

● A report from Cape Town says Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has flown to an unnamed African country for urgent talks with his Angolan opposite number, Mr Pedro van Dunem.

# Three SA journalists 'banned'

Stewart  
12/19/87  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Three South African journalists in Havana to cover the meeting of the Joint Commission between South Africa, Angola and Cuba last week were banned from attending a press conference addressed by the Cuban delegation for the local and international media.

The three South African journalists were David Braun of the Argus Group, Simon Barber of the Morning Group and Fritz Joubert of Nasionale Pers.

A spokesman for the Cuban Department of Foreign Affairs, announcing the press conference after the talks ended in Havana on Friday, told the South Africans they would not be allowed to attend. No reasons were given.

At a reception for the media later that evening, another spokesman for the Cuban Department of Foreign Affairs said the reason for the ban on the

South African journalists was because the South African delegation had already given an exclusive briefing to the South African media, and no other media had been invited.

Furthermore, he said, the South African delegation had not made itself available to the media in general for a press conference.

South African delegation leader, Mr Neil van Heerden, said in Washington last night he would be taking up the matter with his Cuban counterpart.

He said the Cuban media had been given every courtesy and co-operation when they were in South Africa for a meeting of the Joint Commission.

He added that he had not been asked by the Cuban authorities to hold a press conference.

The Cuban and non-South African media had also not approached him for any interviews or press conference, he said.

Star 18/9/89

5

SA confident despite threat

# 'Cuba won't stall troop withdrawal'

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa had no reason to believe Cuba would renege on the agreed schedule for the withdrawal of its troops from Angola, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said in an interview last night.

South Africa had warned Cuba and Angola at a meeting of the Joint Commission between the three countries in Havana last week that there would be very serious consequences if the joint agreements were tampered with.

Mr van Heerden was asked to react to comments made in Havana on Friday by the Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ricardo Alarcoa, to the effect that Cuba would change its schedule of troop withdrawal from Cuba if Unita continued

with its attacks on the MPLA.

Mr Alarcoa, speaking to a group of foreign and Cuban journalists after the South African delegation had left Havana, said South Africa and the US were continuing to support Unita "with resources and in other ways".

Mr van Heerden said last night he had made it very plain during last week's talks the whole process was interconnected and if one part of it was interrupted the entire process would be endangered.

Mr van Heerden said South Africa had sent a telex to Cuba at the time of the Unita attack urging restraint. He added that he could expect the Cuban government to make threats about changing its schedule of troop withdrawal but he had no reason to believe it intended doing anything about it.

# Pressure on Savimbi to attend peace talks

CAPE TIMES 18/9/87

HARARE. — African leaders meet again today to revive hopes of peace in Angola, but the man who holds the key to an agreement has, said he probably won't turn up.

Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita has told reporters at his rebel headquarters in south-east Angola that his movement is likely to stay away from

the one-day summit in the Zairean capital of Kinshasa.

But diplomats say the bearded guerilla leader is under heavy pressure to attend from his main backers, the United States and South Africa, and may have to swallow his pride and come.

A ceasefire sealed with a handshake between Dr Savimbi and

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola on June 22 has collapsed, leading to the heaviest fighting in southern Angola since last year.

The fragile accord ending 14 years of fighting was the work of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who achieved a surprise diplomatic coup by organising the reconciliation of the two Angolan leaders at his jungle palace at Gbadolite in front of nearly two dozen African heads of state.

Unita is due to hold a congress starting on September 25 to decide on peace terms.



# JC may meet before Namibia poll

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — An extraordinary meeting of the Joint Commission between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, may be held in South Africa before Namibia's independence elections.

At last week's meeting of the commission in Havana, which featured an acrimonious exchange between South Africa and the others on a number of issues, Cuba, Angola and the Soviet Union (which attended as an observer) proposed that a special meeting be held before the November 1 election to ensure outstanding problems had

been sorted out. It had previously been agreed the commission should sit every two months.

A spokesman for the Cuban department of foreign affairs said on Friday the meeting would almost certainly be advanced to before the poll.

South African delegation leader, Mr Neil van Heerden, last night confirmed a proposal had been made to advance the meeting to some time between October 15 and 20.

The request would have to be considered by the South African Government, said Mr van Heerden.

Star 18/9/87

# Question mark over Savimbi at Zaire summit

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
**HARARE.** — African leaders meet again today to revive hopes of peace in Angola, but the man who holds the key to an agreement has said he probably will not turn up.

Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita said at his rebel headquarters in south-east Angola that his movement was likely to boycott the summit in Kinshasa, Zaire.

Diplomats say he is under heavy pressure from the United States and South Africa to attend the meeting and may come after all.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuter reports from Washington that the United States said yesterday it remained supportive of the Unita forces in Angola and urged African leaders meeting in Zaire today to push for reconciliation that would lead to free elections.

## RECONCILIATION

The State Department said in a statement it did not accept the conditions of "exile, amnesty or integration", for Unita and Dr Savimbi as Angolan leader Mr Eduardo dos Santos had interpreted a ceasefire pact made with Dr Savimbi last June.

Dr Savimbi and Mr Dos Santos began arguing over the terms of the ceasefire almost immediately after they shook hands on June 22. The ceasefire has collapsed and some of the heaviest fighting in southern Angolan in over a year has been reported.

The State Department said: "The United States strongly supports Unita and its goals of national reconciliation followed by free and fair elections."

"The United States does not accept the concepts of 'exile, amnesty or integration'. We urge all parties attending the Kinshasa summit to support the achievement of genuine national reconciliation on the basis of a peacefully negotiated settlement between the contending Angolan sides," it said.

Dr Savimbi told reporters at his rebel headquarters he was likely to stay away from the one-day summit today in Kinshasa.

However, Angola's position has been made stronger by support from the seven other countries — Zaire, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Congo, Gabon and Sao Tome and Principe.

The State Department issued its statement after 13 senators urged Secretary of State Mr James Baker last Friday to become "personally involved" in ensuring that all parties remained committed to the June ceasefire agreement.

## SAVIMBI DISAGREES

Mr Dos Santos and leaders of seven neighbouring countries have said they interpreted the June ceasefire pact to mean that Dr Savimbi would temporarily retire from politics and Unita would be integrated into the ruling MPLA.

Dr Savimbi has disagreed with this interpretation, but said he would negotiate a ceasefire and reconciliation that would mean a government of national unity followed by elections.

The senators accused Mr Dos Santos of misinterpreting the ceasefire agreement and said support for Dr Savimbi's goals was United States' policy.

19/6/89

## Peace talks start without Savimbi

The Argus Foreign Service

KINSHASHA. — Dr. Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita rebels in Angola, stayed away from a peace summit in Zaire intended to revive the collapsed ceasefire in his country's 15-year civil war.

The commander of the right-wing guerrillas sent a letter saying that he was too busy preparing for a Unita congress next week, a source close to President Mobutu of Zaire said.

But another government source said Dr. Savimbi saw no reason to attend the summit seeking to reconcile differences with President dos Santos, the marxist leader of Angola.

Eight central and southern African heads of state convened their summit without Dr. Savimbi on board Mr. Mobutu's yacht on the Zaire River at N'Sele, about 45km from here.

## Savimbi not present to sign draft peace plan

KINSHASA — Eight African leaders including Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe yesterday drew-up a draft declaration of a peace plan agreement which they hope to be signed by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to end the 14-year-old Angolan civil strife.

Dr Savimbi, who was expected to sign the Gbadolite Agreement on Angola at the meeting, did not attend a day-long summit held at Nzele, 60 km from the Zairean capital, the fourth to focus on the implementation of the Angolan peace programme.

The presidents of Angola, Zaire, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Congo said in a communique that a draft declaration would be presented to Dr Savimbi.

It was not made public but diplomatic sources said it was largely a reaffirmation of the Gbadolite Agreement, Ziana, the national news agency reports.

The eight leaders said in the communique that they were committed to the June 22 Gbadolite Agreement at which Dr Savimbi accepted a ceasefire, the reintegration of his rebels into Angolan institutions, and to retire in exile "while the peace process is in progress or until such a time that his presence is required in Angola".

Dr Savimbi has denied that he ever accepted going into voluntary exile. His Unita movement renounced the June 24 ceasefire and resumed fighting last month following a Harare summit at which the eight leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the Gbadolite Agreement at which Dr Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos shook hands. — Sapa.

## Zimbabwe's freight crisis gets worse

*31 Day 20/9/89*

HARARE — Zimbabwe's transport crisis is worsening, with more than 130 000 tons of goods, including exports and imports, waiting to be moved by the railways, the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries said yesterday.

Brian Stock, chairman of the CZI's transport committee, estimated that Z\$1,21bn would be needed in foreign exchange to get the national transport system back on its feet, Ziana national news agency reported.

The money would have to be spent on locomotives for the railways and a host of vehicles, such as articulated trucks, trucks for the rural areas and trucks for mining, industry and agriculture.

Stock said goods were being held up at vital centres, such as Beit Bridge and Rutenga in the lowveld, the Dabuka container terminal at Gweru, and at Machipanda, the Mozambique border settlement near Mutare.

A shortage of locomotives to move Zimbabwe's rolling stock has created an artificial shortage of railway wagons, which are scattered all over the country waiting to be moved. *31 Day 20/9/89*

This has led to acute shortages of coal because of the inability of the railways to transport it from Wankie Colliery in the north-west of the country to industrialists and tobacco farmers, for whom it is vital in their curing processes. — Sapa.

## Unita to discuss peace

*31 Day 20/9/89*

PRETORIA — The faltering Angolan peace talks, based on the Gbadolite Agreement of June 22, are expected to be one of the main topics for discussion at Unita's congress at Jamba next week.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, indicated to visiting newsmen at Jamba earlier this month he would not attend yesterday's summit of African leaders near Kinshasa, where a draft peace plan was drawn up, because Unita's policy first needed to be determined at the "open" congress which starts next Monday.

Subsequent to the publication of the Gbadolite accord, different interpretations of the agreement have been propounded by African leaders, calling for the re-integration of Savimbi's "bandits" into Angolan institutions and for him to retire in exile "until his presence is required in Angola".

It was reported that at yesterday's summit, a draft declaration of a peace plan agreement had been drawn up which was to be submitted to Savimbi.

Savimbi has denied that he ever agreed to go into exile.

"Someone has to straighten out all the documents so we can work with only one," he said at Jamba.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said it was clear there were conflicting versions about what had been agreed on at Gbadolite.

"The SA government would like to see that a ceasefire be instituted as soon as possible and it supports attempts to accomplish this," he said.

SA also supported the idea of national reconciliation through negotiations. President Mobutu Sese Seko's attempts at this deserved support, Botha said. — Sapa.

## African leaders blame US

*31 Day 20/9/89*

KINSHASA — Encouragement by the US lies behind Unita's sabotage of the Angolan peace process.

That at least is what is believed by the eight African heads of state who met near Kinshasa on Monday to discuss the Angolan peace plan.

Tactically, the eight presidents have refused to name the US publicly as the obstacle to peace, but in private they blame it for Savimbi's contradictory arrogance.

Both the US and SA this week expressed support for Savimbi's point

of view on the peace process, rejecting the African heads of states' statement that Savimbi should go into exile, re-integrate his rebels into Angolan institutions and accept a ceasefire, as stated in the Gbadolite Agreement. (S)

Savimbi is believed to have received assurances from Washington that the Angolan government can be forced to make further concessions.

The US is continuing to pump military aid to Unita, and this year such aid is budgeted at \$30m. — ANO.

# Peace talks — but Angola war goes on

**Argus Africa News Service**  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — As African heads of state met in Kinshasa to discuss peace in Angola, the Luanda government continued to report heavy fighting in the central and southern parts of the country.

The Africa News Organisation, Ano, reported from Luanda that 62 Unita guerillas had been killed in three days of fighting in the central provinces of Benguela, Lunda Sul and Moxico.

Quoting sources in the Angolan army general staff, Ano said the Angolan army had lost three men, while two others had been injured and one was reported missing.

## Bases destroyed

Two Unita bases had been destroyed on September 16 in the central province of Huambo.

Ano quoted an army spokesman as saying Angolan government troops had killed 183 Unita soldiers this month, and captured nine others in seven days of fighting "in the Culto

Cuanavale region".

Large quantities of weapons, radio equipment and documents had been captured.

Meanwhile, African heads of state in Kinshasa have agreed that President Mobutu Sese Sekou will continue to mediate in the Angolan conflict and will now submit a "draft declaration" to Angolan rebel leader, Mr Jonas Savimbi.

## Refused

Reporting from Kinshasa, the Mozambique news agency, Aim, said Mr Savimbi had been invited to attend the summit meeting at which the presidents of Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe discussed peace proposals for Angola.

He had refused to attend because of preparations for a Unita congress to be held next week.

The agency said the six heads of state had agreed on "a draft declaration" but gave no other details. They agreed their next meeting would be held in Gabon but gave no date.

The meeting follows the near

collapse of the peace talks, following different interpretations of what happened at Gbadolite in Zaire in June when Mr Savimbi and the Angolan president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, first met.

The Angolan government states that it was agreed at Gbadolite that Mr Savimbi would go into exile and the Unita rebel group would be integrated into existing Angolan structures.

Unita disputes this interpretation and continues to demand a coalition government before elections.

## Death sting

**FORT LAUDERDALE.** — Allen Jones, 34, suspected of staging his own death in 1982 to collect R1 400 000 insurance, has been arrested after receiving an envelope by certified mail. The envelope was an FBI ploy. — Sapa-AP.

## 10 to die for murders

**KINSHASA.** — Ten soldiers have been sentenced to death for a series of murders in the Zairean capital in the past few months. — Sapa-Reuter.

Cape Times 20/9/89/5

# Savimbi not at Angola peace talks

KINSHASA — Eight African leaders including Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe drew up a draft declaration of a peace plan agreement which they hope to be signed by Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, to end the 14-year-old Angolan civil strife.

Dr Savimbi, who had been expected to sign the Gbadolite agreement on Angola at yesterday's meeting, did not attend a day-long summit held at Nzele, 60km from the Zairean capital, the fourth to focus on the implementation of the Angolan peace programme.

The presidents of Angola, Zaire, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and Congo said in a communique that a draft declaration would be presented to Dr Savimbi.

The draft declaration was not made public but diplomatic sources said it was largely a reaffirmation of the Gbadolite agreement, Ziana, reports.

The Angolan peace talks are expected to be one of the main topics for discussion at Unita's congress at Jamba next week.

Dr Savimbi indicated to visiting news men at Jamba earlier this month that he would not attend yesterday's summit of African leaders because Unita's policy first needed to be determined at the "open" congress which starts next Monday.

— Sapa

# Angola's false dawn has leaders back at the table

STAR 21/9/89 (5)

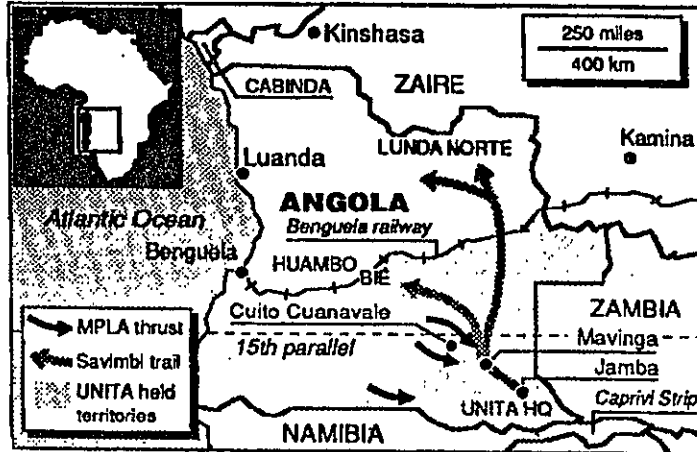
LONDON — The handshake last June between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the country's rebel Unita movement, should have marked the end of a 14-year civil war.

It proved a false dawn. The ceasefire agreement, signed at President Mobutu Sese Seko's home village of Gbadolite in northern Zaire, never held. The protagonists are back on the battlefield, and the African leaders who met in Kinshasa this week will be hard pressed to get them back to the negotiating table.

Which party broke the fragile agreement is not clear. But at the heart of the breakdown is a disagreement over a key provision: Did Dr Savimbi agree to go into exile, as Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and some other African leaders claim? Or did he merely accept that while he would not be part of a two-year transitional coalition government, he intended to lead Unita in the multi-party elections the rebels demand?

Meanwhile the war resumes, but with a crucial difference. Both sides

The Angolan ceasefire agreement has proved a false dawn. ROWLINSON CARTER, of the Financial Times, who recently returned from southern Angola, deals with the latest developments.



are in the process of losing their main allies: Some 50 000 Cuban troops are undertaking a phased withdrawal from Angola in return for Namibia's independence. Those troops who have yet to leave, are showing no sign of entering the fray.

At the same time, Namibia's UN-monitored transition to independence has meant that Pretoria's backing for Unita — including vital air support — from bases in northern Namibia is ending.

The military balance is thus delicately poised. But what may be critical to the outcome of the resumed conflict is a battle to control a strategic supply route known as the 'Savimbi Trail,' the corridor which links the Unita stronghold of Jamba in the south-east with the contested central and northern areas, where the government is vulnerable to military pressure.

The main objective for Angola's MPLA Government is to cut this trail. Hence recent reports that 3 000 government troops, supported by 25 tanks, have tried to move out of the Cuito Cuanavale area and take the town of Mavinga.

Almost bisecting the country is the Benguela Railway, closed to

through traffic since Angolan independence in 1975, but a powerful factor in the MPLA and Unita attempts to court the support of Zambia and Zaire. For both these countries, the line represents the shortest and cheapest route to the sea for copper exports, their main foreign exchange earner.

Unita has also encroached on the diamond areas in Lunda Norte province. Last month, the last of the functioning diamond mines, at Cafunfo, was forced to close.

The next Unita target is logically Angola's oil industry, responsible for 90 percent of export earnings.

The past 14 years have shown that as a guerilla force Unita would be difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate, although not strong enough to win the country. Some of its 74 000 fighters now form a regular army, possibly even capable of laying siege to the Angolan capital, Luanda.

But this development poses its own problems, however. The brigades rely on, for example, motorised transport and fuel. In the past, they have obtained diesel from South African sources.

But Unita has no petrol, so vehi-

cles captured from the MPLA, which are invariably petrol-driven, are useless.

Dr Savimbi claims to have stocks of diesel 'for quite some time'.

The US, which has taken over from South Africa as Unita's main backer, is willing to fly in what it can from the Kamina air base in Zaire. Unita has several bush airstrips capable of handling aircraft such as the C130 Hercules, but they are deep in Unita territory and therefore a long way from where their cargoes would be needed.

The politics of US aid are also complicated. Washington encouraged Dr Savimbi to attend this week's meeting, but there is a limit to the pressure the US can bring to bear, for the Unita leader enjoys substantial support in Congress.

President Kaunda and President Mobutu have also to be cautious, as Dr Savimbi has cards to play. Zambia's economic problems could be eased if the Benguela railway were functioning. This will happen only if there is an MPLA accommodation with Unita.

## Anti-Mobutu sentiment

Dr Savimbi has different tactics for President Mobutu, who faced two attempts — in 1977 and 1978 — by Angola-based exiles to take over Zaire's southern copper province of Shaba. The Unita presence along the Angola-Zaire border could readily be allied with the strong anti-Mobutu sentiment in Shaba.

A key piece in this complex geopolitical jigsaw is the US-supplied ground-to-air Stinger missile. There is some doubt about its availability and after disagreement between the Pentagon and the State Department over the wisdom of supplying it, a consignment eventually left the US. Some missiles may have got no further than South Africa.

Unless the Stingers have materialised in the past few weeks, however, Unita troops are exposed. If the MPLA were to repeat its so far unsuccessful assault on Mavinga, with increased air support, it may prove one of the war's most important battles.

## History in The Star

### 100 Years Ago

The Bishop of Pretoria is exceedingly fond of reprimanding his congregation for not contributing more to the Church. He has now told them they cannot complain about dusty seats until they pay for more dusters.

### 50 Years Ago

More than 2 000 German aliens have now registered at Marshall Square under the Aliens Act. From today, alien Italians, Greeks and Danes are asked to register.

### 25 Years Ago

Addington's centre-forward, Vernon Wentzel, was questioned about his "magic" boots that enabled him to score six goals against Arcadia on Saturday. Wentzel had his boots treated by a Zulu witchdoctor in Durban last week.



54, founder and president of the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (Unita), has long been central to any attempt to end the 14-year war in Angola and bring prosperity to the region.

He dominates the movement, and more than any other factor it has been his international influence, a considerable following among the people of southern and central Angola, and his own political charisma that have kept the country in turmoil for so long.

So when there was handshaking and agreement between Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, surprise at its suddenness was mixed with elation and considerable scepticism.

The handshaking took place on June 22 at the palatial home of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire in Gbadolite, known for its grandeur as the Versailles of Africa. Eighteen African leaders, including several heads of government, were present.

### Reconciliation

A ceasefire between Unita and the MPLA government in Luanda came into force a day later, but details of the deal remain sketchy.

In essence, it is said there is to be national reconciliation with a commission working out the integration of Unita into national life.

It is not known to what extent members of Unita will be prepared to be taken into the Dos Santos government, if at all, or, most importantly, what is the future of Savimbi himself.

Reports that he had agreed to leave the country for two years — he has a residence in Morocco — were quickly denied. He said he would stay in his headquarters in Jamba, southern Angola.

Leaders of the Southern African Frontline States have been trying for months to persuade Dos Santos to take Unita into his government. Some, including Zimbabwe, argued that he should offer Savimbi himself a job.

But Dos Santos has faced strong resistance in his government to any Unita participation, let alone that of Savimbi.

The Gbadolite agreement seems to show that he has won his ministers round at least some of the way.

Gbadolite is part of a much bigger diplomatic ball game which involves the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, phase one of which is now under way, the independence of

South 21-27/89

## The riches of Angola

If peace comes Angola could become one of Africa's richest lands

**CABINDA**  
Oil: 300,000 barrels daily. Reserves 2 billion barrels. Natural gas 50 bn cubic metres

**CATOCA**  
World's 3rd largest diamond field. Output only 1/6th of record in 70s

**HUILA**  
Iron ore

**LAND**  
Vast potential. Only 2% cultivated. Coffee down to 5.3% of pre-independence figure. Cotton, sugar cane, sisal, forestry, livestock

**Also:**  
Copper, manganese, phosphates, salt, uranium

# Angola: Will wealth come with peace?

The sudden agreement between the rebel Unita movement and the Angolan government took nearly everyone by surprise. For the first time in 14 years a ceasefire has been called. If the fighting really has stopped, the way could be clear for a long march to prosperity. But doubts persist, reports **DEREK INGRAM**, as to what Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, right, has agreed:



Jonas Savimbi: Has kept the country in turmoil

Namibia, possible peace between the Mozambique government and the Renamo (MNR) rebel movement there, and the attempts to move South Africa to more democratic rule.

Like everything else that has happened in Southern Africa in the last

two or three years, it springs from the coming together of Soviet and US policies.

Between them the superpowers are pushing for peace in the region. In Angola, Unita has long been backed by the US while the Soviet Union has supported the MPLA govern-

1975. The restoration of peace in Angola is crucial. The country lies in economic ruin, yet it is potentially one of the richest in Africa.

When the Portuguese gave up the colony they had ruled for 400 years and their admiral-governor sailed away from Luanda it had already suffered more than a decade of guerrilla war.

As soon as the MPLA took over, the South Africans invaded from the south and the Cubans poured in at the MPLA's invitation.

Unita, with South African and American help, became the centre of resistance to the Luanda government and the Cuban troops. Attempts to unravel the tangle have gone on ever since. But the war continued relentlessly.

Today chances of peace look reasonable.

Added to the outside pressures is war weariness in a nation of only 10 million people.

Angola is an economic wreck. The only thriving industry is oil, which is mostly in the enclave of Cabinda.

In 1978 the state company Sonangol became the sole owner of the country's oil deposits and exclusive concessionaire for exploration and production.

But its relations with foreign oil companies, notably American Texaco and Gulf, have always been close and American investment in Angola remains considerable, even though Washington has never recognised the MPLA government. American technicians work in large numbers in Cabinda.

Since 1982 Angola has more than doubled its oil output while all other sectors of the economy have dived.

### Potential

It was once the world's fourth largest coffee producer. Today it produces only about five percent of what it did in 1975. Diamonds have fallen from two million carats to less than 400,000.

The biggest potential of all lies in the land, which is almost totally uncultivated.

Crucial to the recovery of Angola will be the rehabilitation of the Benguela railway that runs across Angola's waist into Zaire, and once used to carry much of the output from Zambia's copperbelt, as well as from Zaire's Katanga province.

The fighting stopped the railway years ago. Bridges were destroyed, track was damaged and most of the engines destroyed. Massive investment will be required to restore the Benguela and get the whole country's economy moving.

Even if the handshake in Gbadolite proves the first step to the prosperity of Angola, it will take at least another decade and a half to achieve prosperity. — **GEMINI NEWS**

# Letting go of Jonas

(S) Fmail  
22/8/89

Many felt a surge of hope when long-time adversaries Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and Angola's José Eduardo dos Santos shook hands warmly in the jungle. Peace seemed to be breaking out: the Cubans and SADF were withdrawing from Angola, Namibia was inching towards independence under the shaky yet durable Resolution 435 — and suddenly there was a real prospect of national reconciliation in Angola.

It seemed too good to be true . . . and it was. Not two months later Savimbi was taking issue with Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko's interpretation of the Gbadolite Declaration and calling for a new peace broker. The Angolans were insisting Unita should be incorporated into the unified government on their terms. The fragile ceasefire had collapsed and fierce fighting again broke out in southern Angola.

A great deal turns on a favourable outcome for the Angolan peace talks. As Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden says, there is a *process* involved: one step towards peace is contingent on another.

It would be risky to usher in independence for Namibia if

across the border in Angola the situation degenerated into chaos. That would merely invite the Cubans back — and where would that leave SA? Defence Minister Magnus Malan is unlikely to leave his staunch ally Savimbi in the lurch (he has said as much).

Such a scenario could provide Pretoria's securocrats with the ideal pretext to move back into Namibia and permanently stall the independence process — all in the name of national security.

That would be a disaster. It could undo all the benefits of President F W de Klerk's forays into Africa.

Is it likely? Once independence has come to Namibia SA's border would have shifted from the Kunene to the Orange River. That's where it belongs.

"National interest" notwithstanding, it might well be better to leave Savimbi sulking at Jamba, and face the expected hysteria from white conservatives, than risk reversing the entire peace process by forceful military intervention in foreign lands.

Such intervention failed before. It would be worse next time.

mail 22/9/89

US Assistant Secretary of State Hermann Cohen held a secret meeting with Savimbi last Thursday. The purpose was to convince him to attend the important Angolan peace talks in the Zaire capital.

Savimbi's absence from the meeting — where leaders of the eight Frontline states met to try to clear up the diplomatic uncertainty which followed the Gbadolite Declaration — threatens to bring the peace initiative to a complete breakdown. There have been reports that Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, the mediator, is backing down on his original interpretation of Gbadolite and now finds himself in the company of those African leaders who want Savimbi to go into voluntary exile.

SA and American sources, although still optimistic that Mobutu will be able to deliver, say an about turn by Mobutu would seriously jeopardise the peace process.

If that is the case, though, Mobutu may find himself at the receiving end of Savimbi's wrath, warns Stellenbosch African Studies



**Unita's Savimbi . . . under pressure to negotiate**

expert Willie Breytenbach: "Savimbi still controls the Benguela-Lobito railway line which runs for about 1 000 km into Angola. Any move by Mobutu to back down on his original interpretation of Gbadolite may boomerang on him. Mobutu needs the railway line which connects the copper mines in Shaba with the Atlantic Ocean."

A total breakdown would have serious implications for SA and the Namibian independence process, declares Breytenbach. This may compel the Cubans to halt their exodus from Angola — "But Savimbi would

ANGOLAN PEACE TALKS (S)

**Screws on Savimbi**

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has boycotted this week's Kinshasa talks — against the wishes of both SA and the US. The *FM* learns that Foreign Minister Pik Botha and

mail 22/9/89

also make a mistake to think that his interests necessarily synchronise with those of SA," Breytenbach adds. "I don't think it would be in our interests to enter the war on his behalf."

The SA Institute of International Affairs' André du Pisani agrees: "Seen from our perspective, we have made certain breakthroughs in our relationship with the Frontline states and economically we have regional interest in peace. It may be necessary for us to tighten the screws on Savimbi."

The position of the US is remarkably different from that of SA, says Du Pisani. "The US still see their interests in Angola in terms of the Cold War with the Soviets. We don't suffer from that syndrome, it is not part of our regional policy. But Savimbi still enjoys a lot of support in the US Congress. However, I think at this stage it is critical that the US also curtail their support for Savimbi."

Meanwhile, Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Loy van Dunem, are rescheduling their proposed meeting, which the *FM* reported was due to have taken place last Friday at Ruacana (*Current Affairs* September 15).

## 162 die in Angolan clashes (S)

LISBON — Angolan forces killed 141 Unita rebels in a week of fighting up to Tuesday and lost 21 of their own men, the official Angolan news agency Angop said yesterday. *Star 22/9/89*

Angop reported clashes in the provinces of Bie, Benguela, Kuanza Sul, Uige and Huambo.

The 14-year-old war flared again last month after the collapse of a ceasefire agreed on in June. — Sapa-Reuter.

EVIDENCE of the Bush administration's ineptitude on southern Africa continues to accumulate, the latest example having to do with Angola and the question of national reconciliation.

In some regards, this is perhaps not that big a deal. The tripartite accords are not going to fall apart if Unita and the MPLA do not come to terms.

The Cubans are heading home and Namibia will become independent in terms of UN Security Council Resolution 435, come what may. There may be much screaming and shouting in the process but, whatever the reasons, South Africa and Cuba have fundamentally made up their minds — and nothing else, not even Angola (and certainly not Swapo), counts that much.

That said, an end to the civil war in Angola remains an important objective, not just for Angolans but for the outside powers involved. Unfortunately, it is not an objective the US is doing much to promote.

The lessons that should have been derived from the mediation of the Tripartite Accords have suddenly been lost.

The Bush administration is making an ass of itself by refusing to recognise that, if it is to play a useful role in bringing Unita and the MPLA together, it must be on the other side of the table to both. The reason for this failure is political cowardice.

☆☆☆☆

Just as Secretary of State James Baker seems determined to bow to the left in his dealings with South Africa, so he would rather scrape to the right on Angola.

In both instances, such obsequiousness not only far outruns domestic political expedience, it runs entirely counter to the facts on the ground.

In the case of Angola, those facts are that both sides are on a treadmill to nowhere — both, in fact, have lost. The MPLA is being



# Simon Barber (S) U.S. idiocy on Angola

## Washington Diary

stripped of its Cubans, Unita is without its South Africans.

Neither the US nor the Soviet Union has any pressing security interest in the region. There is an opportunity, therefore, to turn the present equilibrium to advantage in helping to forge a settlement.

Instead, the Bush administration has yielded to the Unita lobby by making the following fatuous statement:

"The US strongly supports Unita and its goals of national reconciliation followed by free and fair elections. The US does not accept the concepts of exile, amnesty or integration."

This is tantamount to Washington having publicly stated, at the height of its mediation on Nami-

bian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal, that it would only accept a Cuban withdrawal schedule lasting, say, 20 months.

A mediator is perfectly permitted to have some idea of what the details of a final settlement might look like but he is a perfect fool to make those details public preconditions for the settlement being reached at all.

In this instance, it is thoroughly crass for the US to say that a deal between Unita and the MPLA cannot involve integration and must entail "free and fair" elections.

On any realistic assessment — this is Africa, after all — national reconciliation, when it occurs, will violate both precepts.

☆☆☆☆

5/1 Times  
24/9/89

It will be about who gets what job in a government of unity (ie integration) and not about who gets elected to what post. Spoils will be divided, not votes cast.

To demand elections is to side with Unita's rhetoric against practical experience and, thereby, to give Jonas Savimbi every reason to continue prevaricating.

Worse, it is to do this at the very moment when the US should be using all the leverage at its disposal — including its continued assistance — to get him back to the table in his own interests and before he manages to blow the whole game by driving away the one leader whose sympathies he needs before all others — Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The US surely has some interest in helping end the war in such a manner that Unita is fully and equitably incorporated in the ultimate settlement.

Neither that interest, nor Dr Savimbi's, is well served by Mr Baker trying to appease Unita's lobbyists or mindless fans on Capitol Hill and pretending it is a policy.

## Unita claims battle success

LISBON — Angolan rebel group Unita claimed yesterday they killed 55 government soldiers and destroyed three tanks in clashes during the past 10 days. (5) Stev 25/9/87

A Unita communique issued in Lisbon said the biggest battle took place nine days ago in the northern province of Uige. "Forty soldiers were killed when government forces tried to enter areas under our control," Unita said.

Fifteen soldiers were killed and three T-55 tanks were destroyed four days later in the province of Moxico.

In addition, four guerillas were also reportedly killed in the clashes.

Last Thursday, the Luanda authorities said their forces killed 141 Unita guerillas for the loss of 21 soldiers in a week of scattered fighting. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Angola prepares for <sup>CAF Trip</sup> more <sup>25/9/89</sup> civil war <sup>S</sup>

Own Correspondent

**LONDON.** — The Angolan government and Unita rebels appear to be preparing for an intensification of the 14-year civil war, according to reports here yesterday.

A Unita congress starting at their bush headquarters today appears certain to endorse leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's rejection last week of Luanda's peace proposals and to vote to fight on.

The Sunday Correspondent, in a report from Luanda, said hawks in the Luanda regime seem to be gaining in influence and were preparing the country for an intensification of the war although even the MPLA hardliners are reported to be concerned that 21 000 Cuban troops have already left the country and the withdrawal of the remaining 39 000 is going ahead.

At the same time, the US Congress has reaffirmed its support for Unita — although US arms supplies are reported to be drastically down.

The Sunday Correspondent said that, following the failure of the ceasefire agreement reached in Zaire in June — it lasted only one week, reports in Luanda say there has been a sharp increase in Unita attacks all over the country, with government forces claiming to have killed 140 rebels in the second week of September.

council's three committees, those of constitutional, social and economic affairs, will be reduced to two.

In addition to the members recommended by parliamentarians the president appoints the others.

## US stands firm on support for Unita

AP 6/5  
26/9/89

The Argus Foreign Service <sup>S</sup> WASHINGTON. — American support for Unita remains firm, a spokesman for the State Department has said.

Mr Richard Boucher said yesterday that the United States government would be having consultations with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who is heading an African-initiative to get Unita and the MPLA government to the table.

Both leaders will be in Washington this week.

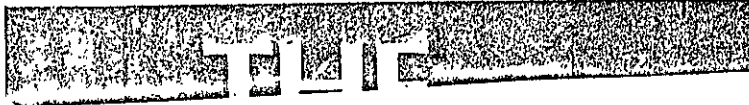
Responding to questions about Unita's unwillingness to take part in talks with the MPLA, Mr Boucher said he would not put it in terms of ex-

ercising "leverage" on Unita (although the United States gives about R100 million a year to the movement).

The United States believed the process of national reconciliation, as supported by Unita, should proceed from a formal ceasefire agreement and direct negotiation between the parties.

Meanwhile, Unita's opponents on Capitol Hill have been using Dr Savimbi's reluctance to take part in the Zaire peace initiative to great effect.

Congressional hearings have been scheduled to re-examine the United States position on the movement and its involvement in the Angolan situation.





# World Bank expected to lend Angola \$100m

B10am 26/9/87

THE World Bank is expected to lend Angola about \$100m in interest-free loans. The country became the newest member of the bank and the IMF this month.

According to a report in the specialist publication World Bank Watch, bank officials are saying privately that Angola could get that amount in soft loans from the International Development Association, the bank's arm for lending to the poorest countries.

Moves are afoot for Namibia to join the bank and fund after independence and SA is supporting the country's membership.

Angolan membership of the IMF and bank came in the face of opposition from the US, and is the direct result of the agreement in December on a phased withdrawal of Cuban troops.

The country's quota size in the IMF, which determines its voting and share of fund assistance, is higher than SA's. SA's quota is 916 special drawing rights (SDR: the fund's currency determined by a basket of hard currencies) while Angola's is 1,45-billion SDR's. SA's quota gives it a 1% say in what happens.



GRETA STEYN in Washington

Although official Angolan projects have not yet been approved by the bank, upgrading of cities might be top of the list of priorities, while other projects could include health, education and repair of power transmission lines. The bank will send a delegation to the region in the next few weeks to decide on projects.

The WBW report quoted Angolan Finance Minister Augusto Teixeira de Matos as saying his first priority

would be to work with the bank and the IMF to restore Angola's basic economic structure.

"Once an accord on bank targets is reached with the IMF, Luanda will probably start a structural adjustment programme at the bank that should lead to major currency devaluations, reorganisation of the financial sector, and market-oriented production incentives."

The bank fully realises that Angola's civil war with Unita may not be over, in spite of moves to end the war. If so, the bank's work will be limited to areas controlled by its client government, as it is in Sudan, Ethiopia and other African countries. The report quoted a Unita spokesman as saying the bank was "wasting its money" as Angola would use it in the war effort.

However, Unita is being disregarded and the bank's private investment unit, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) is eager to get involved. The Angolans plan to approach the IFC about western investment in new fisheries, mining, oil and agricultural projects and are aggressively courting private investors.

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# Angola needs \$274m in aid

LUANDA — The Angolan Foreign Minister, Pedro de Castro van Dunem, opened an emergency conference here at the weekend aimed at raising \$274m for rehabilitating the country following 14-years of war, the Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

During the conference, attended by various representatives from international financial institutions, non-governmental organisations and the diplomatic corps accredited to Angola, a document was distributed which set out the emergency requirements for the year 1989/90.

The report described the situation in Angola as a result of natural calamities, consequences of the

war and the general situation of displaced people both inside and outside Angola.

The conference aimed at "sensitising" the international donor community for a response to the emergency situation caused mainly by the civil war to help the Angolan government in its objectives for economic and social development.

## Toll

The emergency conference followed a conference of foreign donors held in Geneva in 1988 and sponsored by United Nations working groups and Angolan officials.

The civil war, led by the Unita rebel group, had exacted a terrible toll — 100 000 lives, 20 000 amputees, 400 000 refugees, and nearly three million people displaced from their homes or otherwise severely affected by the civil war.

In addition, 150 infants were dying every day of the year.

Angop also reported that the Angolan/Zambian Joint Defence and Security Commission ended its meeting in Luanda at the weekend.

This was the 10th meeting between military delegations from the two countries. High on the agenda was the security situation along the common border.

The Zambian delegation was led by Zambian Defence Secretary Alex Shapi. — ANO.

# Four die in attack on rural clinic

LUSAKA — Axe-wielding Mozambican rebels stormed a rural state clinic in Zambia, killing four patients and wounding six others, Zambian officials said yesterday.

The killers, allegedly Renamo guerrillas, fled back to their country after the Sunday night attack, the authorities said.

The gang first looted pharmaceuticals from the clinic near Nyimba village in the Petauke district of south-east Zambia, 16kms from Mozambique.

The rebels then allegedly stole food from nearby Lombwe and Chibeza government primary schools after assaulting teachers there. *5 Day 2 79 89*

A full report on the attack was being awaited from police in the area and Zambian troops have reinforced bases along the border in the wake of the incursion.

Zambian soldiers have often mounted cross-border raids after attacks by Mozambican rebels against villages, farms and stores.

Scores of guerrillas have been reported slain in these operations. — Sapa-AP.

# US tries for new Angolan peace talks

WASHINGTON — The US has invited Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko for talks on the faltering negotiations between the Soviet-backed Angolan government and the US-backed rebels, officials are saying.

Mobutu, who will be attending the UN General Assembly in New York, has been asked to come to Washington at the same time as Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is expected in the city, officials said this week. *5 Day 2 79 89*

If arrangements cannot be worked out for Mobutu to come here, the consultations with him will be held in New York, said one official who spoke on condition of anonymity.

The US State Department is anxious to get Savimbi and Mobutu together in an attempt to prevent the peace talks from derailing completely.

Savimbi failed to turn up at the negotiations table in Kinshasa a week ago. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Sapa Reuter

## Luanda crime clampdown

LUANDA — More than 50 major criminals and profiteers have been arrested and large consignments of fire arms confiscated during police raids in the crime-ridden Angolan capital over the past few weeks. (S)

Luanda police said several armed groups had terrorised the city disguised as servicemen. Houses had been burgled, cars stolen and people robbed and killed in the city and its suburbs. *B1 Dam 2/1/89*

The Journal de Angola reported that up to 200 raids had been carried out weekly in Luanda. — ANO.

cally volatile township.  
Untag chief Martti Ahtisaari, an-

not meet legal requirements to meet  
authorities in advance of the march.  
Roux said Pienaar was adamant

allow adequate policing and not to  
hinder free political activity.

## Unita leaders present five-point Angolan peace plan

JAMBA — Unita's leadership in  
Angola put forward a five-point plan  
for peace at a congress in Jamba yes-  
terday. *8/Dec 28/91 59*

These points were: direct talks with  
the MPLA; an effective ceasefire  
which would have to be accompanied  
by the release of all political prisoners;  
a transitional government of national  
unity to which Unita would reserve the

right to nominate its own members; the  
rewriting of the Angolan constitution;  
and free and fair elections.

The ceasefire would be supervised  
by a force to be drawn from a number  
of African countries which would be  
invited to Angola three months after  
the ceasefire agreement.

Nine months after the ceasefire

monitoring force's arrival the transi-  
tional government would be formed to  
be followed by general elections super-  
vised by organisations such as the OAU  
and the UN.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi vowed  
at the congress he would never leave  
the political scene in Angola and would  
never allow Unita to be amalgamated  
with other parties. — Sapa.

Star 28/9/89

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## Crime round-up by Luanda police

LUANDA — Police have arrested more than 50 criminals and black marketeers in a series of raids in the crime-ridden Angolan capital in the last few weeks.

They have also confiscated large quantities of firearms, according to the Anso news agency.

The raids, as many as 200 a week, followed a wave of violence and theft by several armed groups disguised as soldiers. — The Star's Africa News Service.

# Unita proposes 5-point Angola peace plan

JAMBA — Leaders of the Unita movement in Angola have put forward a five-point plan for peace at a congress at Unita headquarters in Jamba. These include direct talks with the MPLA, an effective ceasefire which will have to be accompanied by the release of all political prisoners, a transitional government of national unity to which Unita reserves the right to nominate its own members, the rewriting of the constitution, and free and fair elections.

The ceasefire will be supervised by a force to be drawn from a number of African countries which will be invited in three months after the ceasefire agreement.

Dr Jonas Savimbi vowed he would never leave the political scene in Angola and would never allow Unita to be amalgamated. — Sapa.

# US activist accused as MPLA front man

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A leading US anti-apartheid activist has been accused of acting as the public relations agent for Angola's MPLA government, which should oblige him to register as a foreign agent.

Mr Randall Robinson, director of TransAfrica, had such charges levelled against him by supporters of Unita in Washington this week when it was announced he intended leading a group of American news reporters to Angola as part of his campaign to get Washington to normalise ties with Luanda.

The political activist is as vigorously opposed to Unita and its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, whom he describes as treacherous.

He is actively engaged in efforts to get Congress to cut US support to Unita while at the same time persuading the US Government to recognise the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola.

● Dr Savimbi is in Washington this week to hold talks with senior legislators on Capitol Hill as well as officials of the Bush Administration.

# US bid to get Angola peace back on track

Star 28/9/89

(5)

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

Washington

Leading figures in the Angolan struggle are preparing to head for Washington as the United States launches a major diplomatic effort to get peace talks moving again.

Both Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos, are expected here next month to meet senior government officials and congressional leaders.

The mediator in the stalled African initiative to bring the two leaders to the negotiating table, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, is also expected in Washington next week.

All three leaders are also likely to meet President Bush.

Dr Savimbi, under enormous fire in Washington for pulling out of President Mobutu's talks, tried to regain the initiative this week by announcing a new Unita peace plan he intends presenting to the Bush administration and Congress.

The five-point plan calls for direct negotiations between Unita and the MPLA, a ceasefire and releasing of all political prisoners, the formation of a government of national unity and transition, revision of the constitution and free and democratic elections.

Democratic congressmen are trying to force a review of US policy towards Angola which would cut the estimated \$40 million (about R110 million) the administration gives to Unita each year, and which would entail formal recogni-

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# Rebels won't reconcile themselves to integration

STAR 2/9/89 5

A rose by any other name may smell as sweet, but reconciliation by another name — integration — stinks as far as southern African rebel movements are concerned.

International attempts to end the fratricidal wars in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique have ground to a halt on the difference between two words — reconciliation and integration.

Just weeks ago light seemed to have emerged at the end of what has been a 15-year tunnel of war, death and destruction for both of these two countries.

At a June African heads of state meeting at Gbadolite, Zaire, the leader of the Angolan rebel Unita movement, Dr Jonas Savimbi, in a dramatic gesture of peace, shook hands with the leader of the rival MPLA government, President Eduardo dos Santos.

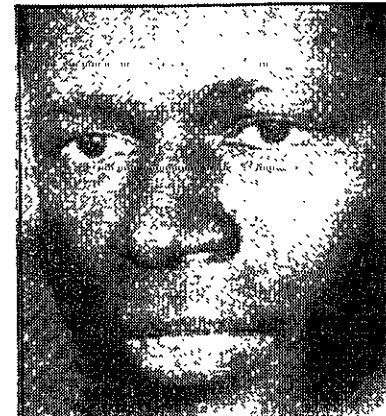
Shortly afterwards, in Kenya, the leader of Mozambique's Renamo rebel movement, Mr Afonso Dhlakama, met with church leaders acting as de facto representatives of the Frelimo government of President Chissano to discuss peace.

These developments — together

The euphoria of imminent peace which just weeks ago was pervading southern Africa seems to have dissipated. Behind the scenes politicians from South Africa and other interested states are scurrying to and fro trying desperately to re-start Angolan and Mozambican peace talks that have spluttered to a standstill. **KEN VERNON** of The Star's Africa News Service looks at the reason for the sudden stalling of the peace caravan.



Dr Jonas Savimbi . . . won't respect the constitution.



Mr Eduardo dos Santos . . . wants to integrate Unita.

with the 1988 agreement between South Africa, Cuba and Angola that ended the international conflict in southern Angola and the implementation of the Namibian independence plan that ended the South Africa/Swapo feud — made it seem peace for the whole war-torn region was a real possibility.

## Run aground

But both initiatives have run aground on the same rock. While Unita and Renamo want reconciliation with their countrymen, the respective governments of Angola and Mozambique instead insist upon integration.

According to the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, reconciliation is defined as "action of bringing to an agreement, concord, or harmony", whereas integration is defined as "the making up of a whole by adding together or combining the separate parts or elements; a making whole or entire".

Therein lies the rub. While both Unita and Renamo claim to seek harmony and peace with their respective governments, neither see themselves as joining together to form a whole.

In other words living together is OK, but marriage is out.

The question is not just one of semantics, but of survival.

As some (unlucky) marriage partners have found out, it is possible to

lose one's separate identity and viewpoint in marriage, and the rebels fear that that is exactly what will happen if they integrate/marry with the opponents they have fought since the departure of the Portuguese colonialists in the wake of the 1974 Portuguese revolution.

Both Unita and Renamo see themselves primarily as political parties who have been forced to take up arms to fight for views contrary to those of Marxist-leaning governments — virtually installed by similarly inclined departing Portuguese, without the benefit of "free and fair elections".

The MPLA government in Luanda and the Frelimo government in Maputo are both rigid one-party states where dissent and disagreement are not tolerated.

While both are slowly moving away from the strict Marxist economic policies they imposed after coming to power, neither have shown any inclination to allow opposition political views to be advocated.

In Angola the MPLA government has seemingly accepted the idea of reconciliation, but at the same time has insisted this means the integration of Unita into "existing institutions" on a negotiated basis, demanding in addition "respect" for

the existing constitution.

"How can we agree to respect the existing constitution?" said Dr Savimbi at a recent press conference. "It is a Marxist constitution. To abide by that constitution means there can be no change — then what have we been fighting for?"

## Offering amnesty

Similarly, in Mozambique the Frelimo government's version of reconciliation had meant offering an amnesty to Renamo rebels that would allow them to be "re-integrated" into national life — leaving out any explicit participation in government except possibly on an individual basis.

For both Unita and Renamo, reconciliation means the end of opposition on the battlefield but its continuation in the political field, leading to "free and fair" elections, which both expect to win.

Conciliation means the end of opposition on the battlefield but its continuation in the political field, leading to "free and fair" elections, which both expect to win.

Thus "reconciliation" and "integration" have been interpreted as meaning either "winning" or "losing" — depending on what side one supports.

## History in The Star

### 100 Years Ago

Press criticism will not convince the Volksraad of the folly, as well as the injustice to the country, in so lavishly increasing allowances and salaries to themselves.

### 50 Years Ago

Professor Sigmund Freud, aged 83, has died at his London home. Being a Jew, the famous psycho-analyst fled from Austria to England last year.

### 25 Years Ago

Britain's Hovercraft conquered a 70 mph gale as 200 customers from all over the world cheered. Experts at first refused to risk the craft under those conditions.

# Angolan peace trips over Savimbi's broken promises

ANGOLA'S state-run media carried no reports of Unita's congress this week, but *Radop Statopm* (Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel) has enough listeners for news of Jonas Savimbi's five-point peace proposals to spread quickly around the capital, Luanda.

Most people willing to talk were confident that peace would come one way or another over the next year, but no one would hazard a guess on how the two sides' mutually incompatible positions could now be reconciled.

Everyone, however, was agreed that peace in Angola hinges on the personalisation of the position.

Metres of newsprint and hours of state-sponsored airtime are dedicated to denouncing the rebel leader.

While the ceasefire agreed in Gbadolite lasted a few days in June, Savimbi was known simply as the Unita leader.

Now he is once more among other things: brigand, liar and traitor to the Angolan people.

buro — notably trade union chief, Pascoal Luvuvalu and Maria Mambuco Café, who has responsibility for mass organisations — are generally believed to have increased their influence.

Undoubtedly, Dos Santos and his allies have lost face as a result of his surprise decision to shake his arch opponent's hand at Gbadolite.

The ceasefire agreed there lasted barely a week. Aid officials and Western diplomats in Luanda are unanimous in blaming Unita for its collapse.

Unita attacks have been stepped up since June in every province and in September there was a particular upsurge in rebel activity in the northern provinces of Uige and Malanje on the Zairean border.

Though Angola has not officially accused its northern neighbour of complicity, the likelihood that the attacks were launched inside Zaire can only undermine President Mobutu Seso Seko's credibility as the principal mediator in the conflict.

The main obstacle to peace remains, however, not the question of the role of go-betweens in the process, but the future of Savimbi's political career.

The eight heads of state have now held two summits recently — in Harare in mid-August and in Kinshasa on September 18 — whose principal objective was to remind Savimbi of promises he allegedly made in Gbadolite, namely, to retire and integrate his party into existing government and party structures.

Savimbi for his part has denied and rejected both these points, saying: "If I am part of the problem, I should be part of the solution."

But the heads of state have failed so far to develop a new formula, preferring to hark back to Gbadolite. As one senior United Nations representative in Angola put it: "It's like a woman continually remonstrating with a compulsively unfaithful husband: 'but you promised, you promised'."

She's right of course, but it doesn't solve her problem. — AIA.

## By JULIAN BORGER

His alleged misdeeds are rarely off the front page, and open letters are printed daily from "reader's name withheld", accusing Savimbi of atrocities including active collaboration with the Portuguese colonialists in their fight against the MPLA before independence.

In short Savimbi's name appears in the media more often than anyone else except, perhaps, President Eduardo dos Santos.

The possibility that such a media campaign might have elevated Savimbi to a figure of mythic proportions among Angolans does not seem to have occurred to the ruling MPLA's propagandists.

The TV, radio and press remain the fiefdom of the party's chief ideologue, Roberto de Almeida, who is also the leading MPLA hardliner.

Since the breakdown of the ceasefire, he and other hawks in the polit-

(S) window 29/9-5/10/89.

## Savimbi refuses to say how MPs' plane crashed

JAMBA (Angola) — Rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday refused to disclose details of how a plane carrying three Portuguese MPs, including the son of Portuguese President Mario Soares, crashed shortly after taking off from an airstrip near here.

He told a press conference experts from his movement had already compiled a report on how the crash had occurred.

However, he could not disclose details because he did not want to pre-empt investigations of other experts. His movement was ready to admit anybody wanting to investigate. — The Star's Africa News Service.

# Savimbi flies to US to present 12-point peace plan

By Joao Santa Rita,  
The Star's Africa News Service

JAMBA — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi flies to the United States today with a 12-point peace resolution approved at a five-day extraordinary congress of his Unita movement which ended here yesterday.

While trying to avoid direct criticism of the role played by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire in the peace negotiations, it became clear at a press conference that Dr Savimbi would like the US, with help from the Soviet

Union, to play a more direct role in the negotiations.

Among the points approved by the congress were:

- A ceasefire to be signed by the two warring factions as soon as negotiations resume.
- Participation of African states, and possibly of Portugal, in the monitoring of the ceasefire.
- Acceptance that national reconciliation means the formation of a government of national unity between the MPLA and Unita.

# Savimbi refuses to reveal crash facts

Argus Africa News Service

JAMBA. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has refused to disclose details of a report on the air crash in which five people, including three Portuguese MPs, were injured.

A Swazi-registered aircraft crashed on Tuesday soon after take-off at Jamba, Unita's headquarters in southern Angola.

The injured are the son of Portuguese President Mario Soares, Dr Joao Soares; fellow-Portuguese MPs Mr Nogueira da Brito and Mr R da Silva; a German, Mr Gepperth Rainer, and the pilot, Mr Joaquim Augusto.

Dr Savimbi said yesterday that experts from his movement had compiled a report on the crash.

However, he could not disclose details because he did not want to pre-empt the findings of other experts that might investigate the crash. His movement was ready to admit anybody wanting to investigate.

A Unita officer said that soon after taking off the plane turned while still at a low altitude and clipped a tree with a wing before crashing.

The plane caught fire and its occupants were taken out of the wreckage by the local population.

The injured were admitted to the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria after Unita arranged a commercial charter flight to take them to Pretoria.

The condition of Dr Soares remained critical but stable, the hospital superintendent, Dr E van Rooy, said yesterday. No operations had been performed on him.

The condition of the other four injured was improving, Dr Van Rooy said.

Dr Soares's wife Olympia and his mother, Mrs Maria Soares, visited him in the intensive-care unit.

They were met on their arrival yesterday morning at Jan Smuts Airport by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, his wife Helena and the wife of the President, Mrs Marike de Klerk, who handed them bouquets of flowers.

Dr Soares, who is about 40, has head and lung injuries and fractures.

Family members of the two other MPs also arrived yesterday.

● Dr Savimbi flies to the United States today with a 12-point peace resolution approved at a five-day extraordinary Unita congress.

While trying to avoid direct criticisms of the role played by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire in Angolan peace negotiations, Dr Savimbi would like the United States, with help from the Soviet Union, to play a more direct role in the negotiations.

"The United States have not been active. We have been dismayed by their lack of information on how things work. Sometimes the information they do have is not accurate," he said.

# A Luanda newsman beards Savimbi



**WILLIAM TONNET: At Unita's HQ.**

JAMBA — William Tonnet is a 30-year-old journalist who this week made history by becoming the first Luanda-based Angolan reporter to go to the Unita headquarters at Jamba.

And, as he found out, arriving at Jamba's airport with an MPLA-issued passport can only mean one thing — trouble.

The Unita officials at the airport were so taken aback by the cover of his passport, with "Republica Popular de Angola" printed on it, that they first wanted to confiscate it. A Unita official said rebel leader Jonas Savimbi had even been told that "a Fapla (the government's army) man" had arrived at the airport.

Then they decided Tonnet himself needed to be questioned.

"They questioned me for two hours but there was no physical violence," he said although he admitted that the questioning

Star 3/19/81 JOAO SANTA RITA

(S)

was sometimes not friendly.

Parts of his questioning had then been broadcast over Unita radio station "The Voice of the Black Cockerel".

A top Unita official said his questioning had been necessary for security reasons.

"The enemy has tried very hard to infiltrate our congress and we could not take risks. It is not every day that someone arrives here brandishing an MPLA-issued passport," he said.

Later rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi himself talked to Tonnet to explain the suspicions of his security officers and to guarantee him free movement during the congress. While Mr Tonnet was moving freely around Jamba on Thursday, there was still some evident suspicion of him by some

Unita members.

And now, he has still to go back to Luanda and wait to see how the MPLA government will react to his journalistic enterprise and to his "interview" on Unita's radio station.

A Unita officer was telling him on Thursday afternoon: "You go back to Luanda and they will throw you in jail."

Mr Tonnet himself was taking his adventure philosophically, stating he had no intention of hiding from anyone and will go back to Luanda.

"I told officials in Luanda I was coming to Jamba. I wanted to see for myself," he said.

Could anything happen to him in Luanda once he went back?

He shrugged his shoulders and told me: "Let's hurry up. I have to interview Jonas Savimbi."

ANGOLA - GENERAL

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# Fighting in Angola still raging, says government

*Star 20/9/89*  
S The Star's Africa  
News Service

As African heads of state met in Kinshasa to discuss peace in Angola, the Luanda government continued to report heavy fighting in the central and southern areas of the country.

The Africa news organisation, Ano, reported from Luanda that 62 Unita guerillas had been killed in three days of fighting in the central provinces of Benguela, Lunda Sul and Moxico.

Ano said the Angolan army had lost three men, and two others had been injured and one was reported missing. Two Unita bases had been destroyed on September 16 in the central province of Huambo.

Ano quoted an army spokesman as saying that this month Angolan government troops had killed 183 Unita soldiers and captured nine others in seven days of fighting in the Cuito Cuanavale region.

Large quantities of weapons, radio equipment and documents had been captured.



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## Luanda enters the World Bank fold

# Angola wants economic links with South Africa

By David Braun  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Angola has called for regional economic co-operation and links between all countries "from Pretoria to north of Angola".

The Angolan Minister of Finance, Mr Augusto Teixeira de Matos, told a press conference in Washington yesterday it was in the interests of the West to see Angola's economy recover from the country's civil war and become strong. A strong Angola was essential for the equilibrium between southern and central Africa, he said.

### 152nd member

Mr de Matos was addressing the conference shortly after signing agreements at the World Bank headquarters which enabled his country to become the bank's 152nd member country.

Angola, which has become a

member of the bank in spite of strong US opposition, hopes to use World Bank expertise to re-float its war-shattered economy.

Mr de Matos made no attempt to disguise the desperate position of his country at the press conference. He said the war with Unita had destroyed Angola's infrastructure, particularly its transport systems and energy network.

Angola owed a total of R17,3 billion to foreign lenders. About 40 percent of this was owed to the Soviet Union, which had recently agreed that Angola could reschedule its repayments over a period of 15 years.

Mr de Matos said Angola was also negotiating to join the International Monetary Fund. He said membership of these institutions would provide badly needed expertise and money.

He said his government had high expectations that American businessmen would invest heavily in Angola. These invest-

ments would be absolutely guaranteed and his government was busy restructuring the Angolan economy and its administration to allow for a more free-market system.

The Minister said economic recovery was entirely dependent on national reconciliation between Unita and the MPLA, and he said his government was determined to do everything possible to bring that about.

### Instability

He said: "It is necessary to create links, co-operation and joint projects with other countries that are members of the World Bank. We are also convinced all countries in our region, from Pretoria to north of Angola, are interested in strengthening their economies and establishing links and co-operation ... If Angola is a weak country it will lead to problems of instability in the region."

Star 22/9/81

# Mobutu to continue to mediate in conflict

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — African heads of state meeting in Kinshasa have agreed that President Mobutu Sese Seko will continue to mediate in the Angolan conflict and will now submit a "draft declaration" to the Angolan rebel leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Reporting from Kinshasa the Mozambique news agency AIM said Dr Savimbi had been invited to attend the summit meeting at which the presidents of Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe discussed peace proposals for

Angola.

He had, however, refused to attend it because of preparations for a Unita congress to be held next week.

The agency said the heads of state had agreed on "a draft declaration". They also agreed their next meeting would be held in Gabon but gave no date.

The meeting follows the near collapse of the peace talks following different interpretations of what happened at Gbadolite in Zaire in June when Dr Savimbi and the Angolan president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, met for the first time.

16/10/88 20/11/88  
**SA devastated lives and  
the economies of its  
neighbours, says UN**

NAIROBI — SA's "export of violence" and its "deliberate destruction of economies and lives with neighbouring states" has had a devastating impact on the economic development and human well-being of the Frontline states in southern Africa, says a report published by the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

Pretoria's military aggression and its economic de-stabilisation cost the region \$10bn in 1988, or 40% of the achieved regional gross domestic product. Since 1980, 1.5-million lives have been lost, more than half by children, from war-induced starvation, the destruction of health services and civilian/military casualties.

Over the period 1980-1988, the cumulative regional cost of SA's "total strategy" was \$80bn. According to the study, most of these costs have been incurred as a result of the destruction of transport routes, direct war damage, higher energy costs, destruction of export commodities, reduced productivity through rural terrorism, trade boycotts and embargoes by SA and extra costs on defence and transport.

Mozambique and Angola are singled out by the report as having borne the brunt of SA regional de-stabilisation. Mozambique has been a key target, says the report, because its transportation network is vital to the region's attempts to reduce dependence on SA.

Pretoria's policy of "commando attacks, sabotage of economic installations and mass terrorism", mostly carried out by the SA-trained and financed Renamo rebel group, have caused nearly 1-million war-related deaths, driven 4.6-million people from their homes and cost the country \$15bn between 1980 and 1988.

In Angola, Pretoria's support for the Unita rebels and their economic sabotage of key transport routes, such as the Benguela railway, contributed to an economic loss of \$27bn-\$30bn between 1980 and 1988.

The report calls for tougher economic sanctions and embargoes against SA and says the external funding needs of the region to ameliorate the burden of SA aggression are \$3.5bn a year. — Financial Times.

# SADF taking no chances with Swapo in Angola

Star 22/9/81

Unita's chief of military intelligence, General Wambu Chindondo, said in an interview with Argus Africa News Service in Angola recently that nearly 2 000 Swapo combatants were stationed north of the Namibian border, some as close as 15 km.

Other sources, military and diplomatic, have supported the Unita claim, although there are differences over the number.

The presence of any members of Swapo's armed forces, Plan, deep in southern Angola would be in contravention of understandings and agreements on which the Namibian independence process is founded.

If the Swapo fighters are lurking near the border in substantial numbers it is difficult to see how their purpose could be anything other than nefarious in relation to the democratic processes agreed on for bringing independence to Namibia. And if this is so, it would threaten the independence exercise itself.

Under agreements signed last year by South Africa, Angola and Cuba, and accepted by Swapo, the organisation is supposed to keep its armed forces north of the 16th parallel until they return, unarmed, to Namibia through designated

**BY GERALD L'ANGE**  
**Editor of The Star's Africa News Service**  
 A sinister shadow will be cast over the Namibian independence exercise if there is truth in claims that a strong Swapo force is hiding in southern Angola. Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha appears unworried but the SADF is taking no chances.

South African military commanders are understood to be confident that even with only 1 500 troops left in Namibia in terms of Security Council Resolution 435 they could repulse any Swapo incursion. Other forces, including 32 Battalion, now based in the northern Cape, could probably be brought speedily into Namibia.

During the Swapo incursion in April, the Windhoek administration's first line of defence was the SWA Police, especially the former members of the counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet. Although normally disbanded, Koevoet, whose members were all regular policemen, had been merged with the rest of the police force and could quickly be redeployed.

After the failure of the April incursion, Swapo and its external supporters mounted a campaign for the police force to be purged of the former Koevoet members and demobilised. Mr Pieter van Heerden, Director of Foreign Affairs and leader of the South African delegation, was quoted as saying there

## Ready

They did not appear at present to pose a significant threat, he said. However, the authorities were ready for any attacks such as that launched on April 1 (when about 1 500 Plan combatants crossed the border and were repulsed in the bloodiest fighting of the entire Namibian war).

Mr Botha said he had been told by the United Nations Special Representative in Namibia, Mr Mariti Ahtisaari, that there were fewer than 500 Swapo men remaining in Angola — not enough to pose a military threat.

Mr Botha said while he did not necessarily accept Mr Ahtisaari's information, he considered that the UN representative was recognising that if "something goes wrong" South Africa reserved the right to take steps, as in the past, to prevent intimidation of voters.

were "rumours in Owamboland" that Swapo might use military force if it did not do well in the election.

Commandant Robbie Blake, intelligence officer for the SADF forces remaining in Namibia, suggested at a briefing for military correspondents on July 31 that Swapo was keeping an intervention force in Angola.

He said there were several possible scenarios. One was that in the event of Swapo winning the election the intervention force would move quickly into Namibia to consolidate the organisation's mandate and assume the duties of a national defence force.

Another was that after a victory in the election Swapo might use the intervention force to set itself up in power without bothering with the constituent assembly required by the UN independence plan.

## Comply

South Africa's efforts to get Swapo to comply with the Namibian independence arrangements have been channelled mainly through the Joint Military Monitoring Commission which was set up to monitor the agreements.

Mr van Heerden said in Havana that "people have tended to deal with this in an offhand manner."

Dr Pienaar has obtained the approval of the Cubans and Angolans for the inclusion of the United Nations monitoring force, Untag, and the SWA Police, in the JMMC's monitoring efforts. He hopes the monitoring can now be extended right up to the 16th parallel instead of being confined to the border.

Efforts to establish from his office whether this new monitoring system has started operating have been unsuccessful.

The South Africans may be more worried about another Swapo incursion after the election than before it. In that case Pretoria might decide to intervene militarily and that would open up a frightening political "can of worms".

# US 'in good position to bring peace to wartorn Angola'

ARGUS 2/10/89

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By DAVID BRAUN of the Argus Foreign Service, Washington

THE United States is very well-positioned to use its influence to bring both sides to the negotiation table and end the civil war in Angola.

However, there is a real danger that major political divisions in Washington could dilute the power of the United States to influence events in that troubled country.

If the US blows its unique opportunity to play the decisive role in resolving the Angolan conflict, it could also greatly reduce its chances of acting as the catalyst to bring the various South African factions to the negotiation table.

For this reason, southern African experts in Washington are urging both Republicans and Democrats, White House and Congress, to do their utmost to avoid any further politicisation of the issue of Angola in Washington.

Unless the US can come up with a bipartisan approach to Angola, the whole situation in southern Africa could unravel, Congressman Paul Henry, an expert on Angola, told the House of Representatives Africa Subcommittee this week.

He was giving evidence at hearings on US policy on Angola.

Mr Henry, a Republican from Michigan, saw enormous danger for the region if Unita and the MPLA government could not get together to bring about national reconciliation in Angola.

The inability to bring about a ceasefire between the two sides was the one major sticky wicket in the entire process which had been started by the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol between South Africa, Cuba and Angola, he said.

Mr Henry said: "What will happen, for example, if the Angolan government, in protest, refuses to continue the staged Cuban troop withdrawal?"

"Does South Africa, then, begin to supply Unita? Do the repatriated Swapo fighters take up arms against South Africa from a newly independent Namibia?"

"What happens to the diplomatic shift which is clearly taking place within the government of Angola, and its softened and opening posture to the West?"

Escalating tensions could further affect the region adversely, he said, by halting developments between South Africa and its neighbours and within South Africa itself.

A unique set of favourable circumstances in the region could be forever squandered.

In these circumstances, the Congressman argued, the US would be more helpful if Congress was cautious and did not needlessly politicise the issue.

Democratic congressmen and the Bush Administration agree there should be bipartisanship on the issue, but so far they have not been able to find sufficient common ground.

The matter has not been helped by the involvement of expensive and sophisticated lobbying firms engaged by both Unita and the MPLA to build their support bases in Washington.

Also in the fray are various political pressure groups — TransAfrica and the Congressional Black Caucus behind the MPLA and the Conservative Caucus and International Freedom Foundation rooting for Unita.

African countries are also divided on the issue, with states such as Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Morocco wanting to see Unita saved in a genuine national reconciliation in Angola, while some such as Zambia, would prefer to see the MPLA remain completely in power.

Democrats and Republicans are agreed there should be national reconciliation in Angola, but they differ on how this should be done.

The Democrats tend to favour the

MPLA line, wanting the US to halt all further financial and other support for Unita while formally recognising the MPLA government.

They detest Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi as a charlatan at best and as a pro-South African brutal dictator in the same mould as Idi Amin at worst. They believe the MPLA is nowhere near as bad as it is made out to be, saying the movement has greatly moderated in recent years.

The Republicans want to maintain support for Unita, if not increase it, at least until genuine national reconciliation has been brought about in Angola. They point out the Soviet Union continues to assist the MPLA government financially and militarily on a vast scale. They are opposed to giving formal recognition to the MPLA government because it is a Marxist dictatorship which seized power and which has never had a free and fair election.

They admire Dr Savimbi as a brave freedom fighter for democracy and self-recognition of his people.

To boost their position, the Republicans, and that includes the Bush Administration, agreed with their Unita allies that Dr Savimbi should be invited to Washington to discuss strategy and to consolidate congressional and public support.

The Democratic leadership in both the House of Representatives and the Senate countered this by inviting the President of Angola, Mr Eduardo dos Santos, to spend a working week in Washington and meet as wide a range of Senators and House members as possible.

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, who has spearheaded a so-far-unsuccessful African initiative to get the Unita and the MPLA to agree to a ceasefire and sit down at the negotiation table, will also be in Washington this week.

AFRICA

# Jamboree in Jamba

From DAVID WILLERS

LONDON — From Angola news of a French farce has reached London, where the ludicrous happenings attendant upon Zaire's President Mbutu's "peace-making" efforts which resulted in the famous handshake between President Dos Santos of Angola and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at Gbadolite are provoking wry smiles in the diplomatic watering holes of St James's.

So miffed is the Unita leader by the turn of events that it is possible he will, following last week's jamboree in Jamba, declare a government-in-exile, if not a secessionist state along the lines of Biafra.

It is a quintessentially African tale, beginning with the desire of a dictator — in this case President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire — to clean his slate and reputation with the Americans.

The settlement in Namibia provided President Mobutu with his opportunity. The dictator therefore, earlier this year, in order to bring Dr Savimbi and Mr Dos Santos together, telephoned sundry African heads of state and informed them he had reason to believe the two Angolan belligerents might do a deal and would they please present themselves at Gbadolite to witness the fruits of his persuasiveness.

Then he telephoned Dr Savimbi and told him Mr Dos Santos was willing to talk on terms favourable to old Jonas.

A quick call followed to Mr Dos Santos and a ditto message (but in reverse).

As the talks progressed, President Mobutu shuttled back and forth conveying — and distorting — the different points of view.

Finally Mr Dos Santos



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Jonas Savimbi... so miffed by the turn of events that he could declare a government-in-exile if his latest conditions for a cease-fire are not met.

was left with the impression that Dr Savimbi was willing to go into exile for two years while Unita members, and soldiers, were absorbed into the MPLA party structure; and leave the final talks up to his senior Unita colleagues.

Shuffle, shuffle went President Mobutu to the other smoke-filled room and ten minutes later Dr Savimbi was left with the clear impression that Mr Dos Santos had agreed to the formation of a joint transitional government of Unita and MPLA pending free, internationally supervised, elections. There was no mention of his going into "exile".

Having successfully told different things to different people, President Mobutu then declared a quick photocall and before Dr Savimbi could really digest what was going on, he allowed

himself to be frogmarched to place his sallow palm unenthusiastically in that of an equally ill-at-ease Mr Dos Santos.

Act Two was where the cat was let out of the bag. So consumed were President Mobutu's conspirators by their eagerness to get things going that they overshot the mark. Especially President Kenneth Kaunda, who started running with the ball before President Mobutu and President Bongo of Gabon could stop him.

Mr Dos Santos and President Kaunda were anxious to "rush" Dr Savimbi into agreeing that he agreed to go into exile.

Dr Savimbi would have none of it. It became clear that he had rumbled the dastardly plot.

Jonas is in a right old sulk and did not attend last week's Kinshasa

talks, where it was hoped the whole sorry misunderstanding could be sorted out.

About the only person he feels he can trust at the moment is his straight-as-an-arrow old friend General Magnus Malan, who has declared that he, for one, will never leave his former comrade-in-arms in the lurch. President Mobutu has in any event hopelessly compromised himself in Dr Savimbi's eyes as an honest mediator.

And so the curtain opens on Act Three, and the consequences of President Mobutu's tangled web. Dr Savimbi has few options left. Sympathy for him in many Western circles has largely evaporated as a result of the Fred Bridgland exposé of atrocities within Unita ranks.

The United States still supports him but now that Angola has ceased to be a cold-war theatre, and Uncle Sam has a free hand to charge around the region as the world's last surviving "super power", there is every chance that President Bush will lose patience with Dr Savimbi if he stalls in a manner that jeopardises the process of reconstruction. Besides, the MPLA is moving away from Marxism-Leninism in sympathy with the trend all over the world.

Because he lacks supplies and particularly petrol, Dr Savimbi's position grows weaker with every passing day.

In desperation, therefore, and short of a major push on Luanda while he still has the means (so goes the view from London), Dr Savimbi might yet be forced to declare a secessionist government.

**ON PARADE**

Willem Steenkamp

*CAPC 11/15 4/10/87*

**Public should know of Angola buildup**

WHENEVER I think about the alleged build-up of insurgents in the Angolan "shallow area" I am reminded of what might be called the Shilongo incident.

Shilongo was an insurgent who was captured in 1984, when (as is at present the case) most of southern Angola was supposed to be free of Swapo presence. Under questioning he revealed in great detail a Swapo build-up in the vicinity of Peu Peu and elsewhere. This information was duly taken to a government-level South African-Angolan meeting and was never heard of again.

Question: Is the government doing anything about the reported build-up, given what happened on April 1? And if so, why has the public not been informed? This is no time for secrecy, given the fragility of the situation north of the Orange.

# Angolan rulers want multiparty govt system

Star 10/12/90

LUANDA — Angola's ruling party endorsed proposals during the weekend to revise its constitution in two phases to introduce a multiparty system.

Jose Leitao e Costa, secretary of the Council of Ministers, said on television on Saturday that the 700-member congress of the ruling MPLA approved the plan, already voted through by the central committee. The first phase will end in March 1991 and the second a year later.

The rebel Unita movement, which has fought the Luanda government since independence from Portugal in 1975, said last week it would sign a ceasefire if the congress approved multiparty rule.

Mr Leitao said the first phase of reform would introduce laws on the formation of political parties, associations, the right of assembly and a press law. The MPLA's army would become a national army.

The draft, amended by congress delegates before its approval, would be submitted to different levels of the MPLA, organisations and citizens. Mr Leitao also referred to an economy based on free market laws, the protection of private property and foreign investment, consumer rights and the environment.

The changes also guarantee a state of law and a democracy based on popular sovereignty, national unity, political pluralism and respect for human rights, he added.

Mr Leitao said freedom of expression, association, religion, and assembly would be enshrined in the new constitution and Angolans would have the right to strike and to claim social security.

The congress, meeting for the first time in five years, agreed that a second congress would take a final decision on the MPLA's future ideological line. This extraordinary congress will probably meet before June next year.

The state news agency Angop said last week's congress had approved a draft resolution on the statutes of the MPLA to go before the extraordinary congress. — Sapa-Reuter



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## Luanda threatens halt to Cuban withdrawal

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Cuba is well ahead of schedule on its troop withdrawal from Angola, despite threats by the government in Luanda this week that the process will be stopped if the United States continues to support the Unita rebels.

So far, nearly 22 000 of the 50 000 troops based in Angola at the height of the war have returned to Havana under an accord signed by Cuba, South Africa and Angola on December 22 last year.

More than 3 000 Cubans were repatriated last month, bringing the total since January to 21 982.

Under the December accord, Cuba has agreed to pull all of its troops out of Angola by mid-1991 and half that number — 25 000 — by April 1 next year.

Mr. Chester Crocker, former US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs who mediated the accords, denied on Monday that his country had promised as part of the overall deal to stop aid to Unita or to give diplomatic recognition to Angola.

### MERELY A MEDIATOR

He said the United States was never a negotiating party over the implementation of UN Resolution 435, but merely a mediator.

A source in the Cuban Embassy here said yesterday Cuba's military command was happy to proceed ahead of the agreed schedule for withdrawal.

But he indicated that the army leaders had set a limit of having at least 23 000 Cubans left in Angola after the April 1 deadline.

The source said this was the number of Cubans deployed in the country before the critical Cuito-Cuanavale offensive which ended last year and led both sides in the conflict to the negotiating table.

"We shipped and airlifted in 27 000 troops after that campaign started," the source said. "We would be able to do so again, if there was any breakdown in Resolution 435 and a return to hostilities."

By statements and media briefings at the time, South Africa's military intelligence appeared to believe there were more than 35 000 Cubans in Angola before the Cuito-Cuanavale crisis.

# 'Rockman' trial: Victim may testify

By DON HOLIDAY and MICHAEL DOMAN Staff Reporters

A KEY witness — believed to be a victim of an alleged police attack — is expected to be called today in the "Rockman" trial in the Wynberg Regional Court.

The trial of riot policemen Major Charles Roger Brazzelle and Lieutenant David Johan Roos, who have pleaded not guilty to a charge of assault, adjourned early yesterday afternoon.

The charge arose from allegations by Lieutenant Gregory Rockman that the two police officers had acted unlawfully while dispersing demonstrators in Mitchell's Plain Town Centre on September 5.

## Afternoon session

Prosecutor Mr. T J Prins told the court that after consideration at lunch, he had decided the witnesses available for the afternoon session would not take the case against the policemen any further.

However, he would call important witnesses today who would not say who they were but it is believed at least one of them is a victim of an alleged police attack.

Mr Clive White, 21, the third prosecution witness called yesterday and the fifth overall, testified that about 30 minutes after the policemen with vegetable vendor (smous) at the town centre.

On September 5 he had been at his stall near the bus terminus from about 7am.

He said he had heard "that the children were going wild" (that the kinders tekere egan) in the nearby Harmony Square but he did not see anything himself.

He said he did not concern himself with the children as he was running his business.

Lieutenant Rockman arrived in a vehicle but he did not know what time that had been as he was not wearing a watch, as he was not like that but like a short while later four or five more policemen arrived.

Mr White said he had been busy with his customers when he heard screams and saw policemen running towards the square carrying quirts (sappers).

He did not hear any warning given.

Later, a group of people ran in his direction chased by several policemen.

As the people ran past him, police ran up and hit him repeatedly on the left arm. He eventually had to run away and leave his stall untended.

## Waiting game for cameramen

Staff Reporters

THEY panned the streets all day long, waiting in fast cars and on foot, "weapons" at the ready.

No, it's not the policemen of the on-time radio serial *Squad Cars*, but the cameramen of the local and international media.

The place — Wynberg Magistrate's Court.

The assignment — ironically — to get a full-frontal picture of riot policemen Major Charles Brazzelle and Lieutenant David Roos, who are appearing in court on a charge of assault.

Side and back views were all they got on Tuesday, but the picture they were waiting for came yesterday as the court adjourned early for lunch and the two accused took a 10m

stroll across their field of vision. The policemen exited from a side entrance to the court into the grounds of the adjacent police station and the shuttermen lenses aimed and pre-focused, whirred and clicked in unison.

The waiting had been worth it. By the time the subjects presented themselves, sitting ducks through a gate which had been closed the previous day, the police station's iron railings had worn dents into the stout hinges of the photographing.

But the grumbles evaporated when the policemen appeared and there was a spring in the step of the photographers as they congratulated themselves.

The trial in which Lieutenant Rockman's allegations of riot

Under cross-examination, Mr White said he had heard singing coming from the square.

He said that about 30 minutes after the policemen with quirts had run towards the square, about eight policemen chased about 10 people in his direction.

As the people ran past, the policemen came up and one hit him repeatedly on the left arm. Another beat a woman customer he had been serving.

Magistrate Mr. A S McCarthy asked him what kind of uniform the policemen had been wearing.

Mr White pointed to the court orderly, a policeman wearing a blue jersey and an open-necked light-blue shirt, and said "not like that but like those policemen in the back". He pointed to a row of policemen and policemen at the back of the court.

## "Dressed the same"

"But they seem to be dressed the same (as the orderly)", the magistrate said.

"No, they were wearing jackets like that woman," Mr White replied, pointing to a policeman wearing a blue field jacket.

The hearing today is expected to start late as Mr McCarthy has another case to deal with first.



Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus. OBJECTORS MARCH: Bearing banners promoting their cause, conscientious objectors march to the Castle.

## 350 objectors hand in petition at Castle

By JOHN VELD Staff Reporter

A NATIONAL delegation of the Conscientious Objectors Support Group handed a petition calling for an end to conscription to the SADF after a march through the city by about 350 people to the Castle. Yesterday's lunchtime march held with the permission of Cape Town's Chief Magistrate, followed an inter-faith service attended by several hundred people at St George's Cathedral Hall.

Leading the march under a big yellow banner proclaiming "Support Objectors' Stop the Call-Up" were eight national leaders, including prominent anti-conscription activist Dr Ivan Toms of the recent group

of 771 publicly announced objectors. Earlier, Dr Toms announced that the "second-in-command" at the Castle, a Major Reddinghys, would be waiting to receive the group's delegation. He would be handed a list of objectors from each region and a list of demands calling for an end to conscription and the release from prison of objectors to military service.

The march stopped at the SADF barrier outside the entrance to the Castle and the leaders were asked to accompany a sentry inside one at a time. Mr Mike Rautenbach, leader of the Cape Town delegation, and the group's legal adviser, Mr Justin Hardcastle, were escorted into the

guardroom. On their return, Mr Rautenbach said he had been told Major Reddinghys was "in conference" and was not available. The petition had then been handed to the duty officer. "The major wouldn't see us. We are a bit disappointed because we had an appointment," Mr Rautenbach told journalists. The other leaders were escorted as a group into the Castle where they handed over their lists.

At the service, the Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones, saluted the "great act of conscience" of the 771 objectors. "The way to peace in South Africa is that we must stop

waging war against South Africans. You have done that... It is this kind of action which holds hope for South Africa," he said.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Melbourne that two South African men, who have moved to Australia, because they did not want to serve in the South African military, criticised the Australian government for not encouraging others in their situation also to leave.

The two, Bruno Rolando and Andrew Backwell, pointed to a United Nations resolution sponsored by Australia which called on member countries to give political asylum to conscientious objectors such as themselves.

# Angolans fight for favour

Plus 5/11/87

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
WASHINGTON.— Leaders of Unita and the MPLA are exchanging bitter words and accusations in Washington as the two movements jockey to win maximum American political and public support.

Yesterday President George Bush met President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, mediator in the African initiative to bring the two sides together.

A White House spokesman said Mr Bush had told Mr Mobutu the US stood firmly behind Unita. He asked Mr Mobutu to settle any differences he might have with Unita so that he

could get on with the job of promoting national reconciliation in Angola.

The question of Zaire cutting supply lines to Unita does not seem to have been a major issue in the 30-minute White House talks.

There is intense speculation in Washington that the CIA has organised alternative supply routes for Unita, including air drops.

Yesterday Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said he was ready to meet Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro van Dunem Loy immediately in order to get talks between the MPLA and Unita back on track. He also said he would attend the next summit of African leaders and delegations from Unita and the MPLA, to be held at Libreville on a date still to be announced.

But Mr Loy said he was not prepared to meet Dr Savimbi in Washington, as this would further confuse the situation.

He said the only way the two sides could talk would be within the framework of the agreement reached in Gbadolite, Zaire.

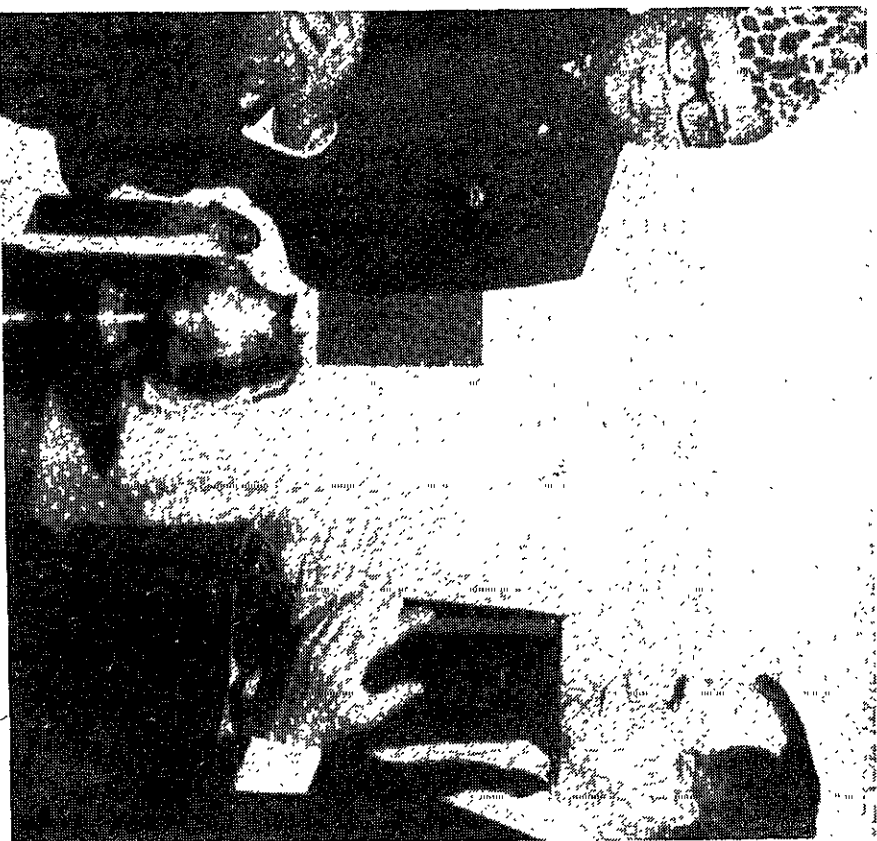
Mr Loy accused Dr Savimbi of reneging on the agreement he had made at Gbadolite in front of 18 African heads of state, which included secret oral understandings that the Unita leader would go into voluntary exile, that Unita would be integrated into the MPLA institutions and that the existing Angolan constitution, which stipulated that the country was to be a one-party state, would be the constitution in the new Angola.

## "Unita ready"

Dr Savimbi said that if President Mobutu adhered to the public declaration of Gbadolite, which made no mention of secret provisions, Unita was ready to resume negotiations.

Mr Loy called on the United States to stop supporting Unita. He said that until the US clarified its policy on Angola, it would be very difficult to reach national reconciliation.

● Mr Loy is to meet United States Secretary of State Mr James Baker before he returns to Angola.



President Bush meets President Mobutu of Zaire in the Oval office of the White House.

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# SADF tells of its Angola invasion

5/10/79 SADR Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The SA Defence Force has released for the first time its account of what took place during the invasion of Angola in 1975 and 1976.

A decision had been taken to support Unita and it was decided a Unita foray would have to be made against encroaching MPLA forces.

Nineteen South African soldiers were called on to sign a declaration that they were serving voluntarily.

"What it came down to was that they undertook to serve outside (South Africa's) borders in the guise of mercenaries, therefore without identity or under false identity," says Professor F J du Toit Spies, author of a publication issued by the SADF:

## PORTUGUESE COUP

After the 1974 coup in Portugal and that country's abandonment of its African colonies, South African authorities were persuaded that Unita, under Dr Jonas Savimbi, should be supported by this country.

By early 1975, Dr Savimbi had received arms, ammunition and money from South Africa.

A committee headed by General Hendrik van den Bergh was later charged with assembling a list of additional weapons. The price was R20 million and the recommendation was that the weapons should all

be bought abroad because of the clandestine nature of the operation.

General van den Bergh went to Paris and soon thereafter let it be known the weapons would be sent to Angola by ship.

On September 17 1975, members of the SADF were sent from Namibia to Silva Porto to repair Unita armoured cars.

At about this time, it was decided that the first Unita foray would have to be made against encroaching MPLA forces on the Lobito route.

This first battle group left Silva Porto for war on October 3 1975. On October 5, the column encountered the enemy.

The Unita infantry ran away, and the South Africans had to fight their way out on their own.

Later, 22 South African armoured cars crossed into Angola and joined up with Unita at Silva Porto. It was the beginning of an escalation process which, by early December 1975, would lead to 35 units of the South African army being involved.

The decision to withdraw was taken at the Oubos holiday home of Prime Minister Mr John Vorster on December 30 1975 when it became clear the Americans were not going to support the allied front with as much enthusiasm as had been hoped.

# Dos Santos takes tough stance

LUANDA — In a tough speech yesterday, Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos demanded the end of US aid to Angola's Unita rebels and warned he would make no further concessions to the US in the search for normalised relations between the two countries.

Speaking to reporters at his Futungo de Belas residence outside Luanda, Dos Santos said that in spite of promising initial moves towards peace, "war continues in Angola and Mozambique and it is caused by foreign interference".

"Angola continues to demand respect of the Gbadolite Accord and the US should be persuaded to support it and the mediating role of President Mobutu Sese Seko without reservations," said Dos Santos.

He indicated Angola would make no more concessions in its quest for US recognition.

Dos Santos, a pragmatic, consensus leader, has been dumping the Marxist rhetoric and economic policies of the ruling MPLA in the hope of securing IMF membership and formal ties with Washington.

Angola joined the IMF in July, but the US still does not recognise Dos Santos's government.

Western diplomats here say Dos Santos is disappointed by US officials who dangled the carrot of recognition to forge regional peace accords signed in December by Angola, Cuba and SA, and then to get the Luanda government to sit at the negotiating table with Unita.

US officials say diplomatic ties will be withheld until Luanda agrees to free elections.

Dos Santos sealed a short-lived truce with Jonas Savimbi on June 22 at an African summit at Gbadolite, Zaire.

The accord and ensuing direct peace talks broke down after military clashes continued and Savimbi denied he accepted temporary exile and the integration of his forces into government institutions as part of the deal.

Savimbi is currently in Washington canvassing for increased US aid to Unita, that totals approximately \$40m annually. — Sapa-AP.

6/20/89

# Unita implicated in smuggling racket Soares plane 'carried consignment of ivory'

By Norman Chandler,  
Pretoria Bureau

The aircraft which crashed at Unita's Angolan headquarters last week, severely injuring the son of Portuguese President Mario Soares, was carrying a cargo of illegal ivory, sources told The Star yesterday.

They said it was also the first time that Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita organisation had been implicated in an international ivory racket under investigation in many countries, and particularly in southern Africa.

There have been a number of allegations made in the past about al-

leged Unita involvement but these have never been proved.

The crash injured five men — Dr Joao Soares; two Portuguese members of parliament, Mr Rui Gomes da Silva and Mr Nogueira de Brito; German journalist Mr Gepperth Rainer; and the pilot, identified as Mr Joaquim da Silva Augusto.

## Private probes

Mr Rupert Lorimer, environmental spokesman for the Democratic Party, told The Star he "knew for a fact" that the aircraft's cargo had been ivory.

He declined to comment further,

beyond saying it would be difficult to hold an inquiry into the crash in southern Angola.

A number of foreign government investigators and teams representing international conservation agencies are doing their own checks on the circumstances of the crash.

An investigation is being undertaken by the South West Africa Police and the SAP to ascertain whether or not the pilot is, in fact, a "Mr Dagosta" who was the owner of a heavy refrigerated fruit and vegetable truck which was raided at Okahanja on September 17. Some 980 tusks, valued at more than R3 million, were found in the vehicle.

*Mr. Traps 5/10/8*

# Dos Santos warns on aid to Unita

LUANDA. — In a tough speech yesterday, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos demanded the end of US aid to Angola's Unita rebels and warned he would make no further concessions to the United States in the search for normalised relations between the two countries.

Mr Dos Santos said that despite promising initial moves toward peace,

"war continues in Angola and Mozambique and it is caused by foreign interference".

"Angola continues to demand respect of the Gbadolite accord and the United States . . . should be persuaded to support it and the mediating role of President Mobutu Sese Seko without reservations," said Mr Dos Santos. — Sapa-AP



No peace yet ...Unita soldiers drill in Jamba last week

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

## A burst of gunfire in the street. A man falls. Nobody knows why. Nobody cares

LIKE some medieval saga, a Thirty Year War resumed in Angola last week, a country that ought to be one of the jewels of the African continent.

Three months after President José Eduardo dos Santos and rebel leader Jonas Savimbi came together for a celebrated handshake in Mobutu Sese Seko's gaudy palace at Gbadolite in northern Zaire, they are at each other's throats again.

Fighting is raging everywhere. It never really stopped. Savimbi claims to have killed 1 000 government troops and lost 300 of his own. His figures may be exaggerated, but as always it is the peasant villagers who are doing most of the dying.

I have spent the past week travelling through some of the central and southern provinces of Angola talking to mutilated survivors in the hospitals, where weary doctors perform the highest rate of amputations in the world, and watching babies found among the carnage being brought to overcrowded orphanages where equally weary nurses randomly make up surnames to give them some semblance of identity.

It was a week in which Savimbi finally repudiated the Gbadolite handshake and made a counter-proposal of his own which Dos Santos said was a return to square one. Thus come January the Angolan war, which began as a war of independence against the Portuguese, will enter its thirtieth year.

When the stars came together last December in a remarkable constellation of opportunities that led to the signing of a set of accords at the United Nations, it seemed as though peace was about to descend at last on the whole of south-western Africa.

Suddenly, each for their own quite different reasons, all the external participants in this orgy of death wanted out — the Russians, the Cubans and the South Africans, leaving the Americans to claim success for one of the most preposterous foreign policies ever applied anywhere, which was that the mandated territory of Namibia should not become independent until 50 000 Cuban soldiers left neighbouring Angola.

So that improbable quartet sat down together to negotiate the peace accords and the Namibian independence process got under way. Now the South Africans have withdrawn to their bases, the Cubans are boarding ships in Luanda every week, and Namibia's Swapo guerrillas are making their way home to vote for a government of their own next month.

**Eighty percent of Angolans were born after the war began. After 30 years, life is grinding down and the weariness is palpable. ALLISTER SPARKS reports from Luanda**

All that remained was for the Russians and Americans to knock their respective Angolan clients' heads together and this country could have peace, too. With the Cubans and South Africans gone, Dos Santos and Savimbi would be left to themselves — and if the Russians and Americans threatened to cut off their arms supplies, they would have to do a deal. Gbadolite seemed to be that deal.

So what went wrong?

The first and most obvious target of blame is the broker of Gbadolite, Mobutu. It is being said of him that he was so eager to get the two sides to agree so that he could be acclaimed when he visited President George Bush in Washington the following week that he distorted the negotiating process.

According to insiders at what was a summit of 18 African heads of state on June 22, Savimbi was in one room of the palace and the African presidents, including Dos Santos, were in another. As Mobutu shuttled between them, it is suggested, he may have led each side to believe that the other had made more concessions than he actually had made.

What emerged was a hybrid agreement, half-public, half-unwritten understandings, that was a recipe for later disputation. The public half stated that there would be a ceasefire starting two days later, and an end to all foreign interference in Angola's affairs.

The unwritten part, kept within the club, one is told, to help Savimbi save face, stated that he had agreed to go into "temporary and voluntary retirement" while a plan to bring about national reconciliation was implemented and members of his Unita movement were "integrated into the institutions of Angola".

When a month later President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, who was chairman of the summit, disclosed these unwritten clauses Savimbi flatly denied that he had ever agreed to any such thing and announced that he was going back to war.

Efforts to get Gbadolite back on track resulted in another summit of eight African leaders aboard Mobutu's yacht on the Congo River on September 18. Dos Santos attended



War has become ordinary life in southern Angola

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

again, but despite urgings from Washington that he should go, Savimbi did not. Contemptuously he sent a press aide to represent him.

The meeting redrafted the terms of the agreement and asked the leaders to sign it. Instead, Savimbi summoned a congress of Unita at his headquarters at Jamba, south-eastern Angola, and last Tuesday announced his own counter-proposal.

This calls for an African peace-keeping force to supervise a new truce while negotiations begin between Unita and Dos Santos's MPLA. It states that the negotiations should aim at the installation of a transitional government leading to national elections.

It may sound reasonable to West-

*It is a war without battle lines or frontiers: just two sides who stalk each other in the endless bush and sustain themselves by shooting up peasant villages and looting them*

erners, especially the Americans who back Savimbi, but Western diplomats based here are unanimous that any thought of launching a multi-party democracy with free elections in this deeply divided society is utterly unrealistic. Peace, stability and a minimum level of national unity are necessary first.



A landmine victim waits to be fitted with an artificial limb at a Red Cross centre in the central Angolan city of Huambo

Picture: ALLISTER SPARKS

In any event, as Dos Santos said in a rare press conference in Luanda last week, the proposal was not new: Savimbi has made it many times before and he must have known it was unacceptable.

What it amounted to in fact was a rejection of the Organisation of African Unity's peace-making efforts and a return to full-scale war.

But there has to be more to such a breakdown than just bungled brokering by Mobutu. Randall Robinson, a black American lobbyist on African and Caribbean affairs who arrived here last Monday for talks with the Angolan government, smells dirty work in Washington.

"We have the leverage to bring Savimbi to the table and make him sit there until an agreement is reached," Robinson says. "If the administration does not do that, it means it does not really want reconciliation."

The reason, Robinson suggests, is that Angolan policy has become "hostage to the right". He points out that a group of far rightists in Congress, headed by Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona, have made Savimbi their pet cause on the doubtful premise that he is a freedom fighter trying to liberate Angola from Marxist-Leninist oppression.

He points out, too, that Lee Atwater, who managed Bush's presidential campaign and is now chairman of the Republican Party, was a partner in the firm of Black, Manafort and Stone, who are Savimbi's Washington lobbyists. That gives Savimbi a line into the White House and makes the administration amenable to his cause.

"I think they encouraged Savimbi to back out of the Gbadolite deal because they hope that with the Cubans gone their man can fight on and win," Robinson says.

The black lobbyist hopes to change that. His organisation, TransAfrica, played a major role in mobilising

American opinion in support of sanctions against South Africa in 1987, and now he plans to do the same on Angola.

He invited Dos Santos to the United States later this month, where he has 36 congressmen lined up to meet him, and the Angolan President accepted. He will be the first president of a country not recognised by the United States to visit Washington, and Robinson said he would try to pressure Bush into meeting him.

"I'm going to build a public fire on this issue," the black lobbyist promised. "I'm going to make sure the right-wing influence is counter-balanced."

Meanwhile, life here grinds down. The war weariness is palpable. Eighty percent of Angola's population was born after the war began and they have known nothing but blood and sweat and tears all their lives.

It is a war without battle lines or frontiers: just two sides who stalk each other in the endless bush and sustain themselves by shooting up peasant villages and looting them of food and clothing.

Government forces control the cities, but the countryside is a shifting killing ground of ambushes and landmines that has brought agriculture to a standstill and devastated the peasant population, millions of whom have flocked into the cities to live among the crumbling buildings and in sprawling shantytowns, where they scratch a living in an economy close to ruin.

The air is heavy with exhaustion and apathy. Life has become an unwinnable struggle against hopelessness. It has also become cheap. On my first evening here there was a burst of AK-47 gunfire outside the hotel and a man fell dead in the road. Two soldiers dragged his body away and threw it on the back of a truck.

I do not know why they killed him. No one bothered to find out.



## Savimbi agrees to return to peace talks

WASHINGTON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said yesterday he was prepared to return to ceasefire talks under the mediation of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Savimbi responded "absolutely" when asked if he would go back to the negotiating table with Mobutu and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

He also said he "accepted" Mobutu's mediation. *By Day 6/10/89*

Earlier this week Savimbi implicitly accused Mobutu of negotiating in bad faith by concluding secret deals with the Angolan government that changed the terms of a ceasefire hammered out at Gbadolite, Zaire, in June.

The US has been annoyed by Savimbi's

refusal to attend a recent round of talks designed to work out differences over the Gbadolite understanding.

While Savimbi has rejected assertions by some African leaders that he agreed to go into exile and integrate his forces with the government.

The US backs Savimbi's interpretation of the Gbadolite accord, but is unhappy with his recent tactics. *(S)*

US officials said Bush, who praised Mobutu's mediation efforts in a White House meeting with the Zairean leader on Wednesday, told Savimbi in a 30-minute meeting yesterday to get back to the bargaining table. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Angola-Unita ceasefire 'ready to be signed'

CMT-12/15 7/10/89 (5)

**BOSTON.** — Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko said yesterday that a ceasefire accord between Angola and rebel Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was ready to be signed, and that he would arrange a meeting with the warring parties when he returned to his country.

"The ceasefire text is ready," Mr Mobutu told a news conference. "It only has to be signed."

"When I return to my country I will start a discussion between the two parties," he said.

Mr Mobutu had said on Thursday after a meeting with President George Bush that he believed he could produce an agreement this month.

Also on Thursday Dr Savimbi, bowing to US pressure, announced his acceptance of President Mobutu as a broker in new ceasefire talks.

A truce was agreed last June 22 between Angola's President Eduardo dos

Santos and Dr Savimbi, but it collapsed in just two months.

Unita has fought Angola's Marxist government since 1975, when the former Portuguese colony won its independence.

Mr Mobutu was scheduled to meet Angola's External Affairs Minister, Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem, and its ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Manuel Pedro Pacavira, yesterday.

A spokesman for Mr Mobutu said a meeting with Dr Savimbi in the US was possible, but had not yet been arranged.

Dr Savimbi had irked Washington — now believed to be his sole source of financial support since South Africa withdrew its military backing last year — by refusing to attend a recent round of ceasefire talks.

But after meeting President Bush on Thursday, he said he would return to the bargaining table. — Sapa-Reuter

# Dobson and husband worked for us - ANC

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The Star's Africa News Service LUSAKA — The African National Congress claims that Mrs Sue Dobson, the 27-year-old ex-journalist who went missing from her post in the Administrator-General's Office in Windhoek late in September, was a member of the organisation and had carried out assignments for the ANC over several years.

In a statement issued here yesterday, the organisation said both Mrs Dobson and her husband Peter worked for the ANC.

The ANC claims Mrs Dobson was able to provide invaluable information because she had access to confidential briefings by senior SADF members during her period with the Bureau of Information. (The bureau yesterday repeated its claim that she did not have access to sensitive information.)

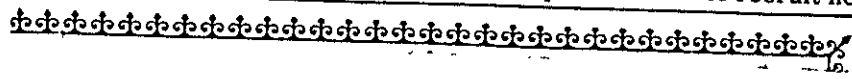
The ANC says its intelligence sources learned later that the Dobsons were about to be arrested and tipped them off. This led to their hasty departure from Namibia during the weekend of September 23-24.

The statement claims Mrs Dobson was able to gain the confidence of Major Delek Brune, describing him as the SA Security Branch officer serving with the SWA Police in Oshakati. He is the half-brother of South African spy Olivia Forsyth.

At the time of the Dobsons' disappearance, there was speculation in the press that Mrs Dobson had been working as an agent for Major Brune and had an emotional crisis because she was unable to cope with some of her assignments.

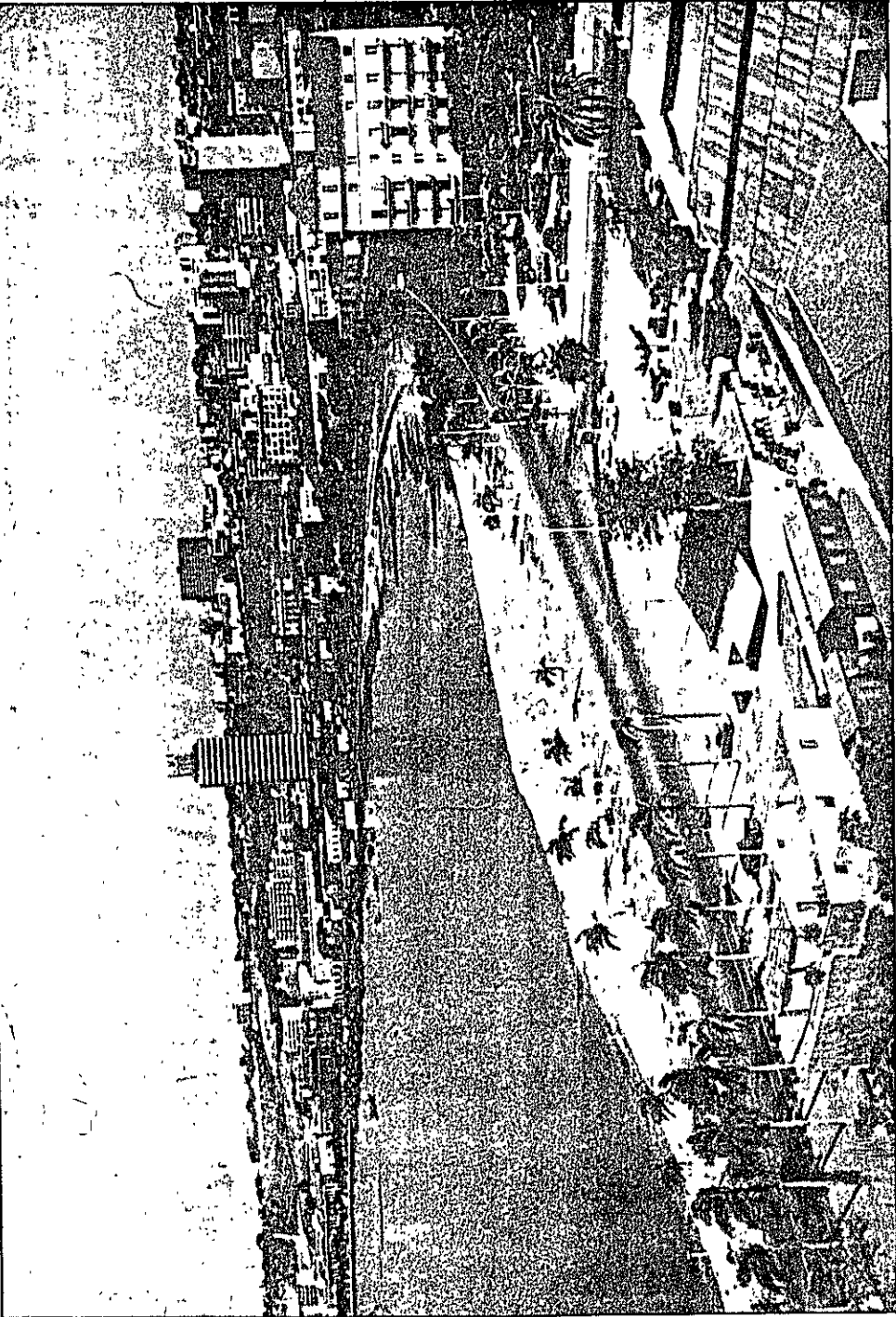
The Dobsons are now believed to be in London, staying with ANC activists Jeremy and Joan Brickhill.

Craig Kotze reports that a top-level South African security source said the ANC had turned well-known and public information to their advantage in an attempt to have people believe Mrs Dobson and her husband were ANC spies, when it was known Mrs Dobson had had a nervous breakdown when the attempt was made to recruit her.



# Market socialism on a rubbish dump

STK 10/10/89 (5)



The 14-year-old Angolan civil war has brought about the collapse of the oil-rich Angolan economy. The government is increasingly looking to free-market policies to revive the economy, but the huge difference between the official and parallel market prices makes shopping a nightmare, reports **KARL MAIER**.

**LUANDA** — A small crowd rocks with laughter as a uniformed soldier, his eyes nearly closed in a drunken Saturday afternoon stupor, writhes body to body in a snake-like dance with a plump young woman in a tight blue dress.

Smoke from a row of barbecues mixes with the dust of perhaps 15,000 people shuffling along the wooden stalls to shop for meat, antibiotics, the latest fashions — even, it is said, used cars.

There is plenty of ice-cold beer, soft drinks and grilled chicken sandwiches. There would be nothing particularly remarkable about this scene in most African countries, where open-air markets are an age-old tradition.

But Rock Santeiro, which takes its name from a steamy Brazilian TV soap opera that delighted viewers throughout Portugal's former African colonies, sits on a rubbish dump on the northern edge of Luanda.

And in Angola, ruled since independence from Portugal in 1975 by the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), such free markets are illegal — officially anyway.

## Cholera epidemic

Many visitors to Luanda leave with the image of a dead city, where large glass windows in state-run shops reveal mostly empty shelves, where sewage too often runs through the streets — there's a cholera epidemic now — where the state has had to hire a private firm employing imported Filipino truck drivers to clean up a decade's worth of rubbish. (They have not yet succeeded.)

The 14-year-old civil war between the government and Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels has brought about the collapse of the oil-rich Angolan economy and turned Luanda, once called the Rio de Janeiro of Africa, into one of the continent's dirtiest capitals.

Former glory . . . the Angolan capital, Luanda — once called the Rio de Janeiro of Africa — has, with the collapse of the former oil-rich economy, become one of the continent's dirtiest capitals, leaving visitors with the image of a dead city.

paths give way to dusty tracks and wooden stacks. Portuguese, spoken officially, fades into Kikongo, Kimbundu and other African languages which finally all mix together into Angolan slang.

A young girl selling sugar doughnuts on a street corner is symbolic of the threshold where one of Angola's economies, the official, meets the other, the parallel. Her freshly baked treat goes for 100 kwanzas, about R3 at the legal exchange rate but just 5c on the open market.

The Angolan government, increasingly

looking to free-market policies to revive the economy, last month joined the International Monetary Fund in Washington and says, as it has for the past three years, that a devaluation of the kwanza and the lifting of controls on many goods is imminent.

The huge difference between the official and parallel market prices makes a nightmarish out of the monthly shopping budget.

A modest pile of six or seven tomatoes costs about R40 or 40c depending on your calculation, while a pound of meat easily wipes out a month's salary.

But salaries are largely irrelevant in Angola because there is so much money and so few things to buy. Most families rely on income earned outside their job.

For many, the scramble for enough cash to afford the free-market prices inevitably leads back to the state shops and speculatively to beer.

The government ration card system allows an urban family to buy a case of imported beer for about 400 kwanza (about R32).

They can be sold immediately on the open market for 24,000 kwanza (R1,920), the equivalent of a month's salary for a middle-level

civil servant.

To stem the flow of MPLA party workers, state employees and professionals to the private sector and foreign aid groups, the government introduced a system of cards, lettered A, B or C, which provide bearers with privileged access to imported goods.

The special cards are expected to be phased out once the long-awaited economic reforms begin.

But until they do, for state and party functionaries, the cards remain the ABC of Angolan socialism. — The Independent.

B/Dam 11/10/89

# Angolan air crash has ivory links <sup>(5)</sup> claim <sub>(239)</sub>

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LUANDA — The plane carrying Joao Soares, son of Portuguese President Mario Soares, which crashed shortly after take-off from Unita headquarters on September 26, was carrying ivory, the Africa News Organisation (ANO) said yesterday.

ANO said the ivory consignment on board the plane was confirmed by Portuguese ambassador to the Congo Jose Manuel Duarte, who said an unknown amount of ivory was offered to Soares by Unita.

However, Portuguese MPs who were in the plane when it crashed, denied Angolan accusations that there was ivory on board.

The Angolan News Agency An-

gop said yesterday there was no doubt that Unita was the mastermind behind the slaughtering of elephants in Angola to finance its war.

About 100 000 elephants had been killed by Unita in the past 14 years for this purpose, the agency said, citing US government statistics.

## Denied

"This information, disclosed recently in a meeting of the US government, justifies the preoccupation of various international organisations which accused Unita of contributing to exterminating elephants.

"Leaders of this group continue

to ignore this condemnation as recently proved when they were caught 'tight lipped' with the plane crash at their sanctuary because of excess ivory cargo," Angop said.

Another Portuguese national, had recently been involved in the smuggling of 980 tusks, alleged Angop. The haul was discovered in Namibia on September 16.

"It could be affirmed that this is 'a mafia of devils'," stated Angop.

"The indiscriminate killing of Angolan elephants is an intricate arrangement in which an enemy of the Angolan people will always be found for his own development and well being," said Angop.

For the Angolan people, said Angop, "friends of the devil are devils too".

W...ing over way to save elephants

# 'Perestroika' in Angola

LUANDA. - The salesman in the furniture section stepped forward eagerly as he saw a prospective customer admiring a hand carved wooden bedstead.

The price, he said, was 3000,00 Kwanzas. Or, he added after a moment's calculation, a dozen cases of beer.

Beer, Coca-Cola, Pepsi and soda water all serve as alternative currencies in the northern outskirts of the city, where another facet of the world wide move of socialist countries towards market oriented economies is taking shape.

Less than five years ago Angola still represented Africa's most serious attempt to implement the principles of Marxism - Leninism. Everything was nationalised right down to the taxis and barber shops.

## Ruin

But as the economy drifted closer to ruin under the combined effects of that system's failures and a debilitating civil war, the government began reassessing its policies and in 1987 embarked on Angola's version of "perestroika" - the Programme of Economic Restructuring, or SEF by its Portuguese initials.

Two years later the programme is behind schedule and recovery is still

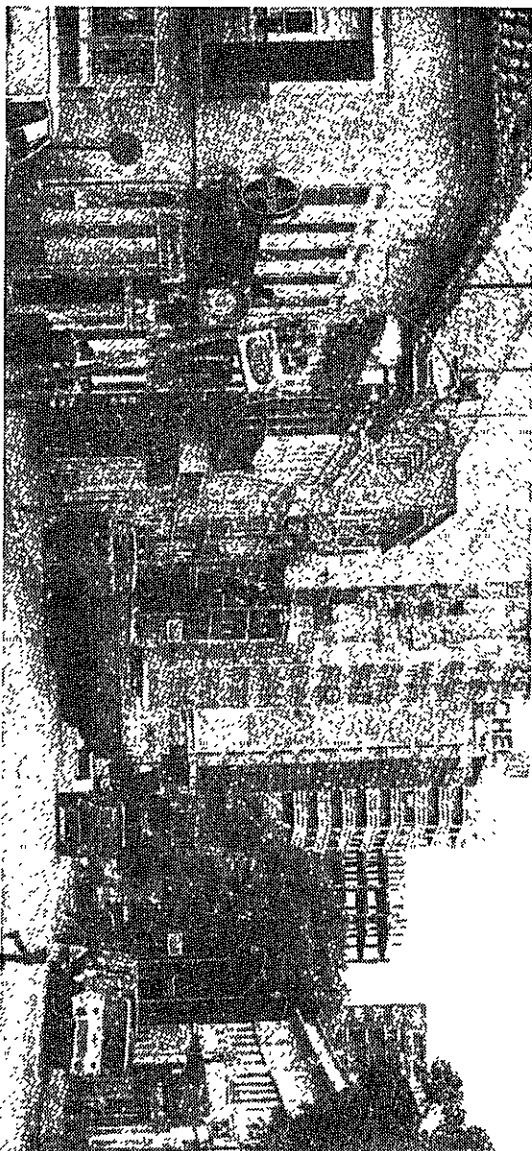
Allister Sparks examines "perestroika" at work in Angola and tells why two crates of beer is worth an airline ticket to Lisbon.

a long way off, but the Angola government's commitment to converting to a market-driven economy is clear - as the hectic trading at Roque Santeiro illustrates.

On any weekday there are 10 000 or more people jostling their way through the maze of corrugated-iron stalls and piles of produce displayed on the ground that constitutes a kind of Third World Harrods where you can buy anything from dried fish to a new Mercedes Benz.

On weekends the crowds are bigger. Roque Santeiro - the name comes from a Brazilian soap opera that is popular here - is the biggest of five similar markets strung around the fringes of the city.

Together they form the heart of the commercial economy. Downtown Luanda, where the state stores are, is dead by comparison, the stores empty of goods and



A street scene in Downtown Luanda

customers and the streets devoid of congestion, though the city's population has exploded from 250 000 to nearly two million in the last 30 years.

## Economy

To move from the city centre to the markets around the periphery is to have a visual impression of the new, more vigorous economy sucking the old one dry and leaving it an empty shell.

The economics of these markets is as varied and unusual as the merchandise on display. There always was a black market here, as in every other Marxist society, and

in effect Roque Santeiro grew out of that, so that although it has now been legitimised by the government it still retains many of the black market's features - particularly its exchange rate.

The official rate for the Kwanza currency is a wildly unrealistic 30 to the dollar. The black market rate is between 2 500 and 3 000. The state stores operate at the official rate, Roque Santeiro at the market rate.

The result is that while Angola is in its present stage of transition, there are not only two parallel systems in operation but two parallel economies as well.

What happens is that people whose ration of goods from the state stores is more than they need take their surplus to Roque Santeiro where they can sell it at the higher market price.

## Market

Others, like the carpenter who made the carved bedstead, and a range of handymen, fishermen and farmers, take their produce and manufactured goods directly to the market.

Yet others stock their stalls by a remarkable exploitation of the state subsidy system that is in the form of tickets and carrying permits.

creative ingenuity that the free enterprise system awakens.

Angola citizens are able to buy tickets on the national airline, Taag, in Kwanzas at a subsidised price. The economy class return fare from Luanda to Lisbon is 38 000 Kwanzas.

At the official rate of exchange that is a reasonable K1,266, at the black market rate it is a laughable K15.

The result is that the daily flight to Lisbon presents an astonishing sight. Luanda airport is packed with market manufacturers purchasing their 215 tickets and carrying permits.

luggage trunks. They are on their way to buy stock for their stalls.

The Lisbon end of this trade route - and a similar one across the Atlantic to Rio de Janeiro - has an entire economic infrastructure ready to supply them when they land.

The market mummies do not have to leave the airport: vans packed with goods are waiting there to meet them.

## Demand

The mummies pack their trunks and kitbags with sandals, clothes, bolts of cloth, watches, transistor radios, oil lamps, sunglasses, medicines, anything that a starved consumer market is eager to purchase - but especially those items in particular demand in a steamy, tropical climate, beer and soft drinks.

They cheerfully pay their excess baggage charges, again at the ridiculously low Kwanza rate, and board the next Taag flight back to Luanda.

Given the absurdity of the currency in these circumstances, any exchangeable commodity can serve as an alternative. *Observer News Service*

# Mobutu, Savimbi to meet

PARIS. — Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko will meet Angolan Unita rebel leader Mr Jonas Savimbi in France next week in an effort to restart stalled talks on ending civil war in Angola, a Unita spokesman said yesterday.

"Savimbi will arrive from London on Sunday and will meet Mobutu in France. It is the first step in the process of resuming the negotiations," spokesman Mr Paulo Gato said.

Diplomatic sources said the talks were due to take place in one of Mr Mobutu's retreats in southern France.

Neither Mr Gato nor American diplomats would say if Washington's top Africa diplomat Mr Herman Cohen,

who will be in France at the same time, would be involved.

Mr Savimbi and Mr Mobutu met Mr Cohen separately in Washington last week while there to see US President George Bush and diplomats said they expected the three to follow up with joint talks in France.

After his meeting with Mr Bush, Mr Savimbi said he was willing to return to Mr Mobutu's mediation efforts to end 14 years of fighting.

Before the Washington talks, Mr Savimbi implicitly accused Mr Mobutu of tricking him by concluding deals with Angola which changed the terms of a ceasefire hammered out at an African summit in Gbadolite, Zaire, in June. — Sapa-Reuter

# Ceasefire by month's end — Savimbi

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — An Angolan ceasefire agreement could be signed by the end of this month, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said here last night.

Addressing a packed press conference soon after his historic meeting with Mr John Major, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr Savimbi said: "Unita is prepared to start serious and fruitful negotiations with the MPLA."

The first step in the attempts to end the deadlocked peace initiative would be a meeting "somewhere in Europe during the next few days" with President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire — the mediator in the settlement attempts — to discuss the Angolan government's reaction to a new ceasefire proposals put forward by Unita.

It is reliably understood that the meeting will take place this weekend at Mr Mobutu's chateau in the south of France and will also be attended by American Assistant Secretary for State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen.

It is thought an MPLA representative might also be present.

"After seeing President Mobutu in a few days' time we may first of all sign a

ceasefire and resume negotiations with the MPLA," he said. "If our proposals are accepted by the MPLA — and we have indications that they will — I think the ceasefire may be signed before the end of this month."

The new set of proposals — which have been endorsed by the American government and Mr Mobutu — contains two amendments to the Gbadolite agreement:

- Any agreed ceasefire should be monitored by independent African countries, in addition to troops from the MPLA, Unita and Zaire.

- That prisoners being held by both sides should be freed under Red Cross supervision the day after a ceasefire is signed whereafter direct talks between Unita and the MPLA will begin.

According to a precise timetable for peace outlined by Dr Savimbi, the African observers would enter Angola to monitor the ceasefire exactly three months after an agreement is signed.

Nine months thereafter — "in order to create the conditions to stabilise the country and to make the ceasefire hold" — a government of national unity should be formed.

Six months later elections would be organised for a constituent assembly, which would compile a new constitution for the country. Elections for a general assembly would then be held.



S/Times 15/10/89

5

# Pik in French talks on Angola peace bid

**FOREIGN MINISTER**  
Pik Botha is on his way to France to join important talks aimed at ending the Angolan peace deadlock.

Mr Botha is expected to attend a meeting tomorrow at the chateau of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko on the French Riviera.

President Mobutu is acting as mediator in the dispute between the MPLA government and Unita.

Also present will be Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and American assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen.

Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem held talks with President Mobutu on Friday.

He has since left for Mon-

By LESTER VENTER and JEREMY BROOKS

aco — apparently expecting a call to join the French talks.

The high-level meeting has raised hopes that the 14-year Angolan civil war may at last be coming to a close.

Dr Savimbi himself held out the prospect of a ceasefire by the end of the month after a meeting on Friday with British Foreign Secretary John Major.

The expectations are that a face-to-face meeting between the Angolan Gov-

ernment and Unita may take place early next month — possibly in Libreville, Gabon.

A spokesman for Mr Botha confirmed yesterday that he was on his way to Europe for the negotiations.

Although SA no longer supplies Unita, Pretoria's moral support and tactical back-up are vital elements in Dr Savimbi's strategy.

Although SA has made no secret of its continued moral support for Unita, it enjoys good standing among the

parties — including the MPLA — because of its role in ending the foreign interference of its own and Cuban troops in the war.

The MPLA has said previous peace negotiations broke down because Dr Savimbi refused to keep an agreement to stand down and leave the country pending elections.

Unita has said there was no such understanding.

Speaking after his 30-minute meeting with Mr Major, Dr Savimbi proposed African observers should monitor the ceasefire.

He called for a government of national unity which would include both Unita and the MPLA before multi-party elections were held.

He insisted his "retirement" was not a point of debate.

"Why should I leave the country? Every party has the right to have its own leader. We do not tell the MPLA who should be its leader.

"After seeing President Mobutu we may sign a ceasefire and resume negotiations.

"If our proposals are accepted by the MPLA — and we have indications that they will — I think the ceasefire will be signed before the end of the month," he said.

## Historic

In terms of the proposals, prisoners held on both sides will be freed under Red Cross supervision the day after a ceasefire agreement is signed.

Three months afterwards, African observers would be stationed inside Angola, with the creation of a government of national unity following in six months.

The historic meeting between Mr Major and Dr Savimbi was the first between a British Minister and a Unita representative.

US officials said Mr Cohen would pick up on the talks he started at separate meetings with President Mobutu and Dr Savimbi in Washington when the rebel leader met President George Bush on October 5.

The United States does not recognise the Angolan government and says its position will not change until there is national reconciliation.

# Savimbi meets Mobutu to bolster peace accord

B1 Day 16/10/89

NICE — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi travelled to the French Riviera villa of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko on Saturday for a meeting designed to bolster a faltering accord between the rebels and the Angolan government.

The meeting yesterday was to include US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs Herman Cohen and, possibly, a representative from the Soviet-backed Angolan government.

SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha was also on his way to France on Saturday to be "available to help" in talks between Mobutu and Savimbi, a statement from his office said.

Mobutu, who met US President George Bush in Washington in early October, has served as the major conduit of an estimated \$40m in US arms and other supplies each year to Unita.

He also played a key role in mediating a brief truce between Savimbi and Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos reached in Gbadolite, Zaire, in June.

Divergent interpretations of the accord have emerged.

Dos Santos's position is that Savimbi agreed to temporary exile and to integrating his forces into the Angolan

armed forces.

Savimbi, however, contends that the accord was to lead to free elections in which Unita might share power.

Savimbi refused to go to the last session of negotiations in Zaire, in spite of urgings from Cohen.

The Angolan government has asked for US recognition, arguing that it has fulfilled Washington's main demand by agreeing to the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops by 1991.

US officials say diplomatic recognition will be withheld until the government agrees to hold free elections.

The US is concerned that if talks do not resume soon, Cuba may disrupt the pull-out of its troops.

London's Sunday Telegraph reports that British Foreign Secretary John Major is to launch a British peace initiative in Africa to end the Angolan war after a meeting on Friday with Savimbi.

The two met for 40 minutes during the Conservative Party conference, marking the first official recognition of Unita by the British government since 1975.

Whitehall sources say the Foreign Office is to pressure Launda to accept face-to-face peace talks with Savimbi without preconditions. — Sapa-AP.

# Mobutu hosts fresh talks with Savimbi

*Chit chats 16/10/89 (5)*

NICE. — Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko hosted a meeting yesterday at his villa on the French Riviera aimed at persuading Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to resume negotiations for a lasting peace in Angola.

Also present was Mr Herman Cohen, the United States Deputy Secretary of State for African Affairs.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha is attending the talks, being held at President Mobutu's luxurious estate overlooking the bay at Monaco. During a stopover in Paris Mr Botha said he had come to Europe "to be available, in the background, in case President Mobutu or any Angolan party asks for a South African contri-

bution" to the effort to mediate a solution to the Angolan conflict.

A Zairean spokesman described the talks as "very delicate", referring to the crucial issue of what peace formula Dr Savimbi would accept as a condition for agreeing to a ceasefire. Dr Savimbi denies he agreed to go into exile and merge his guerilla force into the Angolan army as announced after the June summit in Gbadolite, Zaire.

If President Mobutu is able to put together an agreement at the current talks African leaders will meet in Libreville, Gabon, this month for the formal signing of a ceasefire accord, the Zairean spokesman said. — Sapa-Reuter





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## UK peace initiative in Angola

LONDON. — The British Foreign Secretary, Mr John Major, is to launch a British peace initiative to end the civil war in Angola following a meeting at the weekend with Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita.

The 40-minute meeting was the first official recognition of Unita by the British government since factional fighting broke out in Angola on independence from Portugal in 1975 and represents a significant change in government policy towards Dr Savimbi's movement.

The high-profile meeting was held during the Tory Party conference and is in stark contrast to the lukewarm reception Dr Savimbi received from President Bush during a visit to Washington last week. — Daily Telegraph

# Pik played 'helpful' role in Angolan talks

CAP TMS 17/10/89 (5)

LONDON. — South Africa Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has played a helpful role in two days of secret talks in France that could revive the peace initiative in Angola.

Senior political sources say the talks, which ended yesterday at the French Riviera villa of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, resulted in Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi declaring he was to return to the negotiating table.

Dr Savimbi reached an agreement in principle to negotiate with the Angolan president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, at the summit meeting in Gbadolite, Zaire, last June but later retracted and refused to attend a further summit in Kinshasa last month.

The talks held yesterday and on Sunday at Roquebrune-Cap-Martin were hosted by President Mobutu in

his role as Angolan mediator but officials say Mr Pik Botha played an important and helpful role.

Also present to emphasise America's desire for peace in Angola was United States Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen.

Both the South African and United States governments had been bringing pressure to bear on Mr Savimbi to reopen talks.

Mr Cohen, who flew to Paris last night, said he was optimistic.

President Mobutu is said to be trying to organise a new conference to be attended by other African heads of state and by the leaders of both sides in the Angolan conflict.

The only press permitted inside "Del-Mare", President Mobutu's luxurious villa, was a television crew from Zaire.

Mr Botha reportedly said he supported Mr Mobutu's efforts as mediator in the "difficult task" of finding a peaceful solution in Angola.

He also said that in South Africa itself, "blacks and whites must sit down at a negotiating table" and that his country "needed to draft a new constitution".

Mr Botha left Roquebrune-Cap-Martin without speaking to the rest of the press camped outside the villa but in a discreet statement issued through the South Africa embassy in Paris he said: "I brought the greetings of my State President to President Mobutu. I saw President Mobutu primarily within the framework of negotiations on Angola."

"It is of great encouragement to South Africa that all parties agreed on the role of Pres Mobutu as mediator. We trust that all parties will exer-

cise restraint."

A spokesman at the South African embassy, commenting on reports that South Africa wanted President Mobutu to revive collapsed negotiations by starting again from scratch, said that while South Africa had an obvious interest in peace in Angola, it was not laying down any conditions for talks between Unita rebels and the Angolan MPLA government.

Mr Botha was understood to be returning to South Africa last night from Paris to be in time for the remaining deliberations of the Joint Commission between his government, Angola and Cuba on the Namibian peace programme.

Although technically a side-issue, the latest developments in efforts to revive the Angolan peace talks are expected to be on the agenda. — Own Correspondent and Sapa,

# SA, Cuba, Angola agree to keep an eye on Swapo

ARGUS 17/10/89

5

**The Argus Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — The joint commission between South Africa, Cuba and Angola, which met here to discuss obstacles to the peace plan for Southern Africa, agreed on a mechanism to monitor the movement of Swapo forces across the Namibian/Angolan border.

This was disclosed yesterday by the chairman of the commission, Mr Neil van Heerden, after the all-day talks which will resume today.

Mr Van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, said the mechanism would enable them to monitor the situation on the spot.

Further details would be released at a Press conference after today's session.

The extraordinary meeting between the three countries and two observer countries, Russia and the United States, is

the second to be held in South Africa.

Also present were the Namibian Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar, and the United Nations special representative in Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

The leader of the Cuban delegation, Mr Carlos Aldana, said there had been a "candid and frank exchange of views" at the meeting, expected to be the last before the UN-monitored elections in Namibia next month. However, certain aspects concerning the "unfulfilment of Resolution 435" still had to be thrashed out.

## CUBANS HERE

Asked whether he was satisfied with the progress made since the adoption of the peace plan, Mr Aldana said: "Two years ago we were still firing canons at each other. Today the Cubans are in Johannesburg.

"The process is irreversible. However, we should not dramatise or idealise the situation."

Mr Van Heerden said he was satisfied with the tone and contents of the discussions.

The leader of the Angolan delegation, Vice-Minister of Defence, Mr Venanciode Moura, expressed the wish that the pending elections would be free and fair.

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from Paris that France and Portugal have agreed to join the wide-ranging Angolan peace talks which on Monday focused on the Pik Botha-President Mobutu talks on the French Riviera.

Over the weekend, President Mitterrand was briefed on the South African standpoint by visiting Portuguese President Mario Soares who came there directly from Pretoria where he met President De Klerk.

# Angola ceasefire on cards again

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

A ceasefire to stop the Angolan war could be signed within weeks, diplomats believe.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi cut short his European tour yesterday amid expectations that he would declare a ceasefire and begin talks with the Luanda government.

Unita sources said Dr Savimbi was returning to his headquarters in the Angolan bush to prepare his guerillas for a possible ceasefire.

This follows a series of meetings in the south of France over the weekend.

These included separate meetings between Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, the An-

golan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem and Dr Savimbi.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha also met Dr Savimbi and President Mobutu in Europe to lend his weight to the ceasefire moves.

An important development was that Dr Savimbi and President Mobutu have patched up their quarrel over the June 22 Gbadolite ceasefire agreement, which collapsed amid accusations by Dr Savimbi.

During the weekend talks at President Mobutu's luxury holiday villa at Roquebrune in the south of France near Monaco, it

seems that President Mobutu assured Dr Savimbi that Unita's supply route through Zaire was

not in jeopardy.

Mr Botha returned to South Africa yesterday saying he was encouraged by the French talks.

Asked if the Angolan government was still insisting that Dr Savimbi should go into exile during negotiations, Mr Botha said that both sides had "political issues".

He said he believed if they insisted on putting forward political statements, it would be difficult to achieve a ceasefire.

Mr Botha said he had gone to France "mainly to listen and give the South African Government's point of view".

He said South Africa was not exerting pressure on anyone.

"At the most we are pointing out the alternatives."

## Savimbi goes home amid ceasefire hopes

PARIS — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi cut short a European tour yesterday amid expectations that he will declare a ceasefire and begin peace talks with the Luanda government.

Unita sources said Savimbi was returning to his headquarters to prepare his guerrillas for a possible ceasefire with Angola's government.

Diplomatic sources said optimism in the Unita camp could only suggest that Savimbi had received some form of assurances of direct talks with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Assurances could have emerged in talks at the weekend between Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van-Dunem and Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, who is mediating in the Angola war.

Van-Dunem met Mobutu in secret at the president's villa in Roquebrune, near Monte Carlo, a day before Savimbi met Mobutu there.

"The talks were very positive for Savimbi," said a spokesman for France-Angola, one of the private groups that invited the Unita leader to France.

The spokesman said developments were so important that Savimbi needed to "prepare his forces for the next phase of peace negotiations". — Sapa-Reuter

## Savimbi 'won't step down'

*Sept 10, 1974*  
JOHANNESBURG. — Dr. Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita movement, says there is no question of his stepping down from the political scene in Angola, whatever the conditions set by the government or anyone else.

Dr. Savimbi, who was speaking to several journalists before his departure from Paris yesterday morning, said he would not even go into temporary exile, it was reported.

He said he had been fighting for more than 20 years and his movement's diplomatic and military position was good.

Dr. Savimbi said the signing of a ceasefire was now possible in coming weeks. — Sapa



# Angola buries hero pilot of civil war

LUANDA — Angolan military leaders yesterday attended the funeral of their top-rated fighter-pilot in the civil war against Unita. Lieutenant-Colonel Filipe Neto, who reportedly committed suicide last week.

Col Neto became an Angolan government hero in 1981 after fighting between the Angolan airforce and South African planes backing National Union for the Total Independence of Angola rebels.

## MURDER

Government reports said Col Neto was the first Angolan pilot to shoot down a South African Mirage jet in a dogfight over southern Angola.

Later, however, Col Neto was convicted of the murder of a security guard in Luanda and given five years' jail.

The state newspaper *Jornal do Angola* reported Col Neto was on parole when he jumped to his death Friday from a five-story window in downtown Luanda's Sagrada Familia square. — Sapa-AP.

# WARSHIPS FOR ANGOLA- REPORT

LONDON. - Angola is to buy up to 11 warships from the Spanish shipyard, Bazan, according to *Jane's Defence Weekly*.

The magazine reports that the deal follows months of negotiations

between the two countries after Spanish Defence Minister Narcis Serra's visit to Angola on October 4.

Sources at Bazan indicate the deal could include a mix of "Cormoran"

class fast patrol boats, PVZ type GRP high speed boats and landing craft. The "Cormoran" class vehicles would be equipped with 76mm guns, while the high speed boats may be armed with a 20 mm cannon.

⑤ Sowetan 26/10/89

# Angola buys more ships for its navy

LONDON. — Angola is to buy up to 11 warships from Spain, boosting its obsolete and badly run-down navy by nearly 50% and marking a further stage in its movement away from the Eastern bloc countries while turning to the West for assistance.

The latest edition of *Janes Defence Weekly* in London reports that the deal to buy the warships, mostly fast coastal patrol vessels, from the Spanish shipyard Bazan is to go ahead after months of negotiations between the two countries.

According to authoritative statistics in the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies' "Military Balance 1988/89", such a deal would substantially boost Angola's naval firepower, as it has only 24 "patrol and coastal combatant" vessels at this stage.

All the current vessels were sup-

plied by the Soviet Union, and the decision to buy the warships from a Western country indicates a forced change in Angola's armament policy brought about partly by its crippling \$1,5 billion (R3,96bn) debt to Russia, mostly for armaments.

Another factor in the switchover is the gradual withdrawal of Cuban and Soviet technicians, trained to maintain some of the high-tech weapons systems, however obsolete, and the inability of Angolan personnel to take over.

Spanish press reports indicated that the deal was for three fast patrol boats, six high-speed boats and two landing craft.

Equipment for the Cormoran-class vessels would, according to a Bazan source, include a 76mm gun, and the high-speed boats might be armed with a 20mm weapon. — Sapa

# Angola 'may get multiparty govt' <sup>11/1/89</sup> ⑥

LISBON — Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem said yesterday that his country could have a multiparty system in the future and urged the United States to rethink its attitude towards the Luanda government.

Wrapping up a two-day official visit to Portugal, Mr van Dunem told reporters at a news conference that peace and prosperity in Angola would point the way for an adequate, future political system.

"It's still premature to say whether Angola is going to have one or two or three parties — that depends on economic and social development," he said.

"But it's enough to look at what's happening in Eastern Europe to have an idea that in the near future conditions could be created to have more than one party in Angola," he added.

## DEEPER DEMOCRACY <sup>SMR</sup>

Stressing the need for the southwest African country to expand economically before considering political change, Mr van Dunem said: "We are open to deeper democracy, but we can't put the cart before the horse."

"We think the United States should work towards a more realistic evaluation of the situation in our country," he said.

"Working together with African countries, we think the US will be able to understand the problem better," he said.

Dangling the carrot of diplomatic relations with Luanda, Washington has pushed for direct talks between the government and Unita.

The United States still provides the rebels with an estimated \$40 million (about R88 million) of aid a year. — Associated Press.

# No secret agenda at talks - Savimbi

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Unita leader Dr. Jonas Savimbi has defended his bargaining position at talks between his movement and the MPLA government of Angola in an article in *The New York Times*.

The article, published on Monday, appeared under the headline, "I have no secret agenda."

Dr Savimbi said Unita believed the talks with the MPLA at Gbadolite, Zaire, last June were successful.

"We hope that two of the three main provisions — a ceasefire and direct dialogue between Unita and the Soviet-backed Angolan government on the political future of Angola — will soon be implemented. And we expect that national reconciliation, the third objective, will follow," he said.

The rebel leader said much confusion and misinformation surrounded what he agreed to in Gbadolite. There were those who said a secret agenda called for his exile and for the integration of Unita into the government's one-party



Dr. Jonas Savimbi  
'Unita has not wavered in its struggle'

Marxist structure. But this was silly, he said.

"Why should Unita, which has never been stronger militarily and politically, surrender to the Luanda government, in negotiations what the government could never obtain on the battlefield?"

"Unita has not fought 22 years only to throw up its hands in surrender."

Unita, Dr Savimbi said, had not wavered in its struggle since 1975, when three Angolan liberation movements signed the Alvor Accord, which called for the establishment of a government of national unity. The transitional government was to be followed by free national elections.

The Angolan people were robbed of their chance for democracy when the MPLA, with Soviet weaponry and Cuban troops, occupied the capital and declared a People's Republic of Angola.

Elections were never held, and had not been held to this day.

Dr Savimbi said Gbadolite had returned Angola to the issue of the 1975 Alvor Accord: how to unite parties of differing ideologies into a framework that would provide for a democratic and prosperous future.

# Angolans take key Unita base

*CAPT Tomy 4/11/89*  
LISBON. — Angolan government forces have captured an important Unita rebel base in central Bie province, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported yesterday.

In a dispatch from Luanda, Lusa quoted a military source as saying the base at Xicungo in the southeast corner of the highland province fell without a fight, when rebels abandoned it.

The government troops captured a hoard of arms left in the base, including grenades, mortar shells and two anti-tank missiles, Lusa said.

The agency also quoted Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem as saying that an African summit on Angola's civil war will only go ahead if Unita rebels pledge to sign a ceasefire at the meeting.

Van-Dunem told a news conference in Luanda that, providing a ceasefire accord was signed, his government would then hold face-to-face talks with the rebels on "national reconciliation".

Reports of an imminent summit in the Gabonese capital Libreville, aimed at finding a peaceful settlement to Angola's 14-year-old civil war, have circulated throughout Africa in recent weeks though no date has been set. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Bitter words as Unita and MPLA seek US support

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

(5)

WASHINGTON — Leaders of Unita and the MPLA exchanged bitter words and accusations in Washington this week as the two movements jockeyed to win American political and public support.

President George Bush met President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, mediator of the African initiative to bring the two sides together.

A White House spokesman said that after the 30-minute meeting between the two presidents, Mr Bush had told Mr Mobutu the US stood firmly behind Unita.

He asked Mr Mobutu to settle any differences he might have with Unita so that he could get on with the job of promoting national reconciliation in Angola.

The question of Zaire cutting supply lines to Unita did not seem to have been a major issue in the White House talks. There is intense speculation in Washington that the Central Intelligence Agency has organised alternative supply routes for Unita, including drops from aircraft flying in from the coast.

Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro van Dunem told a press conference in Washington that President Mobutu had cut Unita's supply lines through Zaire before he started mediating the peace talks between the two sides. He had done this in order to be neutral, he said.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told a separate press conference in Washington he was unconcerned about reports that his supply lines through Zaire had been cut.

"Everything promised to me in the financial year 1988/89 has been received," he said.

Earlier, Mr van Dunem said he would not be prepared to accept the invitation from the Unita leader to meet in the US capital this week. Any meetings between the MPLA and Unita in Washington would further confuse the situation, he said.

A few blocks away, Dr Savimbi told journalists he was ready to meet the Foreign Minister immediately in order to get talks between the MPLA and Unita back on track.

## Angola claims capture of top Unita base

LISBON — Angolan government forces have captured an important Unita base in Central Bie Province, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported on Friday.

In a dispatch from Luanda, Lusa quoted a military source as saying the base at Xicungo in the southeast corner of the highland province fell without a fight, when rebels abandoned it.

The government troops captured a hoard of arms left in the base, including grenades, mortar shells and two anti-tank missiles, Lusa said.

There was no independent confirmation of the military source's claims and

Lusa did not say why the base was strategically important or why the rebels abandoned it.

□ An African summit on Angola's civil war will only go ahead if the country's Unita rebels pledge to sign a ceasefire at the meeting, Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem was quoted as saying on Friday.

Lusa said Van-Dunem told a news conference in Luanda that, providing a ceasefire accord was signed, his government would then hold face-to-face talks with the rebels on "national reconciliation". — Sapa-Reuter.

(5) S. Day



12/11/89

# Pilot's shot plane escape

## Mark, 21, crash-lands after bullets set aircraft on fire



Swapo's Sam Nujoma ... expecting victory in this week's Namibian election after 29 years in exile

By HANISH MEINDOE  
A SOUTH AFRICAN civilian pilot has told how he cheated death when his low-flying aircraft — blaring political slogans from loudspeakers — was shot down near the Angolan border during the last days of Namibia's election campaign.

Nobody has claimed responsibility for causing the propaganda flight by the anti-Swapo Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

The drama began on the eve of election day when the DTA election bus was stopped for 700,000 voters to Mark Collyn of Cape Town to circle Kavango villages while a party official broadcast political messages.

Suddenly, five or six men shot at the bus from the cockpit. I saw the aircraft ... I could feel the bullets striking into the fuselage," swapping year-old Mr Collyn in Windhoek this week.

Using a textbook evasion tactic, Mr Collyn dived to "tree-top" level, but was unable to avoid the fusillade of rifle bullets.

"As I was leveling out from a turn a loud explosion rocked the aircraft and smoke filled the cockpit with flames turning my face. Then we hit the ground, nose down ...

"Fuel was pouring out and a fire quickly engulfed the cockpit. We ran for cover as the plane started to burn furiously. It would have been tickets for us had the tail section and not the fuselage been hit," he said.

### Rebels

It is understood the aircraft — a six-seater Cessna 210 — was hit close to the Kavango river settlement of Ekohara, less than one kilometre from the Angolan border.

Mr Collyn sustained minor burns to his legs and a cut forehead.

His DTA passenger, Mr Stefan Picturat, from Rundu, was unharmed.



MARK COLLYN

Textbook evasion  
The director of Windhoek-based firm Hire and Fly, which employs Mr Collyn, has declared the area off-limits to his pilots.

He said: "We're extremely angry that a civilian aircraft was fired upon, but very proud of Mark. He acted with exemplary professionalism. To make a safe landing in a burning aircraft at low altitude and with no runway in sight takes a lot of doing."

That Mr Collyn only gained his commercial pilot's licence six months ago makes the feat even more extraordinary.

However, this is not the first time Mr Collyn has been shot at. Over Oshana and Rehoboth the aircraft was the victim of a bow-and-arrow attack.

Terrifically, the area in which he was shot down was a relatively quiet sector during South Africa's 20-year bush war against Swapo.

But the territory's fragile security situation was enough to cause Hire and Fly to take out special insurance cover for the DTA's propaganda flight.

# Journalist (S) held in <sup>CA</sup> Angola <sup>13/11/89</sup>

**WINDHOEK.** — A missing Namibian journalist is being held in Angola, his newspaper said on Saturday.

The editor of Die Republikein, Mr Des Erasmus, said here that confirmation of staffer Mr Martin Erastus's detention in Angola was received from a colleague in northern Namibia on Saturday.

Mr Erasmus said a colleague had spoken to Angolan soldiers at the Oshikango border post where Mr Erastus was last seen on Monday, and he was told the journalist had been taken deeper into Angola.

"Our information is that he was taken into Angola, and was allegedly assaulted."

Earlier reports said Mr Erastus was last seen speaking to Angolan soldiers just inside Angola on Monday. — Sapa

## Angolan forces kill 76 rebels

LISBON — Angolan forces killed 76 Unita rebels for the loss of six soldiers in the first week of November, the official Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

Angop also said 29 civilians died in the clashes, scattered across the provinces of Bie, Huambo, Lunda-Sul, Benguela and Cuando Cubango.

The agency, monitored in Lisbon, gave no other details.

The Marxist government and the pro-Western guerrillas have both said they wanted to revive a ceasefire which collapsed in June after only two months.

International efforts to clear the final obstacles to fresh peace talks were continuing in various African capitals, diplomats said. — Sapa-Reuter.

5 Business day 11/11/89

... LONG AFTER THE CEASEFIRE WAS SIGNED

# Three months after the peace, 1 200 men attack

THE town of Samba Caju is about 200km by helicopter east of the Angolan capital, Luanda. The terrain between the two consists of hill after hill of unpopulated forests and bushes. For the last 20 minutes, the Angolan air force pilot flew just above tree top level, to avoid attack by Unita.

On September 17, about three months after the ceasefire to which Unita and the MPLA government agreed, a force of about 1 200 Unita troops attacked Samba Caju. When they left, every important civilian target, including the only clinic, all the agricultural machinery, some food, clothes and the only electrical power station were stolen or destroyed.

But for 16-year old Valentinio Juong Mojuongo, the attack at Samba Caju was his chance to break free after serving for nearly a year as a porter-slave of Unita.

Whenever visitors to Angola meet victims of Unita attacks, in the hospitals and the orphanages the Angolan government officials show to foreigners, those who have seen an attack routinely talk of the civilians captured on Unita raids.

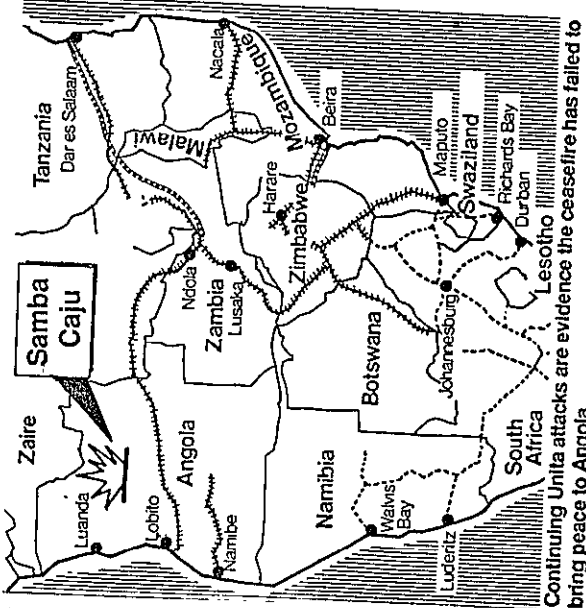
Usually they speak of some being captured right at the beginning of a raid. As a result, whenever villagers hear the sounds of an attack, they run from their homes into the bush to escape carnage and capture. But nobody had explained what happens to captured civilians afterwards. Then, in Samba Caju, there were several who had used the raid as an opportunity to escape.

Valentinio was captured during a Unita raid on his home town, Camabateia, in the province of Cuanza Norte, about 90km north of Samba Caju.

"During the attack, they held me near a school," he said. "When it was over, they took me with them. They made me carry a heavy weight. They said if I did not, they would kill me. So I walked with this weight all the way to the base.

"We slept until the next day. When I woke up, I saw a lot of other civilians, including young girls, captured from other localities. The girls were used as Unita officers' women. They did their housework and cooked for them."

After months as a porter, being marched with Unita on each raid, then carrying the spoils of Unita looting parties, Valentinio escaped during



Continuing Unita attacks are evidence the ceasefire has failed to bring peace to Angola

barely had time to evacuate his 15 patients, including four newly born infants, to the bush before guerrillas arrived.

"We had all types of vaccinations, sulphur drugs and penicillin here," he said. "Some were taken, the rest destroyed. And they burnt the refrigerator that kept the vaccines."

A few charred medical records stick out of the rubble. The clinic's single typewriter was burnt to a cinder. Water comes from a tap that can no longer be turned off.

Next to the clinic are the wrecked carcasses of a pick-up truck, a car and a motorcycle. Further along the road are the remains of the town's sole electrical power plant, now reduced to ashes.

The main shops, and houses chosen at random, were looted and destroyed. And, perhaps most serious of all, the engines of all the town's farming equipment were expertly blown up.

of the country's provinces, using military groups that sustain themselves in the forests and by looting.

Although Unita at first agreed to the ceasefire, since then it has stepped up its campaign against government-held towns.

The guerrilla leaders reject the ceasefire principle of integration of Unita into the government. During the attack on Samba Caju, they left behind some graffiti on a wall: "Abaixo integracao", which means "down with integration". The raid on Samba Caju was intended as an attack on the ceasefire itself.

D'Souza says that in the province over which he has control, Unita used the ceasefire as a ruse to trick the government. For example, some Unita soldiers arrived near the town of Quiculungo. They sent a message saying that with the ceasefire, they wanted to hand themselves in to the government.

"And they were hungry, so we transported food to the municipality of Quiculungo. And that time they had carried out a massacre. They killed everyone and stole the food that we, the Angolan government, had taken there to give them because they were hungry. Therefore we have to be each time more vigilant."

The government says 1 200 people have died since the ceasefire. The fact that Unita can hit a town so close to Luanda shows its forces are still operating with relative freedom. Government officials admitted that towns even closer to Luanda had been attacked in September.

Western diplomats in Luanda were surprisingly uniform in saying that Unita barely adhered to the ceasefire at all, and that Fapla did abide by it, except in a few cases where acceptable explanations were volunteered by the Fapla high command.

Meanwhile, soon after the attack came crop planting season. All Samba Caju's motorised farming equipment was destroyed that morning in September. The government will be able to provide replacement equipment, eventually. But the new equipment will not arrive in time for the present planting season.

So this year the town is preparing the soil by hand, in the hope that they can produce enough food to sustain them until their ploughs and tractors launch these kinds of attacks in most are replaced.

# Dusting off Angola's old railway

(5)  
SAW 12/11/89

**HUAMBO (Angola)** — In a move that reflects growing confidence in Angola's economic future, Belgian engineers are preparing to reopen the war-torn Benguela railroad, once the main artery into Central Africa's rich mineral reserves.

If the \$572 million (R1.5 billion) renovation is completed as planned in the late 1990's it will help the region's black-ruled countries reduce their economic dependence on South Africa. Opening the line would also ease the economic plight of Angola, because it would allow the port city of Lobito to become a primary terminal for regional trade.

## Rewards

The first stage of the renovation effort, tentatively scheduled to begin this month, involves surveying the entire 1 350 km of rail track, as well as buildings, locomotives, railroad cars, bridges and telecommunications equipment. Because the railroad has been sabotaged by Angolan rebels, the engineers will have to travel under heavy guard.

"This whole thing could backfire if they come under attack," an African

## KENNETH NOBLE

diplomat in Luanda said, "but while there are risks in this project, there are also potentially huge rewards."

The survey, to be conducted by Tractebel, a subsidiary of Société Générale de Belgique, the Belgian conglomerate, is the first extensive review of the line in more than a decade. Ninety percent of the railroad is owned by Société Générale through a London-based subsidiary, Tanks Consolidated Investments, and 10 percent by the Angolan government.

The project is especially important to Zaire, a leading producer of copper and cobalt, which once sent half of its trade on the Benguela railroad, and to Zambia, another leading mineral producer.

Risky though the project is, the railroad has a symbolic importance at least as great as its economic or political potential to countries who feel threatened by South Africa.

Completed after a quarter-century of labour in 1929, the Benguela runs from Lobito on the Atlantic coast, climbs 1 830 m to the fertile highlands, crosses the savannas of eastern Angola and cuts through Shaba Province in southern Zaire.

# War veteran links SADF to Unita ivory slaughter

**A FORMER top South African bush war veteran this week claimed Unita was involved in a massive ivory smuggling racket to finance its war effort in Angola.**

And Colonel Jan Breytenbach, brother of exiled poet Brontis, said the finger should be pointed at the S.A. Defence Force for collaborating with Dr Jonas Savimbi in annihilating Angola's elephant and rhino population which now number a mere few hundred.

The ivory and rhino horns was transported through Namibia to South Africa from where it found its way to the Far East,

he alleged. A Defence Force spokesman said this week a board of inquiry chaired by retired Brigadier Ben de Wet (Roox) had cleared the SADF of involvement in the killing of game in 1988.

However, the inquiry found that small quantities of ivory, captured by Unita from poachers and others in Angola, were transported by the SADF on behalf of Unita.

## Bitter

Describing the Defence Force's probe as "superficial", Colonel Breytenbach told the Sunday Times that Dr Savimbi kept repeating "his big lie" of conserving game.

He said the probe hadn't exposed what had really happened, operated extensively in the Caprivi-Chobango before it became a theatre of war and also after Unita's massive extermination campaign had turned it into a sterile, lifeless green desert," he said.

"Elephants were mown down indiscriminately by the tearing rattle of automatic fire from AK-47 rifles and machine-guns.

## Hunting

"They shot everything, bulls, cows and calves, and no mercy campaign was conducted never seen before in Africa.

"The hundreds of thousands of elephants became thousands, the thousands became hundreds and the hundreds tens."

Col Breytenbach added that he had complained bitterly at the highest levels in South Africa and in Namibia but to no avail.

Last year, he personally informed a senior SADF general about his concern, he said. He also wrote a letter to General Ndlovu, commander of the 1st South African Infantry Battalion in Namibia.

"Savimbi's constantly repeats the lie that he con-

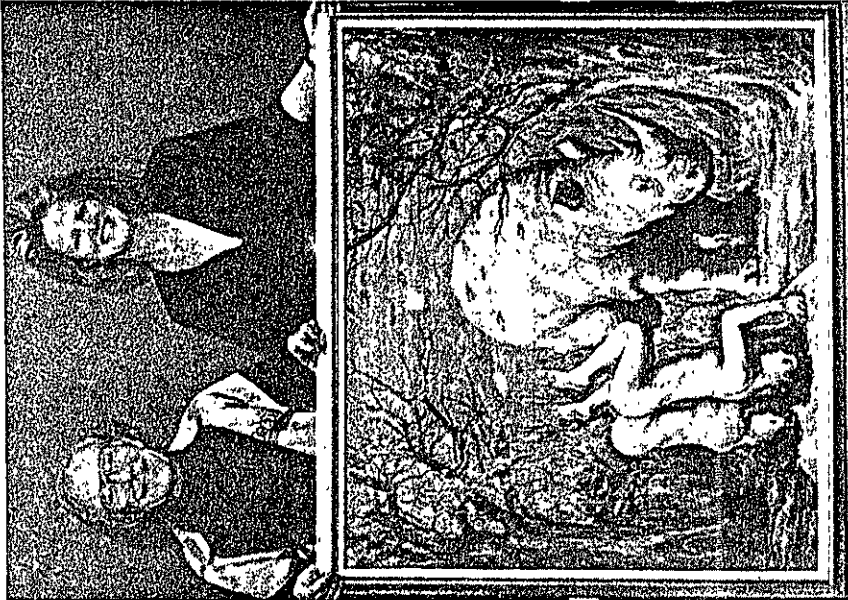
## Special report by DE WET POTGIETER

### Art to aid the rhinos

By MATTHEW CURTIN  
IT'S been billed as the art happening of the 80s as 52 of South Africa's top artists part company with their masterworks to raise money for the Rhino and Elephant Foundation.

The weekend event by Steve Biko will go on show at the Everard Read Gallery in Johannesburg before Tuesday's auction. Among the leading lights from the art world who contributed their works are painters Nina Romm, Penny Stopp, William Kentridge, Lucky Shoya and Italian artist Armando Barbedelli.

Mr Barbedelli was joined by Mr Barbedelli, Neelie Bolton who has been busy masterminding multi-million-rand fundraisers — including a "rhino regatta" on the Vaal River.



Noelie Bolton with Armando Barbedelli and his painting. Picture: STEVE GREEN

## Greedy

The recent series of arrests and vast amounts of illegal ivory confiscated near Okavango, at Walvis Bay

Town suggested there was a place where animals could be shot, indiscriminately, and kept in the same place or same protection organisation, Col Breytenbach said.

He added that Unita was not supposed to move these vast shipments out of the country.

"The million-dollar question is of course, who are the operators running the pipeline?" he asked.

"There are some among us who have a very good idea who these greedy scoundrels are," he said. Unita leaders could not be reached for comment, this week.



Colonel Jan Breytenbach... "Savimbi lied"

# Exile demand stalls Angolan ceasefire

CAPE TIMES  
20/11/89 (5)

Own Correspondent

LISBON. — Efforts by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire to resuscitate the Angolan ceasefire accord floundered at the weekend over renewed demands by the Luanda government that Unita rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi accepts temporary political exile.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa reporting from Luanda that Mr Mobutu's three hour meeting over the weekend with his Angolan counterpart President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, failed to advance the process which has been stalled since July.

Lusa, quoting a diplomat involved in the talks, said they had been a "fiasco" with an angry Mr Mobutu returning to Kinshasa virtually empty-handed.

The Zairean president has been leading a multi-African effort to get the two warring Angolan factions round a negotiating table to end a civil war which has lasted since Independence from Portugal in 1975.

A terse communique issued at the end of the meeting spoke only of an "exchange of views" and it was clear no progress had been made on key demands by both sides to end the fighting. These include Luanda's insistence that Mr Savimbi accepts temporary exile during the transition period to peace and a new order in the country.

The rebels for their part refuse to consider exile or Luanda's proposals for the two armies to be amalgamated and are demanding an immediate exchange of some 2 000 prisoners of war.

Earlier reports from Luanda had indicated that preliminary soundings on ceasefire proposals seemed certain to be accepted by both sides. Mr Mobutu's trip was being hailed as a breakthrough process, begun on July 22 with a deliberately vague ceasefire agreement.

It is thought here that Mr Dos Santos has been forced to take account of the increasing discontent among government hardliners opposing any deal with Unita.

# UN officials inspect Swapo bases in Angola

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — As the last SADF convoy of 38 vehicles rolled out of Namibia, top UN officials flew to Angola to inspect Swapo bases which must also be vacated in terms of the UN Resolution 435 peace plan.

UN spokesman Fred Eckhard told reporters that the deputy UN force commander, Brigadier Daniel Opande of Kenya, and the UN representative in Angola, ambassador Mr B A Clark, flew to Angola this morning to carry out the inspections. UN information is that there are about 300 Swapo military personnel still in Angola, and that they have handed in their weapons and uniforms in preparation for their repatriation to Namibia.

Mr Eckhard said the Swapo fighters would not be allowed to return to Namibia with weapons, but added that he did not know what would be done with Swapo's arms which are still in Angola.

## SATISFIED

The UN's 300 military observers have been closely monitoring the South African withdrawal and were satisfied it had been carried out in accordance with the settlement plan, said Mr Eckhard. He said the last convoy of 38 SADF vehicles was on its way out of Namibia and would have left the country by late yesterday or early today.

Mr Eckhard also disclosed that UN military observers had been permitted free access to

South African military installations in Walvis Bay. This was because the SADF withdrawal included a rotation of troops from Walvis Bay, through Namibia, back to bases in South Africa.

Namibians could be in for some pre-Christmas belt-tightening when Administrator-General Louis Pienaar presents what will be his last budget in the territory.

The secretary for economic affairs in Windhoek, Dr Johan Jones, said Mr Pienaar would present an additional budget either at the end of this month or in the first week of December.

## SHORTFALL

When Mr Pienaar presented the main annual budget earlier this year, he said there would be a shortfall of about R213-million on a total expenditure of R2 200-million. This was after financing of a deficit.

According to Dr Jones, Mr Pienaar will probably deal with the matter of financing the R213-million shortfall in the additional budget.

The 10 political parties which fought the recent UN-monitored Namibian elections have all been sent final, written warnings by the Windhoek municipality to remove their campaign posters, which festoon hundreds of telephone and electricity poles.

In addition to thousands of election posters all over Windhoek, there are probably tons of littered handbills.



CMY 71215 25/11/87

## Swapo bases in Angola to close

WINDHOEK. — Swapo military bases in Angola were expected to be closed by the weekend and plans are under way for the repatriation of about 300 Swapo soldiers, United Nations spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said yesterday.

He told a media briefing that Untag deputy force commander Brigadier Daniel Opande and UN representative in Angola Mr B A Clark were presently visiting Swapo bases.

In terms of the UN settlement plan for Namibian independence, the closing of Swapo bases had to coincide with the withdrawal of the remaining 1 500 South African Defence Force troops from the territory.

"It is anticipated that those bases will be closed this weekend," Mr Eckhard said, adding plans were being made to repatriate the remaining Swapo soldiers. — Sapa

**Savimbi:**

**Angola's**  
*ChM-Tank*  
**rights** 27/11/89

**same as** (5)

**Namibia**

**LISBON.** — The holding of free elections in Namibia shows Africans are ready for democracy, the leader of Angola's Unita rebels said in an interview published on Saturday.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said in the weekly *O Liberal* that the Namibian elections earlier this month were "an indication of the maturity of the peoples of Africa to carry out a democratic system".

"The rights of the Namibian people, not only in electing their leaders, but also in choosing their system, are the same rights of the Angolan people," he said in the *O Liberal*.

According to *O Liberal's* report from the rebels' south-eastern Angola bush headquarters of Jamba, Dr Savimbi blamed the government for the deadlock. He said the continued presence of Cuban troops allowed the MPLA to resist peace moves.

Meanwhile, Angola's Roman Catholic bishops appealed yesterday for free elections to end the country's 14-year civil war.

Issued by the Catholic Bishops Conference, the message called for an immediate ceasefire to stop the fighting that has "transformed the country into a sea of suffering". — Sapa-AP

# SADF's last POW in Angola is coming home

MIKE ROBERTSON

RIET EMAN Simoen Petrus, the last SADF prisoner of war, was last night released into the custody of the Red Cross. Petrus, a member of 101 Battalion, had been held captive in Angola since September 1987. He will return to Johannesburg from Luanda tomorrow.

Petrus's release comes after his continued captivity was raised by the SA delegation to the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) between Angola, SA and Cuba, at a meeting taking place in Hazyview in the eastern Transvaal.

dos Santos's name is said to have told the JMC that an administrative decision was taken at the weekend to release Petrus. The issue had been raised on numerous occasions at previous JMC meetings. Two Swapo leaders, Theo Ben Gurirab and Peter Mwashihenge, and DTA Constituent Assembly member Andrew Matjila attended a JMC meeting for the first time. Gurirab and Matjila addressed the meeting. The three will be observers at

## POW freed

Windhoek, will continue to operate.

The meeting apparently agreed there was a strong political component in the original agreement to have helicopter patrols but this had been overtaken by events.

In a joint Press statement after the meeting, the JMC said all delegations had expressed their satisfaction at the successful completion of free and fair elections in Namibia.

The delegations had urged continued cooperation among the parties to ensure Namibia's accession to independence under the best possible circumstances. The JMC also appealed to the international community for fiscal and financial support for an independent Namibia.

The statement said the continued presence of a small number of SADF personnel performing civilian functions such as air traffic control and medical status had also been discussed. SA had offered to withdraw these personnel upon request. Every effort was being made by all concerned to find replacements.

From Page 1

To Page 2

# Angola frees Namibian PoW at last

CMG Task 28/11/87

**HAZYVIEW.** — Namibia's independence process has taken another step forward with the closure of guerilla bases in Angola and the announcement of a prisoner release long demanded by South Africa.

Angola announced yesterday it had released a black Namibian soldier, easing a dispute that had clouded a year-old agreement designed to bring peace to Southern Africa.

Angola made its announcement at a meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission linking Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

The dispute about rifleman Simeon Petrus had threatened to overshadow the otherwise sunny atmosphere at the meeting, held in Hazyview, adjoining the Kruger Park.

The commission's role is to review progress of the agreement signed in New York last December under which Namibia gained independence from South Africa and Cuba withdrew 50 000 troops from Angola.

South African sources said the Cuban withdrawal was ahead of schedule.

Delegates ended the Hazyview talks with a statement saying the JMC would hold its next meeting in Luanda in February.

Meanwhile, UN officials in Namibia reported that Swapo closed its last remaining military bases in Angola on Friday.

UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said about 300 Swapo guerillas had been demobilised and would be returning to Namibia as civilians. — Sapa-Reuter

AFRICA

Bloem 30/11/87

# Family welcomes last PoW from Angola

TWO years, two months and five days after being captured by Angolan army Fapla soldiers in southern Angola, Petrus, of the SWA Territory Force's 101 Battalion, has arrived back in Namibia.

The SWATF's last prisoner of war, Rfn Simeon Petrus, returned home to Namibia yesterday afternoon after being handed over to the Red Cross and a representative of Namibia's Administrator-General Louis Pienaar at Jan Smuts Airport.

Petrus was handed over to administrator-general office director Kobus Bauermeester, and the head of the Red Cross in Namibia, Nicholas de Rougemont, who flew back to Windhoek with him.

Petrus was handed over at Jan Smuts Airport because the chartered aircraft in which he flew from Angola was to pick up Angolan and

DANIEL SIMON

Cuban Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) delegates who held talks with their SA counterparts in Hazyview on Monday.

A spokesman for Pienaar said Petrus was flown back to Windhoek in Pienaar's private aircraft and from there would return to his home in Owamboland.

## Taken

"I feel great," said Petrus at Windhoek's Eros airport during an emotional welcome by his sister, Heleni Amuthenu and father Petrus Israel, 73, of the Ondangua district in Owambo.

Petrus, 24, was taken prisoner by the Angolan soldiers in the Cunene province on September 24 1987. He was then taken to the Fapla soldiers' base, where he stayed over-

night, before going on to Lubango and afterwards to Luanda.

Jailed in a Luanda prison, he was transferred to a second prison in the city on December 28 last year.

On January 31 this year, he appeared in a Luanda court and was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

His sister told reporters: "I am so very happy. We are going to have a party to celebrate his return."

As a member of the now demobilised SWA Territory Force, Petrus will undergo the same procedures, and receive his full pay for the period he was in Angola, at Oshakati in the next day or two, official spokesman Gerhard Roux said.

Soldiers would be paid until the end of the financial year on March 31 next year, or until independence, when the new government would most probably take over that commitment, Roux added. — Sapa.

Own Correspondent

**WINDHOEK.** — Mr Petrus Israel slaughtered an ox at his kraal in Oshikashika in Ovambo to celebrate his son's homecoming last night.

Two years, two months and three days after he was captured in a military operation in southern Angola, Rifleman Simeon Petrus, 24, came home, freed by the Angolans in a spirit of fading hostility.

His 73-year-old father doffed his battered hat and embraced him in silent emotion on the tarmac of Windhoek's Eros airport after the returning soldier stepped off the plane chartered by administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar.

"I feel wonderful," Mr Petrus, a

# soldier

back," said Mrs Amuthenu. "My father has slaughtered an ox for a big feast." The group left Windhoek for Oshikashika, near Ondangwa, immediately after the news conference.

Small compensation for the long captivity is the back-pay waiting for Mr Petrus.

"He has to be demobilised, as all other members of the SWA Territory Force have been," Mr Roux said. "He will receive full pay for the two years, and also his salary up to the end of March next year, the end of the financial year."

# Angolans free SWATF

5 30/1/89. C. Times

former 101 Battalion infantryman, told reporters at a brief news conference curtailed by officials.

"This is an emotional moment for him, please do not put him under stress," administration spokesman Mr Gerhard Roux said at the side of the relaxed-looking soldier.

"You must realise that there are still some prisoners being held, so any statement by him may jeopardise their position," Mr Roux said, but declined to identify any other Namibians or South Africans held in Angola.

Speaking haltingly in Afrikaans,

Mr Petrus said nothing about his treatment in Angola, but told reporters he had been captured by Angola's Fapla military in southern Kunene province on September 24, 1987. Over three days he was moved to Lubango and then flown to Luanda where he was held in a prison.

On January 31 this year he was sentenced by an Angolan court to 10 years in jail but was released into the care of officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Luanda three days ago.

Mr Roux said Mr Petrus was

flown to Johannesburg in an Angolan military plane sent to fetch Angolan and Cuban delegates, to the Joint Commission meeting held in the Kruger Park this week.

Mr Petrus' sister, Mrs Hileni Amuthenu, came south from Ovambo with their father in a Red Cross vehicle to meet the brother she last saw only days before he was captured. The freed soldier flew to Windhoek with ICRC representative Mr Nicholas de Rougemont and Mr Kobus Bauermeister, chief executive in Mr Pienaar's office.

"We are very happy to have him



**FAMILY REUNION** ... SWATF soldier Mr Simeon Petrus, 24, holds his father, Mr Petrus Israel, 73, in a silent embrace at Windhoek's Eros Airport yesterday after his release from Angola after more than two years' imprisonment.

Picture: REUTERS

# CIA plane crashes on Unita military mission to Angola

W645 30/11/89

WASHINGTON — A Central Intelligence Agency aircraft on its way from Zaire to Angola, carrying military and other equipment for US-backed rebels in Angola, has crashed, killing at least five Americans and an undetermined number of Unita rebels.

Government officials said yesterday that the L-100 flight left a military base at Kamina in Zaire on Monday night and went down near Jamba in south-east Angola, where the Unita rebels have their headquarters. The sources attributed the crash to pilot error.

They said all the Americans on board were killed with several Unita rebels. A number of rebels survived.



**CIA PROPERTY:** An L-100 plane like the one which crashed in Angola on a Unita-supporting mission.

said the officials, speaking anonymously. Asked for comment, CIA spokesman Mr Mark Mansfield said: "As a matter of policy we never confirm or deny such reports."

At the Defence Department, offi-

cia's confirmed that one of those killed was a civilian who was working for the Department of the Army.

The crash of a CIA plane on a mission in support of anti-communist rebels underscores US-Soviet differences on the eve of this week-

end's superpower summit in the Mediterranean.

The news also comes just two days after the administration of President Bush lodged a protest with the Soviet Embassy over an abortive attempt to deliver Soviet weapons to leftist rebels in El Salvador.

That shipment also did not make it as the Cessna aircraft carrying the weaponry from Nicaragua crashed in eastern El Salvador.

The Bush administration reacted indignantly to the perceived Soviet support for the Salvadoran insurgency, but there was little US comment last night following the disclosure of the crash. — Sapa-AP.

# FW flies to Ivory Coast for Angolan talks

13/12/89

MIKE ROBERTSON

A HIGH-POWERED SA delegation headed by President F W de Klerk left for the Ivory Coast early this morning for a day of intensive discussions with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, his deputy Leon Wessels and Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden accompanied De Klerk. The main item on the agenda was expected to be the civil war in Angola.

The Angolan peace talks have become bogged down since the collapse of the ceasefire agreed in June at Gbadolite. There have also been disagreements about what was agreed at Gbadolite.

After Unita expressed dissatisfaction

about the mediation role being played by Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, there was speculation that Houphouet-Boigny could play a more prominent role in the talks.

But Portuguese President Mario Soares, who met Houphouet-Boigny this week, said the latter, a close ally of Unita's Jonas Savimbi, would remain in the background.

Savimbi also met the Ivory Coast leader last week. He later met officials from the SA Foreign Affairs Department.

The South Africans would be careful not to be seen as detracting from the role being played by Mobutu, but would be aware that

some European countries, with extensive interests in Angola, were beginning to doubt the Zairean leader's ability to be a successful mediator.

De Klerk was also accompanied by a delegation from the National Parks Board and an announcement about SA aid to the Ivory Coast in this regard can be expected.

Houphouet-Boigny was expected to question the South Africans on the progress being made in removing obstacles to negotiations and the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela would almost certainly be raised.

De Klerk has said he will make one more unexpected important announcement in December and it is possible he will disclose this to Houphouet-Boigny



CMC Tmp  
ay, December 1, 1983

# De Klerk flies to see Boigny

By PATRICK CULL  
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk leaves for the Ivory Coast this morning for talks with President Felix Houphouet-Boigny which will essentially attempt to resolve the civil war in Angola.

It will be Mr De Klerk's first overseas visit as head of state, although he did travel to Zaire and Zambia as leader of the National Party. It was the Zambian journey which prompted the final showdown with his predecessor, Mr P W Botha.

President Houphouet-Boigny, who is now 84, was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his commitment to the peaceful resolution of Africa's problems, but was unsuccessful.

It is now being suggested that he wants to be the key figure in resolving the Angola problem and so line up another attempt at the prize.

To become the peacemaker in Angola, President Houphouet-Boigny will be trying to replace another South African "ally", Zaire's Presi-

dent Mobutu Sese-Seko, the current broker in the region whose attempts have not met with any success so far.

If the Ivory Coast president does succeed in replacing his Zairean counterpart he will have to overcome the same key problem, Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi.

The ruling MPLA government of President Eduardo dos Santos wants Dr Savimbi to go into exile at least temporarily as a pre-condition to negotiations. And, as the number of Cuban troops north of the 13th parallel dwindles over the next 30 months, MPLA anxiety is likely to grow.

Dr Savimbi is refusing to leave Angola and it is here that the South African head of state could play a key role.

The Ivory Coast president has already met Dr Savimbi in the Ivory Coast and today he meets another key player in the region.

Mr De Klerk, who will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, will also brief his counterpart on developments in South Africa, such as the possible release date for Mr Nelson Mandela.

## CIA plane with supplies for Unita crashes

WASHINGTON — A CIA L-100 cargo plane, ferrying military equipment to Jonas Savimbi's US-backed Unita rebels, has crashed in Angola.

All four Americans aboard died, with several guerillas who were passengers. *6/Day 11/2/89*

Seen as an accident, rather than a shooting-down by the Angolan military, the wreck is embarrassing for the Bush administration.

US officials have only just complained to Moscow of Soviet bloc arms being found in a crashed plane delivering weapons to Marxist rebels

Own Correspondent

in El Salvador. (S) ~~(S)~~

President Bush plans to raise the shipments with President Gorbachev at this weekend's Malta summit. He feels that the Soviet leader has reneged on pledges to stop Cuba and Nicaragua from arming the insurgents.

The US flight reportedly marked the resumption of a covert CIA operation from Kamina air base in Zaire. — Daily Telegraph.

# Downed aircraft belonged to CIA

*CNN 7:12 PM 1/12/89*  
WASHINGTON. — A plane that crashed in southern Angola, killing at least four Americans aboard, belonged to the CIA and was loaded with military supplies for US-backed insurgents, the Washington Post reported yesterday.

The State Department confirmed that the crash occurred on Monday in a remote area of south-east Angola, bordering Zaire, but gave few additional details. The CIA refused any comment on the report.

"The cause of the crash is unknown," State Department spokeswoman Ms Anita Stockman said. Zaire has long been known as a supply route through which US weapons have been shipped to Unita rebels.

"We have been in contact with Unita, which is attempting to clarify the circumstances of the crash," Ms Stockman said, adding that the State Department had no further information on the Americans. One of the victims was identified by relatives as Mr James Spessard, 31, a US Army employee from Maryland. — Sapa-Reuter

# SA envoys on peace mission to Dos Santos

MPLA 4/12/89 5

**Argus Africa News Service**  
LUANDA. — Two top South African officials, believed to be from the Department of Foreign Affairs, have been on a secret visit to the Angolan capital for talks with President dos Santos.

Their visit is believed to be connected with South Africa's part in formulating a new ceasefire plan for Angola. Agreement on the new plan is understood to be close.

The ceasefire initiative featured prominently in the talks between President F W de Klerk of South Africa and President Felix Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast in Yamoussoukro last week.

The ceasefire would be agreed between President dos Santos' MPLA government and the Unita rebels, led by Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Dr Savimbi said at the weekend he was ready to sign a fresh ceasefire agreement to end the 14-year-old civil war in Angola.

The previous ceasefire, reached with the help of Afri-

can leaders at a summit Gbadolite in Zaire in June, broke down over a dispute over the terms of the agreement.

"I am ready to sign a ceasefire now, tomorrow, any time, any place," Dr Savimbi said in Kinshasa at the weekend after a meeting with President Mobutu.

The Zairean leader is reported to have outlined a new peace plan to Dr Savimbi during their 10 hours of talks. Zairean sources said all that remained to be done was to fix a time and a place for the signing of the ceasefire.

## Case of wine

Dr Savimbi was due to meet with President Houphouet Boigny today.

The visit to Luanda by the two South African officials is thought to be connected with discussing the Angolan government's agreement to the terms of the ceasefire and the signing arrangements.

The two officials, who refused to give their names, arrived in Luanda in an executive jet — in the cargo hold of

which was a case of Nederburg wine, a gift for the Angolan president.

● South African diplomatic sources are "optimistic" that formal diplomatic relations will be established with the Ivory Coast but cannot put even a tentative date to it, writes Peter Fabricius, of The Argus Political Staff.

They were reacting today to President De Klerk's state visit to the Ivory Coast on Friday and Saturday when he received red carpet treatment.

Mr De Klerk said after meeting him that he hoped to establish diplomatic relations with the Ivory Coast. Such relations were "not a dream". They could become a reality but he did not want to bind the government of President Houphouet-Boigny.

## Police hunt dangerous robbery gang

The Argus Bureau  
PORT ELIZABETH. — Police

# Blast: MPLA accused (5)

Angolan rebels accused the MPLA government yesterday of carrying out a weekend bomb attack in Luanda and again insisted, they were ready to end 14 years of civil war.

*Star 5/12/84*  
A communique signed by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi blamed the government for the Friday night blast in the Angolan capital, which injured 10 people. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Cuba says 2 016 of its men died in Angola

skw 7/12/89

The Star's Africa  
News Service

(5)

LUANDA — Cuba announced yesterday that its death toll in the Angolan war was 2 016, a figure much lower than generally believed in the West.

The announcement came as the first Cuban bodies buried in Angola during the 14-year war were in the process of being repatriated.

About 1 000 more Cuban troops left Angola by ship from Luanda at the weekend for Cuba. This brings the number of Cubans who have left Angola so far to well over half the 50 000 Cuban soldiers who were here at the height of the war last year.

# Science fiction Luanda

Start 23/12/80

**LUANDA** — The capital city is the humid, depressive reflection of the Angolan economy. A slum city where almost every single shop is closed down and all the buildings are dirty and derelict.

Of course one can look at it on the lighter side, as did one Western diplomat.

"This is like science fiction, a best-seller science fiction," he said when questioned about the economy.

And indeed trying to follow the official Angolan economy is fiction, because it simply does not work.

Salaries, for example, have ceased to have any meaning at all. It is better to have a case of beer than an average salary of 11 000 kwanzas.

The case of beer can fetch you about 30 000 kwanzas in what the Angolans politely describe as "the parallel market".

At these markets, which proliferate in the outskirts of the Angolan capital, beers from Portugal, Holland, Ireland, Denmark and Belgium are readily available at an average of 1 000 kwanzas per bottle or can.

## Imported water

At the official rate of 30 kwanzas to the US dollar that would be \$33, but that rate exists only in the offices of the Angolan government or in the few hotels that function and where everything, including the water to drink is imported and paid for in dollars.

In the real world of the Luanda population the rate of the dollar is about 100 times more than the official one, selling at about 3 000 kwanzas to the dollar.

The imported beer is therefore very cheap, only about 33 US cents.

So, if salaries are meaningless and the currency worthless how do Angolans live in Luanda?

To use the local jargon you have to have "a scheme" and

## 'Parallel market' dominates

Angola is in deep economic trouble and, despite the adoption of its own economic recovery programme, pressures are building up for the MPLA government to implement reforms faster. **JOAO SANTA RITA of our Africa News Service, who was recently in Angola, reports.**

The scheme generally starts at your work place.

All workers are given a ration card which entitles them to buy at the official government prices a very limited list of goods, such as rice, cooking oil, toothpaste, soap and four litres of wine.

Whatever the case, "the scheme" then starts with the worker keeping what he needs for himself and bartering the rest with friends and other people who also have a "scheme".

"In Angola there is no such a thing as Marxist-socialism. Here we have schematic-socialism," quipped a local resident.

Government officials have access to shops where they can buy goods such as whisky and beer at the ridiculously low official price.

A bottle of whisky was selling at 750 kwanzas, a good "scheme" since you can sell that in the parallel market at between 60 and 100 times more.

At the entrance to the shop a few women, taking me for an official, were not interested in the whisky. "Comrade, please, comrade, get us some beer," one of them asked.

Explained a long time foreign resident: "Here we have a beer economy. If you take beer to the parallel market you know you can change it for anything you want because beer, as a sought-

after commodity, can always be traded off for something else at an agreed value."

Local residents of course make use of the few services that the State provides, at ridiculously low "parallel" prices, such as petrol, which is plentiful and air transportation.

Petrol sells at 25 kwanza a litre, about 83 US cents at the official rate. In the real "parallel" economy under which everybody lives, that enables you to fill a 60 litre tank for less than a dollar.

A pirate taxi driver told me he made 80 000 kwanzas in a normal day of work where each trip costs 500 kwanzas.

His earnings are nearly eight times more in a day than an average monthly official salary, and more than the monthly official salary of the president!

He could travel to the southern town of Lubango and back by plane every day for the price of 11 000 kwanzas and still have a comfortable salary at the "parallel" rate and a millionaire's one at the official rate.

## Chaotic situation

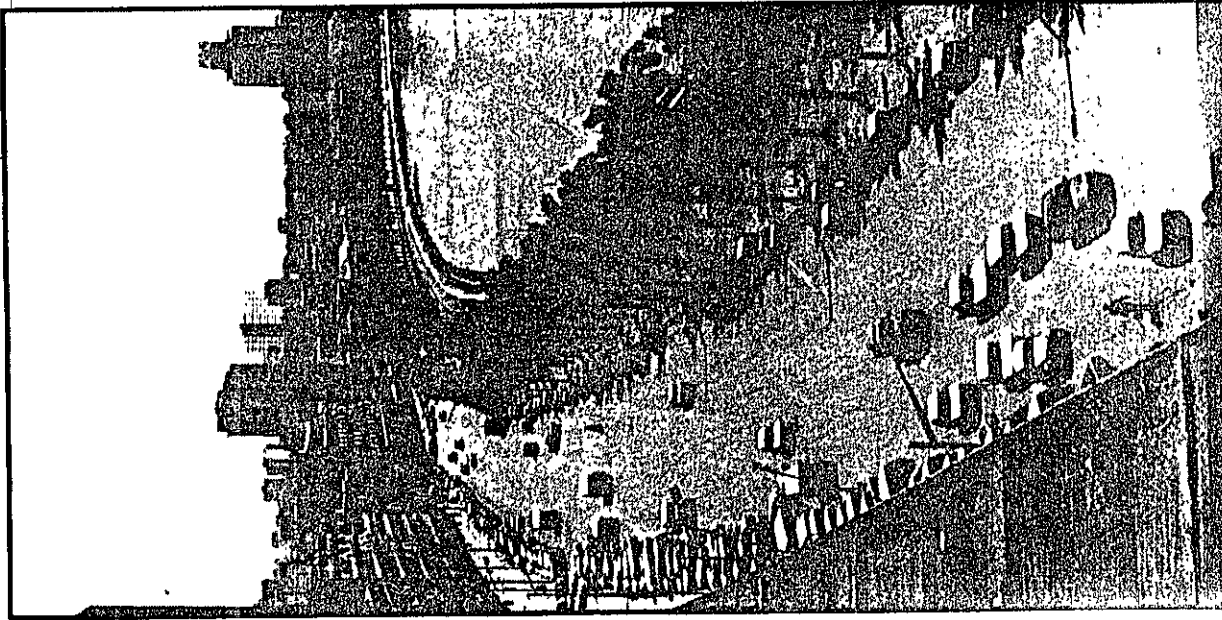
The Angolan government is now moving to put an end to this chaotic situation and has joined the IMF and the World Bank.

It is now closing down the government-owned shops and companies and handing back shops to private owners in a move which the official newspaper said will "dynamise that economic sector".

But diplomats complained that, apart from a couple of provinces, the reforms are being introduced too slowly.

The feeling in Luanda is that much more needs to be done much faster, or the science fiction could become a nightmare.

Ironically, away from the slum conditions of the centre of Luanda, the parallel markets in their muddy, unhygienic and primitive conditions are thriving, bustling with activity, with barter in beers and in hundreds of thousands of kwanzas, almost a new informal CBD.



BEAUTIFUL FROM AFAR: Luanda, although retaining some of its beauty, has become almost a huge slum. © Picture by John Ryan.

**If you don't nail it down, say totsienis**

## JOAO SANTA RITA

**LUANDA** — At night, in the comfort of the French-managed luxury hotel across the square from Luanda's port, one can occasionally hear the staccato sound of automatic weapons.

Short bursts, followed by single shots and more bursts. The locals don't pay any attention and the visitors soon get accustomed to it.

The battle going on in the port is for imported goods, especially for alcoholic beverages, which unlike the local money, have real value in the markets.

And Luanda port, through which most of the country's imports come, is the main battle area between the thieves and the government. At night soldiers patrol the port area in cars.

An EEC official estimated that between 40 and 50 percent of the goods arriving at the port disappear.

A transport ministry official told the local radio that the port authorities tried initially to solve the problem by recruiting its own guard force. It did not work because the force was not paid for two years.

"Everything gets stolen everywhere."

A Portuguese company renovating a hotel in the southern town of Lubango imported six containers, one with alcoholic beverages, the other five with building materials and tools. When they finally arrived in Lubango the container containing the drinks had been looted. The others were intact.

Officials told me that imported government cars often are stripped of radios and windcreens before they leave the port.

Indeed, the tales about Luanda port are becoming legendary.

A French oil rigger said that while anchored at Luanda bay in their supply boat they had been robbed at gun point by "pirates" who boarded the boat from canoes.

"They simply wanted the video and TV," he explained.

(15) Star 15/12/89

# Way to Africa is through

## SA links already explored

South Africa's diplomatic offensive in Africa could soon gain impetus in Angola. **JOAO SANTA RITA** of the Star's Africa News Service has spent a week travelling in Angola and found that contacts have already taken place.

**LUANDA** — On the day that 1 000 Cuban troops were driven noisily through Luanda's streets on their way to the port to be taken home by ship, the South Africans arrived.

The two officials from Pretoria arrived as South Africans usually do in Africa — secretly, quietly, visibly upset at being "discovered" by journalists — and with cases of Nederberg wine in the cargo hold of their executive jet.

But, as one Angolan pointed out, this time they had at least arrived in Angola at the invitation of the Luanda government. Indeed, the country's roving ambassador, Mr Miguel Neto, gave them a warm handshake before leading them to the waiting Mercedes Benz limousines.

No details have been given about the visit, which occurred on December 2, but it is clear now that both sides are willing to expand those contacts for political and economic reasons and that independent Namibia could become the bridge through which South Africa will finally gain economic access to Angola.

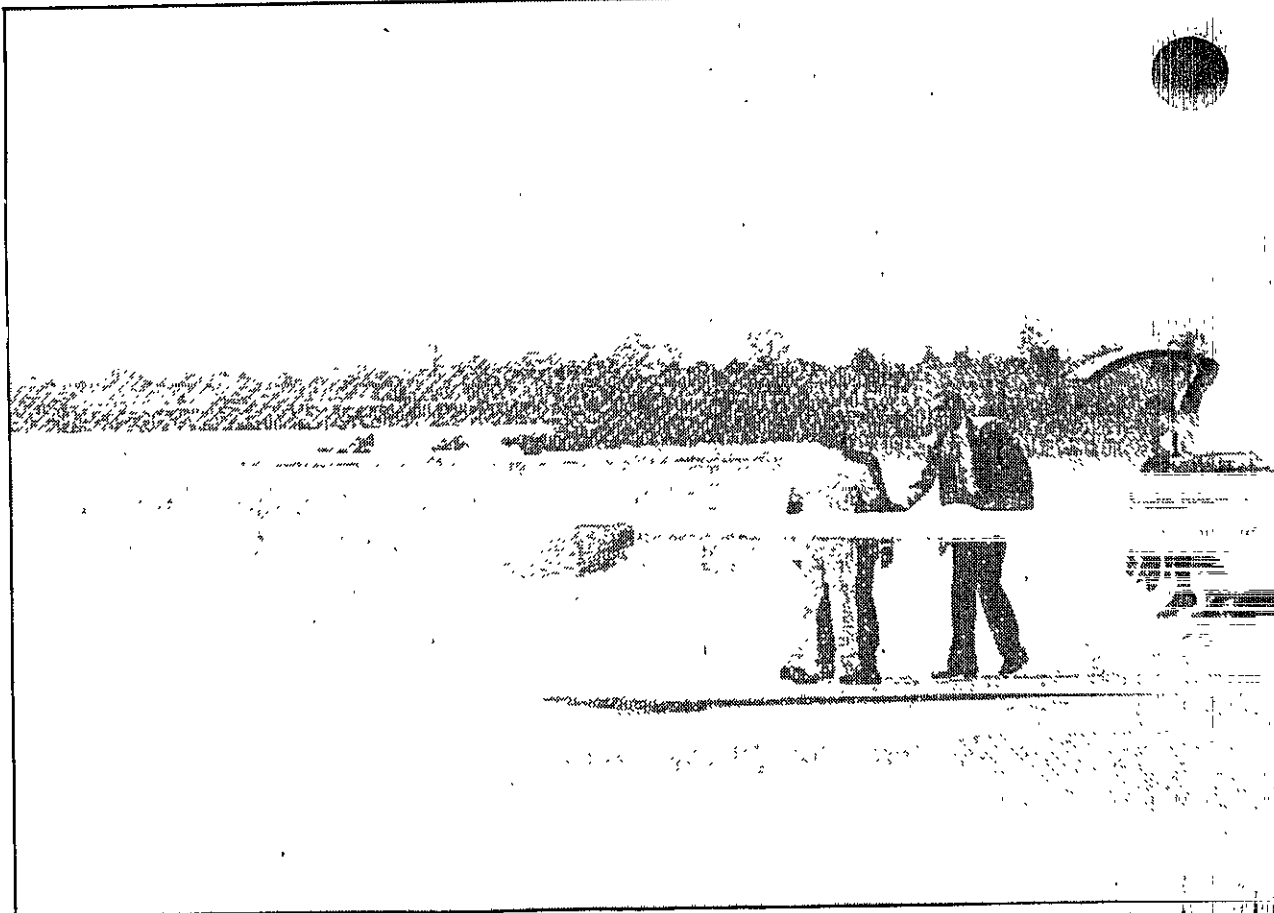
It is clear that the Angolan authorities are hoping that Namibia's independence will not result in the upheavals that other African countries have known and that South African know-how and business will continue to operate there.

"In a way it was very good that Swapo did not gain a two-thirds majority; compromises will have to be reached and everybody now wants compromise," a senior member of the ruling MPLA Party's Central Committee told me.

In the southern town of Lubango, once a main Cuban air force base, two Namibian construction firms have already applied to work there.

Mr Lopo do Nascimento, Provincial Commissioner for Huila province, in which Lubango is situated, said there were also Namibian-based companies interested in opening supermarkets in Lubango and becoming involved in import and export businesses with Angola.

Asked if the authorities would object to the fact that many Namibia-based firms are South African, Mr do Nascimento replied: "For me



With no fanfare the South Africans arrive at Luanda airport to be welcomed by Angola's roving ambassador Mr Miguel Neto.

they are Namibian companies."

He added: "I think that the independence of Namibia will become very important for us and will lead to an intensification of contacts. The new order in southern Africa will be based upon this kind of relationship."

Technicians from the Namibian water and electricity corporation, Swawec, have been in central Angola to inspect the Gove dam, which was being built before independence in 1975.

But it is not only via Namibia that South African companies could find in Angola a ready market for its products.

In the two or three hotels that still function in Luanda literally everything — mineral water, cold drinks, beer, butter, jams, canned fruit, wine — is imported from Europe.

### Suspicious still high

The hotels — in which only US dollars are accepted — are managed by either Portuguese or French firms.

"South Africa could become Portugal's biggest competitor in Angola," said the MPLA Central Committee member, who did not wish to be named.

"We are aware that everything we now get from Europe is readily available much nearer and much cheaper. We are also aware that language barriers could easily be overcome because of the large Portuguese community in

South Africa."

But political barriers and suspicions of South African intentions are still high. Although almost all officials and civilians contacted were eager to hear about President FW de Klerk's reforms and had high expectations of his government, they also did not tire of pointing out that in the past South Africa had made promises which it had not kept. The violations of the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique were often referred to.

Mr Roberto de Almeida, MPLA Party secretary for ideology, who is considered to be number two man in the Angolan hierarchy, said Angola recognised that South Africa was an economic power in the region.

"In this region South Africa could become partner in the economy, in the social service in fact in everything. We thus see co-operation as possible as long as South Africa expresses the same will and introduces the necessary changes that will lead to a healthy relationship with the states of the region," Mr de Almeida said.

He said South Africa should change its internal policies and cease all support for "dissident groups" in neighbouring countries. His government had been particularly encouraged by a recent statement by South African Defence Minister General Magnus Malan that South Africa has no intention of intervening militarily in any neighbouring country.



# Unita is blamed for poverty and hunger

5  
Star  
18/12/89

**JOAO SANTA RITA** of the Argus Africa News Service recently visited Angola and saw the horrors of the war.

CHIBIA (Southern Angola) — Jose Jumbo was so angry he did not notice the terrifying screams of the two-year-old child he had picked up by the leg like a rag doll.

"It's all lies what they told you in Jamba," he shouted as the child screamed, head down, her small body twisting in terror from the strong grip of the old man.

"The Unita men picked up small boys like this and smashed their heads against the trees. They said we had been teaching them not to support Unita."

He put the child on the floor and she ran for safety still crying. There was a scary silence under the thatched "django" (a hut used for meetings) where the refugees had assembled to meet the "two South Africans who had been with Unita at Jamba".

Then Jose Jumbo shouted again, almost in desperation: "It's all lies what they tell you in Jamba." The assembled refugees murmured "hum, hum" in approval, some of them adding "lies, lies", clicking their tongues and shaking their heads in disapproval.

## Area of support

Then the old man told his story. The Unita guerillas had arrived in the early hours of the morning some two years ago in his village in northern Huila province near the border of Huambo province, the traditional area of support for Unita.

"We had our vegetables — tomatoes, onions, cabbage. We had our cattle. They came and said Unita was not winning because of people like us who they said supported the MPLA. They said we were teaching the boys to do the same. They killed them, smashing their heads against the trees. They grabbed a pregnant woman and cut her open."

The words came out in anger, with vivid descriptions of the atrocities. The rest of the refugees murmured "hum,

hum" once in a while, some of them adding details to the story of murder. Then Jose Jumbo described how they found his son who had once been a soldier in the government army, FAPLA.

"They brought him before me. They said he was a traitor and I was responsible. They chopped off his forearms, then the rest of the arms, then they cut his body . . . in front of me."

Jose Jumbo stopped talking. He was visibly incensed that I had told them that Unita claimed to be fighting for their liberation. There were no tears, though. He just looked straight at me as he described in words and abrupt gestures his son's horrifying death.

Another refugee, Bernardo Benjamin, then recalled that Unita had kidnapped young

women, taken their cattle away, burnt their crops. The villagers walked south ("a very long way — many days walk") with the children on their backs until finally they were picked up by government troops and later relocated to the small village about 30 Kilometres from Chibia, a small village south of Lubango.

There they have built a school, a church (they are Adventists), and a health clinic that has a poster stating which medicines are essential to fight malaria, diarrhoea and fever.

Now, a drought in the area where the 140 families are has destroyed the crops they planted in their new village and the villagers have begun slaughtering the few head of cattle the government allocated them.

"It's not the drought's fault.

Where we come from there is no drought. It is Unita's fault that we are hungry and poor," Jose Jumbo said.

The villagers murmured more "hums" of approval and some shouted "yes, it is true".

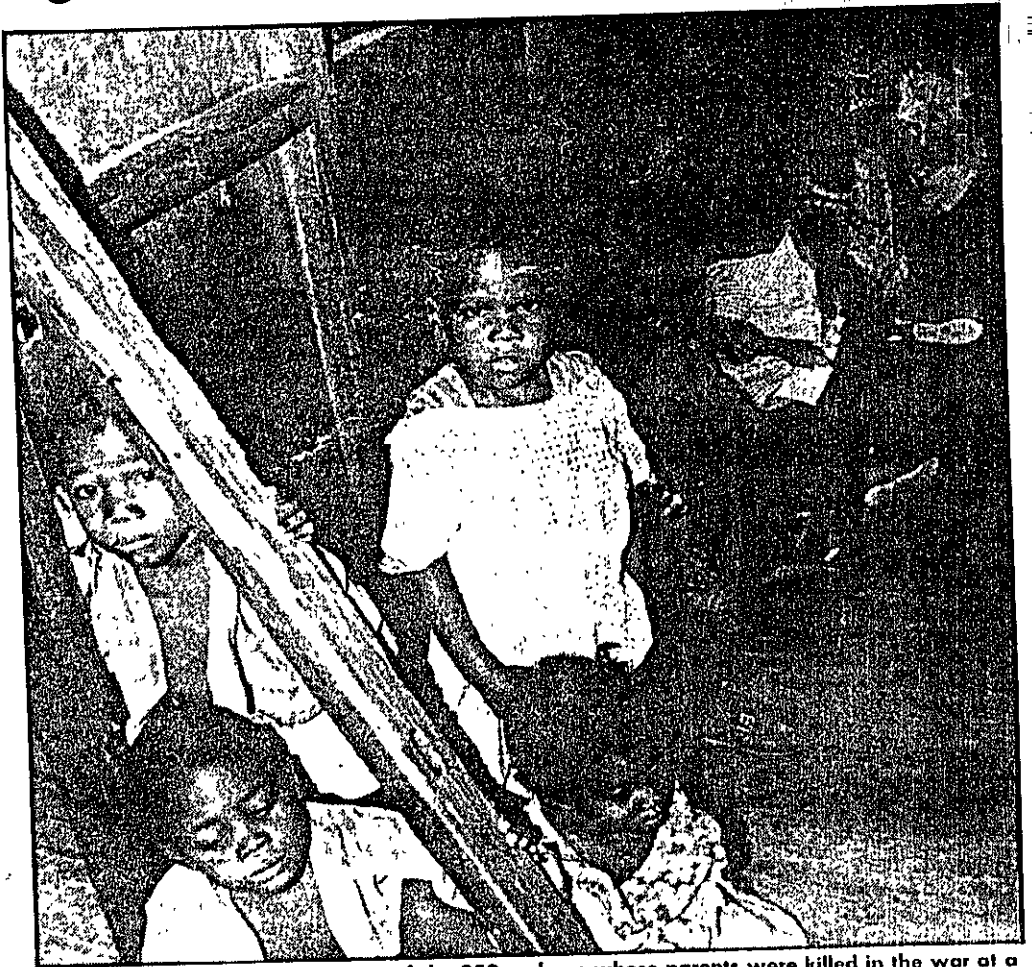
They did not know how peace could be achieved — "we just want peace so we can go back to our land," one villager said.

But, if there was peace what about Unita and its guerillas?

Jose Jumbo stood up again to speak, his hands touching his legs, almost in humble attention.

"We will forgive them. We will not remember the things they have done. Tell your friends we are hungry now. If there is peace we must forget about the past."

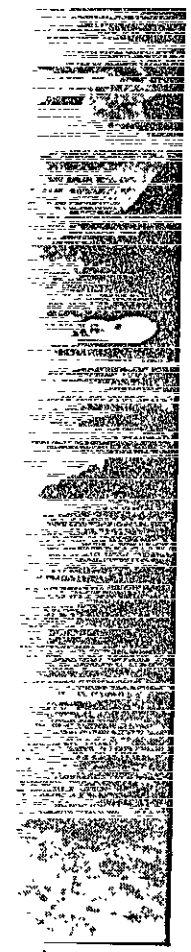
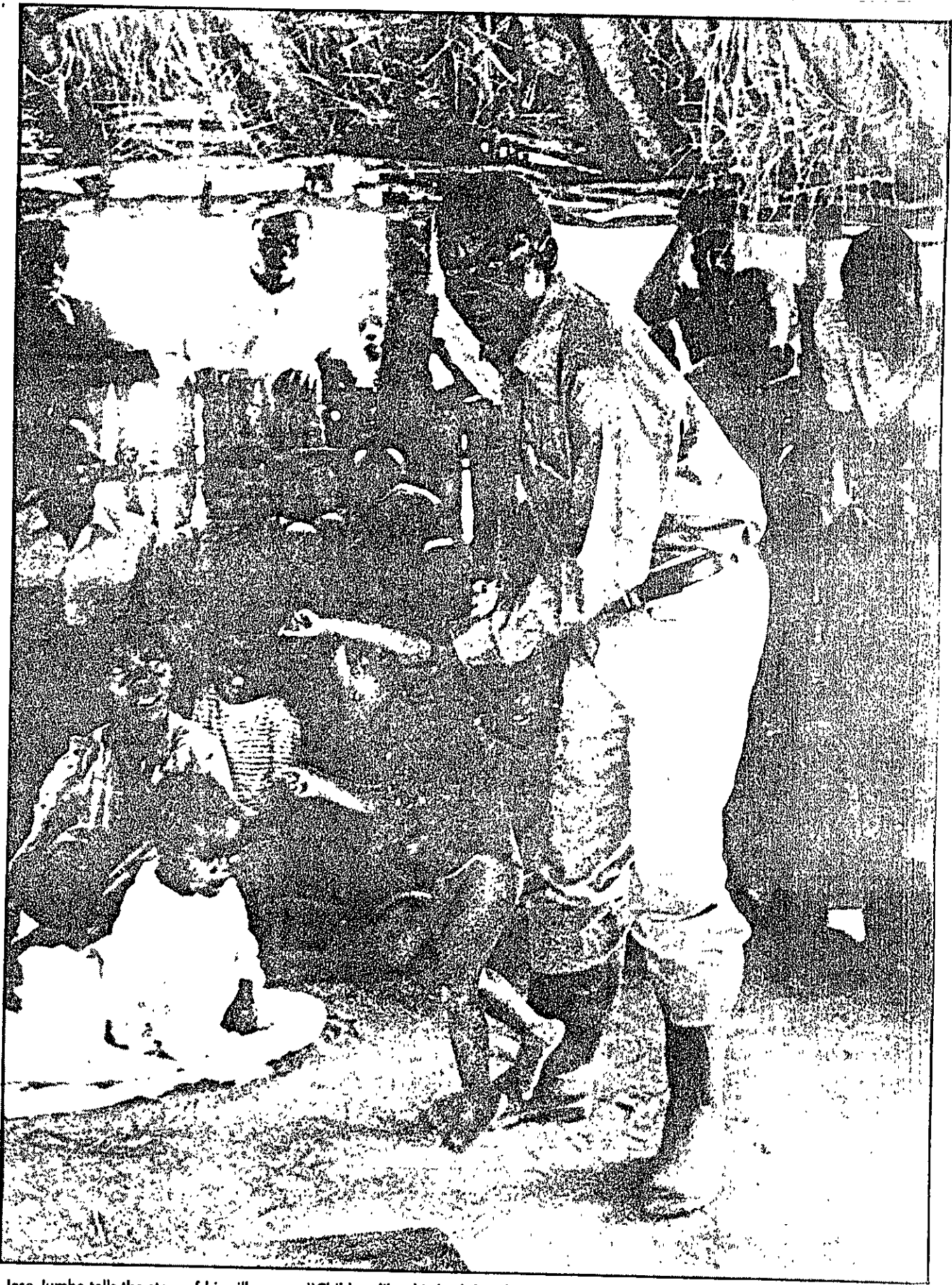
The villagers clapped.



Awaiting a better future . . . some of the 250 orphans whose parents were killed in the war at a home in Lubango, southern Angola.

(5)

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12/12/89



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Jose Jumbo tells the story of his village . . . "Children like this had their heads smashed against trees." © Pictures by John Ryan.

LUANDA — Unita rebels claimed yesterday that Marxist government forces had launched a major attack against Unita positions in south-eastern Angola.

Unita's Black Cockerel radio, monitored in Luanda, said government forces had begun a "suicide attack", pushing toward Unita's stronghold in Jamba, but gave no details of casualties in the fighting.

The government attack was aimed at the towns of Ongiva, Caiundo and Ionde, on the borders of Cuanene and Cuando-Cubango provinces, south of Cuito-Cuanavale, where the two armies fought a major battle last year, the radio said.

Meanwhile, the state-controlled daily Jornal de Angola claimed rebels killed an unspecified number of civilians in the drought-hit village of Tchimuholo, in Huila province.

President José Eduardo dos Santos last week called for postponement of a summit of eight African leaders originally planned to discuss the Angolan peace process yesterday in Luanda. — Sapa-AP

'Major' <sup>CMH</sup>  
<sup>Tin K</sup>  
attack, <sup>28/12/89</sup>  
says Unita <sup>(S)</sup>

# Angola backs off from ceasefire <sup>(S)</sup> envoys

29/12/89  
EDWARD WEST

ANGOLA's President Eduardo dos Santos — under pressure from hardliners in his government — is backing off from ceasefire proposals negotiated by Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko in Nice recently, say diplomatic sources.

In the meantime, fierce fighting between the ruling MPLA and Unita rebels has erupted in south-eastern Angola during the past week.

Sapa reports that 69 rebels and 14 government troops have been killed in the fighting.

Last week Dos Santos called for an indefinite postponement of a summit of eight African leaders to discuss the Angolan war because the eight were too busy to attend.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi was not invited.

SA officials said the planned summit followed international pressure, mainly from the US and Zaire. A ceasefire agreement between Savimbi and Dos Santos at Gbadolite on June 22 collapsed earlier.

After this, Mobutu held a series of meetings with Unita, MPLA and SA Foreign Affairs officials in Nice. The meetings were aimed at overcoming obstacles that had arisen since the ceasefire collapsed.

SA officials said after the meetings that a new ceasefire had been agreed and

awaited signing. Savimbi, after meeting Mobutu in Kinshasa in early December, said he was ready to sign.

But SA diplomatic sources said Dos Santos had since come under pressure from hardliners in his government not to sign the ceasefire.

Angolan government sources estimate about 4 000 people have been killed in the conflict in the past six months.

Savimbi has said he regrets the government's new offensive.

"The next five days will see a fresh outbreak of war across the country, and on the Cuito Cuanavale front there will be battles of the greatest possible intensity," he said

Star 29/12/89

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## 69 Unita rebels reported killed in fresh hostilities

# Fierce fighting erupts in Angola

LISBON — Fierce fighting has erupted in Angola over the past week, killing 69 Unita rebels and 14 government soldiers, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said yesterday.

Lusa, quoting an Angolan armed forces statement in Luanda, said most of the fighting occurred in the provinces of Bie, Huambo, Huila and Cuanza-Norte from December 20 to 26.

The army said its forces captured six rebels, freed 106 civilians held by Unita and seized dozens of mines.

Unita yesterday threatened an all-out offensive against the country's Marxist government, but said they were continuing the 14-year-old war with reluctance and were ready for a truce.

Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi said in a statement he was willing to sign a truce, but outbreaks of fierce fighting during Christmas week had forced the rebels to step up combat.

Meanwhile, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire renewed his role as mediator in the Angolan conflict by receiving an emissary from the Luanda government at his home village of Gbadolite.

Angolan Justice Minister Mr Fernando Jose de Franca Dias van Dunem complained on Wednesday that Mr Savimbi has completely failed to respect cease-fire accords brokered by President Mobutu in a June.

The Angolan Minister expressed his government's confidence that President Mobutu would try patching together a new agreement, but claimed any deal

would likely be sabotaged by Mr Savimbi's Unita.

Repeated attempts to reach a new accord have failed, including four days of talks on the French Riviera between President Mobutu and Angolan, American and South African officials in October.

Both Unita and the Marxist government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos have said President Mobutu remains their mediator of choice.

Under the terms of the June agreement reached at Gbadolite between Unita and the Dos Santos government, both sides were to cease hostilities in their 14-year civil war.

The agreement quickly broke down, with Mr Savimbi and Mr dos Santos ac-

curring each other of cease-fire violations. Hundreds of soldiers have since been killed on both sides.

At issue was the claim of several African leaders that Mr Savimbi had accepted to go into exile, and the integration of his guerrillas into the government forces.

Mr Savimbi denied any such agreement was concluded during the Gbadolite meeting, saying acceptance of it would amount to a defeat that the government had never been able to impose on the battlefield.

The United States has become Mr Savimbi's chief backer since South Africa pulled out of Angola last year. The Unita forces claim to control about one-third of the former Portuguese colony. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

ANGOLA - GENERAL

JANUARY - JUNE

1990

CAPL Tim K 5

January 5, 1990 3

## 89 Angolans die in week of fighting

LISBON. — Angola said yesterday that 89 soldiers and civilians were killed over the past week in fresh fighting in the 14-year civil war.

The official news agency Angop said 45 Unita rebels, 17 government soldiers and 27 civilians died in actions from December 27 to January 2. Dozens of people were wounded, 15 rebels turned themselves over to Angolan authorities and one was captured.

Fighting has escalated recently despite renewed diplomatic activity to resolve the conflict.

A ceasefire agreed six months ago quickly collapsed amid mutual accusations of violations and disagreements over conditions. — Sapa-Reuter

CAT 7048 9/1/90 (5/10)

## Couple abducted to Angola

WINDHOEK. — A West German and his South African girlfriend were kidnapped and taken at gunpoint across the border into Angola while canoeing on Christmas Eve, police and witnesses said yesterday.

Mr Axel Puhl, 43, a West German citizen who has lived in the South African-controlled territory of Namibia for 15 years, disappeared into Unita-controlled territory, friends said.

He and his girlfriend, Ms Anelise Gevers, were reported missing by workers at a mission hospital near the Kavango River when they did not return to their parked vehicles after setting off for a canoeing trip.

Police said witnesses reported seeing unidentified men firing at the canoes and forcing the two to the Angolan side of the river, where they were taken away at gunpoint.

Mr Puhl works for Philips Telecommunications, an international company. The West German observer mission in Namibia said it had been notified of the reported abduction and was checking on it.

● Unita yesterday rejected the latest peace proposals from the Marxist government but pledged to seek a negotiated settlement to the 14-year-old civil war. — Sapa-AP



## Dos Santos rules out poll with Unita

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos ruled out at the weekend any electoral contest with the rebel group Unita.

In an interview with Portuguese television four days before an African summit on Angola, Dos Santos defended a one-party system for his country.

Under his government's new peace proposals, only the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) would be allowed to contest elections as a party. Non-members could stand as individuals only, he said.

Asked if Unita could compete in the elections, he said: "As a political force? We exclude this."

Unita, which has waged a 14-year war against the MPLA and its Cuban allies, says it wants a Western-style democracy with a multi-party system.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon said his organisation would not accept Dos Santos's terms, as expressed in the interview broadcast from Luanda.

"It's a great disappointment for us. We had hoped he would use this opportunity to advance the peace process.

"He is against democracy, he doesn't want elections, he doesn't want an understanding with Unita. This means that he is prepared to continue the war," he said.

Dos Santos said a one-party state was the most suitable at this stage in Angola's development, though it could move gradually towards other forms.

### Shot down

"We start from specific African realities; Angola is an African country," he said, adding that all neighbouring countries either had or were moving towards one-party systems.

The summit has been preceded by an increase in fighting which both sides say has taken more than 100 lives since Christmas.

Unita said earlier it had shot down a Hercules C-130 transport plane near the southern town of Menongue, killing most of those on board.

The government, in a statement reported by the Portuguese news agency Lusa, said the plane was hit, but managed an emergency landing. Only nine people were injured.

The leaders of eight African countries — Angola, Congo, Gabon, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe meet in the former Portuguese colony on Wednesday.

It is their fourth attempt to advance the Angolan peace process. A ceasefire agreed to six months ago quickly broke down.

Portugal's Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva is to visit the United States, Unita's principal backer, next week for talks with President George Bush.

Washington has been pressing for an end to the conflict with the phased departure of Cuba's 50 000 troops, half of whom have already left.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is due to pay his first visit for 12 years to Portugal later this month. Dos Santos said, however, he did not expect it to hurt his government's relations with Lisbon as the visit was a private one. — Sapa-Reuters.

CARL TIMES 8/1/70 (5)

# Dos Santos rules out party contest

LISBON. — Angola's Marxist President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has ruled out any electoral contest with the Unita rebel group.

In an interview with Portuguese television four days before an African summit on Angola, Mr Dos Santos defended a one-party system for his country.

Under his government's new peace proposals, only the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) would be allowed to contest elections as a party. Non-members could stand as individuals only, he said.

Asked if Unita could compete in the elections, he said: "As a political force? — we exclude this."

Unita, which has waged a 14-year bush war against the MPLA and its Cuban allies, says it wants a Western-style democracy with a multiparty system.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon ruled out any possibility of his organisation accepting Mr Dos Santos's terms, as expressed in the interview.

"It's a great disappointment for us," he said. "We had hoped he would use this opportunity to advance the peace process."

"He is against democracy, he doesn't want elections, he doesn't want an understanding with Unita. This means he is prepared to continue the war."

Mr Dos Santos said a one-party state was the most suitable at this stage in Angola's development though it could move gradually towards other forms.

The summit has been preceded by an upsurge of fighting which both sides say has taken more than 100 lives since Christmas. — Sapa-Reuter

# Bank tightens up on student loans

JOHANNESBURG. — First National Bank — one of the biggest lenders of student loans — is applying stricter criteria to granting loans this year. A precipitating factor has been the high increases in university fees (between 10% and 18%) which meant that First National found it more difficult to help students with all of their loan requirements. The other major lender, Volkskas, has not changed its lending policy, a spokesman said yesterday.

"Our book was growing too quickly," said the sales manager of First National's youth market, Mr Kobus Bastiaanse. Last year 10 000 loans (about 2 500 were first-time loans) of an average amount of between R3 000 and R5 000 were granted.

According to Mr Bastiaanse the bank had to restrain the growth in its student book in view of the fact that the bank was subsidising student loans. "The bank needs to get its student loan book into context with the rest of its lending portfolio."

Mr Bastiaanse said the reason for entering the student market in the first place was to secure the future business of the successful student.

# oppers arrested

Magistrate's

man of a local organisation Capry, said he had by an amateur discovered the the Newlands

and a group of into the forest erday to inves- and had discov- nd 60 trees that d".

He said members of the group had spotted a group of people enter the forest carrying black bags.

"We reported this to the law-enforcement officers who caught the people in the act of stripping bark off the trees," Mr Gray said.

He said it was suspected that the bark was used for medicinal purposes in the townships.

Environmentalists said that if convicted the people could face fines of up to R2 500 or two-and-a-half years' imprisonment or both.

# Windhoek residents

## 'abducted by Unita'

WINDHOEK — Angolan Unita rebels are thought to have abducted two Windhoek residents from northern Namibia, a police spokesman, Chief-Inspector Kierie du Rand, said last night.

The missing people are Miss Analise Gevers and a Mr Puhl who parked their vehicles at a mission hospital in Kavango on December 24.

Inspector Du Rand said their disappearance came to the attention of the police when people began to inquire about the apparently abandoned vehicles at the mission hospital.

It is believed the two people went canoeing on the Kavango River on Namibia's northern border and were forced at gunpoint into south-eastern Angola controlled by Unita.

Inspector Du Rand said details about the incident were still sketchy but police had begun a full-scale investigation. — Sapa

## FW bid to keep peace on track

(5) DANIEL SIMON (S)

IN A bid to prevent further clashes between Unita and Angolan government forces, President F W de Klerk last year sent an urgent letter to his Angolan counterpart urging him to keep the fragile peace initiative moving. Bidam 10/1/90

This was disclosed by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Pretoria yesterday. He said De Klerk had sent a letter to Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos on December 22 1989 expressing his concern about the "imminent threat" of a major military offensive by Fapla forces.

Botha said De Klerk expressed the opinion that any escalation in military activity from "whatever quarter" would be a severe setback.

"The State President addressed an urgent appeal to Dos Santos to give practical expression to the spirit of reconciliation which had characterised events in our sub regions in 1989 so as to enable all Angolans to begin to find peace which had eluded that country for so long."

Botha said that in a response Dos Santos replied his government was committed to achieving a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

□ Sapa-AP reports that it was announced in Harare that a meeting of eight African leaders, scheduled to take place in Luanda today, had been postponed indefinitely.

The meeting was to discuss ways of ending the conflict in Angola.

□ Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva travels to Washington today for a two-day official visit that includes talks with President George Bush on southern Africa.

Last week, a top Portuguese foreign ministry official flew to Luanda for discussions with Dos Santos in advance of Cavaco Silva's Washington trip, reports Sapa-AP.

# Walvis Bay in draft plan for new Namibia

CAPE TOWN 10/11/90

WINDHOEK. — The inclusion of Walvis Bay in the national territory of Namibia is one of the provisions in the draft constitution for Namibia, which has been leaked to a Swapo-supporting Windhoek daily, the Namibian.

The draft constitution, which was handed to the standing committee of the Constituent Assembly on Monday, also outlaws the death penalty and allows conscientious objection to military service.

Besides the SA-held harbour enclave of Walvis Bay it repudiates South African territorial claims to the islands along the Namibian coast and the northern half of the Orange River between the two countries.

The newspaper yesterday published details of the document, which still has to be reviewed by the standing committee, assisted by three promi-

nent South African lawyers, before it is presented to the assembly on Friday.

It provides for apartheid and racial discrimination to be outlawed and made into criminal offences by an act of parliament.

An executive state president will be head of state and head of government, as well as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He will rule in conjunction with a prime minister and cabinet. A president will be allowed to serve only two five-year terms.

The right to maintain private schools is guaranteed, provided admission is not along racial or ethnic lines.

The economy would provide for mixed forms of ownership, ranging from public to private, and foreign investment would be encouraged. — Sapa-Reuter

## Unita captives 'well treated'

CAPE TOWN 10/11/90

WINDHOEK. — A West German man and his South African girlfriend, freed by Unita rebels after being kidnapped at gunpoint while canoeing on Christmas Eve, had been well treated during their captivity, police here said yesterday.

Mr Axel Puhl, 43, a West German who has lived in Namibia for 15 years, and his girlfriend, South African citizen Miss Anelise Gevers, were handed over at the Angola-Namibia border on Monday.

SWA Police, meanwhile, are investigating a large cache of arms and ammunition found buried in northern Namibia on December 22, SWA Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said.

Residents 10km south of Ondangua in Ovambo reported the cache to Untag, who notified the SWA Police.

Police were investigating the possibility the Nato arms had been stolen, Inspector Du Rand said. — Sapa-AP

# Another stab at peace in Angola

Hundreds of vehicles on busy hospital, Mr Hagen added.

Leaders from eight African countries are due to meet in Luanda soon in another effort to revive Angola's moribund peace plan.

The meeting has already been postponed twice. Last month, it was called off at the behest of the Angolan president, Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and was supposed to take place today. Yesterday, it was put back again because of the "indisposition" of Zaire's President Mr Mobutu Sese Seko.

The time, in general, for such a summit hardly seems propitious. The south-east part of the country is currently embroiled in the most intense fighting for nearly two years, with the Fapla army reportedly hurling airborne troops against Unita positions north-west of the rebel organisation's Jamba headquarters.

## Major victory

According to both sides, more than a hundred combatants have died since Christmas. The government claims to have gained a major victory on December 23 by capturing the strategic town of Mavinga, only 220 kms from Jamba.

If so, the hardliners in the regime of President dos Santos must be feeling elated, and are unlikely to relish the prospect of any ceasefire agreement at this stage with Dr Jonas Savimbi so heavily under siege.

The eight who will be meeting in Luanda — when they can get the act together — are the leaders of Angola, Gabon, Congo, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It will be their fourth attempt to advance the peace process.

Another African summit on the 14-year-old Angolan war is in the offing. The Star's Africa News Service looks at the prospects of a ceasefire in an atmosphere of intensified fighting and claims of military successes by the MPLA government.

A ceasefire agreed on six months ago by the government and Unita at Gbadolite in Zaire soon broke down, with President dos Santos and Dr Savimbi accusing each other of violations.

Also at issue was the claim by several African heads of state that Dr Savimbi had agreed to go into exile and had accepted that his guerrillas be integrated into the Fapla forces. The Unita leader denied any such agreement. He said it would have been tantamount to surrender.

Some diplomats maintain President dos Santos has changed his mind about amicable dealings with Dr Savimbi, since that historic handshake at Gbadolite to seal a pact between them, and is backing off from the sort of ceasefire proposals President Mobutu is trying to sell in his position as mediator.

Certainly the Angolan president's attitude of late could not be called conciliatory. In an interview with Portuguese television on Saturday, he ruled out any electoral contest with Unita and defended a one-party system for his country.

Under his government's new peace proposals, he said, only the ruling MPLA would be allowed to contest elections as a party.

Asked if Unita could compete in the elections, he said: "As a political force? We exclude this."

Unita insists it wants a Western-style democracy with a multiparty

system and, after the Saturday broadcast, a spokesman in Lisbon ruled out any possibility of the organisation accepting President dos Santos's terms.

"He is against democracy," the Unita spokesman said. "He doesn't want elections, he doesn't want an understanding with Unita. This means he is prepared to continue the war."

Continuing the war may well be President dos Santos's foremost intention at the moment. Not necessarily to the point of Unita's total destruction; more likely in the hope of laying waste to Jamba and killing Dr Savimbi or putting him to flight.

No doubt most Angolans would like to see Unita defeated. Dr Savimbi is a hated man in the north and in provinces like Huamba and Bie where Unita landmines have killed and maimed thousands of civilians.

An interesting reaction to suggestions that Dr Savimbi should be involved sooner rather than later in a new dispensation for the Greater Good of Angola, came recently from the MPLA's secretary for ideology, Mr Roberto de Almeida.

Mr de Almeida, generally regarded as the strongman behind President dos Santos, told the Africa News Service in an exclusive interview in Angola before Christmas: "Savimbi is practically and morally responsible... for all the crimes that have been committed against our people. 'It would therefore not be easy for

our people to understand an immediate return of Savimbi."

A Luanda journalist put it more bluntly, "If Jonas Savimbi were to show his face here, he would not last a week."

Perhaps President dos Santos was not aware of the depth of national animosity towards the Unita leader when he agreed to shake his hand at Gbadolite last June. More probably, he was cajoled into doing so by that arch-opportunist, President Mobutu.

Whatever the truth of the matter, it seems plain that hardliners within his party — like Mr de Almeida — will be pressing the president now not to make any further concessions to Dr Savimbi and to underscore the government's insistence that the Unita leader spend some time in exile.

## Lose credibility

That proviso is likely to meet with some opposition when the eight-nation conference takes place. Apparently it was opposed at Gbadolite, where leaders like Mozambique's Mr Joaquim Chissano and Mr Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe felt it would be unfair to place such a condition on a man who had been fighting for 14 years for a place in his country's administration.

The government knows that if Dr Savimbi could be removed from his base of operation, which has also been the platform from which he has launched much of his international publicity, he would lose a good deal of his present effect and credibility.

And the United States, his main protagonist, would find it much less easy to continue to support a candidate without a solid constituency.

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# New bid to bring peace to Angola

ARGUS 10/11/90

ANOTHER African summit on the 14-year-old Angolan war is in the offing.

JOHN RYAN of the Argus Africa News Service, who recently visited Angola, discusses the prospects of a ceasefire in an atmosphere of intensified fighting and claims of MPLA military successes.

## 24 HOURS



LEADERS from eight African countries are due to meet in Luanda soon in another effort to revive Angola's moribund peace plan.

The meeting has already been postponed twice. Last month, it was called off at the behest of the Angolan president, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and was supposed to take place today. Yesterday it was put back again because of the "Indisposition" of Zaire's President Mobutu Seso Seko.

The time, in general, for such a summit hardly seems propitious. The south-east part of the country is embroiled in the most intense fighting for nearly two years, with the Fapla army reportedly hurling airborne troops against Unita positions north-west of the rebel organisation's Jamba headquarters.

According to both sides, more than a hundred combatants have died since Christmas. The government claims to have gained a major victory on December 23 by capturing the strategic town of Mavinga, only 220km from Jamba.

If so, the hardliners in the regime of President dos Santos are unlikely to relish the prospect of any ceasefire agreement at this stage with Jonas Savimbi so heavily under siege.

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A ceasefire agreed on six months ago by the government and Unita at Gbadolite in Zaire soon broke down, with President dos Santos and Dr Savimbi accusing each other of violations.

Also at issue was the claim by several African heads of state that Dr Savimbi had agreed to go into exile and had accepted that his guerillas be integrated into the Fapla forces. The Unita leader denied any such agreement. He said it would have been tantamount to surrender.

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President  
dos Santos

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defended a one-party system for his country.

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Continuing the war may well be President dos Santos's foremost intention at the moment. Not necessarily to the point of Unita's total destruction, more likely in the hope of laying waste to Jamba and killing Dr Savimbi or putting him to flight.

No doubt most Angolans would like to see Unita defeated, and the military and political demise of Dr Savimbi. He is a hated man in the north of the country and in provinces like Huamba and Bie where Unita landmines have killed and maimed thousands of civilians, and where rebel atrocities have put many more thousands to flight.

An interesting reaction to suggestions that Dr Savimbi should be involved sooner rather than later in a new dispensation for the greater good of Angola came recently from the MPLA's secretary for ideology, Roberto de Almeida.

Mr de Almeida, generally regarded as the strong man behind President dos Santos, told the Africa News Service in an exclusive interview in Angola before Christmas: "Savimbi is morally responsible for this situation."

"He is practically and morally responsible for all the crimes that have been committed against our people."

# Savimbi rebels face Luanda onslaught alone

ALU 5  
11/1/90

The Argus Foreign Service

JONAS Savimbi's Unita rebels are facing another full-scale military offensive — this time without the help of South Africa.

First reports are surfacing of an extensive government offensive which has reportedly been under way since December 21 in southeastern Angola — site of Dr Savimbi's Jamba headquarters. Unita says the onslaught is the reason Dr Savimbi has postponed a two-week European tour due to have begun this weekend.

And in Washington Unita lobbyists are pushing for a dramatic increase in US military support.

This year Unita faces the annual rainy season MPLA offensive without the support of the SADF — for the first time since the early '80s.

The SADF was withdrawn from Angola as part of the Namibian settlement deal.

This time the MPLA is said to be helped by members of Swapo forces still in southern Angola. While there have been no indications of Cuban activity, the US State Department has expressed concern that at least 100 Soviet tactical advisers are reportedly behind the MPLA push to gain control of the strategic town of Mavinga.

## CALL FOR AID

The capture of the Mavinga airstrip would bring Jamba within range of the MPLA's MiG aircraft and, according to one source, MiGs have already attacked positions near Mavinga.

Sources close to Unita in Washington say a case is being made at the highest level to immediately increase US aid to the rebels.

The State Department said on Monday that it was concerned about the MPLA offensive and reported Soviet assistance "at a time when Unita is prepared to agree to a ceasefire and unconditional negotiations".

It is reported in Lisbon that while there were reports of increased fighting, diplomats said Dr Savimbi's tour postponement was probably due to diplomatic efforts to re-start Angola's ceasefire negotiations.



# Angolan plan to strike at Jamba

ARCUS  
17/11/90  
5

By GERLAD L'ANGE of the Argus Africa News Service in Johannesburg

ANGOLA'S Fapla government forces — reputedly assisted by Swapo troops — are reported to have made significant advances against Unita since launch-

## WARFARE

ing their offensive on January 1 and may now be a serious threat to the Unita-held town of Mavinga, the gateway to Jamba, stronghold of rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Up to 10 000 men are thought to be massed against Unita in what appears to be an attempt to drive Unita rebels from Jamba now that they no longer have the protection of South African forces.

## Pressure

Military strategists believe the fall of Mavinga would make it virtually impossible for Unita to hold Jamba. This in turn would undercut the international pressure on the MPLA to negotiate a peaceful solution with Unita.

Elements of Swapo's Plan forces were reported to be stationed in southern Angola before the Namibian independence elections in November.

Their presence then would have been a contravention of United Nations Security Council

Resolution 435, on which the election was based, and technically would continue to be so.

The Swapo units have been involved in fighting Unita forces at Peu Peu and Ionde in the past few days, well-placed sources say.

This has been corroborated by information obtained by the Argus Foreign Service bureau in Washington where David Braun has been told that three Swapo infantry battalions might be involved.

## Sceptical

Braun reports that State Department sources are sceptical of Unita claims that 7 000 Fapla troops have been thrown into the offensive.

However, other sources have estimated that the forces massed against Unita could be as strong as 10 000 men. They believe Fapla has at least eight brigades, including an artillery brigade, as well as several tactical groups in the region in addition to the Swapo battalions. A brigade usually numbers about 1 000 men.

The Fapla forces are said to be at Cahama, Ongiva, Malunga and Ionde.

Sources say forward command posts of the 25th and 59 brigades have been established east of Cuito Cuanavale, the strategic town where Cuban-supported Fapla forces and South African-supported Unita

forces were engaged in a crucial battle in 1988.

At least six tactical groups are said to be in position east of Cuito Cuanavale and north of the Lomba River, where South African artillery turned a powerful Fapla advance in the same year.

Heavy convoy movements have been reported from Zangongo, Ongiva and Ionde.

The Fapla offensive supports information that hard-liners in the MPLA government in Luanda and in the military believe Fapla can drive Unita out of Jamba now that the rebels have been deprived of South African support.

## Peace initiative

It is thought the hard-liners have been opposing the peace initiative undertaken by President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire with the backing of key African states, the United States and — ostensibly — the Soviet Union.

Some analysts believe the Fapla offensive, if not intended to defeat Unita, could be aimed at weakening Unita's negotiating position and strengthening that of the MPLA.

It could also be intended to undermine Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and boost President Jose Eduardo dos Santos before his visit to Washington next month.

Dr Savimbi has postponed a two-week visit to Europe,

due to have begun this weekend, apparently because of the turn of events on home soil.

Although reports have said this week that Mavinga had been captured by the MPLA forces, but there has been no confirmation and it appears likely that it is still held by Unita.

Fighting has been reported on the Lomba River, which runs north of Mavinga, and the Canzumbia east of Cuito Cuanavale.

Braun has been told by Washington sources that it has started raining in the area — but not heavily enough to affect the attackers. If the rains continue for another week they could be in serious trouble.

The Fapla forces are said to be more lightly equipped than usual and this is said to have helped them to advance with extraordinary speed.

## Soviet advisers

There are indications that at least 100 Soviet advisers are directing tactics from the rear — prompting a protest this week by South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

There are no indications in Washington that Cubans are involved, although 25 000 Cuban troops are still deployed further north and could free Fapla troops for the offensive.

# Luanda tense following Unita attack on resort

Star 12/1/90

(5)

LUANDA — The Angolan capital was tense yesterday after reports of a major attack by Unita rebels against a popular beach resort about 100 km from the capital.

A report on the state television network TPA said the rebels seized the resort of Cabo Ledo earlier this week.

Reports said Unita held the town for several hours before retreating ahead of a government advance backed by tanks, helicopters and Cuban troops.

The television report showed burning buildings and cited witnesses saying the fighting had killed and wounded many people. — Sapa-AP.

## IMPASSE

● The Star Bureau in Washington reports that Portugal and the United States are considering new ways to break the impasse in Angola to prevent the country slipping back into a situation of violence.

The latest Soviet-backed MPLA offensive on Unita featured high on the agenda at yesterday's meeting between President Bush and the Prime Minister of Portugal, Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, at the White House.

A White House spokesman said the two leaders agreed that every effort should be made to bring about the goal of national reconciliation in Angola.

He said there was recognition that there was now an increased military danger in Angola.

"As you know, the MPLA government has launched an offensive in southern Angola against Unita forces, and clearly both leaders do not wish to see the situation internally in Angola slip back into one of violence," said the spokesman.

"There are lots of possibilities, though, of how one can break this impasse and re-engage on the question of national reconciliation.

"Part of the effort, as you know, has been through the mediation of President Mobutu.

"But there are other ways. Both leaders agreed that both countries have to be deeply involved in this."

The spokesman said Mr Silva had proposed new ideas as to how the impasse could be broken, but said these could not be disclosed as discussion between the two governments was continuing.

# Untag begins its withdrawal

By BRENDAN SEERY of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

ARGUS (S)  
12/1/90

UNDER a cloudless blue sky in mid-morning temperatures climbing into the low 30s, many of the 130 Canadian soldiers on their final parade in Namibia were already thinking of home.

## NAMIBIA

Home that most of them have not seen for at least five months while on duty in their country's contingent in the Untag peacekeeping force.

Home that now, in mid-winter, is wrapped up well against sub-zero freezing weather. Home they will see next week, the first contingent to be shipped out as part of Untag's phased withdrawal as the Resolution 435 peace plan heads for its conclusion at the country's independence.

## Medals

Sprightly, white-haired General Dewan Prem Chand — commander of the UN troops in Namibia — told the blue-bereted Canadian men and women on parade: "I know there will be many yellow ribbons waiting for you in your home towns when you go back".

Handing out UN "campaign" medals to the Canadians, General Prem Chand praised them and added: "Very few people had imagined that everything would go do well. I certainly did not".

The Canadian contingent, which has been in charge of the logistics aspects of the Untag operation, has already handed over its duties to the Polish contingent.

With the exception of about 25 officers and NCOs who will remain with the Untag headquarters element in Windhoek, the other Canadian soldiers will start flying home over the next few days.

The commander of the contingent, Colonel Mike Jeffrey, said Untag had not finalised withdrawal plans for its 4500 troops, but that it was likely most UN troops would be on their way home shortly after independence day, which is likely to be some time in March.

Canadian policemen — Mounties — sent here as part of the 1500-strong UN police monitoring group, will remain indefinitely.

At a reception after the medals parade, many of the Canadian soldiers admitted they were looking forward to going home, although they were sure it would be difficult adapting to snow and sleet after the heat and dryness of Namibia in the middle of a drought year.

## Welcoming

Warrant officer Frank Porter — the contingent's chief cook, who has served on six previous UN missions — said he had found Namibians welcoming people, and had made many good friends here.

The biggest problem for him was trying to keep the troops supplied with "good old home food". Ketchup (tomato sauce) found on Windhoek's shop shelves, was just not up to stan-

dard, and was one of the priority items flown in.

Warrant officer Porter said he would be pleased to be going home to base in Victoria, British Columbia — "I despise the heat" he added grimly.

Sergeant John McDonald, also a veteran of previous Canadian UN missions, said Namibia was "very civilised" when compared to places like the Middle East.

He found Namibians "more reserved than people in Canada", but said he had got on well with local residents — although he avoided sensitive topics like politics.

Colonel Jeffrey said 500 Canadians had served here in two contingents, which each completed a five-month tour before being rotated back home.

## Criticism

Although there were many criticisms which could be levelled at both the civil and military organisation of the UN mission in Namibia, said Colonel Jeffrey, the whole operation went off remarkably smoothly considering the diversity of cultures and methods involved in the multinational UN group.

He said Canadian soldiers had acted as ambassadors for their country and had made many friends here.

"In fact I have lots of soldiers who don't want to go home because they have formed romantic attachments here" he said.

At least one man in the contingent will be taking a Namibian bride with him when he goes home next week.

# Unita attacks beach resort

*CMC Trip 12/11/90 (5)*

LUANDA. — The Angolan capital was tense yesterday after television reports of a major attack by Unita rebels against a popular beach resort some 100km from the capital.

A report on state television said the rebels seized the resort of Cabo Ledo this week. It said Unita held the town for several hours before retreating ahead of a government advance backed by tanks, helicopters and Cuban troops. It said some 100 guerillas were involved in the attack.

Government officials were reportedly worried at the rebels' capacity to strike so close to the capital.

Military sources here, meanwhile, said government forces were intensifying an offensive against Unita strongholds in south-east Angola.

The sources said government troops had temporarily halted their offensive before the strategic rebel base of Mavinga, 1 100km south-east of the capital, but were flying more troops and equipment to the south-east.

● More than 31 000 Cuban troops have left Angola in the past year, senior UN officials said.

The withdrawal of Cuban troops began on January 10 last year. The agreement calls for 33 000 Cubans to leave by March 31 this year and the remaining 20 000 by 1991. — Sapa-AP-Reuter

# Confusion in Angola over war casualties

LISBON. — As fighting rages in Angola between government forces and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita, conflicting reports of casualties have come from each side.

Unita said it killed 63 soldiers and destroyed three tanks and 21 other military vehicles in "violent" engagements this week in south-eastern Kuando Kubango province.

It acknowledged 13 dead and 86 wounded in fighting along the Kunzumbia River, about 60km east of Cuito Cuanavale.

## SCATTERED ACTIONS

In contrast, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, reported troops killed "more than 40" Unita troops in scattered operations between January 3 and 9 against a loss of 22 dead and 42 wounded. The agency made no reference to any major offensive against Unita's south-eastern strongholds.

Unita, however, denied recent reports that it had lost its stronghold at Mavinga, and said the situation in Kuando Kubango was "under control".

Angop said Unita ransacked the fishing and resort village of Cabo Ledo, only 120km south of Luanda, killing seven soldiers and civilians and blowing up the local power station.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa,

in a dispatch from Luanda, quoted a survivor as saying many of the estimated 100 attackers were "uniformed and armed" women.

Military sources in Luanda said government forces were intensifying an offensive against Unita strongholds in south-east Angola.

Meanwhile, Portugal and the United States are considering new ways to break the impasse in Angola to prevent the country slipping back into a situation of violence.

The latest Soviet-backed MPLA offensive on Unita featured high on the agenda at yesterday's meeting between President George Bush and the Prime Minister of Portugal, Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, at the White House.

According to White House spokesman Mr Raymond Seitz, the two leaders talked at length about Africa, particularly southern Africa, South Africa, Mozambique, and had a detailed exchange on Angola. — The Argus Correspondents and Sapa-AP.

LUSAKA. — Unita rebels have blunted an offensive by government troops in south-east Angola, a senior US official said.

"We hope now that the government seems to be defeated by Unita they can think again and find a way to the negotiating table," Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen said on Friday.

He was speaking in a television satellite interview with African journalists in several countries, including Zambia.

Mr Cohen urged the Angolan government to rethink its position and accept negotiations with Unita without preconditions, as proposed by

# US calls for settlement in Angola

CART Times 15/1/90

Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Angola has said almost nothing about the reported offensive, though the foreign ministry in Luanda said on Thursday its troops had engaged in defensive actions only.

African efforts to find a peace settlement in Angola are at a standstill

following the postponement of an eight-nation summit.

Mr Cohen said the US would continue its support for Unita, estimated to be running at \$50 million (about R125m) a year, but would end it as soon as there was a political solution. — Sapa Reuter

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# MiG bombs Namibian village by mistake

*CAPL Times 15/1/90*

WINDHOEK. — A Soviet-made MiG fighter aircraft from Angola attacked a hamlet near Bangani in Kavango, northern Namibia, about 11am yesterday, police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Rand said here.

The border stretch between Kavango and Angola is clearly marked by the Kavango River.

Inspector Du Rand said there had been no casualties or damage to property. Initial indications from a bombed ground hole two metres deep and four metres wide were that napalm or phosphorous devices had been used, he said.

He said the bombing had occurred about 11am and that the pilot might have mistaken the village for a Unita base.

"We're trying to establish what happened," Inspector Du Rand said.

The incident coincides with reports of heavy fighting between Unita rebels and the troops of the Marxist government in Luanda following a breakdown in ceasefire negotiations in the 15 year civil war. — Sapa, UPI

● US calls for settlement in Angola —  
Page 4

# US aid for Unita 'harms peace efforts'

The Star's Africa News Service  
LUSAKA — Real peace could not be expected in Angola while the US continued to aid Unita, Zambian Secretary of State for Defence and Security Mr Alex Shapi said yesterday.

The American aid had enabled the rebels to intensify their military activity, Mr Shapi said.

"The leadership of the Frontline states and the Francophone nations, who have joined forces, will have to work harder to help the MPLA and Unita reach a compromise," he said.

Mr Shapi was reacting to the statement last week by the American assistant secretary of state for Africa Mr Herman Cohen that the US would continue supporting Unita until a political solution had been reached in Angola.

**SUFFERING**  
"We should not now expect real peace to come as we expected it," Mr Shapi said.

Condemning foreign intervention in Angola, he said: "It is not the people abroad who are suffering. It is the Angolans who are finishing themselves off and destroying their future while the others are milking them."

He said the US, by its intervention, was rejecting the settlement proposals produced by various summits and was trying to impose different terms.

Mr Shapi said that when Namibia became independent the Zambian and Namibian governments would jointly clear the landmines laid by SA in the Katima Mulilo area to deter Swapo from crossing into Namibia.



# Angola denies jet bombed village

*CAPL Trinks 16/1/90*

LUANDA. — Government and military sources here yesterday denied reports that an Angolan Air Force jet fighter had bombed a village in northern Namibia.

It was reported from Windhoek that a Soviet-built MiG fighter bombed a village near the town of Bangani on Sunday, after apparently straying from a raid against Unita rebels in southern Angola.

A top Angolan government source said the report was fabricated by South Africa and the United States as a possible justification for eventual South African support for Unita inside Angola.

Namibian administrator-general Mr. Louis Pienaar, however, yesterday summoned Angolan charge de affaires in Windhoek, Dr A B Ribeiro, to protest against the bombing.

The Angolan government source also said South Africa was preparing to aid Unita if a government offensive against rebel-held territory in south-east Angola threatens the Unita headquarters at Jamba.

Military sources contacted in Luanda yesterday said a government central committee meeting was expected to approve the continuation of the offensive against the Unita positions.

The meeting began yesterday and was slated to last five days. — Sapa-AP

## Israel cuts detainee's prison term

JERUSALEM. — Israel yesterday reduced peace campaigner Abie Nathan's prison term for meeting PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat from six months to four months, citing good behaviour.

Nathan, jailed on October 10, will be freed on February 9.

The popular broadcaster was originally sentenced to six months in prison for breaking a law that bars contacts with members of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Nathan met Mr Arafat in Tunis in 1988. He said he had no regrets about the meeting and refused an offer to be freed in return for a promise never to see PLO representatives again. — Sapa-Reuter

## Unita alleges big MPLA offensive

LISBON. — Unita yesterday accused the Marxist Angolan government of waging a big offensive and said it was mobilising throughout the country in response.

Unita said it wanted to sign a new truce but that government actions had forced its guerillas to fight back.

"Unita accepts and confirms that for the MPLA (government) there is no negotiated solution but a military solution," Unita chief Dr Jonas Savimbi said in a statement issued in Lisbon.

"We are ready to sign a ceasefire without pre-conditions. But forced into armed combat, we are prepared in the entire country," he added.

The Luanda government says it is fighting in self-defence, but US officials report that a big thrust against Unita's southern strongholds has been largely blunted by Unita.

Both sides have reported particularly heavy losses over the past three weeks in some of the fiercest fighting since a short-lived truce collapsed five months ago.

Zairean mediators have been struggling to revive the initiative to halt 15 years of war raging since Portugal gave up its African colonies.

The Unita communique was issued as the central committee of the MPLA party met and the new fighting was expected to be high on the agenda. — Sapa-Reuter

Case Title 17/11/90

# SA, US deny fabricating bomb attack

WINDHOEK. — South Africa, the United States and the Namibian administration yesterday denied allegations by Angolan government and military sources that South Africa and the US had fabricated a bomb attack on a village in the northern Namibian region of Kavango to justify possible future aid to Unita rebels.

SWA Police spokesman Chief Inspector Kierie du Randt announced earlier that the phosphorous bomb had been dropped by a Soviet-made MiG jetfighter on Sunday morning, narrowly missing a village near Bagani, about 4km inside Namibia.

Reports on Monday quoted anonymous Angolan government and military sources denying any involvement in the incident.

They said the report had been fabricated by SA and the US to justify military aid in the event of an Angolan government offensive threatening Unita headquarters at Jamba in south-eastern Angola.

Unita still receive an estimated \$40 million (about R100m) in aid from the US every year.

On Monday, Namibian administra-

tor-general Mr Louis Pienaar called in the Angolan charge de affaires to protest at the violation of the country's air space.

Chief Inspector Du Randt said Angolan MiGs were often seen flying in the area. He said Angola was the only country which had any fighter aircraft stationed near the Kavango region.

Mr John Sunde of the SA Interests Office in Windhoek said SA was not involved in the incident and declined further comment.

Military experts, who declined to be named, speculated that the MiG would have taken off from the airstrip at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola.

They said the bomb was dropped at the outside range of a MiG flying from this base, which seemed to indicate that the pilot was on a mission against an Angolan base just north of the border when he overshot his target, realised that he had just enough fuel to make it back to base and dropped the bomb to lighten his aircraft.

Namibian television on Monday night showed footage of police removing burning pieces of phosphorous from a huge crater.

Nobody was injured in the attack. —

Sapa

## Angolans 'ready for peace talks'

Star  
7/11/90 The Star's Foreign  
News Service (5)

LISBON — Both Angola's Marxist government and the Unita rebels reaffirmed their commitment to a negotiated peace settlement yesterday, but traded accusations of escalating military attacks.

In a communique distributed in Lisbon, Unita said it remained ready to sign a ceasefire "without preconditions".

The rebels, however, warned they were primed for combat "across the whole country" if necessary.

In Luanda, Foreign Minister Mr Pedro Castro Van-Dunem said continued fighting was "no solution" to the 14-year conflict.

Blaming Washington for blocking a ceasefire accord, he charged Unita had launched "a big offensive" aimed at seizing Angola's northern borders with neighbouring Zaire.

## Quayle may visit SA before year's end

WASHINGTON — The US administration is quietly weighing up the possibility of sending Vice-President Dan Quayle to SA before the end of the year.

While no decisions have been taken, and many in the administration remain cool about the idea, one scenario under discussion is that he will make a brief, low-key stop-over after attending independence celebrations in Namibia in late March or early April. *Boay 18/11/90*

Less likely, but also under consideration, is a more formal mid-year visit.

Former Vice-President Walter Mondale, and George Bush when he was Ronald Reagan's deputy, were assigned Africa as a special niche, and Quayle is known to be interested in continuing the tradition.

### SIMON BARBER

Meanwhile, travel plans for Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen are more certain.

He leaves for SA tomorrow. (S)

He is also scheduled to see Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda prior to to Dos Santos's visit to Washington next month at the invitation of Transafrica lobbying group director Randall Robinson.

Portuguese Prime Minister Cavacao Silva last week urged Bush to take a more active role in expediting a settlement in Angola. Cohen is expected to lay the groundwork for a meeting between Dos Santos and US Secretary of State James Baker. (S)

## Delayed peace summit this month — Angola

HARARE — A much delayed Angolan peace summit of eight African leaders will be held this month, Angolan officials in Harare said yesterday. (5)

"Angola wants and is working towards a summit meeting this month," an official said, confirming media reports from Luanda. He said a venue had not been fixed.

The summit, postponed several times last year, was due to have opened on January 12, but was put off indefinitely after Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko said he was too busy to attend.

"President Mobutu is still mediator," the official said. Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said in a recent interview the summit should clarify and redefine the Zairean leader's role as mediator. — Sapa-Reuter.

The ANO news agency reports from Moscow there were no Soviet advisers in the zone of combat operations in southern Angola. b1 Dan 19/1/90

It quoted Gennady Gerasimov, head of the information directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, who at a press conference reacted to US State Department allegations that Soviet advisers were taking part in combat operations in Angola.

Conversely, Gerasimov emphasised, the US continued to supply military aid to the Unita anti-government grouping.

"Angola's internal conflict, as Moscow believes, can and should be settled only by political means. Specific steps in this direction were made last June in Zaire," Gerasimov said.

He stressed a political solution to the Angolan problem was possible only if all foreign military interference was stopped. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Angolan summit this month

*CAPE TOWN 11/11/90 (5)*  
HARARE. — A much-delayed Angolan peace summit of eight African leaders will be held this month, Angolan officials here said yesterday.

"Angola wants and is working towards a summit meeting this month," an official said, confirming media reports from Luanda. He said a venue had not been fixed.

The summit, postponed several times last year, was due to have opened on January 12 but was put off indefinitely after Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko said he was too busy to attend.

President Mobutu has led international efforts to end the war which has

raged for 15 years between Angola's Marxist government and pro-Western National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) rebels.

"President Mobutu is still mediator," the official said. He said he did not know of any attempts to find a new go-between.

President Mobutu scored a public relations coup last June when he persuaded President Dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to meet.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said recently that the summit should clarify and redefine the Zairean leader's role. — Sapa-Reuter

# Angola spells out new <sup>(S)</sup> peace plan <sup>5/11/90</sup>

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

LISBON — The Angolan government has offered Unita rebels political reform, including elections within five years, reports Lusa, the Portuguese news agency.

An eight-point peace proposal made public in Luanda insisted, however, that a one-party state be maintained, as well as Angola's socialist identity.

The proposal emphasised that the rebels must recognise the government as legitimate before a ceasefire could take effect and direct talks begin. Unita guerillas must also be integrated into the armed forces.

Unita has previously rejected these demands and called for multi-party elections and a Western-style democracy. It has said it will sign an immediate ceasefire. Fighting apparently increased over Christmas.

The plan was the long-awaited response to Unita proposals made through the mediation of the Zairean President, Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, in October.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon said the organisation was waiting for the official response through Mr Mobutu.



78 117 2-11

## Nujoma in Luanda

LUANDA, Angola. — Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma ended a 24-hour working visit with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos here yesterday. The military situation on the Angola-Namibia border was thought to have been one of the topics discussed.

# Namibia moves to curb border bandits

WINDHOEK — Namibian police and their UN monitors have stepped up patrols along the border with Angola amid growing concern over an upsurge of cross-border banditry.

But the UN Transition Assistance Group (Untag) yesterday refused to reveal details of a report it has compiled on lawlessness in the north of Namibia.

Namibian and UN police have reported an escalation in banditry since Angolan government forces and Unita rebels intensified fighting at the end of last year.

Armed men wearing items of uniform from both sides have reportedly been crossing into Namibia and robbing, pillaging and rustling cattle.

An Untag spokesman said yesterday: "Banditry is of increasing concern. I cannot give figures. The matter is under discussion between local and UN police."

He said a group of 10 armed men raided eight *cuca* shops (*shebeens*)

## Own Correspondent

about 3km inside Namibia on Friday night, stealing goods valued at about R3 500.

"Six cows were also stolen from a farm nearby. The South West Africa Police are investigating."

Residents believe they are either Unita fighters or members of the MPLA government's army separated from their units.

## Lightning visit

Fierce fighting has been taking place in recent weeks around Unita's stronghold in south-eastern Angola.

Namibian president-designate and Swapo leader Sam Nujoma is reported to have discussed the issue with Angolan government officials and with President Eduardo dos Santos during a 24-hour lightning visit to the Angolan capital, Luanda, at the weekend.

The Namibian, a pro-Swapo newspaper, said the military situation on the border was on the agenda of talks between the two leaders.

In terms of a UN independence plan expected to result in sovereignty for Namibia in about April, there are 1 500 police monitors assisting some 4 400 troops and more than 1 000 Untag civilians.

The troop strength is in the process of being scaled down, but police are expected to remain at full strength until after independence.

Namibia's independence plan is tied to a phased and simultaneous withdrawal from Angola of some 50 000 Cuban troops who have been helping Luanda's forces fight Unita.

Diplomatic observers and political analysts believe peaceful independence in Namibia cannot be achieved without the end to civil war in Angola which neighbouring African states have been battling to bring about in recent months.

BIDEM 23/1/90

A decision on a new flag for an independent Namibia — expected after the assembly sitting — has been postponed until Monday. — Sapa.

## Businessmen visit Angola

*to Namibia 20/11/90*  
WINDHOEK — A group of 15 prominent Namibian businessmen are to leave for Luanda today to hold talks with government officials and businessmen in the Angolan capital. (S)

The trip was announced yesterday by the Angolan ambassador-designate to Namibia, A Ribeiro, after a meeting with businessmen and Swapo president Sam Nujoma. (S)

Ribeiro said his government had requested him to make arrangements for a suitable delegation — even though the trip had been organised at such short notice — apparently as a result of Nujoma's recent visit to Luanda.

Among the advantages for Namibia of trade with Angola was that the latter was one of the world's cheapest fuel suppliers, Ribeiro said.

Sources said the visit would primarily be a familiarisation trip and follow-ups would be needed before trade links between the two countries became firmly established. — Sapa.

# Cuba suspends troop withdrawal after raid

(5)  
HAVANA — Cuba, accusing Washington of backing a "terrorist act", said yesterday it was temporarily suspending withdrawal of its troops from Angola following the killing of four Cuban soldiers by US-backed Unita rebels. *star 26/1190*

A Cuban Foreign Ministry statement said the suspension would remain in effect until Cuba received an explanation for Sunday's incident and was satisfied Unita would not continue to attack its forces during the withdrawal.

In Lisbon, Unita yesterday said it regretted the deaths of the four Cubans. It said it was unaware the Cubans were present during an attack on government troops.

Yesterday, the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said he did not consider it to be in the interests of furthering the peace process in Angola to make any public comment on the matter at the moment.

In Washington, a US State Department spokesman yesterday said Cuba's refusal to continue pulling its troops out of Angola could indicate that it did not really seek peace.

Ms Margaret Tutwiler said the US government had asked the Cuban Foreign Ministry to clarify the situation.

"Failure to continue the troop withdrawal in accordance with the schedule established by the accords will call into question the commitment of the Republic of Cuba and the People's Republic of Angola to the search for peace in south-west Africa," she said.

An estimated 50 000 Cuban troops began a phased withdrawal from Angola last January under an accord signed between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

All the Cubans are due to leave by mid-1991.

In return, South Africa agreed to halt support for the rebels and grant independence to Namibia.

Unita rebels did not sign the accord but pledged not to attack the Cubans as they withdrew.

News reports from Havana said Cuba and Angola temporarily suspended the troop withdrawal pending an investigation into a Unita raid on a water pumping station guarded by Cuban troops on Sunday. The attack left four Cubans dead and seven wounded, members of the UN verification force confirmed.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, spent Wednesday in Luanda conferring with Angolan officials, but Ms Tutwiler said she had no news on his talks. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

● See Page 7.

# Cuban troops pullout stops

WMAA 26/1-12/90  
Weekly Mail Reporter

HAVANA has halted the withdrawal of its troops from Angola, following a clash with US-backed Unita rebels which left four Cuban soldiers dead.

The surprise move, announced by the Cuban foreign ministry yesterday, immediately raised fears that the almost-completed Namibian independence process could still falter.

Cuban withdrawal is a key element in the complex set of protocols and accords of 1988 involving South Africa, Cuba and Angola, which cleared the way for Namibian freedom.

As agreed, South Africa has reduced its troop strength to 1 500 in Namibia, and 31 000 of Cuba's estimated 50 000 soldiers in Angola have already gone home. The rest are due to be out by mid-1991.

Cuba's decision — described as "temporary" — comes after persistent reports of renewed fighting between Unita and the Fapla forces of the Angolan government.

While it could present a danger to the sub-continental peace accord, it is unlikely to prompt a dramatic response from South Africa.

In a process which has been characterised by periodic crises, some serious and others ephemeral, it is thought that all sides have too much to lose by a collapse of the painstakingly-achieved deal, and that this will lead to a cool-headed approach to the latest problem.

# Cuba suspends troop pullout

HAVANA. — Cuba, accusing Washington of backing a "terrorist act", yesterday said it was temporarily suspending withdrawal of its troops from Angola following the killing of four Cuban soldiers by US-backed Angolan Unita rebels.

A Foreign Ministry statement said the suspension would remain in effect till Cuba received an explanation for Sunday's incident and was satisfied Unita would not continue to attack its forces during the withdrawal, part of peace accords agreed with South Africa and Angola in December 1988. Cuba has already brought home

more than 31 000 of its 50 000 troops in Angola, where they were helping the Marxist government fight the rebels. The rest of the Cubans are due to leave by mid-1991.

The four Cuban soldiers were killed and five more injured in an attack by Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) on a water-purification plant they were guarding in Angola's south-west Benguela province.

It was the second time Cuban troops had been killed by Unita since the Cuban withdrawal from Angola began in January 1989. Six Cuban soldiers

were killed last August when Unita guerrillas ambushed their truck.

After that incident, Cuban President Fidel Castro informed the United Nations Cuba would not tolerate attacks against its troops and reserved the right to respond.

The UN is supervising independence in neighbouring Namibia, part of the December 1988 peace accords between Angola, South Africa and Cuba.

Unita rebels yesterday expressed regret at the deaths of the Cuban soldiers, saying they were unaware they were present during an attack on Angolan government troops.

"The presence of Cuban troops in the area was unknown," said a Unita communique issued in Lisbon. "Unita regrets the death of the soldiers."

Unita said its forces launched the attack in the southern town of Kamanha, 30km north of Lobito port, in response to a government offensive backed by Cuban troops. It said Cuba should have been more open about the disposition of its troops.

Eighteen MPLA troops, including an officer, were also killed in a Unita attack on an MPLA convoy, according to the Unita news agency, KUP. — Sapa-Reuter

# Talks about Namibia border. (20/5)

The Star's Africa News Service 26/11/90

WINDHOEK — Officials were tight-lipped, yesterday about the meeting of the joint commission's subcommittee, which started on Wednesday and which continued yesterday, to discuss the security problems on Namibia's northern border with Angola.

Attending the meeting were commission members South Africa, Cuba and Angola, with the Soviet Union and the United States as observers.

Also granted observer status were the United Nations Transition Assistance Group and representatives of Namibian political parties.

The office of the Administrator-General said yesterday there would be no statement from the meeting.

But it has been learnt that the meeting discussed the border violations by units of the Unita movement crossing into Namibia from southern Angola, cattle-rustling in northern Namibia allegedly carried out by Unita and the attack with phosphorous bombs last week on a northern Namibian village by a Soviet-made MiG fighter plane said to belong to the Angolan MPLA government.

The meeting also discussed possible measures to tighten security along the troubled border.

## Cubans halt pull-out after Unita raid

LUANDA — Cuban troops scheduled to fly out of Angola under a UN-monitored withdrawal programme remained in the capital yesterday, as Havana halted the pull-out in protest against the killing of four Cuban soldiers by Unita.

A Cuban diplomat said only civilians had left in the past 24 hours.

An estimated 50 000 Cuban troops supporting the Angolan government began a phased withdrawal last January, under an accord between Angola, Cuba and SA. Un-

ita was not party to the accord but pledged not to attack departing Cuban forces.

Reports from Havana said Cuba and Angola temporarily suspended the troop withdrawal pending an investigation into a Unita raid on a water pumping station guarded by Cuban troops. The attack left four Cubans dead and seven wounded, members of the UN verification force confirmed. *8:00am 2:6/11/90*

But yesterday Unita said it had not known Cubans were guarding the position attacked on Sunday. — Sapa-AP.



# SA, Angola agree that 'everything is on track'

Star  
27/11/90

JON QWELANE

(S)  
(22)

WINDHOEK. — Despite the threat to peace in southern Africa early yesterday, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Mr Alfonso van Dunem, left Namibia late yesterday positive that everything was still on the right track.

The two ministers were in Windhoek to discuss the implications of the attack by Unita on Cuban soldiers which left four dead and 11 injured, and saw Cuba threatening to stop the withdrawal of the remainder of its troops stationed in Angola as agreed in the settlement plan leading to Namibia's independence.

The Joint Commission comprising Cuba, Angola and South Africa would meet soon to discuss the matter. "Luckily we have agreed on structures to deal with such crises," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha also held talks with Administrator-General Mr Louis Pienaar, United Nations special representative Mr Marti Ahtisaari, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma, and DTA leader Mr Dirk Mudge.

# Pik in emergency bid to save accord

By PETER KENNY in Windhoek and KEN POTTINGER in Lisbon

FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha flew to Namibia this weekend for an emergency meeting with his Angolan counterpart in an attempt to rescue the faltering Angola peace plan.

He and Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem decided to hold talks as soon as possible with Cuban officials in Luanda to persuade Havana to reverse its decision on Thursday to suspend its troop withdrawal.

After the meeting Mr Botha was optimistic the crisis would soon be resolved.

The United States and the Soviet Union will also attend the meeting as observers. Members of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group for Namibia will also be present.

Havana suspended its troop withdrawal from Angola after four Cuban soldiers

guarding a water purification plant in Angola were killed and 11 wounded by Unita guerrillas.

Mr Botha also held talks with Swapo leader and Namibia's president-to-be Sam Nujoma on bilateral matters, including the South African Customs Union.

Mr Botha described these talks as "very satisfactory".

## Visit

He declined to answer questions about whether the Cuban decision would delay Namibia's independence expected in late March or April, saying: "The danger of interpretation may exacerbate the situation rather than cool it down."

Meanwhile, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi began a nine-day private visit to Portugal

yesterday, as his bush forces remained locked in battle to contain a fierce MPLA effort to overrun their base in south-eastern Angola.

Dr Savimbi, on his first visit to Portugal since 1975, is to hold unofficial talks with President Mario Soares and other government figures.

On the eve of his departure for Lisbon Dr Savimbi told reporters: Luanda was engaged in its "biggest-ever effort" to dislodge the rebels from their Jamba headquarters.

Since December 23, four infantry brigades, two air defence brigades, two artillery brigades, six motorised groups and a tank company, backed by MiG air cover and 7 000 soldiers have advanced to within 40km of the vital rebel airfield at Mavinga, 400km north-west of Jamba.

# Unita leader in Portugal for talks

LISBON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi began a nine-day private visit to Portugal on Saturday.

Dr Savimbi, who has led anti-Marxist forces in a 14-year-old civil war against the Soviet-backed MPLA Angolan government, was welcomed by thousands of his supporters during a heavily guarded public appearance in central Lisbon.

The guerilla leader, on his first visit to Portugal since the four-party Alvor accords that gave Angola independence were signed in 1975, is to hold unofficial talks with President Mario Soares and other government figures.

The Portuguese have mounted a major security operation to protect Dr Savimbi, amid rumours that Angolan government assassination squads have infiltrated the Portuguese capital in a bid to kill him.

Wiping out Dr Savimbi would greatly reduce the concessions the Luanda government is being pressured to make in stalled Zairean-mediated peace negotiations with Unita.

Meanwhile, back in Angola, his bush forces remained locked in a pitched battle to contain a fierce government effort to overrun the rebel's south-eastern Jamba base.

# Savimbi takes Portugal by storm 'privately'

AKB's 29/11/90 (5)

**The Argus, Foreign Service LISBON.** — The Portuguese government, anxious to avoid wounding close ties with Luanda, has underlined the private nature of the eight-day visit to the country by UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

"I don't care if it's official or private," said a confident Dr Savimbi. "All I want is the chance to share my message with Portugal's leaders and people."

With 100 000 portrait-posters scattered across his four-city itinerary, lead coverage in the national media and meetings at the highest political and government levels, Dr Savimbi has taken Portugal by storm.

On Saturday he met President Mario Soares at Belem Palace for 90 minutes.

Yesterday it was Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva's turn, although the architect of Lisbon's rapprochement with Luanda insisted that he did so only in his capacity as leader of the ruling Social Democratic Party, not as head of government.

Dr Savimbi said he asked both "to do everything possible" to bring Angola's warring sides to the negotiating table.

# RN

# R500 000

# A Christmas

STOCK OF MAFARA



Unita leader Jonas Savimbi waves to a crowd on Saturday after paying his respects at the tomb of Portuguese poet Luis de Camoes at Jeronimos monastery in Lisbon.

Picture: REUTERS

## B/day 29/1/90 (5) Savimbi says no to 'suicide'

LISBON — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi says it would be tantamount to suicide for his Unita movement to accept a one-party state as demanded by the country's Marxist government.

"It's out of date, even for the conditions in Angola," he said in a television interview on Saturday after arriving in Portugal for his first visit in 15 years.

"Who today in the world would accept a one-party system?"

Savimbi dismissed the peace proposals presented by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in a New Year's speech as sophistry which did not advance the faltering peace process.

He was scornful of Dos Santos's suggestion that independent associations could exercise political freedoms under the one-party rule of the MPLA.

"Associations to be controlled by one political party? That does not represent anything," he said. "That is not democracy. I cannot accept that."

"You don't ask a man to commit suicide to gain peace."

Unita, which has fought the MPLA since independence from Portugal in 1975, is demanding a Western-style, multi-party system.

The issue is at the heart of the im-

passe in peace efforts led by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Savimbi, 55, appealed to Portugal to join the peace efforts, something it has been reluctant to do. But he denied suggestions that he had lost faith in Mobutu's initiative.

Dos Santos, in a similar interview three weeks ago, ruled out the prospect of fighting elections against Unita. He argued that a one-party system was more appropriate for an African country in Angola's stage of development.

But Savimbi would not accept that. "Can it be that Africa is different from the whole world? Man's necessities, his aspirations, his expressions are the same whether in Europe or in Africa."

The Unita leader's visit, which includes talks with President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva, underlines his enhanced diplomatic stature since his meeting with Dos Santos in Zaire last June.

Savimbi is also trying to mobilise support among Portugal's large expatriate Angolan community. He appealed to them on Saturday to return to their homeland to help rebuild it. — Sapa-Reuter.

MOONRISE today, 3:11 pm.

## Cuba claims to have killed 13 Unita soldiers

The Star's Africa News Service

Cuba yesterday gave details of the rebel attack in central Angola last week which has led to the suspension of the Cuban withdrawal from the country.

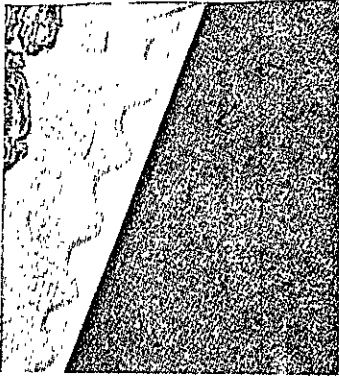
Four Cuban soldiers were killed in the attack. In a statement to the Angolan news agency, Angop, the Cuban Ministry of Defence said Unita rebels had used missile launchers, machineguns and 60 mm mortars in the attack against a small town near the

son were treated and discharged.

port of Lobito. The attack was repelled and 33 Unita soldiers were killed, the statement said.

Cuba denounced the United States for its continuing military support to Unita and stressed that the Cuban forces in Angola were all stationed north of 13th parallel as stipulated by the tripartite agreements with Angola and South Africa.

Cuba said it considered continuing US aid to Unita as provocative and a sabotage of the agreements.



Mr Jett Wab  
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the government.  
However, Swapo said while it had problems with issues such as the bicameral system, proportional repre-

cause should then be state.  
Justus Garoeb, leader of the UDF

was provisions

# Savimbi requests peace meeting with Dos Santos

*B. Nam 30/11/90*

LISBON — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday called on Marxist President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to meet him face-to-face to try to end the 15-year-old civil war.

"It is very important for us to have this meeting, first of all to get to know each other," he told reporters.

The two men met before African mediators in Zaire last June. But the two sides disagreed later about what had been agreed and the fighting continued.

The Zaire meeting enhanced Savimbi's diplomatic stature, encouraging Portugal to receive him for the first time since 1975.

Luanda denounced the visit yesterday as the culmination of a vast publicity campaign by Portuguese conservatives.

Dos Santos said earlier this month that he had no objection to Savimbi's visit as it was a private one.

The rebel leader has met President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva. The latter stressed that he received Savimbi in his capacity as leader of the ruling Social Democratic Party, not as head of government.

Cuba suspended the half-completed withdrawal of its 50 000 troops last week after four of them were killed in a Unita attack.

Savimbi said it was a mistake and Unita was in contact with Havana to reassure the Cubans that it would not happen again.

The rebel leader said he had spoken by telephone earlier yesterday with US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen about the latter's recent visit to Luanda.

Cohen was in London to talk about the next steps in the peace process with the Soviet Union and with Portugal's Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Durao Barroso, Savimbi said.

Savimbi has called on Portugal to use its good relations with Luanda to help bring about peace negotiations. But he denied strongly that he had lost faith in the mediation of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The rebel leader said fighting was continuing unabated on two fronts in south-eastern Angola.

Savimbi forecast that the war would end before 1991. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mar 30/1/90

# Cuba claims to have killed 13 Unita soldiers

The Star's Africa News Service (S)

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port of Lobito. The attack was repelled and 33 Unita soldiers were killed, the statement said.

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# Savimbi sees end to war this year

CAT 710-15-30/1/90

LISBON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said yesterday that pressure from the superpowers and Angola's weariness with war would bring an end to the 16-year civil war in Angola this year.

"The pressure for peace from inside and outside Angola will be so great I don't see how either side will be able to continue fighting in 1990," Dr Savimbi told foreign journalists.

"We are going to launch an enormous effort to end the war this year," he said.

Dr Savimbi was speaking on the third day of his first visit to Lisbon since 1975, when independence from Portugal plunged Angola into civil war between his US-backed Unita movement and the Marxist government, supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Lessening tension between the superpowers meant the Soviet Union would support a more active role for the United States in seeking a peace settlement for Angola, Dr Savimbi said.

President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva both received Dr Savimbi at the weekend for what Portuguese officials described as unofficial talks. The visit marks the end of a 15-year ban on Dr Savimbi's visiting Portugal. — Sapa-AP

# Savimbi expects war to end this year

McL  
30/1/90

## The Argus Foreign Service

LISBON. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi says he expects the 14-year civil war to end this year in spite of reports of escalating fighting across Angola.

He told a Press conference yesterday: "Both the MPLA and ourselves are going to come under great pressure — both domestic and foreign — to end the war. I don't see how we can continue fighting in 1990."

In a battlefield report distributed only hours later Unita said it killed 83 soldiers and destroyed 11 tanks and 25 other vehicles in "fierce combat" from January 24 to 27 along the Lomba river in southeastern Kuando Kubango province.

The US-armed guerrillas admitted 11 dead and 68 wounded.

### LUANDA CLAIM

However, the official Angolan news agency, Angop, said the army killed 52 rebels in five provinces between January 22 and 26, but made no reference to the five-week government offensive in the southeast.

In a dispatch received in Lisbon, Angop said Unita killed 26 and wounded 69 others, but did not differentiate between military and civilian casualties.

Dr Savimbi, in Portugal on an eight-day private visit, said he had "direct contacts" with Havana and was developing "a formula to guarantee" that his men would not attack withdrawing Cuban troops again.

Cuba has temporarily suspended the half-completed withdrawal of its 50 000-man force following a Unita attack last week that killed four Cuban soldiers.

At the Press conference Dr Savimbi repeated calls for Portugal, Angola's colonial ruler until 1975, to use its influence in Luanda to bring the warring sides back to the negotiating table under the mediation of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

### MET CARDINAL

Since arriving on Saturday Dr Savimbi has made that request in meetings with President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.

Yesterday the rebel leader held talks with non-communist labour leaders and met Cardinal Dom Antonio Ribeiro.

He said he would visit Belgium, West Germany, Switzerland, and possibly France after his Portuguese tour ends on Saturday.

# MPLA, Unita in 'gigantic battle'

CAN TELS 31/1/90

5

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has cut short a European tour to return to Angola where government and Unita forces are locked in a showdown battle that could settle the fate of the country after 15 years of civil war.

Dr Savimbi said at a hastily convened press conference in Lisbon that the MPLA had attacked Mavinga on the southern banks of the Lomba River in south-east Angola using about a dozen MiG aircraft — an unprecedented number in a single raid in 14 years of civil war.

Unita's British spokesman Mr Abel Shivukuvuku last night said the MPLA was "throwing everything" into the fighting.

He rejected reports claiming that South Africa was supporting

Unita, with Koevoet units fighting alongside them.

Western journalists and observers had been given unlimited access to the Unita frontline to investigate the facts, he said.

There was no evidence of Cuban ground forces, he said, but "large numbers" of Soviet military advisers were helping MPLA tank, missile and artillery units.

Unita had also intercepted messages from Spanish-speaking MiG pilots and suspected they were Cuban.

The Unita spokesman, who is senior in Dr Savimbi's hierarchy, said the Fapla forces were trying to take strategically vital Mavinga to gain a dominant position so they could dictate ceasefire and settlement negotiations.

He added: "But it is true that this could be the (decisive) battle of the war. It started on November 23. Now it is a gigantic battle. Casualties are very heavy on both

sides."

He said Unita's supplies of military hardware were "peanuts" compared to the MPLA's — but that Unita continued to receive military supplies from the United States "and other sympathetic countries" including some in Africa, but "definitely" none from South Africa.

Unita was constantly calling on the United Nations, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and other powerful nations to oblige the MPLA to observe a ceasefire and accept free and fair elections to decide the future of the country.

He said the MPLA "totally refused" to allow Angola to have a democratic future. It wanted to retain one-party power.

Unita would fight till the MPLA accepted Unita's rights to exist and to contest free elections, he said. — Sapa-Reuter

Monday 31/1/90

AFRICA

# Namibia and Angola poised for trade

**WINDHOEK** — Namibia and Angola are poised to enter into trade with one another after the return of 15 businessmen from Luanda who were impressed with the opportunities available to both countries.

And it appears that, far from reducing Namibia's dependence on SA, all sides are happy for Namibia to be the conduit for indirect trade between SA and Angola.

The businessmen, who went to Luanda on a fact-finding mission, met Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and other cabinet ministers and representatives of state business concerns who apparently were not worried about indirect trade with SA.

The trip was instigated by Swapo president Sam Nujoma during his visit to Luanda 10 days ago, and the entrepreneurs were accompanied by Swapo

**BILLY PADDOCK**  
shadow minister of trade and industry Ben Amathile.

At a media conference on their return to Namibia yesterday, the businessmen said Angola was almost totally dependent on imports from Europe, and Namibia could easily step into this market at much lower prices.

## Petrol

A big bonus for Namibia in forging these trade links would be a huge reduction in the cost of petrol. In Angola a litre of petrol costs 22,15c whereas in Namibia, which gets its petrol from SA, it costs 115c a litre.

The possibility of SA benefitting from this was not ruled out, although SA does export petrol.

The businessmen examined trade and

tourism, transport and construction. Wecke and Voigts group MD Dieter Voigts said Angola was importing drinking water in 1,5-litre bottles from Portugal, and "we can very easily move in there and it will be much cheaper if supplied by Namibia".

They said Angola was in dire need of a rehabilitated infrastructure and a transport system and Namibia could assist with this.

But Engineer Albie Bruckner said Namibia did not have the financial strength to invest large capital to develop Angola because it had to concentrate on developing its own facilities.

A lawyer who accompanied the businessmen, Peter Koep, said Angola had no problems accepting Namibia playing a third-party role in trade links with SA. But it did not want to trade directly with SA.

As a result of the discussions the busi-

nessmen had with government representatives in Angola, the Banco Nacional de Angola had opened an account with Bank of Namibia to facilitate payments for trade between the countries.

Namibia would gain a level of independence from SA in trade with Angola in the areas of petrol, fruit and vegetables, cement and wood. The businessmen said there were factories in Luanda which were under-producing, and with help the output could rise dramatically.

## Peace

Bruckner said Angola was a rich country but the war had damaged the infrastructure and many people had left the country.

"We got the impression they (the government) are sick and tired of war and are starting to prepare for peace".

# Savimbi requests peace meeting with Dos Santos

*Bjram 30/11/90* 5

LISBON — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi yesterday called on Marxist President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to meet him face-to-face to try to end the 15-year-old civil war.

"It is very important for us to have this meeting, first of all to get to know each other," he told reporters.

The two men met before African mediators in Zaire last June. But the two sides disagreed later about what had been agreed and the fighting continued.

The Zaire meeting enhanced Savimbi's diplomatic stature, encouraging Portugal to receive him for the first time since 1975.

Luanda denounced the visit yesterday as the culmination of a vast publicity campaign by Portuguese conservatives.

Dos Santos said earlier this month that he had no objection to Savimbi's visit as it was a private one.

The rebel leader has met President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva. The latter stressed that he received Savimbi in his capacity as leader of the ruling Social Democratic Party, not as head of government.

Cuba suspended the half-completed withdrawal of its 50 000 troops last week after four of them were killed in a Unita attack.

Savimbi said it was a mistake and Unita was in contact with Havana to reassure the Cubans that it would not happen again.

The rebel leader said he had spoken by telephone earlier yesterday with US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen about the latter's recent visit to Luanda.

Cohen was in London to talk about the next steps in the peace process with the Soviet Union and with Portugal's Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Durao Barroso, Savimbi said.

Savimbi has called on Portugal to use its good relations with Luanda to help bring about peace negotiations. But he denied strongly that he had lost faith in the mediation of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The rebel leader said fighting was continuing unabated on two fronts in south-eastern Angola.

Savimbi forecast that the war would end before 1991. — Sapa-Reuter.

STAR 12/90 (5)

## Angolan govt gets message from Savimbi

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — As government troops advanced towards rebel held areas in southern Angola, a message from Unita rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has been delivered to Angolan government representatives in London.

Mozambique's news agency, AIm, said from Lisbon that Dr Savimbi had taken a message to Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Cavaco Silva to be passed to the Angolan authorities.

The agency said indications were that that the Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Manuel Durao Barroso, had taken the message to the Angolans.

Mr Barroso met this week in London with Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura and with former US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, the agency said, but gave no other details.

Dr Savimbi cut short an eight-day visit to Portugal on Tuesday, stating that heavy air bombardments had been launched against rebel positions near the strategic town of Mavinga.

Reports from Luanda yesterday said government troops had crossed the Lomba river and were within 12 km of Mavinga. If Mavinga falls, the way could be open for an offensive against Unita's Jamba headquarters.

From KEN POTTINGER

LISBON. — Angolan government forces were said to be poised yesterday to seize the vital Unita rebel air field at Mavinga and open the way for the first government attack on Unita's Jamba base 400km further south.

Lisbon television, quoting Angolan Defence Ministry sources, said yesterday Luandan military commanders expected Mavinga to fall "within hours" following earlier massive aerial fragmentation bombing of the town.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi cut short a private visit to Portugal late on Tuesday night after hearing of the new offensive.

Mavinga is one of the most important towns held by the rebels. It is Unita's main incoming air route for US logistic and other supplies and for Dr Savimbi's own return flight, has an underground hospital and blocks the way to Jamba.

Its capture by government

# Angola <sup>CAT</sup> <sup>TIME</sup> 'set to 11/2/70 (5) take' key rebel base

troops would put Jamba within air striking distance.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa yesterday quoted a military source as saying more than 500 Unita rebels were killed in the attack on Mavinga — one of the biggest government operations of the 15-year-old civil war.

No Unita spokesman was immediately available for comment.

Dr Savimbi told a news conference in Lisbon on Tuesday night the government had used 14 MiG warplanes in the battle.

Dr Savimbi said the guerillas had shot down two MiG-23s and a helicopter. But the Lusa report said military sources denied this.

● An extraordinary session of the Joint Commission will discuss the situation in Luanda. The commission, representing Angola, Cuba, the United States and South Africa, is expected to meet soon, probably within days.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, reacting to the war news, said: "We are concerned about the recent developments."

The call for an extraordinary meeting of the Joint Commission was jointly made by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha and Angola's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Loy van Dunen in Windhoek last week. — Political Staff and Sapa-Reuters.

State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, co



# Angolan troops close in on key Unita base

ARGUS  
1/21/90

5

LUANDA. — Angolan government troops have crossed the Lomba River, a natural barrier between government forces and territory held by Unita in south-east Angola, military sources said here.

Fierce fighting has been reported on the banks of the Lomba since Unita rebels, dug in south of the river, halted about 9 000 government troops, backed by Soviet-supplied tanks and air-support, who began an advance on the key rebel base of Mavinga in late December.

The military sources claimed government forces bridged the Lomba in the last few days and were fighting for control of the vital airstrip at Ma-

vinga, 19km south of the river.

There was no independent confirmation of the claims.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi cut short a planned five-nation European tour on Tuesday, claiming he had to return to organise Unita defences against intensive bombing raids by the government's Soviet-built MiG and Sukhoi aircraft over the Mavinga area.

He said government ground forces did not threaten Mavinga, a strategic position guarding the rebel's bush headquarters about 250km further south-east.

An editorial from the Angolan state news agency, Angop, yesterday ac-

cused Dr Savimbi of attempting to gain international sympathy by presenting himself as a victim of government aggression.

Angop claimed the rebels heightened the 16-year civil war by killing four Cuban soldiers in a raid last week. The agency said American and South African advisers had arrived recently to help Unita forces in southern Angola.

The guerrillas claim Soviet advisers are helping government forces.

Cuba called a temporary halt to the withdrawal of its troops backing the Luanda government last week after the slaying of the four soldiers. — Sapa-AP.

## Old friends Sisulu and Tambo to reunite

The Argus Foreign Service <sup>ARGUS 1/21/90</sup> STOCKHOLM. — High above the harbour here, where gargantuan ferries hoot and churn the water as they leave for Finland, is the spot where two South African comrades will be reunited this week for the first time in more than 25 years.

The last time Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo could meet without restraint was before the 1964 Rivonia

trial, in which Mr Sisulu and others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

When the recently released Mr Sisulu arrives in the snowy Swedish capital today for a series of top-level meetings with politicians, one of his priorities will be to visit Mr Tambo, who is in the city for treatment for the effects of a stroke he had last year.

After the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and Mr Sisulu, Mr Tambo now 72, shouldered much of the burden of leading the ANC — he has been one of the leaders since 1958 and president since 1977 — and it is believed the pressure contributed to his stroke.

The two friends are likely to meet at the smart Erstagards Clinic in central Stockholm, where Mr Tambo is patient.



# Angola says SA, US advisers helping Unita

The Star's Africa News Service (5)

The Angolan news agency, Angop, yesterday said South African and American advisers had been sent to Angola to help the Unita rebel group.

The claim has been denied by the SADF. *STAR 2/2/90*

In a commentary on the latest developments in the country the agency said rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was pretending to be a victim of alleged stubbornness on the side of the MPLA government.

It accused him of trying to present the image of a responsible man at the time when a government offensive is taking place against Unita-controlled areas.

"In fact, what is worrying Savimbi and his mentors is the violation of the New York accords on peace in south-western Africa by the attack on Cuban units which were preparing to withdraw, as well as the recent and hurried introduction of American and South African advisers into Unita's lines in the south of Angola in an effort to guarantee Unita's survival," Angop said.

Angop said the reality was that it was Unita which had boycotted the Gbadolite peace agreements.

The Angolan government was ready, however, to continue with its efforts to achieve peace in the country.

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THE WORLD

# Pitched battles for control of

THE fierce battle being fought between Angolan government forces and Unita rebels for control of the southern town and Unita stronghold of Mavinga may decide the outcome of this country's 15-year civil war.

The fighting is concentrated along the Lomba River, 20km to the north of Mavinga, where the government's rainy-season offensive on the town seems, for the time being, to have been halted.

Unita trucks ferrying soldiers and supplies to the front career at break-neck speed along the rough sand tracks from Mavinga to the river to avoid being picked out by government mortars on the opposite bank and Soviet-made MiG-23 jets overhead. Wrecked vehicles, the legacy of past attempts to wrest Mavinga from Unita control, litter the forest on either side.

At the river itself, the exchange of artillery and mortar is intense and relentless. Unita guns, both US and Soviet-made, are dug in at the edge of woods on the south bank, awaiting any attempt by government Fapla forces to attempt a crossing.

From a vantage point above the Lomba, Unita officer Lieutenant-Colonel John Kavas, pointed out a group of soldiers moving swiftly through the long grass on the northern bank.

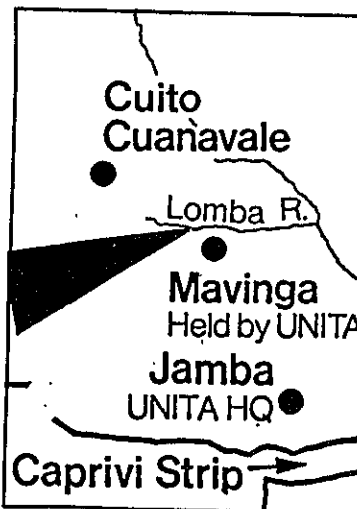
"That's one of our patrols. We still have men on the other side of the river. Our tactics now are to harass the enemy so he doesn't have the chance to make a crossing."

If Fapla was to break through and take Mavinga, the way would be open to the Unita headquarters at Jamba, further to the south-east. In that case, the government would be in a far better position to dictate peace on its terms. President Eduardo dos Santos wants Unita to put down its arms and participate in the present one-party system, effectively becoming absorbed into the ruling MPLA. He is also demanding that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi step down from politics and go into exile, perhaps for a two-year cooling-off period.

Savimbi has flatly turned down both proposals, calling instead for an internationally monitored peace process leading to a new constitution and multi-party elections, while refusing to leave the political scene.

It is on these differences that peace negotiations, which began so optimistically last June with a ceasefire

*Government and rebel soldiers are waging a fierce battle in Mavinga, Angola — a battle which may decide the outcome of the 15-year civil war reports JULIAN BORGER*



Fighting is concentrated along the Lomba north of Mavinga

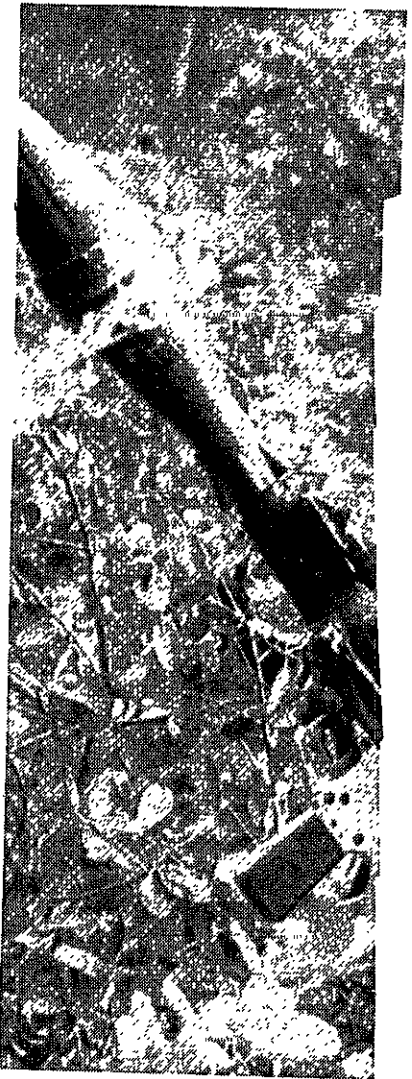
and a handshake between Dos Santos and Savimbi, have since broken down. The last scheduled meeting of the eight African heads of state supposed to be overseeing the peace process has twice been postponed by the principal mediator in the conflict, Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Unita's Chief of General Staff, General Ariando Pena Chenda "Ben-Ben" claims that the government is trying, with this offensive, to make negotiations irrelevant.

"They are in a very critical situation diplomatically," he said.

"They are under a lot of pressure from other countries, even their friends in Africa, to sign a ceasefire. So they want to say to other countries, 'Why should we sign when Unita is weak, while we're beating them?' That's why they launch an offensive now, in the rainy season."

The general, giving an interview a few kilometres from the Lomba River, rejected criticisms of a Unita ambush on January 22 in Benguela province further north, in which four Cuban soldiers were killed, provoking Cuban leader Fidel Castro's announcement last week that he was halting the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.



Unita forces armed with rocket-pi

Cubans have been fighting alongside Fapla throughout the war, and their withdrawal is a key element in the New York peace accords, signed in 1988 by Cuba, Angola, the US and South Africa, that linked a settlement in Angola to Namibian independence.

"We have never been involved in those accords," General Ben-Ben said, "and anyway, how can we tell the difference between Cuban soldiers and Fapla?"

The general claimed radio communications in Russian had been intercepted on the other side of the Lomba. Luanda, however, has denied the presence of Soviet advisors among its troops and points instead to the alleged, direct involvement of Ameri-

# southern Angola

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RESOUR propelled grenades guard their Mavinga stronghold.

Picture: LAURINDA KEYS

Training

cans and South Africans on the rebel side, denied in turn by Unita.

under rebel control, but the evidence they have put forward up to now has been discredited by independent analysts. Last week, journalists were taken at their own request to the site of an alleged chemical attack, a small crater in the middle of woods.

Educator

Although there was no direct evidence of the continued presence of South Africans at the front, it is clear Pretoria has not completely severed its ties with Unita. Journalists are still flown into Unita-held territory direct from South Africa. On this occasion, journalists shared the flight with boxes of medical supplies in a vintage Dakota, owned by a charter air company, that took off from Wonderboom airport, Pretoria, and flew the last leg to the airstrip at Mavinga just above tree-top level with the lights out.

The surrounding trees were intact, and there were no signs of a blast, but the foliage in the area had turned brown, while, eight days after Unita say this bomb dropped, a powerful acrid stench still came from the crater.

Audio Vis

Unita have repeated a regular accusation that Fapla bombers have dropped chemical weapons on areas

Unita officers claim that, of an 11-man detachment sent out to investigate the weapon five days earlier, three had died and eight had been evacuated to Jamba when they began vomiting blood, and so were not available for an interview.

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## Unita 'loses stronghold' (S) in big battle

LISBON — The Angolan army said yesterday that it had captured the south-eastern rebel stronghold of Mavinga in some of the fiercest fighting in the country's 15-year civil war, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said.

Lusa quoted a military source as saying there were thousands of casualties from both sides when government troops overran the Unita-held town on Wednesday.

Unita officials in Lisbon reported heavy fighting but denied that the town had fallen saying that as of yesterday, government troops were still 30 km from Mavinga.

Lusa said government troops supported by MiG-23 planes, heavy artillery and armoured tanks had broken rebel defences on the Lomba River.

STAR 3/2/90

# US urges end to Angolan fighting

CPL Trunk's 5  
3/2/90

WASHINGTON. — The United States yesterday called on the Angolan government to stop its offensive against the US-armed Unita rebels, while both sides yesterday claimed control of the strategic Mavinga airstrip after fierce fighting.

The US State Department's statement reflects growing concern at gains by the Soviet-armed government forces, which have brought them to the edge of Unita-controlled territory in south-eastern Angola. It also stated the US had sought Soviet co-operation to end the fighting.

A high-ranking military source in Luanda claimed two government military columns took the small town, 1100km south-east of the capital in Cuando Cubango province, on Thursday afternoon after heavy air and ground attacks.

The source, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said both sides incurred heavy casualties but government troops had consolidated positions in "all the area of Mavinga".

Unita foreign-affairs spokesman Mr Toni da Costa Fernandes dismissed the claim at a news conference in the northern Portuguese city of Oporto, the Portuguese news agency Lusa said.

State Department spokeswoman Ms Margaret Tutwiler said she could not confirm the fall of Mavinga to the government, but that a large force of troops had crossed the Lombo River and were within 16km of Mavinga.

That information was based on independent confirmation, officials said.

Mavinga is considered a key to military control of the region and vital to any government plans to attack the rebel stronghold at Jamba, 192km farther south.

The town's natural defence is the Lomba River that passes as close as 19km directly to the north.

Latest reports from the rebels' stronghold in Jamba, more than 200km further south, said fighting was concentrated about 30km outside Mavinga, Mr Fernandes said.

"The MPLA (government) troops are completely blocked. They can't even make patrols," said Mr Fernandes, though adding that Soviet-built MiG fighters still were attacking Unita positions.

He ruled out the possibility of a rebel counter-attack.

Rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, who cut short a five-nation European tour on Tuesday to return to Angola, broadcast a general alert yesterday, ordering his forces to resume full-scale operations against government forces around the country.

In a broadcast over Unita's Black Cockerel radio, monitored in Luanda, Dr Savimbi said he called for an "all-out attack" in response to the heavy government shelling of Mavinga.

He warned that the response would include urban guerilla attacks that would render Angolan cities "uncontrollable" over the next two months. — Sapa-AP

# Mavinga has fallen - report

STAV 12/00 The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Angolan troops, backed by Soviet-supplied warplanes and armour, have seized the strategic south-eastern town of Mavinga from Unita rebels after several days of fierce fighting, according to Portuguese news reports from the Angolan capital.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon denied that Mavinga and its airfield — pivotal in the US operation resupplying the guerillas — had fallen.

But he conceded that government forces had broken through rebel defensive lines along the Lomba River to the north.

The Marxist government in Luanda maintained an official silence.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa and other local media cited unidentified military sources in Luanda as saying Mavinga had been overrun, with thousands of casualties on both sides.

A diplomat said there had been heavy losses in men and equipment on both sides but considered the casualty reports

from Luanda exaggerated.

Unita spokesman Mr Norberto Castro told reporters in Lisbon the fighting had been taking place about 25 km north of Mavinga, just south of the Lomba River.

Unita anti-aircraft units, he said, had downed five helicopter gunships, three MiG-23 jetfighters and one Sukhoi-25 bomber.

South-eastern Mavinga, the gateway to Unita's bush capital at Jamba, about 300 km south, dominates the rebels' supply lines into central and northern Angola.

Unita officials in Lisbon noted that Portuguese news reports from Luanda had reported the fall of Mavinga "at least three times" during the past two weeks.

Luanda and its official news agency Angop have not yet commented on the reports nor even officially acknowledged that a major offensive was under way.

Luanda deployed 10 000 men backed by jetfighters, bombers and about 400 armoured cars and tanks against Mavinga's defensive lines on December 23.

# Unita denies fall of Mavinga

**The Argus Foreign Service**  
LISBON. — Angolan troops, backed by Soviet-supplied warplanes and armour, are reported to have seized the strategic south-eastern town of Mavinga from the Unita rebels after several days of fierce fighting.

But a Unita spokesman in Lisbon denied news reports from the Angolan capital that Mavinga and its airfield, pivotal to the United States air-bridge resupply to the guerrillas, had fallen.

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tro said the fighting had been taking place about 25km north of Mavinga, just south of the Lomba River.

Unita anti-aircraft units, he said, had downed five helicopter gunships, three MiG 23 jet fighters and one Sukhoi 25 bomber.

In a speech over rebel radio, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi ordered his forces on "an all-out attack" across the country and threatened to take the war into Angola's cities.

Mavinga, the gateway to Unita's bush capital at Jamba, 300km to the south, dominates its supply lines into central and northern Angola.

Its airfield is also, reportedly, a main receiving point for United States arms aid, including the anti-aircraft Stinger missile.

Unita officials in Portugal, Angola's colonial ruler until 1975, noted that news reports from Luanda had reported the fall of Mavinga "at least three times" in the past two weeks.

The Angolan government deployed some 10 000 men backed by jet fighters, bombers and about 400 armoured cars and tanks against Mavinga's defensive lines on December 23.

# Unita, <sup>1/12/70</sup> MPLA <sup>1/12/70</sup> both claim Mavinga <sup>5</sup>

LISBON. — The fate of the Angolan rebel stronghold of Mavinga remained unclear at the weekend with both sides claiming they hold the town.

Both the Marxist government and Western-backed Unita rebels insisted that the strategic south-east Angolan base was in their hands.

"The situation is difficult but Mavinga has not fallen into the hands of the MPLA," a Unita official here said yesterday.

However, the government said in a statement yesterday that its troops had captured the town on Friday evening. It added that 500 Unita forces and 47 government soldiers had died.

Meanwhile, it is reported from Washington that Unita's battlefield setbacks may be the result of US supplies having been drastically curtailed or stopped since last November.

While administration officials strongly denied any drop-off in supplies to the rebels, there have been Republican charges that the cut-backs are related to the crashing of an aircraft in Angola carrying an American agent. — Sapa-Reuter, Own Correspondent



**Briefing**

# Mavinga: beginning of end for Unita?

The reported fall of the Unita stronghold of Mavinga to Angolan government forces over the weekend may mean the beginning of the end for Dr Jonas Savimbi and his Unita rebel movement after 19 years of civil war.

If the MPLA government troops can dig in and hold Mavinga long enough to enable its vital airstrip to be used by MiG fighter-bombers, then Dr Savimbi's bush capital of Jamba, just 10 minutes flying time away, will become untenable and Dr Savimbi will be almost back to where he began 15 years ago — isolated from the world.

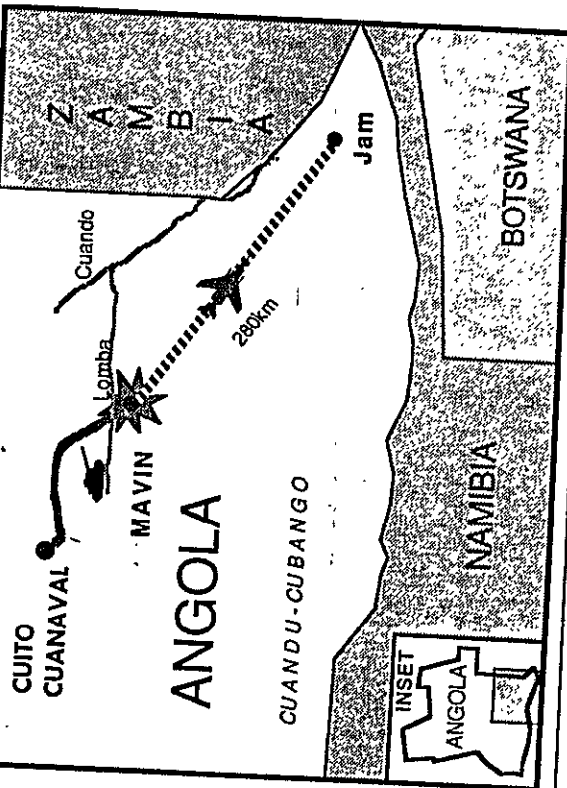
The present fighting is the outcome of a conviction by hawks within the MPLA government that Dr Savimbi cannot survive without South African assistance, a conviction their success seems to justify.

Twice before, in 1985 and 1987, South Africa intervened militarily to defeat MPLA offensives twice as strong as the present force aimed at capturing Mavinga and Jamba.

Questions are now being asked about the much vaunted United States-supplied Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and Tow anti-tank missiles that seem to have been ineffective against the Soviet-supplied MiGs and tanks that are spear-heading the present offensive, and about the real fighting ability of Dr Savimbi's forces.

Their seeming inability to withstand the present 10 000-strong force has greatly strengthened the hands of the MPLA hawks in Luanda.

Jamba, the ultimate target of the MPLA force, is little more than a collection of semi-underground



The fall of Mavinga could mean the end of the road for Jonas Savimbi, reports **KEN VERNON** of The Star's Africa News Service.

But it is Dr Savimbi's "capital", his access to the world and, more importantly, to the media. Without Jamba, Dr Savimbi will almost certainly slip unnoticed into obscurity.

Even if Dr Savimbi and his men do survive to fight on for years, the pressure on the MPLA government to compromise with Dr Savimbi and negotiate a peace settlement will also fade.

Angolan President Edvardo De Santos will be able to protest that Dr Savimbi was obviously an instrument of South African de-stabilisation who could not survive after South Africa was forced to withhold aid after its 1988 agreement with Angola and Cuba.

Such a scenario is unthinkable for the "Black Panther", so it is expected that Dr Savimbi will muster every ounce of force he has to try defeat the government column.

The supply lines to the MPLA column at Mavinga stretch back more than 300 km through bushland still largely in the hands of Unita guerrillas, and represents a fragile and vulnerable lifeline that Dr Savimbi will attempt to cut.

The destruction of the 10 000-strong MPLA armoured force would signal an end to the power of the hawks in the Dos Santos government and could still see Dr Savimbi salvage a favourable negotiated end to his war.



Dr Jonas Savimbi relies heavily on his bush capital of Jamba — his access to the world and the media.

## Rains may foil Angola bid to crush Unita

LISBON. — Angola has vowed to crush Unita in battles near the rebel stronghold of Mavinga, but an armoured column there could become isolated behind Unita lines, reports the Portuguese news agency, Lusa.

The agency quoted an Angolan military source as saying that supply lines to Mavinga, which the Marxist government says it captured on Friday, were very long and the rains had started.

"If the armed forces' logistics do not improve, Unita could well stage a counter-attack and retake Mavinga," the source was quoted as saying.

Unita reiterated its denial that the town had fallen, saying the government's claims were a "farce".

"It is an operation aimed only at raising the morale of exhausted troops who are facing serious logistical problems and intense fire," Unita said in Lisbon.

Meanwhile electricity to Luanda had been cut off by an apparent Unita attack, Lusa said.

The Cuban-backed government also extended for a year an offer of amnesty to Unita. A wide-ranging decree signed by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was made public by the Angolan embassy in Lisbon.

The government also claimed that Unita's former military chief, Demostenes Amos Chilingutila, and 100 men had deserted and were fleeing to Botswana.

### "FINAL ASSAULT"

An Angolan military source said the Mavinga offensive had cost more than \$800 million (R2 000-m). Attacks by Soviet-built MiG-23s and MiG-25s had been decisive.

Some 400 armoured vehicles and 20 000 troops took part in the operation, code-named "Final Assault".

One of two columns had crossed the Lomba River north of Mavinga on metal bridges, breaking Unita lines.

The region, known by the former Portuguese colonialists as "The End of the World", is full of swamps and lakes and 150km by air from the nearest government base at Cuito Cuanavale. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Cubans in Mavinga battle — Unita claim

The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — Angola's Unita guerillas have reaffirmed that they are still holding the strategic south-eastern town of Mavinga and have claimed Cuban troops are joining the offensive.

"The combats are hard, claiming hundreds, even thousands, of civilian lives," Unita said in a statement distributed in Lisbon yesterday.

Without elaboration, the rebels said a "Cuban unit" was advancing eastward from Cuito Cuanavale towards Mavinga, which was coming under intensified aerial bombardment.

Describing the MPLA government's claims that it seized Mavinga on Friday after a five-week offensive as "lies", Unita said rebel chief Dr Jonas Savimbi had spent 36 hours in the town inspecting its defences. It did not specify when this took place.

In contrast to the rebel statement, the Portuguese news agency, Lusa, quoted a Luanda military communique as saying troops were consolidating their hold on Mavinga and conducting mopping-up operations to the south.

The army claimed it had killed 543 guerillas in its final assault against the town and its airfield, the pivotal point for the American weapons air bridge to Unita. The army conceded 55

dead and 189 wounded.

Reuter reports that the Angolan government said yesterday it wanted a fresh ceasefire with Unita.

Luanda had handed Zairean mediators new proposals to break the current deadlock in peace talks with Unita, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said.

He said he was willing to allow "independent candidates" to participate in one-party elections.

● David Braun of The Star Bureau in Washington reports that Soviet Union involvement in the MPLA offensive against Unita is on the agenda for this week's meeting in Moscow between the American and Soviet foreign Ministers.

### PRESSURE

US Secretary of State Mr James Baker was under intense pressure from the Congress to raise Soviet policy towards Southern Africa, particularly Angola, with his Soviet counterpart.

Senator Bob Dole, Republican leader in the Senate, told Mr Baker last week there were disturbing reports that Soviet advisers had replaced Cubans withdrawn under the terms of last year's agreement on Southern Africa, and that massive shipments of Soviet arms continued to flow into Angola.

# Dos Santos calls for renewed ceasefire

LISBON — Angola's government said on Tuesday it wanted a fresh ceasefire with Unita rebels despite fierce battles over a guerrilla base in the south-east of the country.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said government forces had seized Unita's Mavinga base because the rebels had stepped up attacks, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

Luanda had handed Zairean mediators new proposals to break the current deadlock in peace talks, Dos Santos said.

"Despite the action against Mavinga the government continues to seek peace. Our government does not want to obtain a total military victory," he was quoted as saying.

Dos Santos said he was willing to allow "independent candidates" to take part in one-party elections.

The battle over Mavinga, a major rebel base with an air strip, has involved some of the heaviest fighting in Angola's 15-year civil war.

Unita disputes government's claim that it seized the town on Friday. Independent confirmation has not been available.

Military analysts believe government wanted to capture Mavinga, which lies en route to Unita's bush headquarters at

Jamba, to gain the upper hand in peace talks.

Diplomatic efforts to end the war continued yesterday, with reports that Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko discussed ways to relaunch the peace process with President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of Congo and Gabon's President Omar Bongo.

The three leaders were among 18 African heads of state at the Gbadolite summit on Angola, and formed part of a group of eight leaders who have met periodically to discuss the peace process.

## Backer

Sassou-Nguesso expected to discuss Angola with US President George Bush in Washington later this week.

The US is Unita's main backer, supplying the rebels with an estimated \$50m a year in military equipment.

Meanwhile, Dos Santos announced a commission set up by Angola, SA and Cuba would meet this month in Luanda to discuss Havana's January decision to halt its troop withdrawal after Unita killed four Cuban soldiers.

Dos Santos said he hoped the meeting would help clear the way for the withdrawal to continue. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

# Mozambique production still lags

MAPUTO — In spite of significant improvements since 1987, labour productivity in Mozambique is still six times lower than the indices for 1974, the year before the country's independence.

The Mozambican government revealed several figures on the country's economic performance during a meeting that Prime Minister Mario Machungo held at the weekend with Frelimo party militants, trade union cadres and managers from industry and the state apparatus.

Illustrating the decline in productivity, Machungo said that in 1975 Mozambique's three main ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala handled 20-million tons of traffic, while the rail system moved 18-million tons. This dropped to 6-million tons and 3-million tons by 1989. But the number of workers involved dropped from 39 000 to 31 000.

In 1973/74 Mozambique was producing 280 000 tons of sugar a year, with 38 000

people working in the sugar sector. By 1989 production had fallen to 25 000 tons with a workforce of 15 000.

The coal mines at Moatize, in the north-western province of Tete, produced 535 000 tons in 1981 with 2 705 workers. But in 1989, 1 500 workers produced just 63 000 tons of coal.

In agriculture, marketed production of cashew nuts (of which Mozambique used to be the world's largest producer) fell from 196 000 tons in 1974 to 50 000 tons in 1989.

Since the liberalisation of the economy, with the introduction of an economic recovery programme backed by the World Bank and the IMF in early 1987, there has been economic growth. The growth rate in 1987 was 4.4%, and in 1988 it was 5.5%.

Mozambique's foreign debt increased from \$1bn in 1981 to \$4.2bn in 1989. Annual debt-servicing amounts to \$350m, more than twice the total value of Mozambique's exports of goods and services. — ANO.

# Sign the ceasefire pact, Dos Santos tells rebel Savimbi

AP/US 8/2/90  
(S)

LUANDA. — President José Eduardo dos Santos, claiming that his forces have captured Mavinga, the strategic base in southeast Angola, has urged rebel leader Jonas Savimbi to accept ceasefire terms.

Speaking at a meeting of Angolan farmers, President Dos Santos offered Dr Savimbi "humane treatment" if the guerrilla chief accepted a ceasefire based on a government amnesty offer leading to the rebels' integration into Angola's military, economic and social structures.

## ONE-PARTY RULE

President Dos Santos said candidates independent of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) would be allowed to stand in elections held after the civil war ends.

In other recent statements President Dos Santos has said elections would not end one-party rule by the Marxist-oriented MPLA. He has ruled out Dr Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) standing in any future elections.

The rebels continued yesterday to claim they controlled Mavinga.

In a statement monitored in Lisbon, Unita said their lines were holding out against intense bombing from the government's Soviet-supplied planes and helicopters.

A Western diplomat monitoring the fighting from Lisbon said government troops had captured Mavinga's airstrip, but he added that the rebels remained in control of their base and were mounting counter-attacks.

## MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS

Unita officials contacted in Lisbon declined to comment on President Dos Santos's latest ceasefire call.

Previously Dr Savimbi has rejected government amnesty and integration offers. The rebel leader has insisted that a ceasefire be followed by the formation of a transitional government to prepare for free, multiparty elections. — Sapa-AP.

5/11 (5) 9/2/90

## Angolan leader seeks peaceful solution

# We won't attack Jamba - Dos Santos

LUANDA — Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has ruled out the possibility of an assault on the Unita rebel headquarters at Jamba, despite top-level assurances that the rebels would not be able to resist a government offensive.

Speaking at a national conference of peasants, Mr dos Santos said that despite what he called the recent military victory at Mavinga, his government intended to continue searching for a peaceful solution to the Angolan conflict.

### SA involvement

"We do not have at the moment the intention to launch an attack for a total military victory," President dos Santos said.

Angola's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem was quoted by the Angola news agency as saying that the government troops had in the past been unable to defeat Unita because of South African involvement in the war.

"Now that we are face to face, we can see that Unita is not in condition to resist actions by Fapla (the Angolan army)," he said.

Earlier, analysts had said that if government troops could maintain their control over Mavinga, the way would be open for attacks on Jamba.

There are conflicting reports about the situation in Mavinga, with the Angolan government maintaining it has won control of the strategic town and Unita denying this.

Some diplomatic sources have said Mavinga is in government hands but other diplomats said heavy fighting was still raging.

Reports said government troops had seized control of the town's airstrip but Unita still controlled the outskirts of the town where it has built a huge base.

In his speech Mr dos Santos said that, in accordance with his government amnesty policies, he was ready to integrate into the political, economic and military life all Unita members who agree to lay down their arms.

## Talks on Cuban deadlock

The Star's Africa News Service LUANDA — South Africa, Angola and Cuba are to meet next week in Luanda to discuss the suspension of the Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The Angolan news agency, Angop, said the meeting of the joint commission between the three countries would start on Thursday and end on Sunday.

The agency said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos had told a conference of Angolan

peasants that next week's meeting would discuss ways "to unblock the process of Cuban withdrawal from Angola".

### SUSPENDED

The Cuban withdrawal was suspended after Unita rebels killed four Cubans in an attack near the port of Lobito.

Cuba has so far withdrawn more than half of its 50 000 troops in accordance with a deal signed with Angola and South Africa last year.

## Stand at Mavinga

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has denied that Angolan government forces captured the strategically important Unita stronghold at Mavinga last Friday.

If Fapla had indeed taken Mavinga as claimed by President Eduardo dos Santos, this would have put Savimbi's Jamba HQ within easy striking range of Fapla and what is possibly the region's most powerful airforce. (Mavinga is near the Lomba River in the south-east of Angola, 280 km north-west of Jamba.)

The battle for Mavinga rages on — having apparently blown apart the peace process kicked off in the wake of the December 1988 New York Accord, which linked Namibian independence to Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

The weak link in the chain always was Unita. Despite optimism after their famous handshake at Gbadolite last June, the nego-



**Zaire's Mobutu ... waiting for superpower leverage**

FINANCIAL MAIL FEBRUARY 9 1990

tiating positions of Dos Santos and Savimbi remained too far apart to be bridged.

Despite all this, the Angolan peace process is not necessarily in tatters, suggests Andre du Pisani of the SA Institute of International Affairs. It's almost inevitable, he says, for the two sides to try and capture "political space, parallel to continuing mediation efforts" led by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Negative perceptions of Mobutu's mediation have resulted from three failings:

- Mobutu and the Frontline States lost an opportunity for mediation by not taking advantage of the momentum for peace in the wake of the New York Accord;
- The Luanda meeting of eight African and Frontline State leaders last May left vague the mediator's role and set no deadline; and
- External patrons — chiefly the US and the Soviet Union (distracted, possibly, by eastern Europe) — have not yet redefined their relationship with their respective clients, in spite their newfound consensus that conflicts should be peacefully resolved.

However, there have been fresh indications of the superpowers as well as Portugal (whose role, it is said, will be crucial) and, to a lesser extent, SA, coming back in to revive the peace process. Involvement by this "consortium" of States (including the Africans) holds out hope, according to Du Pisani, since they will provide the needed leverage on the antagonists.

Cuban disengagement is not really a factor; any hiccups will be handled by the SA-Angolan Joint Military Commission.

What the fighting at Mavinga reflects is the MPLA government taking advantage of its present military superiority to try and force Unita into accepting its terms. Dos Santos would like to absorb Unita into the MPLA, rather than agreeing to any of Savimbi's conditions: a formal ceasefire, interim government and internationally supervised elections.

Luanda's strategy puts great pressure on Unita's internal cohesion, observes Du Pisani, adding that indications for Unita are bad now. Whether this will achieve Luanda's dream of dislodging Savimbi himself (ideally into exile, or at least neutralising him) remains to be seen.

This is the critical hurdle, after which the real business — direct MPLA-Unita talks — can come to the fore. "In a way, things now look more propitious for working towards a resolution," says Du Pisani. ■

# Angola denies Cuban troop build-up

LUANDA — The Angolan government yesterday denied persistent media reports that Cuban troops were on their way from Cuito Cuanavale to Mavinga to reinforce Angolan forces fighting against Unita.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem said here the reports were aimed at justifying US military support for Unita, the Angolan news agency (Angop) reported. *Alpa 9/2/90*

"Even people that are cautious know that Cuban troops are at this very moment north of the Lobito parallel."

Van Dunem said the Angolan armed

forces (Fapla) had the capacity to eliminate Unita but SA intervention had prevented this in the past.

He said: "Now that we are meeting each other face to face, we see that Unita does not have the capacity to defeat us."

He insisted there were no troops marching to Mavinga. (S)

Sapa reports that a group of US congressman has appealed to President George Bush to step up military aid to Unita because of the increasing conflict.

The leader of the group, Republican con-

□ To Page 2

## Cuban troops *Alpa 9/2/90* (S) (-)

□ From Page 1

gressman Dan Burton of Indiana, said he and his colleagues had urged Bush to send emergency military supplies and fuel to Unita.

Burton, the senior Republican member of the foreign affairs sub-committee for Africa, said Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen had given his word the supplies were already on their way.

Burton said reports had now been received that Cuban soldiers were indeed supporting MPLA forces.

Meanwhile, the Angolan Foreign Minis-

try said yesterday the next meeting of the joint verification commission of Angola, Cuba and SA will convene in Luanda from February 15 to 18.

A ministry source confirmed that the meeting would focus on the Cuban government's January decision to suspend the withdrawal of its remaining 19,000 soldiers from Angola after four of its soldiers died in a Unita attack.

Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos said earlier that the objective of the meeting would be to "unblock the process of Cuban troop withdrawal." — ANO.



# Vlok intervenes in

# row over aid for Savimbi

By DE WET POTGIETER

SENIOR South African Cabinet Ministers have unwittingly become involved in a row over supplies for Unita.

And a Defence Force general has been embarrassed by the Farunic company, which used his name in a bid to secure lucrative clandestine SADF contracts.

But Intelligence Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Rudolph "Witkop" Badenhorst has denied any involvement in the company.

Now Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has revealed how he personally intervened to sort out the bitter row between the company's partners over the contracts. This follows an investigation by the Sunday Times into the activities of a SADF front organisation, Frama, formed in 1980 to secretly supply rations to Unita.

At the end of 1984 the SADF severed links with Frama which sold the company to its directors, Mr Francisco Lopes and Mr Arlindo Manuel Maia.

A year later the SADF discovered Frama had "short delivered" Unita supplies — to the tune of R3-million.

## Embroided

The SADF then entered into immediate negotiations with the directors of Frama and it was agreed they would cede its contract, assets and liabilities to its successor, Farunic.

The name Farunic was derived from the initials of the company's "directors": Pretoria businessman Francois van der Merwe, General Badenhorst and Mr Nico de Lange.

Mr Van der Merwe claims he agreed on a contract with Cape Town businessman Mr Jan Jooste.

In early 1987 the two became embroiled in a bitter wrangle over a lucrative part of the contract — the supply of maize to Dr Jonas Savimbi's troops in southern Angola. Mr Van der Merwe



**RUDOLPH BADENHORST**  
Denied involvement

said he had objected to Mr Jooste's insistence the maize contract be awarded to him alone.

But Mr De Lange told the Sunday Times the contract had nothing to do with the bitter wrangle between the two.

"The wrangle was the result of personality clashes between the two," he explained.

Mr Vlok, then Deputy Minister of Defence, said this week he had become involved in the wrangle after Mr Van der Merwe and his attorney, former MPC Mr Jackie Kruger, visited him in Pretoria in 1987.

"I told them I had no knowledge of these contracts, but

promised to find out," he said.

Mr Van der Merwe had then wanted to know whether a civil case against Mr Jooste regarding Farunic would embarrass the South African government.

After consulting the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach, Mr Vlok informed Mr Kruger that South Africa's involvement with Unita was no longer a secret.

During the meeting Mr Vlok accused Mr Van der Merwe of "name dropping" and asked him to stop using his name to secure business.

The dispute between Mr Jooste and Mr Van der Merwe was eventually settled out of court.

General Badenhorst this week denied he had benefited in any way from the company's activities.

A spokesman for the SADF said at the beginning of 1986 Mr De Lange and Mr Van der Merwe had asked General Badenhorst if he would accept a directorship in their firm when he retired.

"General Badenhorst viewed this 'offer' as an option to consider after retirement," the spokesman explained.

"In fact, this is one of many approaches made to him, none of which he accepted."

General Badenhorst said he strongly objected to the unauthorised use of his name by Farunic.

# Luanda tense after reports of Unita attack on nearby beach resort

LUANDA — The Angolan capital was tense yesterday after television reports of a major attack by Unita rebels against a popular beach resort about 100km from the city.

A report on the state television network TPA said the rebels seized the resort of Cabo Ledo earlier this week.

Unita, it said, held the town for several hours before retreating ahead of a government advance backed by tanks, helicopters and Cuban troops.

*5/12/77 12/1/80*

The television report showed burning buildings and cited witnesses saying the fighting killed and wounded many people.

News reports said about 100 guerrillas were involved in the attack. Officials were reported to be worried at the rebels' capacity to strike so close to the capital.

News of the Cabo Ledo attack followed a bomb blast on Tuesday that injured three people in Luanda's city centre. The bomb damaged the criminal records office.

(S) Meanwhile, military sources in the capital said government forces were intensifying an offensive against Unita strongholds in south-east Angola.

The source said more troops and equipment were being flown to the south-east even though an offensive had been halted temporarily at Mavinga.

The national news agency Angop reported yesterday that 31 000 Cubans of an estimated 50 000 had left the country. — Sapa-AP.

## Cuba puts off talks on troop pullout

HAVANA — Cuba said on Sunday that a meeting to discuss restarting its suspended military withdrawal from Angola had been postponed and repeated that the pullout would not resume without formal guarantees for the safety of its troops. *By 13/2/90*

The meeting between SA, Cuban and Angolan officials and US and Soviet observers had been scheduled for February 15-18 in Luanda. (5)

It was expected to discuss the Janu-

ary 25 decision by Cuba temporarily to suspend the withdrawal of its forces following an attack on its troops by US-backed Unita rebels.

Communist Party secretariat member Carlos Aldana said Cuba was still firmly committed to keeping to the withdrawal calendar.

□ Yesterday officials introduced water rationing in Luanda after Unita rebels blew up the city's main water supply pipes, Portuguese news agency Lusa reported. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

5  
13/2/90

civilian toll may also have set a grisly record thanks to the government's unprecedented high-level bombing of the town.

It was unclear whether the MPLA intended to proceed toward Jamba. Cooler heads thought it unlikely, noting that it would be at least a week before the invading army could be sufficiently resupplied and refuelled to push on.

Since the Cuban withdrawal agreement went into effect at the start of last year, Soviet advisers have extensively retrained and re-equipped Fapla and have taught it a new set of tactics. It is now a more formidable fighting force than the one which convinced Fidel Castro to look for an honourable exit after the Mavinga rout of 1987.

By contrast, Unita has lost the South African artillery and air cover, plus the leavening of South African infantry.

American officials have heatedly denied charges levelled by Unita Foreign Secretary Jeremias Chitunda and now angrily repeated by Unita's supporters on Capitol Hill that US supplies have ceased or been seriously curtailed since a CIA flight crashed near Jamba in November.

Unita has not even been able to make Fapla pay for its lengthy supply lines. These have remained open.

That the offensive was being prepared for much of last year was no secret, even though the Americans now say their first solid indication came in October. The truth is, they were fully aware of the Soviet retraining programme well before that. Worse, the more ominous the build-up at Cuito Cuanavale became, the less they seemed to heed the warning signs.

Foreign Affairs director general Neil van Heerden, concerned about the implications of a major new assault on South African domestic politics, was repeatedly given the brush-off in late November, early December and told that it was no longer any of Pretoria's business. The feeling here was that maybe the MPLA needed to be taught another lesson by Unita to make it see the virtues of Unita's cease-fire offer.

### Neat trick

Far from being sobered, Dos Santos has now been emboldened to offer a counter-proposal even less productive than his government's interpretation of the Gdabolite agreement. The plan calls for an effective ceasefire in place, the integration of Unita into the ruling party and "humanitarian treatment" for Jonas Savimbi.

It then pulls a neat trick by promising "free and open elections" on the basis of "one man, one vote" in which "independent candidates" will be permitted to run so long as they don't belong to any rival party. Finally, the proposal suggests that there is room for negotiation as long as the foregoing principles are accepted first.

This can only mean one thing. More war, egged on by Unita's congressional supporters who are baying for a massive resupply effort. Republican members of the House Intelligence Committee wrote to Bush last Wednesday warning him that "Unita headquarters at Jamba are in jeopardy" and demanding that "aircraft

The whole mess could have been avoided had the administration taken the situation seriously from the outset. Passing the ball so exclusively to Mobutu was an egregious error. But the administration wouldn't budge on the issue. When Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva came to Washington last month and pleaded with President Bush to join in a collaborative mediation effort, the response was: you're the metropolitan power, why don't you do it yourself?

As for raising the matter forcibly with Moscow Cohen skipped a couple of bilateral rounds with his Soviet counterpart last year and Baker thought the issue too banal to interfere with the broader relationship.

When Cohen did finally talk to the Soviets in London last month, he came away imperturbably satisfied that they remained committed to a negotiated settlement and that there was therefore little more to be said on the matter.

So what's to be done?

First, the current crisis must be used to edge Mobutu out of the mediator's chair. He has the support of neither side. It must also be recognised that Portugal does not have the clout to function on its own. The administration must somehow find the will to shoulder the burden itself.

This does not mean blatantly plumping its bottom into the seat vacated by Mobutu. If an overall settlement concept can be developed from which all parties gain any number of players, including Pretoria and Havana, can be enlisted to play various roles. There will, however, need to be a Crocker-esque hand shaping the process.

### Complicated

Once this is established, the principal objective must be to push the parties back on the peace track. That will mean getting the MPLA out of Mavinga and probably back across the Lomba as well. Which will be difficult because, short of Unita receiving military support of an entirely greater magnitude than hitherto, the MPLA is not going to succumb to threats. So Dos Santos will need to be tempted, also problematic because of the Unita constituency in Washington. Now would not be the time to invite Dos Santos to the White House or to talk about exchanging low-level diplomatic missions.

At least not openly. Had such things not been complicated by the furore over Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger's secret visit to Beijing after Tiananmen Square, a similar mission would be in order now.

They need to hear directly and definitively from someone close to the president what is in it for them if they proceed towards a rational settlement. At the same time, Unita must be persuaded, with credible reassurances that no sell-out is envisaged.

Soviet co-operation must be obtained. This would mean making its behaviour in Angola a real factor in its relationship with Washington. It would also mean having an "everyone wins" framework to which it could subscribe as it did to Crocker's Namibia-Angola plan.

In short, the administration's diplomats should stop running around like beheaded chickens, learn a little recent history, exercise some grey matter and get the job done. Their ineptitude is costing lives. The only saving grace is the Cuban withdrawal remaining on schedule and as a senior administration official said the other day: "That is all we care about."

**THE NAMIBIAN DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE**

**2.1 Population**

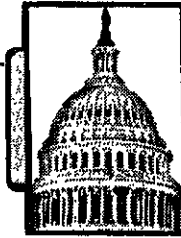
The physical and geographical features of Namibia are harsh and largely unfavourable to human endeavour, resulting in a great diversity in the size and distribution of the Namibian population.

1981 and composition

POPULATION GROUP
Owambo
Kavango
Whites
Herero
Damara
Namas
Colour
Caprivi
San (B)
Baster
Tswana
Others
Total

Source: Section

Based on population Nations (Country P) were derived from constituent population



**Washington Letter**  
by SIMON BARBER

SINCE Dr Chester Crocker stepped down last March, US policy towards Angola has been driven by the motto "African solutions to African problems": Unfortunately, it hasn't worked. The promising legacy Crocker left his successors is in tatters and the prospects of peace as distant as ever.

In the absence of a peace plan, the parties have made war plans. The mediation of Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko has turned into a tasteless joke. Neither side has confidence left in the man. And now, having abandoned the lessons of the past eight years and failed to develop even the flimsiest conceptual framework of what a workable settlement might look like, the State Department's Africanists are reduced to wondering who lost Mavinga.

About 66% of the town was in MPLA hands as of Friday, although Unita appeared to be clawing its way back into what remained of the airport. While casualties were

**Angola:  
US must  
get its  
act  
together**

*CAPT Tinkis  
13/2/90  
5*

... be made available to form an air bridge to beleaguered Unita forces".

A bipartisan group of senators even went so far as to cable Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow alerting him of Unita reports that "a Cuban unit has moved from Cuito Cuanavale to engage directly in fighting outside Mavinga" and

In 1988 the Owambos numbered 623 000, virtually half of the total population. The northern ecological zone (Owambo/Kavango/Kaprivi) is inhabited by 787 000 people or 63 per cent of the total population in 1988. The percentage composition of the population has not changed significantly

1. The population groups are official classifications
2. The 1981 Population figures are drawn from the 1981 Population Census
3. The 1988 projections are estimates that have been calculated on an annual population growth of 3% for all population groups, 1.5% for Whites and nil for "others"

# Liberalising Angola <sup>(5)</sup>

Sowetan 27/6/90

**LUANDA - The first news of East Germany's New Forum movement came out of family homes where men and women of books and quiet passions about peace exchanged political ideals over coffee.**

In a sitting room which fights to stem the roar of traffic on the Largo 4 de Fevereiro as it sweeps along Luanda's limpid Baia Azul, Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a lawyer, former priest and a man also of books and ideals, represents Angola's new opposition political force.

The comparison to New Forum is irresistible; Pinto de Andrade draws it himself, stressing that he is president of an organisation seeking not political power but the space for political expression.

## Dialogue

New Forum's founding document said late last year: "We are asking for a dialogue beyond or outside the Party." History tells the rest.

"Angola is a closed society," says Pinto de Andrade, who was elected president of the Angolan Civic Association on January 25 this year by its 130-member founding group.

"Before independence we had colonial rule. After independence we had a party (the MPLA) which conquered the others (Unita and FNLA) and arrived in the ruling position by armed force. There were no elections. The MPLA was imposed on the society."

Pinto de Andrade was himself a founder member of the MPLA in 1956. A year before independence on November 11, 1975, he broke from the MPLA to form MPLA Active Revolt, one of two factions which opposed the MPLA itself.

Following independence he was detained by the new rulers.

Today he describes the MPLA as a "monolith", a force which perceives itself as the exclusive director of the society.

"After 15 years of civil war in Angola the society is bi-polarised. If you're not MPLA you're Unita and vice versa. Therefore, the real Angolan society, the civil society, has no role in the country, caught as it is between these two opposing military forces."

He believes that peace will come now; but an end to the war holds new dangers: either one party will emerge as dominant or the MPLA and Unita will "divide the cake". In either case the majority of Angolans will remain excluded.

"By power sharing or domination, government remains an imposition on society."

The ACA's goal is to provide the space in which the voice of this silent population may be heard; the voices of those who have chosen "one boat or the other" because there has been no alternative and because they have needed jobs and security.



**JOSE DOS SANTOS**

"If there was another space for expression, they would take it."

Interestingly, it was Pinto de Andrade's name that Mr Savimbi put forward as a neutral figure to lead a transitional government when, in March, Unita was talking transitional rule.

Pinto de Andrade says he does not want an executive political role though and he remains committed to the slow task of spreading the ACA idea.

Angolan law recognises liberty of association in principle and seeking to exploit this, the ACA group has sought legal approval.

The Ministry of Justice examined its founding documents in February, finding the organisation's aims legal.

"But they said there were political questions not within the com-

petence of their ministry to decide," says Pinto de Andrade.

The ACA dossier was passed to the party's central committee and nothing has been heard since.

Or rather what has been heard was a document from the MPLA's political bureau denouncing the ACA as "the imperialist lackeys of the United States and Unita", says Pinto de Andrade.

"We are in favour of a multi-party system. This did not please the MPLA."

He acknowledges though that the very existence of the ACA would not have been tolerated as little as a year ago.

"There is a totally different climate now. A year ago we would have been locked up."

But the changes are not due to government good intentions, he says.

The MPLA has been forced to change by, internally, the decomposition of the force and credibility of the party due to the war with Unita, inefficiency and corruption and, externally, due to the changes in Eastern Europe.

In Luanda, the government recognises the need for change but wants to manage and control that change itself.

"There will be an evolution in our country whether the party likes it or not. And whether it recognises us or not, we will continue. We are a new dynamic in the society."



**JONAS SAVIMBI**

Pinto de Andrade compares Angola to South Africa, saying of the latter that President FW de Klerk has had the courage to seek change through negotiation.



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## Talks on Cuban pull-out

LISBON <sup>Stor 20/2/90 (5)</sup> — Angolan and Cuban officials meet for the second time in Luanda today to discuss Havana's decision to suspend the withdrawal of its 50 000 troops from Angola.

Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Vandunem, said the suspension had concerned the international community. Havana ordered a pause in the troop pull-out last month after Western-backed rebels killed four Cuban soldiers. The Unita rebels say they regret the deaths of the four Cubans and claim they were unintentional.

The local government news agency Angop reports that sporadic fighting has continued in three provinces over the past week.

Government forces claim 35 guerillas and 16 civilians have been killed. Unita claims 105 government soldiers died in an attack on a supply convoy.

The two sides routinely dismiss each other's casualty figures as propaganda. — Reuter.

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CPA 1/21/90  
**Cubans to  
resume  
pull-out**

HAVANA. — Cuba and Angola said yesterday that they would resume from next Sunday the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola which had been suspended since January 25.

The Cuban news agency Prensa Latina said the decision was made at a meeting of Cuban and Angolan officials in Luanda.

Cuba and Angola suspended the withdrawal following an attack by US-backed Unita rebels in which four Cuban soldiers were killed.

Havana and Luanda have been seeking firm guarantees from the US and South Africa that such attacks would not be repeated.

Unita said the incident was a mistake and that it would try to prevent it from happening again. — Sapa-Reuter

The report did not say how many rebels are on strike. Sapa-IP

LISBON — A team of West European experts on chemical warfare flew to rebel-held Angola yesterday amid reports of a decisive battle around the key town of Mayinga.

Unita rebels said they had destroyed a supply column sent to relieve beleaguered government troops fighting for the south-eastern town.

The Portuguese news agency Lusa said the rebels had retaken Mayinga. The Marxist government had an

# Chemical warfare experts investigate alleged attacks in Angola

announced the capture of Mayinga on February 2.

The reports coincided with the announcement in Luanda that the phased withdrawal of Cuba's 40,000 troops from Angola suspended last month after the rebels killed four Cuban soldiers, would resume next Sunday.

Unita had always denied that Mar

vinga had fallen at all. But in statements issued in Lisbon, it reported heavy bombing raids and retorted its allegations that government was using chemical weapons.

The seven-man scientific team, which arrived in Luanda on Tuesday, was led by Belgian professor Aubin Heyndrickx, a well-known expert on

poison gas, Unita said.

Heyndrickx and his colleagues from the universities of Madrid, Vienna, Innsbruck, Ghent and Paris, would visit the scene of the alleged attacks to collect samples and try to help the Unita.

The Luanda government has denied using chemical weapons.

Unita said government troops were surrounded and desperate after the destruction of the supply column.

Lusa said two tactical groups which penetrated deep behind rebel lines had been wiped out. Heavy fighting was continuing all over the region and the military situation was unstable for both sides. Sapa Reuter.

The report did not say how many rebels are on strike. Sapa-IP

that would threaten the economy and lead to accelerated and self-sustaining economic growth and development, he said. — Sapa.

# MPLA uses gas bombs — experts

CPM Trip 22/2/90

BRUSSELS. — A team of West European chemical warfare experts accused the Angolan government yesterday of using chemical weapons against its population for years, while fighting the Western-backed Unita rebels.

Belgian Professor Aubin Heyndrickx, who led a team that visited the scene of alleged attacks, collected samples and examined victims. He issued a statement to Reuters in English, through Ghent University in Belgium.

"The clinical and toxicological studies show clearly that the chemical bombs have gassed the population in this region, recently and for many years," Prof Heyndrickx said.

His statement is one of the first independent confirmations of charges made by the rebels. The MPLA government in Luanda has denied using chemical weapons in the 15-year civil war.

The use of chemical weapons,

## Pik's visit to Luanda postponed for week

LUANDA. — Angolan government sources said yesterday that a visit to Luanda by South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, originally expected today, had been postponed for one week and would take place on March 1.

Sources at the Luanda Foreign Ministry said they had been informed of the postponement by a telex from the SA Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Botha's office also said he would not make the trip today. — Sapa-AP

often referred to as the poor man's atomic bomb, is prohibited under a 1925 Geneva protocol.

The statement was datelined Jamba, Unita's headquarters in south-eastern Angola, but gave no details of areas visited by the team.

The statement said the team had examined civilians who had been "severely intoxicated by chemical bombs used by the MPLA and the government of Luanda against the villages of Unita".

"The environmental samples have been analysed on the spot as well as the exploded bombs ... No therapy, using different pharmaceutical products, could decontaminate the victims," the statement said.

It gave no further details.

Prof Heyndrickx was accompanied by colleagues from the Universities of Madrid, Vienna and Innsbruck.

Talks on a worldwide ban on making and possessing chemical weapons are in progress in Geneva, and the super-powers have promised to sign an agreement destroying most of their chemical weapons stocks.

Prof Heyndrickx was called in to examine victims of chemical attacks in the Iran-Iraq Gulf War. — Sapa-Reuter

Pik may visit  
Angola next week  
LISBON (S) The  
Portuguese news agency  
Lusa said South African  
Foreign Minister Pik  
Botha would visit Angola  
next week for talks with  
the country's Marxist  
government but Botha's  
office denied this. 23/2/90

(5) Star 26/2/90

'In retaliation for Unita attacks'

# Angolan air force bombs rebel targets

LUANDA — The Angolan air force claims it has bombed military targets near the Unita's headquarters.

In a statement issued this weekend the air force command said two fighter-bombers had attacked positions close to Jamba, the bush stronghold of Unita, some 1 350 km southeast of Luanda.

The statement said the planes bombed Jamba on Saturday to punish the rebels for recent attacks that sabotaged Luanda's water and electricity services and hit government supply lines to the frontline in fighting between the two sides near Mavinga, some 250 km northwest of Jamba.

There was no immediate comment from the rebels on the air force claims, or independent confirmation of the attack.

Unita officials said recently Jamba's air defences, which include US-supplied radar systems and Stinger ground-to-air missiles, made the headquarters safe from air attack.

But according to observers in Luanda, Soviet-built Sukhoi-25 fighter-bombers supplied to the Angolan government last year can reach Jamba by flying low over the ground to avoid radar detection.

Observers in Luanda said the attack could have been made by Sukhoi 25's flying from the air base of Cuito Carnavale some 400 km northwest of Jamba.

The Cuito Carnavale air strip was captured from the rebels by government forces in 1987 and has recently been modernised by government engineers.

## Cuban pull-out

In a separate development, some 150 Cuban troops were reported to have flown out of Luanda for Havana yesterday morning.

The contingent was the first to leave Angola since the Cuban government suspended a withdrawal of its troops after four soldiers

perished in a Unita attack on January 25.

Cuba agreed to pull out its 50 000 troops supporting the Angolan government in a 1988 accord signed in New York with Angola and South Africa. The accord linked the withdrawal to South Africa ending aid to Unita and granting independence to Angola's southern neighbour, Namibia.

Angola and Cuba agreed last Tuesday to resume the withdrawal after Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi pledged his forces would not launch further attacks against the Cubans.

The battle for Mavinga, said to be the heaviest in 15 years of fighting, has raged since government forces launched an offensive late December to capture an airstrip and Unita base there.

Unita has been fighting to force the Luanda government to share power since Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

— AP.

LISBON. Two Angolan warplanes bombed Dr. Jonas Savimbi's bush headquarters at Jamba on Saturday, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported yesterday.

This is the first reported bombing of Unita's headquarters in southeastern Angola near the Namibian border.

According to an Angolan armed forces statement, two fighter-bombers raided Jamba. Angola said the raid was in retaliation for sabotage attacks against Luanda's power and water supplies.

Angola said the raid took place at 10.50am on Saturday but gave no details of what planes were used or how effective it had been.

"With this punitive action the Ministry of Defence wanted to appeal one more time to the good sense of Jonas Savimbi to accept the peace plan presented by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos," Angola said.

# Angolan Warplanes Bomb Savimbi HQ

*CPY Tim 26/2/70 (5)*

President Dos Santos's peace plan, unveiled in a New Year speech, is based on a one-party state under which Unita or other opposition figures could be politically active only as individuals.

Unita has dismissed the proposals and reiterated its demand for a multi-party system.

However, Dr Savimbi has said in letters to Portuguese leaders he is willing to accept a single national Angolan army and is "open to all realistic suggestions" for a negotiated peace, the Lisbon weekly Expresso reported on Saturday.

Dr Savimbi's letter was written to Portuguese Prime Minister Mr. Anibal Cavaco Silva last weekend.

Dr Savimbi has previously made free elections a pre-condition for Luanda's proposal of combining rebel forces with all Angolan government institutions.

Dr Savimbi also sent a separate note to the Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Mr. Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, saying he was open to realistic suggestions that didn't force him to "sign an accord at knifepoint," Expresso said. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

# Angola claims: We bombed Unita HQ

LISBON — The Angolan government said it bombed Unita headquarters at the weekend, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

An armed forces statement said two fighter-bombers raided military targets at Jamba, deep in the south-west bush.

The statement described Saturday's raid as punitive action in retaliation for recent guerrilla sabotage attacks against Luanda's power and water supplies.

No Unita spokesman was available for comment.

□ Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has said in letters to Portuguese leaders he is willing to accept a single national Angolan army

and is "open to all realistic suggestions" for a negotiated peace, reports the Lisbon weekly Expresso.

In a recent letter to Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva, Savimbi said he was ready to "accept a single national army without prior political dialogue".

In a separate note to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, Savimbi said he was "open to all realistic suggestions".

The paper added that Portuguese diplomatic sources said the Luanda government responded favourably. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

*[Faint, illegible handwritten notes and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page are visible throughout the page.]*

Call Times 27/2/90 (5)

## Unita rebels deny air raid on headquarters

LISBON. — Angolan rebels rejected yesterday a claim by the Marxist government that it had bombed their bush headquarters at the weekend.

A statement issued in Lisbon by the US-backed Unita rebels said foreign journalists at the Jamba base in southern Angola could testify that the government had not raided military targets on Saturday as it claimed.

Mavinga, a strategic Unita base, has seen very heavy fighting in the past month. Both sides claim it is in their hands. A government statement on Saturday described the air raid on Jamba as punitive action in retaliation for guerilla attacks on Luanda.

— Sapa-Reuter



AFRICA

B10M 28/2/90

# Unita's war chest sparkles

LUANDA — In deepest, war-torn Angola, diamonds are still picked from the earth.

Most, according to Unita diamond expert Maj Diaz Vasconcelez, are still carried through the bush on porters' backs. But, in reality, the porters wear military uniforms and the diamonds are mined to finance a brutal civil war.

Unita rebels have vastly increased diamond produc-

Own Correspondent

tion over the past few years, says Vasconcelez, as he stands over a table spread with 8 000 carats of uncut diamonds, valued at \$2.5m. They are a small part of last year's take.

The 1989 total will be 45 000 carats, or about \$14m, he says.

Five years ago, the rebels received only \$4m for their diamonds. Now Unita runs a more sophisticated operation. In time Unita could be self-sufficient, but is still thankful for the \$50m cash it received last year from the US.

The size of rebel diamond profits will not comfort the Marxist Angolan government, which has been fighting Unita for 15 years.

### Role

Next year, Vasconcelez estimates, Unita will triple the value of its production to \$42m — a result of bigger mines, more manpower, and continued prospecting.

"Diamonds are playing the biggest role in our own contribution to the war," says Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. "We get most of them from trading with the

local population."

Unita gives the locals radios, clothing and "things they need" in exchange.

Vasconcelez is an Angolan, trained for two years in Canada and three years in London. His tiny office in Jamba is fitted with electronic scales, magnifying glasses, prospecting maps and sorting tools. He estimates the value of each stone and prepares it for the European market in accordance with international standards.

The major has already trained 36 Angolans as geologists. Four of them can estimate a diamond's value.

"We have no smuggling problems because our people are not exposed to the world and have no market to sell them to," the major says.

Unita operates both river and open-pit mines, some in the south-eastern third of Angola which Unita controls, and others in nominally government-held areas. The techniques are crude but productive.

"At the moment Unita does not have enough equipment," Vasconcelez says. The rebels operate three dammed-river sites

in the area, each with about 350 workers.

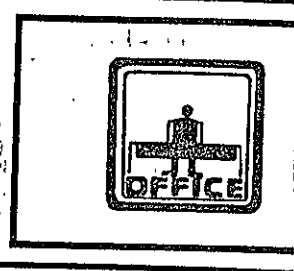
Seven open-pit mines are also under excavation.

The diamonds are carried back to Jamba by porters. But Unita appears to have few security problems compared with government mines, which have been plagued by smuggling.

Unita's link to European markets is SA's De Beers company which, ironically, worked with the MPLA until 1985.

Unita diamonds fetch from \$80 a carat for low quality industrial diamonds to \$5 000 a carat for the best stones. In 1989, the rebels averaged \$310 a carat.

According to Savimbi, for a guerrilla army with an annual budget of \$60m that is no small change. If anything, it guarantees their survival. — Sunday Telegraph.



# New diplomatic breakthrough: FW, Dos Santos to meet

From KEN VERNON

Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — In a major diplomatic breakthrough, President De Klerk will meet Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in a few weeks, it was learnt here today.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who arrives here today, will prepare the agenda for the summit meeting with his Angolan counterpart, Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy and discuss bilateral cooperation between the two countries.

It is the first time Mr Botha will have travelled to Luanda since Angola's independence in 1975, although he had previous contacts with top-level Angolan officials during the negotiations for Namibia's independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Last year the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, had a short meeting with President dos Santos in Luanda.

The talks between Mr Botha and Mr Loy are scheduled to last three hours. According to the agenda they will exchange information on the internal sit-

uation in both countries as well as bilateral cooperation.

Diplomatic sources say the resolution of the protracted war between the MPLA government and the Unita rebel movement is likely to be the main topic of discussion.

## LACK OF PROGRESS

They say the prospect of improved trade links between the two countries is being "hindered by the lack of progress in the peace initiative."

The foreign ministers will also discuss an agenda for the meeting between the heads of state.

Although a date for the meeting has not yet been set, well-informed sources said it could take place before the end of the month.

Mr Botha is scheduled to meet President Dos Santos for about an hour this afternoon before returning home.

Diplomatic sources here said the scheduled meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Dos Santos is regarded as the biggest breakthrough in black Africa by the South African government.

# US sends arms to besieged Unita rebels

ARGUS  
1/3/90  
5

WASHINGTON. — The United States has rushed arms supplies to Unita rebels under siege by Soviet-backed government forces in Angola, Angolan representatives said after meeting US defence officials.

It was the first meeting at the US Defence Department with officials from Angola, which does not have diplomatic relations with the United States.

## Peace talks

General Roberto Leal Monteiro, an adviser to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and Justice Minister Fer-

nando Franca Van Dunem, met the Defence Department's Angola Task Force on Tuesday.

The officials urged the United States to stop arming Unita so that peace talks, stalled since last summer, could resume.

US officials said privately the Angolans complained that the mediator in the conflict, Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, was dragging his feet.

The administration, under strong pressure from conservatives in Congress, has pledged to Unita in recent weeks that it would fully support the rebels who are engaged in the most bitter fighting of Angola's 15-year civil war.

General Monteiro said two ships loaded with weapons for Unita had arrived since February 2 at the port of Matadi in northern Zaire.

The arms were then flown to a US-built airfield in Unita territory in south-eastern Zaire, he said.

The Angolan army also has intelligence information that five to eight US military advisers are helping Unita at the guerrillas' headquarters in the town of Jamba.

Mr Van Dunem said Angola's air force bombed a military command post in Jamba last Saturday, but he denied Unita claims that chemical weapons were used.

Official figures of the extent of US aid for Unita are secret. Estimates range from \$40 to \$80 million and are said to include Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

General Monteiro said Unita blew up the airstrip at Mavinga to prevent it falling into enemy hands. Fighting around Mavinga continues in what he described as clean-up operations.

## Fighting continues

A State Department official said fighting continues around Mavinga, but "it's not clear if either controls the entire town". The official could not confirm that Jamba had been bombed.

Meanwhile, the Angolan government said yesterday that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi may have been hurt in a raid on his bush headquarters but the guerrillas rejected the report.

An Angolan military source, quoted by the Portuguese news agency Lusa in Luanda, said Dr Savimbi could have been wounded during Saturday's bomb attack on Jamba. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Economic giant may grow from Luanda meeting

Star 1/3/90 (5)

It is a sign of the changing political situation in southern Africa that Foreign Minister Pik Botha will be arriving in Luanda in the same week that the Cubans resumed their withdrawal from Angola.

For as the Soviet bloc withdraws from Africa and the European Community looks towards integration and eastern Europe for bigger economic returns, a growing awareness now exists in the region that co-operation could result in the creation of an economic giant in southern Africa.

Angola and South Africa are the richest southern African countries, with virtually unlimited economic ties.

Business sources, who in the past few months have had contacts with Luanda, said the first tentative steps have already been taken in several fields.

Business contacts through Namibian based companies have also been established.

## Mineral wealth

They point out that Angola's mineral wealth (oil, diamonds, iron ore) combined with South Africa's own riches and technical expertise could have major implications for the whole region.

Even Angolan political figures identified with the more orthodox wing of the ruling MPLA party have recognised the need for co-operation.

In December Mr Roberto de Almeida, MPLA's secretary for ideology, told the Star's Africa News Service in Luanda that his government recognised that South Africa was an economic power in the region.

"In this region South Africa could become a partner in the economy in the social services, in fact in everything. We thus see co-operation as possible," Mr de Almeida said.

Paradoxically, it is widely believed that the long-time mentors of the Angolan government — the Soviet Union — have given their nod of approval.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, travels to Luanda today for talks with government leaders. As **JOAO SANTA RITA** of the Star's Africa News Service reports, the meetings Mr Botha will have there could open the door for a summit meeting between the Angolan and South African heads of state. It could also mean greater economic co-operation between the two richest countries in southern Africa.



MPLA's Roberto de Almeida ... South Africa could become a partner in the region.

al to growing economic ties between Luanda and Pretoria.

Regional co-operation could prevent Western Europe from dealing individually with the mineral-rich southern African countries, resulting in more stable prices which would also benefit the mineral rich Soviet Union.

In the short term the possibilities are also immense. A short stay in one of the two hotels that still function in Luanda shows that literally everything — mineral water,

cold drinks, beer, butter, jams, canned fruit, wine — is imported from Europe.

"We are aware that everything we now get from Europe is readily available much nearer and much cheaper," an MPLA central committee member said last year in Luanda, adding that South Africa could easily become Portugal's biggest competitor in Angola.

Politically, an understanding between Angola and South Africa would also have serious implications for the region.

South Africa still maintains close contacts with the Unita rebel group and Angola was for a long time the main logistical and training base of the ANC, with which it is said to maintain close ties.

Thus, the two countries could play an important role in pushing each other's armed opposition towards the negotiating table.

## Manoeuvrability

At a regional level Mozambique is understood to be a keen supporter of a rapprochement between Angola and South Africa. Both Mozambique and Angola are members of the six-nation Frontline States and their influence within that group cannot be overlooked.

Unlike the other four Frontline States, the two former Portuguese colonies are not members of the British Commonwealth. They thus have greater political manoeuvrability in dealing with South Africa, which in turn creates problems for anyone who thought of Zimbabwe as the possible centre of Frontline politics.

President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, who has himself met President FW de Klerk and who played a role in establishing contacts between Pretoria and Moscow, is said to be a keen supporter of a meeting between the South African head of state and his Angolan counterpart.

If Mr Botha's visit to Luanda is a success that meeting could take place as soon as next month.

882-13190 (5)

## Peace initiative on agenda

# Pik flies to Luanda for top-level talks

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha flies to Luanda today to meet his Angolan counterpart for the first time on Angolan soil.

Diplomatic sources believe that the Angolans, who requested the meeting, would like to discuss establishing trade links with South Africa, but it seems that the resolution of the protracted war between the MPLA government and Unita will dominate the talks.

Mr Botha, his department's director-general, Mr Neil van Heerden, deputy director-general Mr Rusty Evans and other officials will meet an Angolan delegation headed by Foreign Minister Mr Pedro Loy van Dunem.

Although the faltering peace initiative seems likely to dominate, SA diplomatic sources say Angola is also eager to establish bilateral links.

They say Angola has shown that it wants trade links with South Africa, selling its raw materials, especially oil, in exchange for SA manufactured

goods and food. But the sources say the prospect of such links is being "hindered by the lack of progress in the peace initiative".

It seems then South Africa is likely to put pressure on the Angolan government to resume peace talks with Unita, which collapsed with the full-scale offensive by the MPLA against Unita's Jamba stronghold.

The Angolan government clearly hopes to persuade the SA Government to put pressure on Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to meet its conditions for calling off the war, which require Unita to merge into the present constitutional structure.

● The US has rushed arms to Unita rebels under siege by government troops, Angolan government representatives said yesterday in Washington.

They urged the US to stop arming Unita so the stalled peace talks could resume.

General Roberto Leal Monteiro, an adviser to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and Justice Minister Mr Fernando Franca van Dunem met US Defence Department officials on Tuesday. — Sapa-AP.

# Angola, SA in wide-ranging talks

The Star's Africa News Service  
LUANDA — South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha shook hands with Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos here yesterday in a meeting that could have major ramifications for relations between the two countries.

The meeting took place after a South African delegation led by Mr Botha and an Angolan delegation led by Foreign Minister Mr Pedro Loi van Dunem held discussions on a wide range of topics, including reform in South Africa, the impasse in peace negotiations in Angola and future trade links.

The timing of a meeting between Mr dos Santos and the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, was also discussed, but no date was released.

(5) Star 1/31/90  
From the content of the speeches of welcome it was obvious economic co-operation was near the top of the agenda.

This was confirmed later when Mr van Dunem, in an exclusive interview, said his government was working on the creation of direct trade links with South Africa.

Mr Botha referred to the potential wealth of Angola, and its lack of technical expertise that SA could presumably supply.

He returned constantly to the theme of a united Europe in 1992 bypassing individual African countries, and stressing that a united southern African trading bloc could secure a far better deal for all.

At a press conference after the talks, Mr Botha side-stepped a question on whether the talks

represented a change in SA's policy of support for Unita.

After reviewing the South African commitment to a peaceful solution in Angola, he said "it takes time to stop a ship's engines and turn the ship around", adding that perhaps South Africa had "reached that spot".

Asked if South Africa might play a mediating role in ending the Angolan civil war, Mr Botha said if SA could play a facilitating role, it stood ready to do so. Asked if it had been asked to do so, he said it was difficult to answer all such questions at this time.

Questioned on the impasse in peace negotiations with Unita, Mr van Dunem said his government was now "very close to face to face discussions" with Unita on ending the conflict.

# Angolan summit for FW

Star 1/3/90 By Ken Vernon, (5)  
The Star's Africa News Service



Mr F W de Klerk



President dos Santos

LUANDA — In a major diplomatic breakthrough, President de Klerk will meet Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos within the next few weeks, it was learnt here today.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, who arrives here today, will prepare the agenda for the summit meeting with his Angolan counterpart Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy and will also discuss bilateral co-operation between the two countries.

Although a date for the meeting has not yet been set, well-informed sources said it could take place before the end of the month.

Diplomatic sources here said the scheduled meeting between Mr dos Santos and Mr de Klerk is regarded as the biggest breakthrough in black Africa by the South African Government.

● See Page 3 and 21.

B/DW 1/3/90

(5)

## **Pik on one-day visit to Angola**

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha will fly to Luanda today for his first visit to the Angolan capital since the former Portuguese colony became independent, his spokesman said yesterday.

Botha will meet Angolan Foreign Minister Loy van Dunem on his one-day visit.

The visit was expected to take place a week ago, but was postponed.

Botha has been in Angola since 1975, but it was a trip to the southern part of the country where he and other SA Cabinet ministers, including former President P W Botha, visited SA troops fighting the Angolan army.

SA withdrew its troops from Angola in 1988 and ended all aid to Unita last year. — Sapa-AP.



B/DW 1/3/90 (5)

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SA withdrew its troops from Angola in 1988 and ended all aid to Unita last year. — Sapa-AP.

# Botha's Angola meeting spells regional change

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Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — Foreign Minister Pik Botha has shaken hands with Angolan President Eduardo Dos Santos, in an historic meeting which may have major ramifications for relations between the two countries.

The meeting took place yesterday after a delegation led by Mr Botha and an Angolan delegation led by Foreign Minister Pedro Loi van Dunem held discussions on topics ranging from the reform process in South Africa, through the impasse in Angolan peace negotiations to future trade links.

Also discussed was the timing of a proposed meeting between Mr Dos Santos and President De Klerk, but no date was released.

Before beginning more than an hour of private discussion

with Mr Botha, Mr Dos Santos said he wanted to make public the congratulations he had already conveyed privately to the South African government and Mr De Klerk on the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other recent reforms.

He said he regarded their meeting as an "historic event" to which Mr Botha replied that it was time for the two countries to put aside the bitterness and distrust of the past and work together for the benefit of the entire region.

## "Direct links"

From the welcome speeches, it became obvious that the topic of economic co-operation must have been near the top of the talks agenda.

This was confirmed later when Mr Van Dunem said his government was "working on

direct trade links" with South Africa.

Mr Botha referred to the potential wealth of Angola, and its lack of technical expertise — which South Africa could presumably supply.

It seemed, though, that the two countries may have "agreed to disagree" on how to end the impasse in peace talks between the MPLA government of Angola and Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement, a former ally of South Africa.

Mr Van Dunem reiterated his government's commitment to the integration of Unita into existing government institutions, while Mr Botha called for African countries to move away from one party solutions to their problems.

He did say that if South Africa could play a "facilitating role" it stood ready to do so.

Probe into

# F W to meet Dos Santos privately?

By KEN POTTINGER  
Lisbon

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and his Angolan counterpart Jose Eduardo dos Santos will meet formally and alone for the first time in Windhoek later this month, says a report here.

The leading Lisbon weekly Expresso said yesterday that the meeting had been fixed for March 22 in talks in

Luanda on Thursday between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem. 51 Times 4/3/90

The atmosphere of the meeting was said to be "remarkably open" amid signs that a new era in relations between Pretoria and Luanda is beginning.

Expresso said the foreign ministers discussed their respective support for Unita and the ANC. The paper said South Africa had undertaken to stop aid to the Angolan rebels in return for a promise that Luanda would pressure the ANC to moderate its political demands.

The report said South Africa had agreed to launch an unpublicised economic aid programme for Angola. Meetings between South African businessmen and the Angolan authorities to study investment and other opportunities in the former Portuguese colony are planned.

# Wounded Savimbi calls for ceasefire

CAPL TIMES 6/3/90 (5)

LUANDA. — Unita forces appealed for a ceasefire in their 15-year-war with the Angolan government yesterday as South Africa, Cuba and Angola met to review a regional peace accord which will usher in Namibia's independence this month.

Wounded rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said he was ready to accept an immediate ceasefire, organised by Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, if government troops would abandon military gains of the past two months.

Dr Savimbi's statement was the first time Unita rebels had

admitted the government had scored military victories recently.

Government forces said they had captured the key Unita-held town of Mavinga and twice bombed rebel headquarters at Jamba, deep in south-eastern Angola, during a military offensive that began in December.

"I am ready to sign a ceasefire if government forces withdraw to their previous positions," Dr Savimbi said, adding: "Government forces hold Mavinga."

The Unita chief, who said he had been wounded during the February 24 bombing of Mavinga, said the truce should be

worked out by Mr Mobutu.

The ceasefire should be followed by a transitional government under the leadership of a man of integrity, he said, recommending Mr Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, head of a newly formed Angolan civic association known as the Progressive Group, for such a role.

Mr Mobutu has tried unsuccessfully since last year to mediate an end to the Angolan civil war which began when the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

In Luanda officials from Cuba, Angola and South Africa met for talks marking the halfway point in a peace accord

between the former enemies.

"We hope this meeting will make an important contribution to peace and stability in south-west Africa in particular, and to the whole of the Southern African region in general," Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem told the meeting.

"We hope it will bring into view the social and economic development which the people of our sub-continent want," he added.

One diplomat said: "I think the meeting will go smoothly. There isn't anything very contentious on the agenda." — Sapa-Reuter

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## Savimbi urges ceasefire, admits Mavinga defeat

LUANDA. — Unita rebel forces have appealed for a ceasefire in their 15-year war with the Angolan government as South Africa, Cuba and Angola met to review a regional peace accord ushering in Namibia's independence this month.

Rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told Unita radio yesterday he was ready to accept an immediate ceasefire, organised by Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko, if government troops would abandon recent military gains.

Dr Savimbi's statement was the first Unita acknowledgment of government military victories.

Government forces said they captured Mavinga and twice bombed Unita headquarters at Jamba, during a military offensive begun in December.

Dr Savimbi said: "I am ready to sign a ceasefire if government forces withdraw to their previous positions. Government forces hold Mavinga."

The truce should be worked out by President Mobutu, Dr Savimbi said.

It is reported from Washington, however, that the United States and an Unita spokesman there yesterday denied this report.

A US State Department statement said: "According to our information, control of Mavinga is still contested."

The Unita spokesman said Dr Savimbi's statement had been distorted by government radio. He had actually said: "Luanda says that government forces hold Mavinga. This is false". — Sapa-Reuter.

## Antarctic epic explorers

# Wounded Savimbi appeals for ceasefire

LUANDA — Unita yesterday appealed for a ceasefire in its 15-year war with the Angolan government as the Joint Monitoring Commission met to review a regional peace accord which will usher in Namibia's independence this month.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi told Unita radio he was ready to accept an immediate ceasefire, organised by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, if government abandoned gains of the past two months.

Savimbi's statement was the first time Unita had admitted the government had recently scored military victories.

Government forces say they have captured the key town of Mavinga and twice bombed Unita headquarters at Jamba since December.

"I am ready to sign a ceasefire if government forces withdraw to their previous positions," Savimbi said, adding: "Government forces hold Mavinga."

Savimbi, who said he had been wounded during the February 24 bombing of Mavinga, said the truce should be worked out by Mobutu.

The ceasefire should be followed by a transitional government under the leadership of a man of integrity, he said, recom-

81 Day 6/3/90  
mending Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, head of a newly-formed Angolan civic association known as the Progressive Group.

In Luanda officials from Cuba, Angola and SA met for talks marking the half-way point in a December 1988 accord which led to the formation of the Joint Monitoring Commission. (5)

"We hope this meeting will make an important contribution to peace and stability in southwest Africa and to the whole of the southern African region in general," said Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van Dunem. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Angolan peace talks 'days away' 5

LUANDA — Peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita could start within days, SA Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said yesterday.

"I hope it will be within days," he said when asked when talks would open between the Luanda government and Unita.

Van Heerden had been attending a two-day meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission in Luanda. *810 am 7/3/90*

He discounted suggestions that the talks would be held in Zaire under the auspices of President Mobutu Sese Seko. "We'll have to find a really special little spot somewhere else," he said.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and Unita agreed to a verbal peace accord last June, which fell apart only

days later with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi angrily rejecting terms to which he was supposed to have agreed.

"SA has access to both sides and in any negotiating process that is a very useful position, and we will use that position and the confidence which has arisen with both sides to bring about conditions which favour a settlement," Van Heerden said.

He said Dos Santos had reacted well to Foreign Minister Pik Botha's offer last Thursday to play a facilitating role.

"It is my impression that President Dos Santos is serious about finding a settlement which ends the war and that he wants to use every opportunity, also SA involvement, to bring that about," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Cuban withdrawal 'slow <sup>ARGU</sup> but sure' <sup>8/3/90</sup>

## Political Staff

CUBAN troop withdrawal from Angola was still intact in spite of being marginally behind schedule, said the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

The Cubans had indicated they would not achieve the target of moving 33 000 soldiers out of the country by April.

But Mr Van Heerden said they would fall only a few hundred behind and would stick to the agreed timetable of the last man out by June next year.

Speaking after two days of talks in Luanda with the Joint Commission consisting of South Africa, Angola and Cuba, he said the Cubans would resume troop withdrawal after freezing it in response to two attacks on them by Unita rebels.

"We made it clear that any continuation of the withdrawal suspension beyond that time-frame would not be acceptable," he said.

The Cubans had to reactivate their troop pipeline out of Angola and assured the commission they would do their best not to fall behind.

"They hope to make it up by October," he said.

"My own feeling is the Cubans will find ways and means to catch up with this schedule and will not allow a couple of hundred soldiers to endanger this process. I feel the Cuban troop withdrawal is intact."



# Poison war: Victims in mute testimony

ARGUS  
8/3/90  
5

LIKWA, (Southeastern Angola). — Sixteen-year-old Rodrigo Sambatele was walking out of his bush classroom near Mavinga this month when the fighter-bomber dropped its lethal cargo.

"It did not sound so much like a bomb. More like a bucket of water falling on the ground," he recalled.

The teenager could not remember much else as, shortly afterwards, he was overcome by fumes.

What he did not forget, however, was the thick black smoke that came out of the bomb.

"It smelt like periperi," he said.



**HELPING HAND:** Unita soldiers carry a paralysed comrade alleged to have been a victim of chemical warfare on the Mavinga front.

Allegations that government troops in Angola are using chemical weapons are not new. But following the new government offensive against the town of Mavinga, the accusations have been mounting. As **JOAO SANTA RITA** of the Argus Africa News Service was in Angola last week reports, the controversy continues.

Rodrigo was lucky. He was pulled out of the area and taken to a Unita hospital where a few weeks after the bombing he still has a tight chest, difficulty in breathing and spells of dizziness. His brother did not survive.

The young Unita student is one of the many victims of what the rebel movement describes as chemical

warfare — an allegation that the Angolan government denies and to which the international community is largely indifferent.

Last week, an international team of doctors spent some time in Unita-held areas to verify the claims, accompanied by several foreign journalists.

And, although a bit of uncertainty still surrounds the type of bomb used, the doctors were unanimous that something unconventional had been used. It would be difficult at this stage to say precisely what it was though.

## Anti-communist

Professor A Heyndrickx of Belgium is, however, certain that a new type of chemical weapon is being used. Considered an expert in the field of chemical warfare, Professor Heyndrickx is, however, something of a controversial figure in the Belgian academic world as his strong anti-communist feelings are said sometimes to have made him jump to conclusions without scientific proof and to have clouded his judgment.

It was he who, about two years ago, first raised the question of chemical weapons being used in Angola. But the matter was quickly forgotten, not only because of lack of sufficient proof but also because of the professor's credentials. Unita has stuck to the professor's disputed facts as proof that the other side is using chemical warfare.

However, to his credit, Professor Heyndrickx travelled to Moscow with his findings where he was candidly told that indeed the type of bomb he suspected the Angolan army of using had been supplied by the Soviets.

## Poisonous reaction

But the Soviets told him that the bomb was not a chemical weapon as it did not fall within the definition established by the 1925 Geneva Convention on chemical warfare.

"They said it was an incendiary bomb," Professor Heyndrickx said.

"The problem is that the products they add to the bomb provoke the



**SEARCH FOR TRUTH:** A doctor examines a man alleged to have been a victim of chemical warfare in south-eastern Angola.

poisonous chemical reaction which kills people. There is an urgent need to redefine the Geneva Convention on chemical warfare to prevent this type of situation."

This time he came back with a larger team of experts, most of them not linked academically to him.

And, even though the rest of the team was convinced that further research was needed, there was clear unanimity that "something unconventional" had indeed been used.

Evelyn Le Chene, an independent British researcher who was also in Angola, said it seemed that whatever was used in the bombs affected the nervous system.

## "A vegetable"

While the experts might be uncertain about the nature of the bombs, the soldiers on the ground have no doubt that chemical or poisonous gases are being used. Soldiers were seen to put small pieces of towel around their belts in the pathetic belief that if the bombs were dropped they could be used to protect their mouths and noses and thus be safe.

At the the hospital outside Likwa, Unita soldier Alberto Campas, 26, will never be able to remember what happened on February 18 at the Mavinga front.

Campas sits in a chair while the doctors examine him. He can't talk and has lost sensitivity in his feet, legs and hands. He has difficulty in swallowing and breathing. His eyes roll back constantly, he has almost entirely lost his hearing. His hair has partly fallen out.

"He is a vegetable," said a doctor.

ANGOLA's MPLA government has agreed for the necessity of talks to end the war with Unita, director-general of foreign affairs. Mr Neil van Heerden said yesterday.

At a press briefing in the city Mr Van Heerden said South Africa was trying to facilitate this process without usurping the mediating role of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Last week Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had met Angolan government representatives and they had declared they were prepared to talk.

Mr Botha had agreed

## Angola prepared to talk to end civil war

that he would try to be of assistance.

The warring parties in Angola were close to military stalemate and each had suffered enormous casualties — estimated at 10 000 civilian and military dead on both sides.

Mr Van Heerden said unless the war was settled there would always be a very fragile peace in Southern Africa with the danger of hostilities spilling over into Namibia.

South Africa was in a good position to help with the negotiation process, which had to take place in the context of an African solution.

Mr Van Heerden said the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola was intact despite having fallen behind schedule following an attack on Cuban troops early this year.

## Govt 'held Mavinga since Feb'

LUANDA. — Angola's left-wing government insisted yesterday its troops held the disputed town of Mavinga.

"Our forces have held Mavinga since February," Mr Joao Miranda, director of information and propaganda, said in an interview.

Unita has, however, several times denied government claims to have captured Mavinga, the last base on the road to rebel headquarters at Jamba, during a military offensive launched in December. — Sapa-  
Reuter

## Peace pledge

HAVANA. — Cuba said this week that SA and the US had pledged to do their best to stop Unita from attacking Cuban forces withdrawing from Angola. They agreed that Unita's activities were a threat to peace.

# SA, US will help curb Unita: claim

Soviet  
8/3/90  
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HAVANA - Cuba said this week that South Africa and the United States had pledged to do their best to stop US-backed Unita rebels from attacking Cuban forces withdrawing from Angola. The Cuban news agency Prensa Latina, quoting a statement issued after a two-day meeting in Luanda of South African, Cuban and Angolan officials, said Pretoria and Washington would use their "best efforts" to stop attacks by Unita.

US and Soviet observers also attended the meeting.

## Meetings

Prensa Latina quoted Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon as saying in Luanda that

the meeting had accepted that Unita activities were a potential threat to peace accords signed by the three countries in December 1988.

"The two governments that are friends of Unita (South Africa and US) agreed to do everything possible to stop attacks by that subversive organisation," Alarcon said.

Last January 25 Cuba and Angola halted for a month the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola after four Cuban soldiers were killed in a

Unita attack.

The Cuban pullout resumed on February 25

after Unita said it regretted the Cuban deaths.- Sapa-Reuter

# Over-Generalised War

Seton 12/3/90

**War in Angola: the Final South African Phase** by Helmoed-Römer Heitman  
(Ashanti R49,95)  
Reviewed by JAMES MITCHELL

Now it's all over, with South African forces not only out of Angola but also out of a soon-to-be independent Namibia, what was all the fighting about? Was it just another insane waste of money, materiel and lives by a gang of macho SADF generals?

For that, without doubt, is the question being posed by those whose agenda includes the destruction of the South African Government's defence capability.

Helmoed-Römer Heitman, the respected *Jane's Defence Weekly* correspondent, is in no doubt that without the 1987/88 operations in southern Angola there would have been no negotiated Cuban withdrawal from Angola, no peaceful independence for Namibia, no attempts at a settlement between Unita and the MPLA regime.

The most important aspect of the South African campaign... is the effect it had on the political developments in the region," he says.

## Disaster for Fapla

"The key factor was the military disaster that overtook Fapla in late 1987 and early 1988. This convinced Moscow and Havana of the need to reconsider their role in this theatre. The fighting had proved conclusively that Fapla could not stand up to a South African conventional force alone. The successes achieved by the very small South African force further suggested that even Cuban intervention might not be sufficient to oppose it....

...the South Africans had deployed only a fraction of their armed forces. It was therefore not impossible that they might respond to any Cuban reinforcement by deploying additional forces of their own. Even a relatively small escalation by them would have a crucial impact....

Cuba's Fidel Castro, says Heitman, had already decided to call it quits in the absence of a foreseeable victory over Unita. Moscow was not willing to accept the financial and political cost of outmatching and outlasting South Africa in force levels, equipment and manpower.



A 155 mm G-5 firing from a typical well-camouflaged firing position late in the campaign. Pushed far forward, the G-5s began shelling the important air base at Cuito Cuanavale in late October 1987 and forced it to shut down. They also engaged targets over the entire area of the fighting, using their 40 km range to dominate the battlefield.

*War in Angola* is a tightly written examination of the campaign with, notes Heitman in the preface, "the intention of providing basic material for further study of its detailed military aspects and how it was used to create a new political situation."

It will therefore be of little interest to the reader seeking gung-ho blood-and-thunder accounts of bush battles; it will be equally unsatisfactory to those wishing a moralistic replay in which all South African defence activities are *ipso facto* wicked racist ventures.

Heitman not only describes the reasoning behind the venture fully, but each of the many clashes — illustrated by adequate maps — in hour-by-hour detail, as well as the final wind-up phase.

Many personal interviews with those who took part in Operations Moduler, Hooper and Packer ensure that although the account has the accuracy required of a military textbook, it is no dry-as-dust account ignoring the human factor.

was bitten by a black mamba. He was treated in time... And again, "a tank driver had the excitement of a snake shaken out of its tree perch and falling into his hatch. It was finally dealt with by shutting the tank and discharging a fire extinguisher."

It is clear that the training in minor tactics and battle drills was outstanding, contributing largely to South African superiority on the ground. Less happy was the sometimes hazardous logistical setup.

Deficiencies in the SADF's equipment are not glossed over by Heitman, such as the occasion when two out of the three "Mongol" missiles on a Ratel tank destroyer went out of control after 2000 m, while the third would not fire at all. And all this while under attack from Fapla tanks!

Every mention of the use of the (admittedly pre-production model) Plotadder mine clearing system appears to be followed by "it did not deploy properly", or "it failed to explode".

and at such a great distance from home. The step from that conclusion to a negotiated settlement was but a small one. The result of the South African campaign was to shift the problems of the region from the military to the diplomatic sphere," he concludes.

**found standing in a field.**

Grave misunderstandings of the follow if signifieds and referents mous, as they are at one point in *General Linguistics*, where one can "ox" has as its signifier *boerf* on but *Ochs* on the other side.<sup>19</sup> The case, which contradicts the very himself introduced, is typical of since by others. In Saussure's certainly be put down to the way *Cours* was constructed by its dating from different stages in the but in the case of others who error, we have evidence of some considerable difficulty we all face tual aspect of the sign as an abstr its complementary acoustic or gr into error by a certain idealism, two aspects of the sign and take have precedence over the acoustic people assume that signifieds p meanings 'await' expression. The is to assimilate the signifieds, sto some pre-verbal repository, to the tial referents in the world, whic their human investment by lang that comes very much to the fore in the work of Jacques Derrida, the appropriate point.

The 'arbitrariness' of the lingu matter than is sometimes realize, the autonomy of language in re languages differ very markedly fr their vocabulary, as in the case o in their grammatical structure. 7 view in language is fundamental

The political nature of the campaign, which meant that only limited objectives could be fought for, is stressed by the author.

The fighting around Cuito Cuanavale — claimed as a Cuban/Fapla victory by some — is a case in point. Heitman points out that at no time did the SADF seek to "capture" this strategic centre: as then Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General 'Kat' Liebenberg summed it up, would leave the SADF in the position of "the dog that finally caught the bus".

Heitman notes that through much of the campaign, senior commanders did not know from day to day whether the fighting might have to be stopped for political reasons. This, of course, led to a step-by-step strategy, with no dramatic sweeps as in, say, the first Angolan campaign in 1975/76. This strong political dimension led to over-involvement by senior officers, so that the battle was often "micro-commanded" — not a good thing for initiative or decisive action.

Interference by the brass at command level operated in many ways. Thus when two Oliphant tanks were knocked out during Operation Packer, the force commander, Commandant Gerhard Louw, sought to destroy them by gunfire. "General Liebenberg now intervened to order that the tanks should not be destroyed, but left to be recovered later," writes Heitman. The result was that the tanks, together with a third that also had to be abandoned, formed the basis of a propaganda coup for Fapla. Days later, when one Oliphant had been already been taken away by Fapla and Angolan infantry dug in around the other two to prevent recapture, Major-General Willie Meyer "sent a telex ... ordering Colonel Fouché (a higher-level commander) to ensure that the three abandoned Oliphants were destroyed. This was, however, no longer possible."

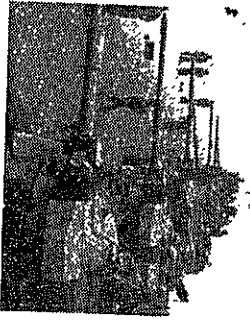
**Irregular allies**

It was during Modular that the first South African tank versus tank action since World War 2 took place, in which the armour acquitted itself well.

The enemy sometimes had irregular allies, however. For instance, E Squadron of Olifant tanks had its first casualty, Lieutenant Slabbert, who

**Many SAAF sorries**

The way in which the small — and non-renewable — SAAF fighter force had to be husbanded meant that allied (SADF and Unita) ground forces were inadequately covered. In fact air superiority was generally conceded to the Cuban/Angolan MiGs. "It is important to note, however," says Heitman, "that the South Africans were able to operate almost at will despite having outrun their air cover and despite not having up-to-date anti-aircraft equipment". And the SAAF's Mirage's and ageing Buccaneers flew almost 800 strike sorties against the Angolans and their supply routes for the loss of only two aircraft — after the loss of air superiority.



HELMED-KÖNER HEITMAN  
**WAR IN ANGOLA**  
The Final South African Phase

Queen of the Battle was, without doubt, the South African-developed G-5 heavy artillery system, which showed fearsome effectiveness in dominating the situation, whether through battery fire or individual interdiction.

An example: "Captain Eckardt saw a radar scanner just north of Cuito Cuanavale, glinting in the sun as it revolved. He engaged it with the G-5s of Sierra Battery, producing fire, white smoke and eight loud secondary explosions. Intelligence later confirmed that the radar had been destroyed, together with an ammunition point, a fuel point and 42 vehicles. Forty men were killed in the shelling and the resulting explosions."

Throughout the final phase the South African forces had to keep a low profile for political reasons. Successful completion of their task was overshadowed by subsequent political events.

Yet the campaign remains of extraordinary interest for many reasons: the way artillery was used, operations without air cover, the electronic warfare angle, psychological warfare (which included broadcasts of hyena calls, frightening "own" troops as much as the enemy), and the decision to commit mechanised forces to "non-armour terrain" — which Heitman likens to the use of armour in the Ardennes in 1940 and 1944.

*War in Angola* contains 74 photographs and 23 maps. Appendices deal with the equipment used by South Africa, Angolan government forces and Unita. There is an index which could, in a book of this nature, have been much more detailed.

enthusiastic welcome. She is on a three-day visit.

# Call for US neutrality in Angola's 15-year-old war

LUANDA. — Soviet-backed Angola has condemned the United States for "stubbornly" continuing to support rightist rebels fighting its rule and demanded US neutrality in the 15-year-old civil war.

Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem yesterday told his Soviet counterpart, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, that Angola blamed Washington for helping to fuel the government's war with Unita insurgents.

He told Mr Shevardnadze, in Luanda on the first leg of a 10-day tour of Southern Africa, that Angola was seeking international help to repair damage done by guerrillas in recent

raids. *APGul 19/3/90 (5)*  
"It is clear that Unita's actions ... can take place only due to the stubborn help of the United States.

"The Angolan government demands that this administration assume a neutral position in the Angolan conflict," he said.

"Once more we ask our compatriots to put down their arms ... and to allow direct dialogue," he said.

Mr Van-Dunem asked for international help to repair damage done by guerrillas in recent attacks such as one on a dam in Cunene province.

He said Unita sabotage was

costing Angola millions of dollars.

"Peace remains a hope and not a reality in Angola," he said.

Mr Shevardnadze, who will take part in Namibian independence celebrations on Wednesday, reaffirmed Moscow's support for the Angolan government.

He also said talks set between South Africa's nationalist movement, the African National Congress, and the government of President De Klerk, scheduled for April 11, would be an important step towards a democratic government in South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

21/3/90

Cape Times (5)

2 Cape Times, Wednesday, March 21, 1990

From page 1

## Namibia

Former Indian Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi was also a guest on board the Zambian president's flight.

The presence of Mr Nzo and Mr Slovo has heightened speculation here that Mr Mandela could use their presence to discuss "talks about talks" with South African officials while in Namibia.

Several other prominent South Africans also attended the celebrations, including SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, a Democratic Party delegation headed by DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan and Mr Colin Eglin, and human-rights lawyers Ms Priscilla Jana and Mr Arthur Chaskalson of the Legal Resources Centre.

### Mugabe missing

A beaming Archbishop Desmond Tutu strode into the Windhoek international airport soon after 12.20pm yesterday and proclaimed himself excited about the prospects for black South Africans now that Namibia had achieved its independence.

Accompanied by his wife, Leah, and his press secretary Mr John Allen, Archbishop Tutu arrived on a commercial flight from Johannesburg, but was immedi-

## Cubans forces told to retaliate to Unita attack

HAVANA. — Cuba yesterday said it had instructed its troops in Angola to retaliate against US-backed Unita rebels for an attack last Saturday against a Cuban supply column.

An Armed Forces Ministry statement said one Cuban soldier was killed and six were injured, one seriously, when Unita guerillas ambushed the supply column near the village of Longonjo, south-west of Huambo City in central Angola.

"This new aggression against Cuban troops will not go unpunished and the Cuban military command in Angola has been given the necessary orders to this effect," the statement said.

It did not specify exactly what action would be taken but added that the United States also bore responsibility for the attack because of its political and military support for Unita.

Western diplomats said they believed that Cuba still had MiG-21 and MiG-23 fighters based in Angola and these could be used in a possible retaliatory strike against Unita bases.

The Namibian independence accords set in motion a Cuban withdrawal from Angola to be completed by mid-1991.

Following an attack by Unita on its forces in January, Cuba suspended the withdrawal of its troops.

The withdrawal was resumed on February 25 after Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi apologised for the action and the United States and South Africa said they would do their best to stop further attacks. — Reuter

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# THE WEEKLY MAIL

# FOCUS

profiles • analysis • this week • science • environment • technology • medicine

## Angola's wind of change

BY DAVID OTTAWAY, Jamba  
9 years and providing advisers for current offensive that has helped government forces push into Savimbi's heartland for the first time.  
In response, the United States has some more engaged in the war.  
It is seeking to make up for Savimbi's loss of an estimated annual 100-million in South African support and is escalating its arms and deliveries to help him slave off Angolan army's offensive.  
After almost three months of intense fighting, it is not clear whether the parties to the conflict are ready to the negotiating table.  
US analysts note that the US-

brokered agreement of December 1988 providing for a withdrawal of the 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and the independence of Namibia was preceded by a similar escalation in fighting that served to persuade South Africa and Cuba that it was time to find a political solution.  
Savimbi said it was his "feeling" that the tide of war was going against the Angolan army after its initial success in driving into Unita-held territory. He said the army was encountering increasing problems in resupplying its exposed forward units and said his troops had intercepted two convoys sent to their rescue.  
Savimbi said, however, that he was ready to accept a ceasefire. "A cease-

fire will calm the atmosphere and get everybody to co-operate even if a political solution is unknown," he said.  
Savimbi's idea of a political solution through elections has been rejected up to now by the government in Luanda. But Savimbi pointed to the elections in Namibia last November and noted that African leaders had pressed Swapo to accept the results.  
"If they (African leaders) have accepted that in Namibia, why cannot we accept (elections) where you have another conflict?" he asked.  
Savimbi said events in Eastern Europe, where one Communist government after another had agreed to multi-party elections, showed that the 'moral base for a one-party system

has been eroded", making his demand for elections in Angola more justifiable. — Washington Post  
● Unita has congratulated Namibian liberation movement Swapo on winning independence for the territory. Reuters reports from Lisbon.  
In a statement signed by Savimbi and issued from Unita's Lisbon office yesterday, the organisation said it would do everything possible to keep peace along the common frontier and called for friendship.  
Swapo and Unita, which have tribal ties, had a degree of co-operation before Angola became independent from Portugal in 1975. Cuba's intervention in the Angolan civil war and South African backing for Unita left the two groups on opposing sides. Savimbi's statement pointedly recalled Swapo and Unita's former friendship.



Jonas Savimbi ... an old friend of Swapo

## Savimbi waits for Angola

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi is pressing his demand for elections in Angola, convinced that democratic reforms sweeping through Eastern Europe, Latin America and West Africa have strengthened the chances for settling the Angolan civil war via the ballot box.  
But in an interview at his headquarters in Jamba he conceded that the outcome of the offensive by the Angolan army against his stronghold in Mavinga in south-east Angola will be a decisive factor in whether his election proposal emerges as the basis for a political settlement to the 15-year war.  
Savimbi said he believed the time for negotiations was still another month or two away. "I'm thinking that by April-May there will be real talks depending on the result of this offensive," he said.

On Tuesday, US State Secretary James Baker, attending the independence celebrations in Windhoek, became the first US state secretary to meet with Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos. US officials said after the meeting that Dos Santos had indicated greater flexibility than his government had shown so far about a ceasefire.  
One official said that Baker, who is due to meet Savimbi in Kinshasa today, told Dos Santos that the United States would continue its military aid to Unita until national reconciliation had been achieved between the warring factions in Angola.  
However, the official added, Baker stressed that the US did not seek the

overthrow of the Angola government and was prepared to "improve relations" with Luanda if there was a ceasefire and a start to negotiations.  
The US official said that during a meeting with Baker on Tuesday night, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze cited Angola as a place where the United States and the Soviet Union might co-operate.  
Until now, the Soviet Union has shown little willingness to co-operate with the United States in the search for a settlement to the Angolan war. Instead it has supported — Savimbi says encouraged — the Angolan government's efforts to seek a military overthrow by pumping in well over R2.6-billion in arms during the past

two years and providing advisers for the current offensive that has helped government forces push into Savimbi's heartland for the first time.  
In response, the United States has become more engaged in the war. It is seeking to make up for Savimbi's loss of an estimated R200-million in South African support and is escalating its arms deliveries to help him slave off the Angolan army's offensive.  
After almost three months of intense fighting, it is not clear whether the parties to the conflict are ready to the negotiating table.  
US analysts note that the

W/M and 23/3-29/3/90

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## Angola considers democracy

LUANDA — Angola's Marxist rulers are examining ways of introducing democratic reforms to this one-party state. 8/10am/23/11/90

The MPLA wants to separate government functions from those of the ruling party, create a prime ministerial post appointed by the president and set a time limit for holding party jobs.

"We don't feel a pressing need to change our system, but it's possible that the evolution of the system could lead, in the future, to a new system which includes several parties," President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told the New York Times in Brazil last week.

"I think that if all these changes take place we could see elections before the end of this electoral period (in 1992)," another MPLA spokesman said.

The government has christened 1990 "the year of the expansion of democracy". — Sapa-Reuter.

ANGOLA F/M 23/3/90

(5)

## Many meetings

The stalled Angolan peace process seems to have had new life breathed into it.

The US government has found "new flexibility" in Angola's "attitude to peace in general," said a senior State department official in Windhoek, after an hour of talks between Secretary of State James Baker and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos. The

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meeting followed one between Dos Santos and President F W de Klerk.

Dos Santos apparently is more inclined now to an early ceasefire with Unita than he was three months ago. "Today, he feels a ceasefire is a prerequisite to peace talks," the US official said. Baker told Dos Santos the US is prepared to improve its relations with Angola once a ceasefire has been implemented.

He also said the US would continue to "supply" Unita "until national reconciliation has been achieved." Baker emphasised the consistency of US policy to Angola, which is "essentially our belief in a political solution and our feeling that a military solution is not possible."

Dos Santos indicated that his government may consider entering negotiations with Unita. Baker and Dos Santos agreed that their subordinates would continue discussions over the next few days. This is in preparation for Baker's visit to Kinshasa, next week, where he will meet the mediator, President Mobutu, as well as Jonas Savimbi.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration's Africa man, Hank Cohen, will this week be holding discussions with Angola's chief of staff, General Franca Ndalu.

The Baker-Dos Santos meeting followed one on Monday in Luanda between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Dos Santos. Shevardnadze apparently also emphasised the need for a ceasefire, leading

to negotiations with Unita.

Turning to Namibia, the US view is that the new constitution is a model for the rest of Africa and should be considered by SA. The issue of Walvis Bay, the US feels, should be the subject of negotiation between SA and Namibia.

□ Baker was also expected to use his time in Windhoek to meet German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher and Shevardnadze to discuss a united Germany. ■

# Business Day

## SURVEY

*Namibia's independence carries the burden of the high expectations of the majority of its people. Most organisations concerned with investment and development believe Namibia has the potential to meet these expectations. However much depends on the first policy decisions.*

**MANDY JEAN WOODS reports.**

### TRADE LINKS WITH ANGOLA SET FOR SPEEDY REOPENING

Business 28/3/90

FORMAL trade links between Namibia and Angola could be established within weeks of independence, says Windhoek attorney Peter Koep.

At the request of the Angolan government and Namibian President Sam Nujoma, Koep organised a visit to Angola by group of Namibian businessmen in late January to investigate opening up trade.

"It was only once we arrived in Angola that we realised the extent to which the economy had suffered as a result of the war and decolonisation," says Koep.

"Angola needs everything. The Angolans are keen to trade with Namibia, especially foodstuffs, spare parts, engines and heavy machinery."

The country is also in dire need of expertise and technology.

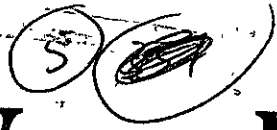
The Namibian delegation made contact with a Namibian bank and the Angola Reserve Bank with a view to financing and expediting trade between the two countries, he says.

An Angolan trade delegation visited Namibia in early March to investigate Namibia's resources. They were impressed by the availability of goods, competitive prices and infrastructure Namibia offered.

Koep says: "They went to Walvis Bay to see off-loading of refined oil, cement and timber facilities. They were surprised to see how under-utilised the harbour was."

"The delegation was very keen to get business going. They want southern Angola to be serviced from Namibia and are already looking for road contractors to start upgrading the roads."

"The cheaper cost of transport and the weaker currency makes it far more viable for Angola to purchase its goods from Namibia. Even our imports are cheaper to export to Angola than for them to import it from elsewhere."



# Cold War lobbyists

## Angola is last stand for US conservatives

WASHINGTON. — A highly paid army of lobbyists and lawyers is fighting one of the last battles of the Cold War, an intense struggle to influence US policy in Angola.

It is one of the last skirmishes left for the United States and Soviet Union. Neither is willing to abandon its allies in Angola, but neither is either side willing to let the civil war there hold up overall improvements in their relationship.

While the Bush administration's approach is low-key, conservatives in Washington have adopted a highly visible stance.

A key test of whether the Soviets have in fact changed their imperial ambitions is Soviet behaviour in Angola, according to a

half-page ad in The New York Times that was paid for by the International Security Council, a conservative think tank.

With the Sandinistas removed from power in Nicaragua and the Soviets gone from Afghanistan, conservatives are fast running out of opponents. "It's almost their last cause," said Mr Dimitri Simes, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

To counter the conservatives, the Soviet-backed Angolan government recently hired the legal firm of Washington, Perito and Dubuc for \$800 000 a year (over R2m) to present its side. Two other firms also represent its interests at an annual cost of \$350 000 (R900 000).

Angola wants the United States to grant

it diplomatic recognition, to stop arming the rebels and to bring them to peace talks. US efforts to arrange peace talks have stalled since last summer and fighting has intensified in recent weeks.

But while Angola has made some recent advances against the rebels on the battlefield, in Washington its enemy remains formidable.

Unita maintains an office in Washington at a cost of \$800 000 a year. It also retains the services of one of the city's most powerful lobbying firms at a cost of \$900 000 annually.

There is little question that Unita has been far more effective than the Angolan government at Washington lobbying. — Sapa-AP

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Sur

The father, who asked not to be identified, told the BBC how

we are prepared to wait as long as they are prepared to wait," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

172645 4/4/90

## 40 on way to market killed by Unita mine <sup>5</sup>

LISBON. — Forty people died and several were wounded in northern Angola when a vehicle carrying them to market triggered a mine planted by Unita.

The Angolan government news agency Angop, monitored in Lisbon, said the incident occurred near Kawenda village in Uige province.

In another dispatch, Angop said more than 32 000 of the 50 000 Cuban troops backing the government had returned home.

Angop, quoting an official statement in Havana, said Unita attacks on Cuban soldiers

meant Cuba was a month behind its plan to withdraw 33 000 soldiers by April 31.

Havana suspended the pull-out for a month in January after a rebel raid on its forces.

The phased withdrawal of Cuban troops by mid-1991 was agreed under regional peace accords signed in December 1988. — Sapa-Reuter.

### 'Stealth' jet unveiled

WASHINGTON. — The United States has officially unveiled its "stealth" fighter aircraft, the F-117A, a black jet built to avoid enemy radar detection. — Sapa-Reuter.

**Unita condemns bid  
to end Angolan war**

*CAPL Times 7/4/90 (5)*  
LISBON. — Four African presidents met in Sao Tome and Principe yesterday to seek a solution to Angola's 15-year civil war, but the summit was condemned by Angolan rebels.

Unita guerillas said the one-day summit of Angola, Congo, Sao Tome and Gabon had sidestepped Zairean mediators and was unwelcome.

"We accept Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko as the mediator," said a Unita statement here.

The communique was issued as the four African leaders began their closed-door talks in Sao Tome and Principe's capital.

The summit is the latest international bid to end fighting between Angola's Marxist government and the US-backed Unita. A verbal truce brokered by Zaire last June quickly collapsed and hostilities have intensified since the Angolan government launched an offensive against southern rebel strongholds in December. — Sapa-Reuter

# Namibia, Angola to sign agreement on air services

From DALE LAUTENBACH  
Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — An air services agreement for commercial flights between Namibia and Angola is expected to be signed this week, according to a senior Angolan diplomatic source.

Angolan Minister of Transport and Communications Mr Carlos Fernandez arrives in Windhoek on Wednesday for talks with his Namibian counterpart, Mr Richard Kapelwa Kabanjani.

They will travel to Angola's "capital of the south", Lubango, and will also discuss the future of road and sea transport and communications between the countries.

The source said that no date had been set for the first commercial flight.

## CO-OPERATION INITIATIVE

The meeting follows a similar co-operation initiative between the countries last week when the Namibian Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Hifikepunye Pohamba, and Minister of Defence Mr Peter Mueshihange met an Angolan delegation in Lubango to discuss border security and the repatriation of Angolan refugees in Namibia.

The Angolan delegation was led by General Antonio France Ndalu, Deputy Minister of Defence.

The diplomatic source said Luanda had given priority to the repatriation of Namibian exiles in Angola during the implementation of Resolution 435 and the peace talks before Namibia's independence process.

Now the priority had shifted to Angolan refugees, 40 000 of whom were displaced by the war with Unita forces.

Military activity in southern Angola since January had displaced a further 3 000 people, the source said.



## Unita 'ready for ceasefire'

PARIS — Unita rebels said yesterday they were seeking direct talks with Angola's Marxist government and were ready to proclaim an immediate ceasefire in the 15-year-old war. *8:10 PM 10/4/90*

A statement signed by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and made public in Paris called on the Luanda government to accept secret talks in Portugal.

The statement was issued after a meeting of Unita's political and military leadership at its Jamba headquarters in southern Angola. It was dated April 7.

It said Unita was prepared to share power with the MPLA. But should the Angolan government refuse to negotiate, Unita was prepared to attack Luanda, the statement said. Sapa-Reuter.

# Angolan hint of a new regional order

By DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

ANGOLA would offer facilities such as its deep water ports, and resources such as its oil, to Namibia and other countries in the region as part of a policy of economic co-operation, according to Mr Alberto Bento Ribeiro, Angola's ambassador to Windhoek and the first head of mission to present his credentials to President Sam Nujoma.

But, he stressed, the first priority would be to follow up the recent peace initiatives which led to Namibia's independence, and to bring peace to the entire region, especially Angola.

In an interview he said: "We can't have real peace in Namibia with fighting just across the border. So co-operation with the Namibian government and the entire region to secure peace is the number one objective."

Mr Ribeiro believes the sub-continent is now gripped by a spirit of peace, in which economic policies could begin to evolve.

## Resources

"The real alternative to war is economic co-operation. We share a long border with Namibia and we need to share our resources. Some are scarce and valuable — like water, energy, including oil, and suitable infrastructures. Geography has given Angola deep water harbours and we can integrate these infrastructures in the region through Namibia."

He mentions, too, the joint management of the rich fishing resources which thrive in the countries' shared Benguela current but, albeit carefully phrased, implicit in his vision of bilateral co-operation with Namibia is a look further south.

He approaches the idea of rapprochement carefully, first couching Angola's newly liberated and apparently warm relationship with Namibia in the countries' common history of struggle. "We began fighting for national independence in 1961 so from that far back we were comrades-in-arms with those fighting for the liberation of Namibia."

## Initiatives

The first SADF incursion into Angola was as far back as 1974. "Now we can reverse this," says Mr Ribeiro. "Namibia now can become a base to co-operate with us for new peace initiatives and a corridor for new co-operation with the south, including South Africa."

What else is down south, Mr Ribeiro? The ambassador grins.

"At a political level we have co-operated with South Africa to achieve the independence of Namibia." He refers to the December 1988 New York Accords which made the implementation of UN Resolution 435 possible.

## Merits

The Joint Commission which was subsequently set up provided another useful instrument for the achievement of peaceful independence.

"So one of the merits of the exercise has been to build up a capital of trust, of confidence, among ourselves — meaning us and South Africa."

Mr Ribeiro says his government recognises that things are changing inside South Africa on the road to the dismantling of apartheid, acknowledges that some progress has been made.

"Obviously, though, full economic co-operation with South Africa can only take place in a post-apartheid era and after there has been international agreement to lift sanctions."

Would there be similar understanding if, hypothetically, Namibia bought Angolan oil and sold it to South Africa?

## Sensitive

"That's a difficult and complicated question. Namibia has no independent oil sources. In this very sensitive area, Namibia was, still is, completely dependent on South Africa. It is looking for alternatives and one is Angola, as the second largest oil producer in black Africa after Nigeria. But it would be premature to address what is politically unacceptable."

Practical issues like distribution of oil and petrol, quality control and storage are receiving attention even now and as Walvis Bay is the only deep water harbour in Namibia and most of the country's energy supply is routed through this port now, the Namibian government has asked the international community to suspend sanctions on imports made through Walvis.

## Alternatives

But would South Africa allow Angolan oil through what it still considers its port?

Mr Ribeiro laughs. "I have no answer for that. The Namibian government must negotiate with the South African government. I understand the South African government will be co-operative in this direction but we can offer alternatives through our borders from southern Angola."

Put to Mr Ribeiro that there is a thread of optimism running through much of what he has to say regarding co-operation with South Africa, he laughs again: "In answer to that a very big yes, an affirmative yes. The trend towards peace is based on a very deep and broad consensus — all of us feel the need for peace and economic co-operation. It makes sense."

## Experience

"Our resources are very much complementary. We could share our resources against expertise and know-how available in South Africa. We had some experience over the past two years of negotiating with South Africa on very difficult and very sensitive political problems. We achieved good results in a short time and these events are accelerating towards a peaceful settlement in the region."

"We need, at bilateral level, to talk and help each other, help in the dismantling of apartheid, for example, which I understand to be very much in the process."

Then diplomatically, he slips in a sly one: "This word 'linkage' (referring to the American policy of linking a Cuban withdrawal to implementation of 435) was not coined by us. But now it makes sense to talk of reverse linkage. We can't have peace in Namibia with fighting just across the border, Unita bases are too close to this territory and they have co-operated closely with Koevoet, SWATF and the SADF."

"The disbandment of all these forces now gives us a new situation but the integration of these forces in an independent Namibia is not yet fulfilled. This gives us cause for concern so in handling the internal Angolan conflict, we can talk of reverse linkage, no. You like this term?"

He grins. One for the next round of talks. And, one notes, he offers Ritmeester cigars after lunch, with a chuckle, not Cuban.

APG 43  
11/14/88

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# Border police to 'fight crime — not Unita'

From DALE LAUTENBACH  
Argus Africa News Service

11/4/90

WINDHOEK. — The deployment on Namibia's Angolan border of 1 500 temporary policemen is a move to combat crime and not a signal that the Namibian government is preparing to tackle Unita, the Home Affairs Department said today.

Permanent secretary Mr Ndali Kamati said men were being recruited from the ranks of the defence force on a temporary basis to aid police fighting a growing crime problem.

He hoped the recruits would be installed by April 25.

Mr Kamati said there had been an increase of "banditry" along the border as weapons came in from Angola and were used to rob shops and steal cattle.

Windhoek newspapers reacted with alarm to the first reports of the recruitment drive and speculated that the Swapo government was readying itself to tackle Unita forces should peace talks between the rebels and Angola's MPLA government fail.

## "OWN SPECULATION"

One newspaper went so far as to suggest that Namibia was creating its own elite paramilitary squad styled on the infamous Koevoet counter-insurgency unit.

Mr Kamati said newspapers had the right to "do their own speculation" but his department's action had nothing to do with the war in Angola.

Namibian police spokesman Brigadier Siggie Eimbeck confirmed that police had received orders to recruit 1 500 defence force members for temporary deployment as policemen.

A thousand were to be deployed at Oshakati and 500 at Rundu, he said.

The newspapers argued that the bulk of the force was being sent to the Kavango, where contact with Unita was most likely, while the lesser number was being sent to Owamboland, where crime is known to be increasing.

Mr Kamati dismissed this, too, as speculation.

10m 12/4/90 (5)  
**Angola talks  
back on track**

LISBON — The Angolan government has agreed to start direct peace negotiations with Unita.

The talks will be aimed at ending the country's 15-year civil war.

In a dispatch from Luanda released in Lisbon, the news agency Angop quoted Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura as saying: "Probably this month (and) next month, representatives of the Angolan government and elements of Unita will meet to discuss the internal problem."

Luanda sources said the initial contacts would be held in Portugal, probably on April 16, with more talks following in Cape Verde.

Unita's Lisbon spokesman Norberto de Castro said he had received no official confirmation of the report, but would welcome the MPLA government's readiness to talk.

"This is a sign the MPLA understands the situation . . . for us, any date will do," De Castro said. — Sapa-AP.

# Angola to start talks with Unita

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LISBON. — The Angolan government has agreed to start peace talks with Dr Jonas Savimbi's US-backed Unita rebels this month in Portugal, the Angolan state news agency Angop reported yesterday.

In a dispatch released here, the agency quoted Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura as saying: "Probably this month and next month representatives of the Angolan government and elements of Unita will meet to discuss the internal problem."

Mr De Moura said initial direct contacts would be held in Portugal, probably on Monday, with more talks following in the West African island nation of Cape Verde, Angop report-

ed. The site of the talks "cannot be an obstacle, because peace can be negotiated in any part of the world if the negotiators are interested in a determined objective."

The announcement follows the rebels' offer of an immediate cease-fire in the field and some other concessions made on Monday.

Fighting has intensified in recent months and the rebels have stepped up urban bomb and sabotage attacks in the capital Luanda.

The Soviet-backed Marxist government has been fighting the Unita rebels since shortly after the southern African nation gained independence from Portugal in 1975. — Sapa-AP

## Angola war breakthrough as MPLA agrees to meet Unita

By EDDIE KOCH

A BREAKTHROUGH in Angola's 15-year-old civil war is imminent after President Eduardo dos Santos's government announced last night it would start face-to-face peace talks with Unita in Portugal.

Venancio de Moura, Angola's deputy foreign minister, said in Lisbon that this month or next month representatives of the Angolan government and elements of Unita will meet to discuss the internal problem.

The Angolan news agency Angop quoted De Moura as saying that the first direct contact with Unita would take place in Portugal, probably on April 16, with more talks later on the West African island of Cape Verde.

The deadlock in attempts to end Angola's bitter war appears to have been broken after the MPLA-led government dropped its demand that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi be excluded from any peace settlement.

De Moura told reporters in Lisbon that Savimbi, as the head of Unita, deserved special treatment in any peace settlement. This implies that Luanda has dropped its insistence that Savimbi suspend public activity for 12 months before an accord can be reached.

On Monday Unita met the Angolan government's other precondition by offering an immediate ceasefire and other minor concessions in exchange for peace talks.

Peter Vale, director of the Institute of Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, said: "Savimbi's role has always been the major stumbling block in previous peace talks. If this is a settlement that includes Savimbi then it is highly significant."

11 Mar 1974 - 191470

# In Angola, violence is the victor

ONCE more conflict has been snatched from the jaws of compromise in the sorry history of Angolan peace-making.

Brisk progress has been made in recent weeks toward a negotiated end to Angola's 15-year civil war. But just as the government and Unita rebels were about to name the time and place to restart direct talks, a sudden outburst of violence in the northern province of Uige appears to have stalled the process.

The Angolan government claimed earlier this week that two of its helicopter gunships were shot down by Unita last Saturday while providing cover for a supply convoy heading to the town of Quindando.

The attack was the latest in a sharp increase of Unita activity in the north

*Despite major concessions from both sides, the latest opportunity for finding peace in Angola has broken down, reports JULIAN BORGER*

of the country, in which towns and villages have been temporarily seized by the rebels and bombs have gone off in the capital, Luanda.

Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem "Loy" was quick to warn that direct contacts between the two sides, which were supposed to have begun this week, were now "in jeopardy", although he was careful not to rule out the possibility of such contacts taking place later this month if

the situation can be kept under control.

Unita does seem, so far, to have a knack for putting a spanner in the peace-works. The ceasefire that followed the famous handshake in June last year between Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in the Zairean town of Gbadolite, lasted only a few weeks.

Even Western diplomats in Luanda admitted at the time that the truce was broken by a nationwide increase in Unita attacks.

So far this year there have been two Unita ambushes in which Cuban troops have been killed, provoking President Fidel Castro into temporarily halting the withdrawal of his men from Angola, a crucial ingredient in the Angolan and regional peace process.

The latest attack breaks into a growing mood of compromise over peace negotiations.

Direct talks were to have begun this week, probably in Lisbon, after both sides fought each other to a standstill around the south-eastern town of Mavinga. A government offensive launched last Christmas on this Unita stronghold met stiff resistance and although government troops succeeded in reaching the town they found its vital airstrip totally destroyed and appear since to have withdrawn from the town under heavy Unita bombardment.

The battle was a victory for no one. The rebels had considered Mavinga to be invulnerable, while the offensive forced Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to cut short a visit to Portugal and make an embarrassing dash back to his base at Jamba, only 230km to the south.

Unita has since recognised the "legitimacy of the Angolan state", having previously insisted that it would only negotiate with the ruling MPLA as a party, not as a government. Savimbi has also dropped his demand that government troops pull back to their pre-Christmas positions before agreeing to a ceasefire.

It is the MPLA, however, who have moved the greatest distance towards the negotiating table. The previous round of talks, begun last June, broke down principally over Luanda's demands that Unita be absorbed into the existing one-party system, and that Savimbi retire from politics for at least a two-year cooling-off period. Both those demands have now been dropped.

A nine-point peace proposal handed by Dos Santos to US Secretary of State James Baker at the Namibian independence celebrations in March asks only for recognition of the state. There is no longer any mention of respect of existing constitutional laws, as the Angolan constitution itself is presently undergoing a thorough review.

Van Dunem "Loy" this week publicly sacrificed one of the MPLA's most sacred cows when he mentioned that the government was considering a referendum soon on the possibility of multi-party elections in Angola.

Furthermore, it now seems likely that the MPLA's Third Congress, scheduled for December this year, will be brought forward as pressure grows from the party grassroots for fast and fundamental change. The congress is expected to establish the guidelines for a pluralist and democratic society.

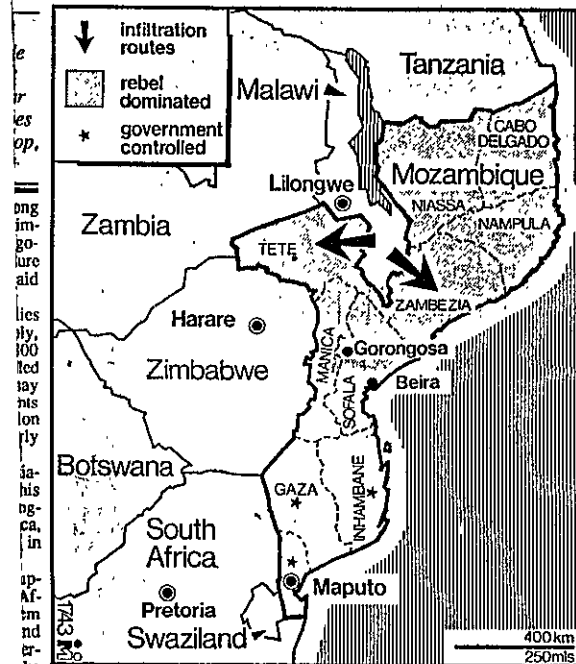
Both sides now seem to have dumped Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko as mediator in the conflict.

The Angolan government has been increasingly hostile to President Mobutu's role — his country has continued to provide the conduit for US arms bound for Unita since the rebels' supply route from South Africa was severed by Namibian independence.

Mobutu has also repeatedly failed to convene the cumbersome committee of eight African heads of state who are supposed to be overseeing the peace process. The absence of all these mediators is being held out in Luanda as one of the most hopeful signs that peace will ultimately prevail

# Laputo seeks peace with the enemy

March 2014 - 26/4/90



War zone ... 15 years of fighting has killed 100 000 Mozambicans

# Courts friends for life

March 2014 - 26/4/90

*Ambitions for a life-long presidency have bred a strange fellowship in Zimbabwe, reports ANDREW MELDRUM*

erated his intentions to lead the country to one-party rule. The speculation that Mugabe would announce a referendum for a one-party state in his independence address on Wednesday proved unfounded.

Now that Zimbabwe has passed 10 years of independence, the British-drafted Lancaster House constitution may be altered by a two-thirds majority. It is expected that later this year Mugabe's party, Zanu-PF, will introduce a parliamentary motion to remove the constitution's clause on freedom of association.

There is some opposition to a one-party state within the party's 160-member central committee, but it is not certain if that will be enough to halt the move.

Mugabe has recently spoken in glowing terms of Malawi's Women's League, which many observers see as a key network maintaining Banda's iron-handed rule. Zimbabwe's Zanu-PF Women's League and Youth Brigade have taken on similar patterns of coercion, according to township residents.

Zimbabwe's leading human rights group, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, denounced as "despicable

and deplorable" the "victimisation" of opposition members and urged Mugabe to call a halt to such practices by his followers. The organisation also announced its opposition to a one-party state.

"We believe that a constitutionalised one-party state is contrary to basic human rights," it said in a statement. "No generation has the right to make immutable decisions for future generations ... A one-party system ends up benefiting chiefly the people already entrenched in powerful positions."

The Catholic Commission recommended that Zanu-PF should "abandon all plans for a one-party state" and that its "tenure in office should be based solely on its efficiency and credibility of performance".

Church groups appear to be forming the basis for resistance against a one-party state — the heads of denominations of Zimbabwe's Christian churches and the Council of Churches also issued warnings against single-party rule.

A group of independent magazines and organisations representing university teachers, economists and lawyers stated, in an independence day advertisement in the *Herald* newspaper, that they hoped "the practice of seeking a fresh mandate from the people through the democratic process of regular and peaceful multi-party elections has become a permanent feature of our political system."

Another challenge to the government

TO PAGE 18

CNE Times 25/1/90  
**Bomb falls  
in Kavango**

WINDHOEK — An aircraft from Angola dropped a bomb that exploded in the Kavango River, which forms the border between Namibia and Angola, police spokesman Brigadier Sigi Eimbeck said here yesterday.

This is the fourth bombing incident in the border region this year. Brigadier Eimbeck said Sunday's explosion occurred about 500m from houses in the village of Mukwe in eastern Kavango.

Residents claimed the aircraft was a Russian MiG. — Sapa



# Angola peace talks begin

By KEN POTTINGER  
Lisbon

THE FIRST of a series of face-to-face peace talks between Angola's ruling Marxist government and the pro-Western Unita movement has taken place in Portugal. Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Jose Manuel Durao Barroso said yesterday the talks between "high level delegations" had taken place secretly in the northern city of Evora on Tuesday and Wednesday this week.

Declining to say when or where the next round would take place, he admitted the two sides were still "far apart" on fundamental issues but he was "reasonably optimistic" the peace process is back on track.

## Divisions

He said: "There is a calendar for future talks, but I am not at liberty to reveal it. The important thing is that the two sides have met and heard each other's points of view.

"I must say frankly that there are still deep divisions separating them."

These included the recognition by Unita of the existing constitutional order in Angola and the commitment by Luanda to an immediate multi-party democracy.

● News of the talks comes on the eve of a scheduled visit to Portugal on Thursday by South African President F W de Klerk.

Star 2/5/90

# Savimbi wants urgent Angolan peace talks

LISBON — Angola's Unita rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday proposed urgent peace talks with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Portugal or Zaire to end 15 years of civil war.

"President Jose Eduardo dos Santos should, in this grave hour afflicting the country, talk directly and urgently with Jonas Savimbi in Portugal or Kinshasa," said a statement signed by Dr Savimbi and issued to the Portuguese news agency, Lusa.

It said Unita recognised Mr dos Santos as head of Angola — but would not recognise the Marxist government as demanded by Luanda.

The announcement followed exploratory contacts between the United States-backed rebels and the Angolan government last week in Portugal. On Monday, the rebels said they wanted to sign a ceasefire in June.

Both sides have said they

want secret negotiations soon, but have not said when. Dr Savimbi's announcement was the first public suggestion that talks would be at the highest level.

Last week's contacts were the first since the collapse of a short-lived truce brokered by Zaire last June. Fighting broke out almost immediately and Unita launched a northern offensive a month ago in response to the government's push in the south since Christmas.

## Warning

Dr Savimbi warned that fighting would intensify if Luanda did not respond to the concessions proposed by Unita.

Both sides have called for the active participation of Portugal, Angola's former colonial ruler.

The rebels also want Washington and Luanda's Soviet and Cuban backers to act as observers in the peace process.

Unita has approved Zairean

president Mr Mobutu Sese Seko as official mediator. But Luanda has accused Zaire of allowing US and South African military aid to reach the rebels.

In a May Day speech, Mr dos Santos said Zaire was jeopardising the peace process by helping Unita launch attacks in northern Angola, but he said he saw promising prospects for peace if Unita recognised the current government and foreign meddling ceased, Lusa reported from Luanda.

"The road to peace in Angola could be short if there is goodwill and a spirit of compromise on the part of Unita," Mr dos Santos added.

Portuguese officials say the two sides are still far apart over Unita's refusal to recognise the government and Luanda's slowness in adopting a multiparty system. Mr dos Santos has not ruled out a multiparty system in the future. — Reuter.

# SA, US accused of arming Unita

3/7/90 The Star's Africa  
News Service

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has accused South Africa and the United States of continuing to supply weapons to the Unita rebel group.

Mr dos Santos said in Luanda that violations of Angola's northern border and the country's air space had increased substantially in recent weeks.

The United States was supplying Unita via Zaire, Mr dos Santos said, but gave no details concerning the alleged South African support to Unita.

# Ever so slowly Angola moves toward peace

By ANDREW MELDRUM  
Harare

THE two sides in the 15-year-old Angolan conflict — Eduardo dos Santos, MPLA government and Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels — are cautiously edging closer to initiating direct negotiations, but the need for a new mediator to push the process along is becoming evident.

Last week government and rebel officials met in Portugal for two days of "exploratory contact." It has not been revealed who attended the meetings, but both top Unita officials and Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro "Loy" van Dunem were in Lisbon at the time.

The contacts were the first between the two sides since the collapse of a short-lived verbal truce brokered last June by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko Dos Santos and Savimbi shook hands before an assembly of more than 20 African heads of state in Mobutu's jungle palace in Gbadolite.

It quickly became all too clear that there was no firm peace agreement behind the handshake and fighting broke out almost immediately. Both sides have since launched deadly and costly military offensives. The Angolan government forces have pushed south since Christmas and Unita claims to have taken the city of Bailumbo in central Angola.

Units in March started a campaign in northern and central Angola. Unita claims to have taken the city of Bailumbo in central Huambo province and is also pressing the government-held key town of Cuito Cuavale in the south.

But in the first days of May, both sides have increased hopes that real negotiations may be just around the corner by making conciliatory, peace-making statements.

Following the initial contacts between the two sides, Savimbi on Tuesday proposed urgent peace talks with Dos Santos in Portugal or Zaire. In a statement issued in Lisbon, Savimbi called for direct meetings between the two leaders "in this grave hour afflicting the country." An earlier Unita statement called for a ceasefire effective in June to lead to negotiations.

In his statement, Savimbi said he recognises Dos Santos as the head of state of Angola but said he would not recognise the Marxist MPLA government as legitimate. Savimbi warned that fighting would intensify if the Luanda government did not respond to the concessions proposed by Unita.

In a May Day speech in Angola, Dos Santos said he saw promising prospects for peace if only Unita would recognise the current government and if "foreign meddling" ceased, presumably meaning American and South African military aid to Unita.

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# Angola's peace talks get off ground

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Own Correspondent

LISBON. — The first of a series of face-to-face peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita guerillas has taken place in Portugal. The series is scheduled to continue.

The Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Jose Manuel Durao-Barroso, told a press conference on Saturday that the talks between "high-level delegations" had occurred secretly in Evora, near the Spanish border, on April 24 and 25.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio Moura and Unita's Foreign Minister General Tony da Costa Fernandes were present at the talks, both mandated at the highest level by their respective sides.

Declining to reveal when or where the next round would take place, Mr Durao-Barroso admitted that the two sides were still "far apart" on fundamental issues, but he said he was "reasonably optimistic" that the long-stalled peace process was finally back on track.

He said divisions included the recognition by Unita of the existing constitutional order in Angola and the commitment by Luanda to an immediate multi-party democracy.

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire remained the official mediator in the peace process, he said.

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## Angola bans new hard currency shops

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has temporarily banned the opening of hard currency stores in the nominally Marxist country, it is reported.

State news agency Angop said yesterday a presidential decree issued at the weekend suspended new permits for foreign currency stores until extensive rules could be worked out to "regulate the opening and operation of such establishments".

It gave no dates for the new regulations.

"This decision is due to the increase in stores of this type which are provoking ... social inequality and a weakening of the role of the national currency," Angop quoted Dos Santos as saying.

The decree said all hard currency stores operating without the necessary licence had to review their situation at the central bank, the Trade Ministry and the Office for Foreign Investment.

However, a handful of foreign-owned stores in Luanda have been authorised by Dos Santos. — Sapa-AP

# Dispute

over

Unita

'victory'

*CAT Times*  
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LISBON: — Angolan rebels said yesterday they had pushed back government troops near the strategic town of Mavinga in the south-east, killing 139 soldiers and capturing about 100 tanks and other military vehicles.

A statement issued in Lisbon said Unita rebels had stormed government positions on Monday morning, sending the troops fleeing in disarray towards their base at Cuito Cuanavale.

The Lisbon embassy of the left-wing government dismissed the report.

"The information I have received from Luanda is that the armed forces have consolidated their positions in Mavinga," a spokesman said yesterday.

There was no independent confirmation of the report which came two weeks after the start of exploratory peace talks between the government and Unita.

In Kinshasa, Zaire, rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was reported as saying he believed a settlement to the 15-year-long Angolan conflict was at hand.

● The rebels claim the battle for control of Mavinga has produced the heaviest fighting of the war. Sapa-AP

# Angolans retreat from key town <sup>CNK</sup> <sup>T-10/15</sup> <sup>10/15/90</sup> (5)

LISBON. — The Angolan government admitted yesterday its forces had withdrawn from the strategic town of Mavinga but denied they were chased out by Unita rebels.

A Defence Ministry statement, reported from Luanda by the Portuguese news agency Lusa, said the troops were being redeployed to counter new threats from the rebels.

"The armed forces (units), having fulfilled with success their mission of sovereignty in Mavinga and won the most resounding victories over the Unita groups, are currently moving to other positions," the statement said.

The two sides have fought since December over Mavinga, in southeastern Angola, amid some of the fiercest battles of the 15-year-old civil war.

Unita announced a big victory at Mavinga on Tuesday. It said its fighters stormed government trenches north of the town on Monday, killing 139 soldiers, capturing 33 and sending the rest fleeing in disorder back towards their base at Cuito Cuana-vale. — Sapa-Reuter



# Mandela thanks Angola for support

LISBON. — Mr Nelson Mandela thanked Angola yesterday for its support of the ANC in its struggle, the Portuguese news agency Lusa reported.

The African National Congress deputy president was addressing a rally on his first visit to Luanda.

Mr Mandela cited the asylum given by Angola to thousands of South African refugees and the military training given to young men fighting to overthrow apartheid, Lusa said.

Mr Mandela, on a six-nation Africa tour to discuss his groundbreaking talks with President F W de Klerk's government, was earlier welcomed by thousands of cheering Angolans.

Capt Timp 11/5/90 (5) (10)  
President Jose Eduardo dos Santos led an unusually large reception committee of senior members of his left-wing government at Luanda airport.

He said Angola had made sacrifices in the fight against apartheid, according to Lusa. "We suffered tremendous military, political and economic pressure," he told the crowd.

But he added: "Our region has now entered a new era of peace. All the black states of the region have to prepare for the post-apartheid and post-war (era)."

He also used the occasion to attack Unita.

The rebels proclaimed a major victory this week when the Ango-

lan army withdrew from the south-eastern town of Mavinga, scene of fierce fighting since December. The Luanda government said the troops were just being redeployed.

Unita said it would use its "resounding victory" at Mavinga to promote peace negotiations and promised to put forward new concrete proposals.

It was reported from Dublin yesterday that Mr Mandela would be invited to address a special session of the Irish Dail (parliament) when he visited Ireland on July 1-3.

Prime Minister Mr Charles Haughey proposed the invitation yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

# Mandela thanks Angola for support

NELSON MANDELA yesterday thanked the people of Angola for their support for the resistance struggle in South Africa.

Mandela, who was met at Luanda airport by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and a large reception committee of government members, said Angola had given asylum to thousands of South African refugees and had helped train ANC guerrillas.

Dos Santos said Angola had suffered tremendous military, political and economic pressure in its fight against apartheid. But he said the region was entering a new era of peace.

Earlier in the day, Mandela visited the tomb of Agostinho Neto, who led Angola to independence and became its first president. Neto died in 1979.

Dos Santos presented Mandela with Angola's highest honour, the Order of Agostinho Neto.

Mandela is expected to visit Nigeria, Libya, Algeria, Egypt and Zambia in an African tour in which he will brief African leaders on the talks about talks held between the ANC and the South African government last week. — Sapa

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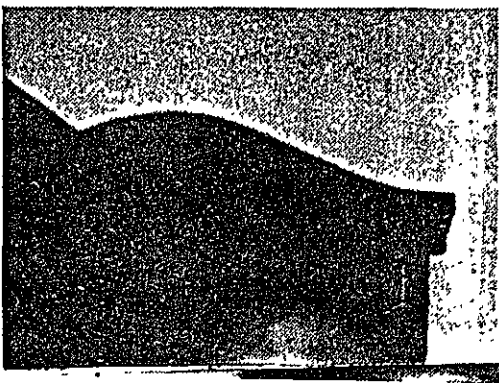
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See 11/5/90

(5)

Staff Reporter

The deputy president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela and his entourage left Lusaka yesterday for Angola, where they are being hosted by the Angolan Government, ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada said yesterday.

Mr Mandela left for a six-nation African tour on Wednesday — his second African tour since his release from prison in February.

Mr Kathrada said Mr Mandela and the ANC delegation

## Cheers for Mandela in Angola

left Lusaka yesterday after holding talks with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and members of the ANC. They will be in Angola until tomorrow.

On his arrival in Luanda yesterday afternoon, Mr Mandela was greeted by thousands of cheering Angolans, including Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. This is his first visit to Angola

since his release from prison on February 11.

Mr Mandela thanked the Angolans for their support of the ANC, and briefed Mr dos Santos on the ANC's historic talks with the Government last week.

Mr Mandela cited the asylum given by Angola to thousands of South African refugees and the military training given to young men fighting

to overthrow apartheid.

Angola is one of six frontline states vehemently opposed to South Africa's apartheid system and white minority rule, and the ANC has military bases in the country.

Mr Mandela is reported to have travelled to the tomb of Agostinho Neto shortly after his arrival. Mr Neto was the guerrilla leader who led Angola to independence and be-

came its first president until his death in 1979.

President dos Santos presented the ANC leader with Angola's highest honour, the Order of Agostinho Neto, and Mr Mandela laid a wreath on Mr Neto's tomb.

Meanwhile, The Star's Foreign News Service reports from Brussels that the Socialist group in the European Parliament has set out its policies on reforms after a recent meeting with Mr Mandela in South Africa.

# Exiles give Mandelas an emotional welcome

NELSON Mandela and his wife Winnie received an emotional welcome from over 200 South African political exiles at an ANC training camp in Angola on Friday.

The Mandelas both called for rank-and-file discipline when the ANC's estimated 20 000 exiles around the world eventually return home to face housing and job shortages and a lack of schooling facilities for their children.

"We feel the day we have been waiting for might be close at hand," said

Nelson Mandela, standing before militants crammed into a prefab hut at Viana, 20 kilometres outside Luanda.

"The ANC calls on you to act in a disciplined manner when you return and I must say (members) can't expect to live like millionaires - choosing mansions in whatever part of town they prefer," he said.

Mandela, who was greeted by chants of "we know you are our father" in Zulu and Sotho, gave the crowd a detailed account of his talks last week with

President FW de Klerk that produced a broad agreement to work for an end to political violence and clear the way for bringing blacks into the government.

Obviously moved by the warm reception, Mandela read the agreement in full to the crowd and later answered members' questions in a session closed to the handful of foreign journalists covering the visit.

Mandela said he believed De Klerk and the government delegation at the talks were sincerely searching for a peaceful solution, but warned:

"We don't know if the delegation stands for all whites in South Africa and that's what we're worried about."

The Mandelas arrived on Thursday from Lusaka, Zambia, for their first visit to Angola. — Sapa.

# Mandela urges West not to ease sanctions

LUANDA — ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela yesterday urged Western nations not to ease sanctions against South Africa.

"We have called on the international community to isolate South Africa and that is still our position," Mr Mandela told a news conference in the Angolan capital at the end of an official visit.

Asked whether he intended to run for president in any future democratic elections in South Africa, Mr Mandela said: "I would like to indicate that I have no such ambition. I will do what the ANC and the South African people require

me to do."

Mr Mandela indicated that the ANC was prepared to compromise with President de Klerk on several points, but demands for one person, one vote were not negotiable.

Mr Mandela pledged a Bill of Rights to "guarantee fundamental human rights to all sections of the population".

Mr Mandela is scheduled to attend the fifth meeting of the nine-member British Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' committee on South Africa, which opens in Lagos tomorrow.

● PAC president Zeph Mothopeng

*Ste 1415/90 (A) (S)*  
said in Umtata yesterday that President de Klerk was the real victor in the talks between the South African Government and the ANC.

Mr Mothopeng said Mr de Klerk had succeeded in breaking down South Africa's international isolation and had apparently warded off the imposition of stronger sanctions by the American Congress. He said President de Klerk was now likely to obtain financial and investment assistance with which "to build a bigger army and police force". — Sapa-Associated Press.

ARGUS 15/5/90 (5)

# Savimbi hopeful about peace, rules out coalition

From KEN VERNON, Argus Africa News Service  
MAVINGA (Angola). — In a major policy turnaround, Dr Jonas Savimbi has ruled out the possibility of Unita joining the ruling MPLA in a transitional government if fledgling peace talks are successful.

At a Press conference here, the Unita leader suggested that the situation was so bad in Angola after 15 years of MPLA rule that "it would be better if they are left to drive this boat alone".

"If we share in the government it will serve only to confuse the people because we might be seen as sharing in the government's mistakes" he said

Just days after some of the heaviest fighting between his movement and government troops for control of the strategically important town of Mavinga and its airstrip, he expressed optimism at prospects for a settlement.

### "Very good beginning"

He said initial direct talks with the MPLA government in Portugal on April 25 and 26 had been "a very good beginning".

Further direct contacts were planned for the near future, he said, but cautioned that these talks were still in the "talks-about-talks" stage

Turning to the defeat of the government armoured column outside Mavinga last week, Dr Savimbi said he hoped he had succeeded in repulsing the MPLA "so that they will not think in terms of a military solution again".

"We are ready to talk to the MPLA tomorrow, but now we want to talk about a ceasefire."

He said that while he was willing to recognise President Eduardo dos Santos's legitimacy, he could not recognise the government as that would entail recognising its institutions and laws "and that we can never do".

In the wake of the resounding Mavinga victory, Dr Savimbi has called on President Eduardo dos Santos to meet him "face-to-face" to talk peace.

"I am still waiting for a reply, but after this defeat the Luanda government must finally realise that the military option is no option," he said.

Dr Savimbi was speaking to journalists at a forward command post at Mavinga after they had visited the scene of what he called "our most important battle since 1976". It was the first time Unita had had to fight a major conventional battle without South African help.

### 1 062 MPLA troops killed

The visit to the government column's forward base where the final battle took place showed a scene of devastation. The skeletal remains of tanks and trucks littered the base, also dotted with the graves of government soldiers.

According to Unita, 139 government troops died in the final battle, while 95 tanks, trucks and armoured vehicles were destroyed.

In the 137 days the campaign lasted, Unita says it killed 1 062 government soldiers and destroyed 306 trucks and 319 tanks and armoured vehicles.

However, while Unita is usually meticulous about giving both sides of the grim "balance sheet" after clashes, this time they could give no figures for their own losses, giving rise to speculation that they suffered heavily.



Pictures: SEAN WOODS, Argus Africa News Service.

**STRIPPED IN DEFEAT:** Unita soldiers strip a disabled Russian-made tank of ammunition in the aftermath of the decisive battle for Mavinga.



**VICTORY SPEECH:** Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi makes a point during a Press conference at Mavinga.

## US may review policy of arms for Unita

The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON — The United States Congress has agreed to review the policy of arming Unita against the Angolan government.

Senate Democratic leader Mr George Mitchell gave an undertaking to this effect after meeting a delegation seeking US recognition of the Angolan government and an end to covert military aid for Unita.

The Democratic Party is the majority party in both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

### CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, the group which led the delegation to meet the Democratic leaders, described the meeting as going "very, very well".

He said US black leaders were considering a campaign of civil disobedience to focus attention on US aid to Unita, which is believed to be about \$80 million (about R200 million).

# US turned tide for Unita

5 Stars 15/5/90

By Ken Vernon,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

**MAVINGA** — In the wake of a resounding victory in the battle for Mavinga, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has called on Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to meet him face-to-face to talk peace.

Dr Savimbi was speaking to journalists at a forward command post at Mavinga after they had visited the scene of what he called "our most important battle since 1976".

He said it was the first time Unita had had to fight a major conventional battle without South African help.

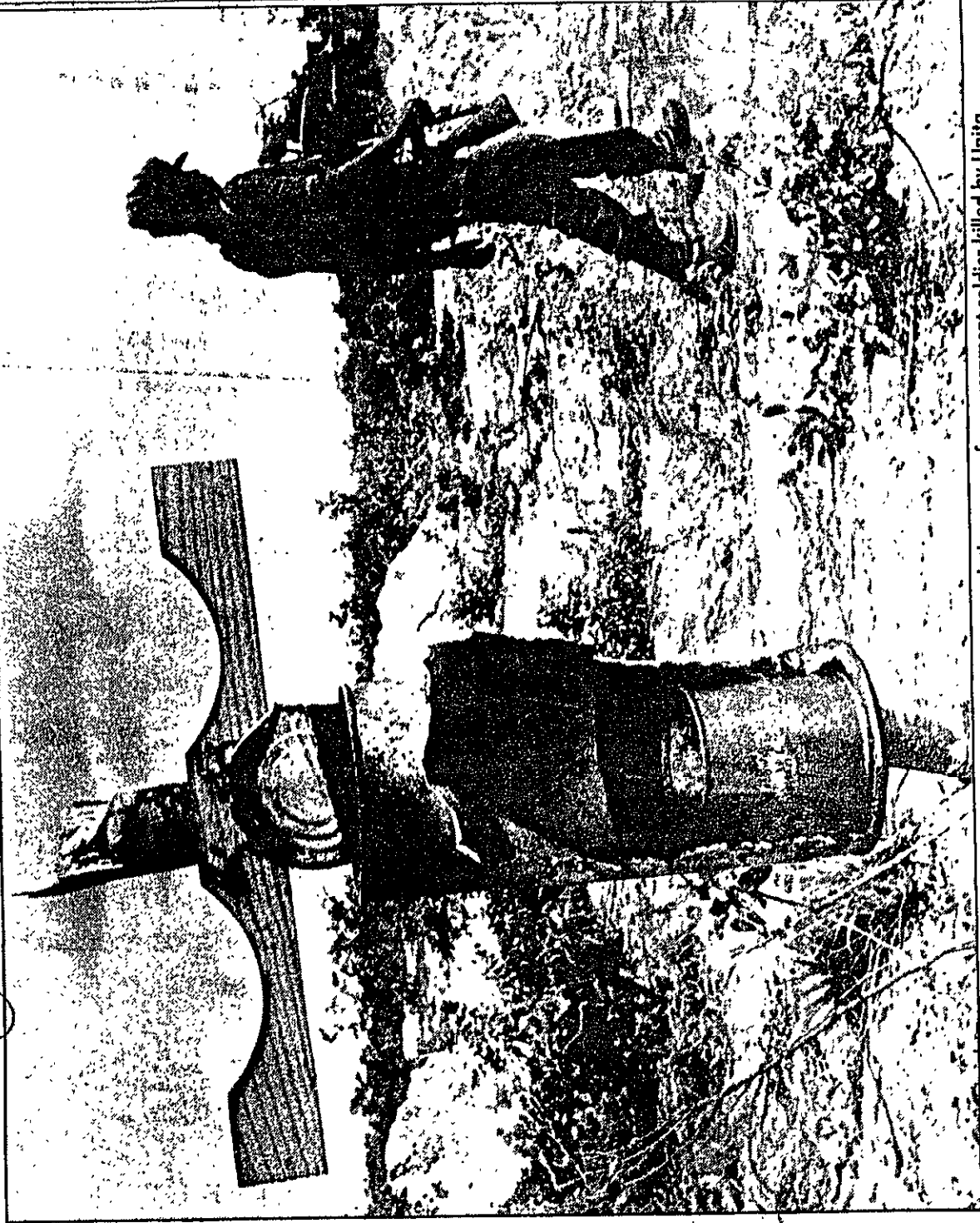
Since December a 15 000-strong armoured column of government troops had managed to push to within 10 km of Mavinga and its strategically important airstrip — gateway to Unita's bush capital at Jamba, 200 km further south.

But, according to Unita, the column was harried to a halt short of its target before being defeated in a 36-hour battle on May 6 and 7.

At the press conference Dr Savimbi thanked the United States for an "emergency" airlift of what became Unita's secret weapon, the battle-winning 106 mm recoilless rifles fitted to Land-Rovers and Toyota Land Cruisers — that he said that been "very effective" against the government heavy armour.

## Numerous graves

The visit to the government column's forward base where the final battle took place revealed a scene of devastation over a 4 sq km area. "Remains of tanks and trucks



A crude cross and a lamp fashioned from ration cans mark the grave of a government soldier killed by Unita.

Unita won 15/5/90

thanked the United States for an "emergency" airlift of what became Unita's secret weapon in the battle — 106 mm recoilless rifles fitted to Land-Rovers and Toyota Land Cruisers — that he said that been "very effective" against the government heavy armour.

### Numerous graves

The visit to the government column's forward base where the final battle took place revealed a scene of devastation over a 4 sq km area. The remains of tanks and trucks littered the base, also dotted with the graves of government soldiers.

Graves of those killed in attacks before the final battle were marked with simple crosses adorned with remembrance lamps fashioned from ration tins by their comrades, while torn boots and battered helmets marked the final resting place of those buried by Unita afterwards.

According to Unita, 139 government troops died in the final battle, while 95 tanks, trucks and armoured vehicles were destroyed.

In the 137 days the entire campaign lasted, Unita says it killed 1 062 government soldiers and destroyed 306 trucks and 319 tanks and armoured vehicles.

But, unusually, Unita did not list their own losses, sparking speculation that they too suffered heavily.

### 11 rapes in a day

A three-year-old girl was among 11 victims of rape committed in Soweto during the past 24 hours.

Eight cars were stolen by force, 29 stolen cars were recovered and seven men were arrested for car theft, according to the latest crime report from the township.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the Soweto police, said a white construction worker was also robbed of a watch and about R80 by armed robbers while on site in the township yesterday. In another incident, an off-duty Brixton police constable shot and wounded an armed robber while travelling to Soweto by train. — West Rand Bureau.



A crude cross and a lamp fashioned from ration cans mark the grave of a government soldier killed by Unita.



Unita soldiers strip a disabled Russian-made tank of ammunition in the aftermath of the decisive battle.

● Pictures by Sean Woods.

### Fake dollars scam: man held

A Randburg man was arrested yesterday after he had allegedly conned at least 50 job seekers into paying him R2 500 each and, in exchange, given them 1 000 counterfeit US dollars to use for employment opportunities in Mauritius.

A police spokesman said the man allegedly began manufacturing counterfeit dollars about nine months ago.

An advertisement was placed in a daily newspaper on March 9 It asked people interested in working in Mauritius — project managers, civil and electrical engineers, architects, accountants, computer programmers, personnel managers and vehicle and equipment maintenance experts — to send a CV to a given address.

Once the CVs were received, the suspect would telephone the job seeker and arrange a meeting at a Johannesburg hotel. He requested they bring R2 500.

He allegedly exchanged this money for \$1 000 in counterfeit notes, to be used as a deposit. Police have asked anyone who answered the advertisement to telephone Major Fred Kitching at (011) 838-8363 during office hours.

### Unita won't join interim govt - Savimbi

The Star's Africa News Service

MAVINGA — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has ruled out the possibility of Unita joining the ruling MPLA in a transitional government if fledgling peace talks are successful.

In a major policy shift, he suggested at a press conference here that things were so bad in Angola after 15 years of MPLA rule that "it would be better if they are left to drive this boat alone".

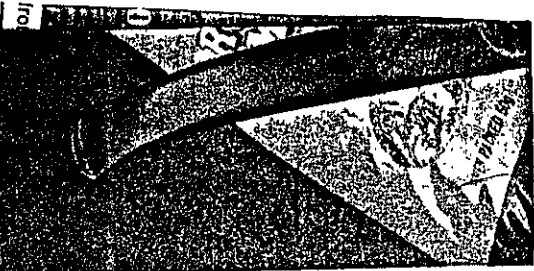
"If we share in the government it will serve only to confuse the people because we might be seen as sharing in the government's mistakes."

He expressed optimism at the prospects for a peaceful settlement, saying initial direct talks held with the MPLA government in Portugal on April 25 and 26 had been "a very good beginning".

Referring to the defeat of a government armoured column at Mavinga last week, Dr Savimbi said he hoped he had succeeded in repulsing the MPLA "not only physically, but also mentally so that they will not think in terms of a military solution again".

He envisaged that after a cease-fire, Unita would campaign in the country as an opposition party.

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# Savimbi's 'biggest victory'

CM  
16/6/90  
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MAVINGA, Angola — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi claims his forces have won the biggest battle of the country's 15-year civil war, and he expects the victory will speed up efforts to end the conflict.

Unita halted an MPLA offensive last week in a decisive 36-hour battle outside Mavinga, a strategic town in south-eastern Angola.

● Meanwhile in Lisbon yesterday during a joint press conference with Portuguese president Mr Mario Soares, President F W de Klerk denied allegations that South Africa was supplying arms to Unita.

"All our efforts are directed at promoting reconciliation and not the escalation of the war," Mr De Klerk said.

Earlier Mr De Klerk said he believed it was only a question of time before there was an Angolan ceasefire. — Sapa-AP

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## Angolans keen to sell crude oil to Japanese

Bloom 16/5/90  
TOKYO — Angola is keen to sell crude oil to Japan on term contracts and is ready to negotiate changes in its conventional price formulas to make its oil more attractive, national oil firm Sonangol general manager Joaquim David said.

David, currently on a tour of Japan, has been meeting government officials and oil, gas and petrochemical industry officials to seek co-operation in various projects in Angola.

"We see interest in long-term oil contracts from Japanese companies and we want such contracts."

Some oil industry officials said they have been contacted by Sonangol to buy crude on term contracts, but its price formula, which is now linked to North Sea Brent prices for both European and US buyers, dampens interest.

"We are studying selling to US customers on prices related to West Texas Intermediate (WTI), so I see no reason why we can't sell oil based on market prices over here," David said.

Japanese imports of Angolan crude jumped sharply in 1988 to 707 000 kilolitres, due partly to swelling demand from electric power companies for thermal power generation, Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) figures show.

Although Angolan imports dropped to 587 000 kilolitres in 1989, industry officials see considerable demand for Angolan oil over the long term as supplies of low-sulphur crudes from Indonesia and China decline. Angola aims to raise crude oil output this year.

David said he has invited Japanese oil and gas firms to join Angola's oil and gas development schemes, particularly in new offshore areas, and to invest in possible major petrochemical plants that would use Angola's now-wasted natural gas. — Reuter.

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## Unita peace plan 'flexible'

*CAN. Times 17/1/90 (5)*  
LISBON. — Angolan rebels said yesterday they had drawn up some "concrete and very flexible" proposals for peace talks, as the government reported more sabotage of Luanda's electricity supplies.

A statement issued here said the proposals would be presented to the Portuguese government, which hosted exploratory contacts between the two sides three weeks ago.

Unita said its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, had left for Zaire for talks with President Mobutu Sese Seko and US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen.

A Unita spokesman said the rebels' foreign affairs chief, Mr Tony da Costa Fernandes, was due here today to hand over the proposals on the negotiating process. — Sapa-Reuter

# South African capital looks toward Angola

By EDDIE KOCH

SOUTH African businessmen are casting their eyes westwards, to Angola where a pending peace settlement between the MPLA government and Unita rebels promises to open a lucrative market for investment and trade. *W/Mail 1815-24151910*

"It's all very sensitive and still a very tender line of communication," says Bill Gresty, a consultant who specialises in exploring business opportunities in Angola.

But a number of companies — including giants like De Beers, Premier International, Anglo Vaal Industries and Shell South Africa — have launched a serious initiative to take advantage of new business initiatives in Angola.

De Beers chairman Nicky Oppenheimer made the trek to Luanda in the middle of last year. He clinched an agreement with Endiama, the Angolan government's diamond marketing arm, to explore the possibility of jointly mining the country's gem-rich Kimberlite deposits.

The Angolans, who produce about one million carats of gem-quality diamonds a year, also agreed to join the Central Selling Organisation (CSO) — the international marketing cartel that is controlled by De Beers.

Following in Oppenheimer's footsteps are Premier, Shell and Anglo Vaal Industries who have all begun to look very seriously at investing in the war-torn country once the conflict stops.

It is reported that manufacturers of heavy mining equipment and trucks are discussing contracts to supply De Beers with the hardware needed for its mining operations. "We are interested in the same kinds of involvement that we have in other parts of Africa," Premier MD Katerina Yiannakis told the *Weekly Mail*. "This includes food exports and the rehabilitation of existing industrial infrastructure."

Peter Hugo, Shell's marketing manager for lubricants, says Shell is ready to begin exporting lubricants to Angola, a major exporter of crude oil, when the conditions are right.

And Anglo Vaal Industry subsidiaries — Becketts, Bakers' Biscuits and Irwin and Johnson — are reported to be extremely interested in Angola's food market and the extremely rich supply of fish off its coast.

"The big attraction is that the Angolan government is desperate for basic commodities such as clothing and simple foodstuffs to feed its people," says Gresty. "Unlike other African states it has the ability to pay and has allocated 10 percent of its oil revenue to purchase these goods."

Most of the business representatives interviewed by the *Weekly Mail* stressed that their plans for a drive into Angola are still in early and delicate stages.

The issues that need to be sorted out are twofold: security and sanctions. "There has to be a guarantee of security before business of any sort will go there in a big way," says De Beers representative Neville Huxham.

The Angolan government, while it is reportedly keen to establish informal contact with South African capitalists, at this stage is still bound by the official embargo on economic dealings with South Africa.

But while everyone connected to the business foray into Angola stresses that they are moving cautiously and slowly, the *Weekly Mail* is informed that some of the projects are well beyond the planning stages.

South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) is said by some of those involved to have adopted a novel line on the issue. In contrast to the pattern in Mozambique, where South African capital flowed in in an ad hoc way, DFA is asking entrepreneurs to hold fire until a peace settlement is firmly in place.

W/M and 18/57-24/890.

# No clear victors in the battle for Mavinga

The battle for Mavinga has taken a heavy toll on both Unita and Angolan government forces. **JULIAN BORGER** reports (S)

JUST outside Mavinga in the south-east of Angola, the dry forest gives way to what appears, at first glance, to be a huge, deserted building site. The few trees left standing have been reduced to burnt stumps and the sand below has been churned up into a maze of trenches and earthworks. In place of cranes and bulldozers, however, the landscape is littered with the wreckage from tanks, armoured cars and countless other pieces of military hardware.

The Angolan army (Fapla) and Unita rebels fought a pitched battle here earlier this month, only a fortnight after exploratory peace talks between the two sides had been held in Portugal.

The struggle was over the Unita base at Mavinga and its airstrip, which would have been crucial to the government's ability to threaten the Unita headquarters at Jamba some 200km further to the south-east, allowing its air force to launch sustained bombing raids in preparation for a ground attack.

The runway is now unusable; pockmarked with craters at regular intervals along its entire length. Unita officers say they blew it up in January when Fapla crossed the nearby Lomba River and it looked as though Mavinga might fall.



Battlefield ... Unita soldiers look over the remains of a Soviet-built armoured personnel carrier which they destroyed earlier this month in heavy fighting with government forces in south-east Angola

Units took journalists to the battlefield this week to back up their claims to have held on to Mavinga and to have also pushed Fapla back virtually to where it began its offensive on the south-east last December, the garrison at Cuito Cuanavale.

The government in Luanda acknowledged earlier this month that its forces had withdrawn, but claimed that this was done to create a positive atmosphere for peace talks. Unita leader Jonas Savimbi had recently demanded Fapla's withdrawal to Cuito Cuanavale as a precondition to agreeing to a ceasefire.

Units are understandably keen to portray the withdrawal as a rout of the government's troops, claiming

Fapla lost over 1 000 men during the offensive. The rebels have issued a number of balance sheets for the campaign, which are quite literally one-sided, giving figures for Fapla losses alone.

The battle for Mavinga, however, has clearly taken a heavy toll on Unita and the government, and significant compromises have been made from both sides' negotiating positions in the last few months.

The biggest concessions to date have come from President Eduardo dos Santos, who has dropped his earlier insistence that Savimbi go into temporary exile for a two year cooling-off period after a ceasefire, and whose ruling party, the MPLA, is

rapidly moving towards abandoning the one-party system, which Unita has hitherto refused to accept.

The greatest remaining obstacle to progress in the present round of peace talks is Savimbi's refusal to recognise the legitimacy of the MPLA government on the grounds that it came to power at independence in 1975 by force of arms with Cuban assistance.

The Unita leader restated this position at a press conference earlier this week in a bunker at Mavinga. "People are putting pressure on us," he said, "but we refuse. The soldiers refuse, the officers refuse, the rank and file of Unita refuse."

Savimbi expressed hopes, however-

er, that direct talks could be reconvened over the next few weeks and left a number of doors open for the government.

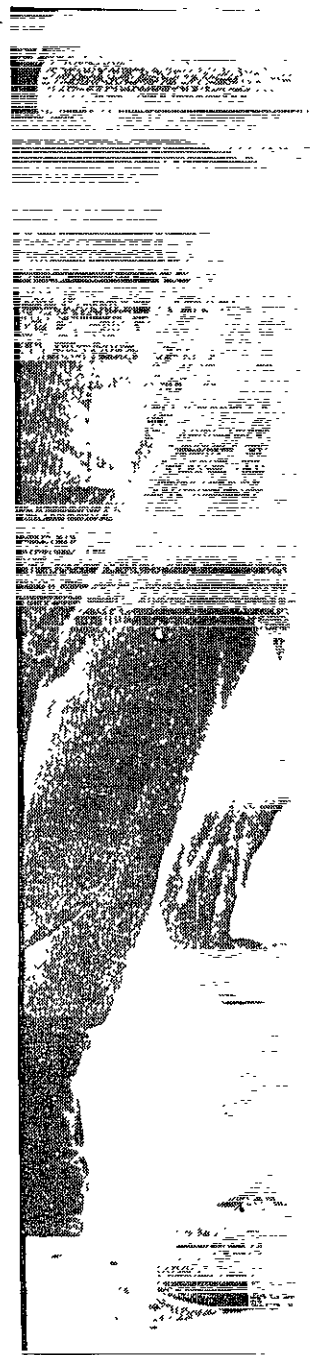
He conceded recognition of Dos Santos as head of state, arguing that such a concession did not entail accepting the legitimacy of the government's legal and political machinery.

He also suggested that he would recognise the government if the MPLA demonstrate, in their forthcoming party congress, that they are committed to a pluralist democracy, by unbanning opposition and announcing a date for general elections. "If they are really serious," Savimbi said, "then why not?"

Pictures: AP



**VICTORS:** Unita soldiers stand tall at the display of prisoners following the battle over Mavinga . . . but next month they could just as easily be fighting for the MPLA.



**VANQUISHED:** A young 16 by the first side to sw-

## The young victims of Angola's s-

**LIKUWA** — The name is likely to be Joao, Antonio, Francisco or Manuel, possibly even Maria or Teresa.

And while they might look only 12 or 13, they say they are 21.

"They" are the "soldiers" fighting the Angolan civil war and they could be dressed in either the khaki-and-green camouflage of Fapla or the olive green of Fala — respective military wings of the MPLA

government and the Unita rebels.

Born in one of the countless villages of Angola, such a boy's fate probably depended only on whether an MPLA or a Unita patrol was first through his village after his 16th birthday.

But now he's in the army. Training is brief, to the point of non-existence, and he is on the front-line. Often, he is a prisoner soon after-

**KEN VERNON**  
African News Service

wards. A few months of training and the uniform may change and he is on the front-line again — on the other side.

It's impossible not to be cynical about the ideological devotion of the rank and file fighting in the Angolan

civil war. The "soldiers" are young.

Once again, bewilderment is the main emotion. Fapla prisoners disappeared last week, in the wake of the battle for Mavinga.

One admitted he was captured by Unita. He said they were proud of him. Speaking through

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MPLA prisoner of war. He was probably recruited at  
 through his village. ● Photographs: Sean Woods.

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 he and his co-pilot immediately  
 began to walk towards Unita lines  
 because he was sure they would  
 treat him better than his comrades.  
 He was proud to be with Unita  
 now, he said, even as a prisoner.

CONCLUSION

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# Namibia, Angola in security agreement

Own Correspondent

WINDHOEK. — Namibia and Angola have signed a bilateral agreement to establish a Joint Commission on security to operate along their common border.

This was disclosed in a joint communique released here yesterday by visiting Angolan Defence Minister Lieutenant-General Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale and Namibian Home Affairs Minister Mr Hifikepunye Pohamba.

Armed banditry has been on the increase in the northern border area of Namibia with former members of the South West African Territorial Force (SWATF), Swapo, Koevoet and Unita rebels all having been blamed.

The ministers, however, blamed Unita for acts of banditry on both sides of the border.



Positive appreciation of FW's reforms

# Winds of peace are blowing strongly

Sowetan 23/5/90



Windhoek - The Angolans came to Namibia with an insistent message: Peace across the sub-continent.

A high-level delegation, led by the Minister of Defence, Lieutenant-General Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale, signed agreements, traded brotherly speeches and embraced former comrades-in-arms in their new sister republic during their visit last week.

In speeches and at official receptions, peace was the subject; the vision: a network of cooperation spanning southern Africa.

Notable in speeches and interviews was not only the frequency with which South Africa was mentioned but also the conciliatory tone, underpinned by a repeated emphasis on sub-continental cooperation and development.

Referring to South Africans, Tonha said in an interview: "They are all Africans and we all have to contribute to eradicating apartheid and discrimination now. That date is not far away."

## Apartheid

"I am sure the present process in South Africa will culminate in justice and when apartheid disappears, we will all be able to utilise our resources and make a better Africa."

The general said South Africa's role in the Angolan peace process was not yet an active one.

"They have manifested that they want to cooperate to find peace. They have tried tentatively. Pik Botha was in Luanda and conveyed some of the South African government's viewpoints. Until now we have not seen any good work done or any positive results. But we believe in the near future this can happen."

Asked whether Angola would value South Africa's cooperation, the general replied: "Yes, of course. This is in the interest of all of us."

"Considering that South Africa is a technologically and industrially advanced country, all the

A positive appreciation of President de Klerk's reform initiatives in South Africa and a strong desire for peace and cooperation in the sub-continent were expressed by an official Angolan delegation that visited Namibia, reports Dale Lautenbach of Sowetan Africa News Service.

countries in the region are interested to negotiate cooperation with South Africa - if it eradicates apartheid. We are satisfied with the changes that are taking place.

"We are convinced that President de Klerk is going to find some difficulties but they still have to fight hard. He has to continue, he has no alternative to finding a society in which everyone can cooperate."

## Welcome

"If South Africa stops supporting Unita - and we believe they are because they are forced by America to do so - and they eradicate apartheid, they are welcome."

Welcome, he meant, in the Southern African family. And this has been a common theme in conversations across a wide spectrum recently with all the various delegations and think-tankers coming through the Namibian capital in the wake of independence.

Southern African Development Coordinating Conference officials, particularly, have been talking of economic union with a glint of fervour in their eyes.

Tonha spoke insistently of ending the 16-year-old civil war in Angola and of "receiving Unita supporters into the total Angolan population to contribute towards the reconstruction of the country."

Asked whether the Fapla withdrawal from Mavinga was a military response or a political strategy, the general said Unita had been using Mavinga as a depot and transit area for channelling its weapons to the centre and north of Angola and it was important to destroy the infra-

structure used by Unita for this purpose.

Having accomplished this task on February 2, Fapla had withdrawn.

The claimed defeat of Fapla at Mavinga was Unita propaganda, the general said.

Asked whether the controversy over Mavinga would prejudice the delicate peace talks after the first direct MPLA-Unita contact held at Evora in Portugal on April 24 and 25, the general replied to the contrary.

He said the Unita leader, Jonas Savimbi, had promised not to attack Fapla troops in the course of the withdrawal.

## Fighting

"Now his latest propaganda is that there was furious fighting for six days which forced the government to withdraw. Enemy propaganda is one thing, reality another. We have always been willing to withdraw from Mavinga to facilitate negotiations."

"Since we have withdrawn this will be a positive influence on talks ... if they (Unita) are serious."

Of Savimbi's role in the peace process, Tonha said: "I think the peace plan we have presented is clear and we will not give Savimbi special treatment."

"If he accepts the programme that is established, we will treat him like any other Angolan."

The general rejected speculation here that the Namibian army might operate against Unita from the south to repay the aid given by the Angolan government to Swapo during the struggle for Namibian liberation.

Swapo owed the Angolans no war debt to be paid in kind, he said.

A Fapla base on Namibian soil then?

"Namibia is a sovereign state and the utilisation of Namibian territory by the Angolans is up to the Namibians to decide," Tonha replied.

"There are certain universal principles which we cannot violate."

Namibian Defence Minister Peter Mueshifhange said that the Angolan delegation were in Windhoek not to sign joint military operational agreements but agreements on establishing border security.

## Evolution

Bearing in mind that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos introduced thoughts of "an evolution to a multi-party system" late last year, what about the prospect of Savimbi contesting an election?

The general held his line: "When we have established the conditions for a multi-party system, which is one of the aspects of peace, then of course all parties are free to participate - including Savimbi."

# Battered and beleaguered <sup>(5)</sup> Luanda is running out of time

W/Mar 25/5 - 31/5/90

JONAS SAVIMBI's Unita rebels have gained control of a large north-eastern area in Angola and appear poised to close in on Luanda from the north and the south.

This has led to increased pressure on the Angolan government to revive negotiations.

The government's military situation in northern Angola has deteriorated over the past six months to a crisis level. Fierce fighting continues in the southern region around Mavinga, and Unita has stepped up its attacks from its new base in the north-east along the border with Zaire.

Additional headaches for President Jose Eduardo dos Santos are power and water shortages in Luanda itself, caused by Unita sabotage.

The MPLA government has accused South Africa, the United States and Zaire of plotting a coup with Unita.

"The Angolan government has no doubt that South Africa, Zaire and the United States of America have been working together in a conspiracy against the Peoples' Republic of Angola with the aim of toppling its government," said a statement issued by the Angolan embassy in Harare.

The Angolan statement accused the South African government of supplying Unita with all the fuel it has been using in the conflict.

"For the Angolan government, South Africa's renewed interventionist activities in Angola could imply that it is not interested in resolving the Angolan conflict," said the statement.

The statement also rejected Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko as a mediator in the conflict, saying that "from now direct talks will be the way in which Angolans will resolve their problems. Indeed it seems to us that it is the only way to guarantee the removal of external interference and an internationalisation of the conflict."

A United States embassy spokesman in Harare confirmed that US assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen recently met Mobutu and Savimbi in Kinshasa. The spokesman denied that the meeting was to plan a coup.

"Our policy is that we have constantly worked for national reconciliation in Angola, and we have repeatedly said that a military solution is impossible," he said.

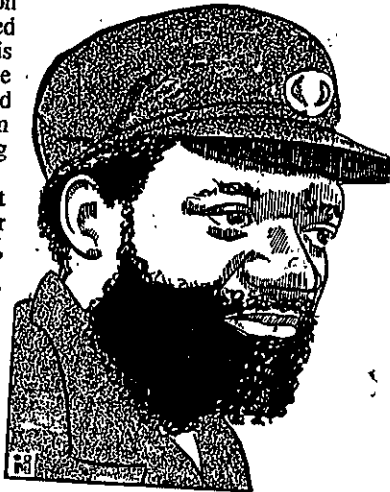
"The solution to the conflict can only come from negotiations. We still stand by the need for both sides to come together and resolve the issues."

Time may be running out for the Dos Santos government to negotiate from a position of strength, especially because of Unita's success in establishing a base of operations in the north.

Unita has wrested control from the government of a large, populous area in north-eastern Angola, according to a report by the Harare-based Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC).

The new Unita zone stretches in a vast half-circle facing the Atlantic

*The Angolan government is being battered militarily and it looks like the time for talks is near.* **ANDREW MELDRUM** reports



Jonas Savimbi

25km inside Angola at Quimbele. The rebels move freely into Zaire to get supplies from a ring of five bases across the border, stretching from the north near Quimbele to the east near Luachirio bordering Angola's Lunda Norte Province, according to the SARDC report.

American supplies are flown into Zaire's Kamina airbase and are then distributed to the Zairean border camps to be picked up by the rebels, said the report.

Some roads in northern Angola are impassable because of the bad security situation and others are only travelled by military convoys.

Luanda residents are also suffering new consequences of the war. Many parts of the city are without running water, according to residents and for two weeks electric power has been rationed to evening hours as a result of sabotage.

Unita rebels are blamed for the destruction in April of 26 of the 75 pylons linking the capital to the power generator in Cassoalala, south-east of Luanda near Dondo, reports the SARDC.

A wave of urban bombs has also terrified Luanda.

With this worrying array of threats, the MPLA government's military position has declined considerably from two years ago when its air superiority beat back South African and Unita forces at Cuito Cuanavale.

"The government's situation is serious and it could easily get worse," said a diplomat in Harare. "The government has accepted that it must negotiate with Unita — now they must strike a deal with Unita while they still can."

Ocean from the Angola-Zaire border west of the Cuango River through the provinces of Uige and Malanje to the north of the Angolan town of Caombo.

This represents an economic as well as military loss for the government as the area contains large diamond deposits and valuable hard timber reserves and is a fertile area for growing coffee and other crops.

The forests are "virtually impenetrable", according to the SARDC, providing ideal sanctuary for the rebels. Unita's new base in the area is just

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# 'Foreign plot' to topple Angola govt

**HARARE.** — Angola's charge de affaires here yesterday accused "foreign agents", including South Africa, of planning a coup next summer to topple President José dos Santos's government, Ziana reported.

According to allegations made by Mr André Panzo at a press conference in the Zimbabwe capital, his government had uncovered the alleged plot. The plan to topple President Santos's government was hatched by the secret services of the United States, South Africa, Israel and Zaire, Mr Panzo claimed.

The plan — which was timed to last 48 hours — would result in the assassination of top government and ruling MPLA party members.

"Then certain Angolan personalities held to be neutral or independent would be chosen to form a transitional government, which would immediately contact Unita to conclude accords for peace and national reconciliation." — Sapa

rationalization programme.

**4 000 die of hunger**

*Copy sent 2/6/90* (5)

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Nearly 4 000 people died from malnutrition in the Benguela province in central Angola during the past four months, Angola's news agency Angop reports.

# The riddle of the Casspirs

All of a sudden  
Unita has 'lots'

By KEN VERNON

Weekend Argus Africa Service

JOHANNESBURG. — The Unita rebel movement in Angola has recently been seen for the first time to be using South African-made Casspirs, but there is a mystery over where the armoured troop carriers have come from.

Both the SADF and the Namibian police have denied that any of their Casspirs could have been supplied to Unita, although one source said "lots" were missing.

Up to 10 of the vehicles were seen by journalists on a recent trip to Unita-held territory around Mavinga in southeast Angola.

Unita's chief-of-staff and battlefield commander, General "Ben Ben" Pena, and the foreign secretary, General Tony Dacosta Fernandes, conducted journalists on a battlefield tour from a new-looking Casspir painted in similar colours to that of the infamous Koevoet unit.

On the return from the battlefield tour a convoy of six Casspirs was passed near the town of Mavinga, while outside the nearby Unita headquarters, three Casspirs painted in the khaki colours used by 101 Battalion were seen.

## "Only one vehicle"

When questioned later about the sudden appearance of Casspirs in his armoury, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said the organisation had been given five vehicles by South Africa before they were obliged to stop supplying Unita under the tripartite agreement with Angola and Cuba signed in 1988.

Earlier, another Unita officer had said the organisation had only one of the vehicles.

A high official in the Angolan government told me there were no reported instances of Unita having used Casspirs in the past, though the vehicles were well known from Koevoet and 101 Battalion operations.

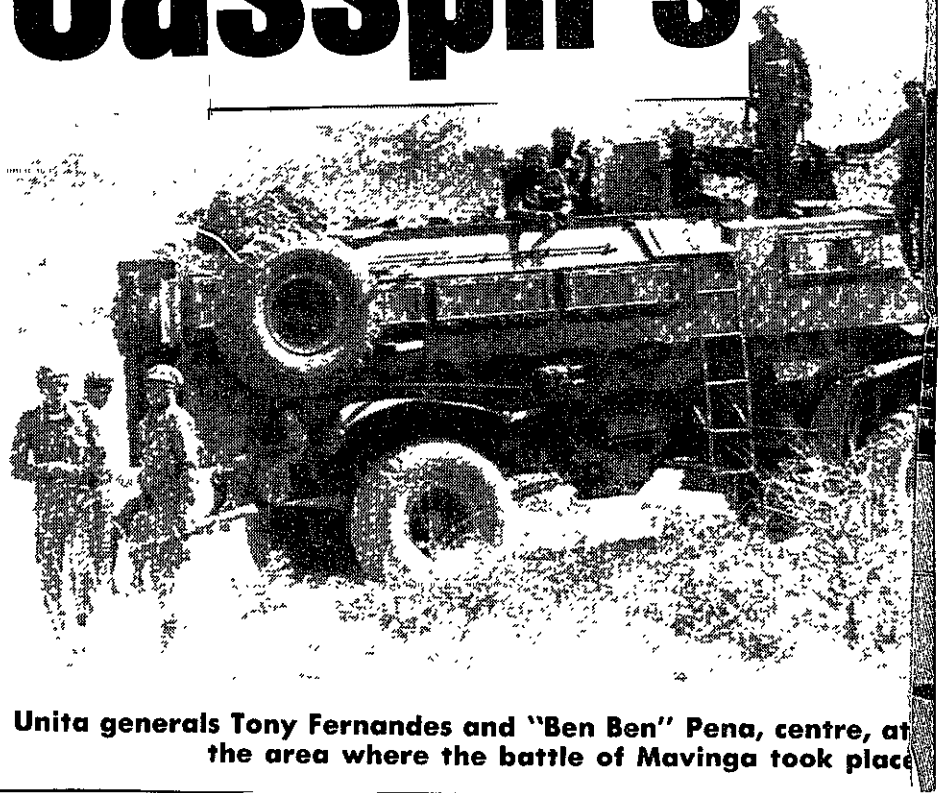
The Casspirs used by Koevoet during the Namibian border conflict were reportedly equipped with sophisticated navigation and communication equipment and the Unita generals on the battlefield tour appeared to be using their Casspir as a command vehicle.

That particular Casspir had been fitted with a large lounge chair, covered with a floral print cloth, as well as a small fan and curtains — presumably for the Dr Savimbi's comfort.

The police spokesman for the Namibian police, Brigadier Ziggi Eimbeck, said that all of the police Casspirs in Namibia at the time of independence had been accounted for. "There are no Namibian police Casspirs missing and all the others were taken back by South Africa in February this year" he said.

He said that rumours that many former Koevoet members had fled to Unita, taking their Casspirs with them, had been found upon investigation to be untrue. "A number of former Koevoet members did cross over to Unita, but none took Casspirs," he said.

# Casspirs



Unita generals Tony Fernandes and "Ben Ben" Pena, centre, at the area where the battle of Mavinga took place

However, this was denied by a former member of the SWA Police, who said that "lots" of Casspirs were missing, in the confusion surrounding independence.

But other South African military sources said that when the SADF withdrew from Angola in September 1988, it left behind "between 60 and 80 Casspirs" for Unita, but could not explain why they had not been seen until this year.

According to the book, *South Africa's Border War — 1966-1989* by military writer Willem Steenkamp, "101 Battalion was the only army unit to be issued with this highly effective police vehicle".

5 Dec 1990

# Casspirs spotted operating with Unita forces

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## Koevoet colours

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## KEN VERNON

while outside the nearby Unita headquarters, three Casspirs painted in the khaki colours used by 101 Battalion were seen.

When questioned later about the sudden appearance of Casspirs in his area, Unita leader General Jonas Savimbi said that the organisation had been given five vehicles by South Africa before they were obliged to stop supplying Unita under the tripartite agreement with Angola and Cuba signed in 1988.

A high official in the Angolan government told me that there were no reported instances of Unita having used Casspirs in the past, though the vehicles were well known from Koevoet and 101 Battalion operations. Both Koevoet and 101 Battalion often operated in southern Angola alongside Unita during the Namibian conflict.

The Casspirs used by Koevoet during the Namibian border conflict were reportedly equipped with sophisticated navigation and communication equipment and the Unita generals on the battlefield tour appeared to be using their vehicle as a command vehicle.

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## Lots' missing

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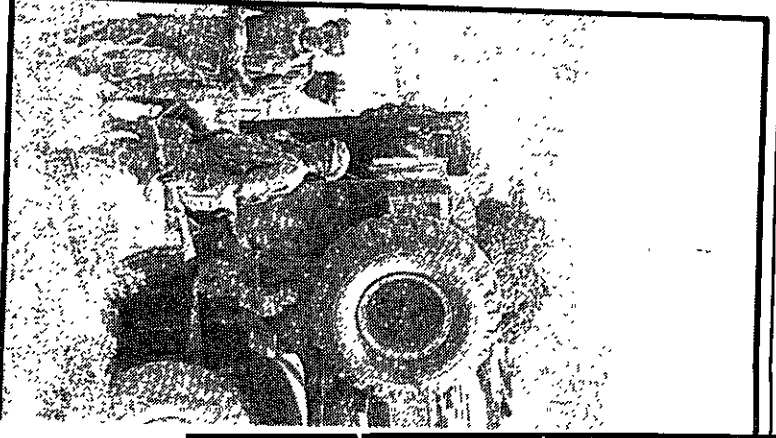
However this was denied by a former member of the SWA Police who said that "lots" of Casspirs had gone missing in the confusion surrounding independence.

An SADF spokesman denied that the defence force had supplied any equipment to Unita after the signing of the agreements between the governments of South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

"The defence force has rigidly complied with each and every stipulation of the agreements. It is known that the defence force left behind equipment for Unita when it withdrew from Angola."

Other sources said that, when the SADF withdrew from Angola in September 1988, it left behind "between 60 and 80 Casspirs" for Unita, but could not explain why they had not been seen until this year.

According to the book "South Africa's Border War — 1966-1989" by military authority Willem Steenkamp, "101 battalion was the only army unit to be issued with this highly effective police vehicle."



COMMAND VEHICLE: Unita generals in the area where

## MPLA troops mass for <sup>CAPL 7inf</sup> big offensive <sup>4/6/90</sup>

JOHANNESBURG. <sup>5</sup>

Angola's government forces are massing for a new large-scale military operation against Unita rebels in northern Angola, SABC's Africa desk reported yesterday.

Military sources told Unita's Kup news agency that large numbers of heavily-armed MPLA troops had been arriving in the northern provinces of Uige and Zaire on an almost daily basis.

The report comes in the wake of a large-scale MPLA military offensive against the Unita stronghold of Mavinga early last month which the rebels repelled.

The sources noted the military build-up contradicted the Luanda government's statements that it was ready to seek a peaceful solution to the civil war. — Sapa

# 35 000 Cubans have left Angola – report

## The Star's Africa News Service

About 35 000 Cuban soldiers have already left Angola under the tripartite agreements between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, reports the Angolan news agency, Angop.

In a report from Havana, where the joint verification committee of the three countries is meeting, Angop said yesterday that "some" 35 000 Cubans had left by May 31.

Under the agreements, 25 000 Cubans should have left Angola by April 1 and all Cuban troops must be out of Angola by July next year.

It was estimated that at the time the agreements were signed in 1988, 50 000 Cuban troops were stationed in Angola.

Angop quoted the head of the Angolan delegation to the Havana meeting, Lieutenant-General Franca Ndalu, as saying that the meeting would discuss "continued support to Unita rebels by the United States and South Africa".

## Accused

General Ndalu said support for Unita was being supplied via Zaire, but gave no other details.

The SA delegation to the talks is led by the director general of foreign affairs, Neil van Heerden. Angop reported that the com-

missioner of the diamond-rich northern province of Lunda Norte, Norberto dos Santos, had accused Zaire of allowing constant violations of Angolan airspace by planes travelling from Zaire.

Mr dos Santos was quoted as saying that the situation in Lunda Norte was "worrying" due to growing Unita attacks. US aid to the Angolan rebels is reported to be reaching Unita via Zaire.

A member of the ruling MPLA Party's central committee, Mr Joao Lourenco, said arms for Unita were being unloaded in the Zairese port of Matadi.

Mr Lourenco also accused the Ivory Coast and Morocco of supporting Unita.



# A battle was fought, but who won remains the question <sup>5</sup>

JUST one question remains unanswered after the battle for Mavinga — one of the biggest confrontations of the Angolan civil war that involved more than 30 000 men and billions of rands worth of hi-tech military hardware — who won?

That the question will probably remain forever unanswered goes a long way to explaining the difficulties of reporting on the 15 year long civil war being waged in the seemingly endless bushveld of Angola.

Both sides have claimed victory in the battle.

Both sides have produced for the world's press their heroes and their captives, their campaign "balance sheets" of enemy killed, wounded, captured and surrendered, as well as their inevitably modest tally of own losses all to conclusively "prove" that they won and the enemy lost.

The confrontation outside Mavinga was the culmination of a four-month push by a strong government armoured column into Unita's heartland in south-east Angola. Unita says the government called the campaign operation "final assault," but not surprisingly the government disagreed, saying its codename was operation "Zebra."

## 'Common cause'

For the first time in more than a decade, the government troops managed to cross the Lomba river, a natural barrier 20 kilometres north of the town, suffering, and causing, heavy casualties in the process.

So much is "common cause" as might be said in a court of law, but thereafter the maxim that: "In war, truth is the first casualty", becomes operative.

On February 2 the MPLA government claimed to have occupied Mavinga, a claim immediately denied by Unita. Western intelligence sources said that "parts" of the town were occupied by the opposing forces and that the fighting was continuing.

Only a month ago one of the largest battles of the Angolan civil war came to an end in the bush outside the tiny hamlet of Mavinga. For the first time the Angolan government army, Fapla, and the rebel Unita's armed wing, Fala, came to grips in a major battle unaided by foreign forces. KEN VERNON of the Argus Africa News Service looks at the difficulties of reporting on and analysing the conflict.

As a journalist who has been to Mavinga three times in the past year, I find the notion of two armies occupying different portions of the "town" of Mavinga little short of bizarre.

Mavinga consists of the remains of about ten houses, a small school and a town hall

Two warring armies might find it a trifle small for their liking.

Reports from the Luanda government that its forces had occupied both the town and its vital airstrip, just 500 metres from the tiny town centre, were shown to be false by a visit to the town two weeks ago.

The "captured" airstrip had been sabotaged by Unita — a fact now admitted by Luanda — while both the "town" and the Unita headquarters just north of the town were unchanged from my previous two visits.

## Disarray

If government troops did capture Mavinga and the Unita headquarters buildings they considerably left them just as they found them.

What is also "common cause" is that the government troops who were either in or near Mavinga are no longer there.

Luanda says the troops withdrew — after having "fulfilled with success their mission of sovereignty" in Mavinga — as a gesture of "peace and goodwill" towards Unita on the eve of possible negotiations.

Argus 5/6/90

Unita says instead they were routed in a climatic battle and fled in disarray.

The government says it killed 4 748 rebels for the loss of 67 of its own men. Unita says it killed 1 062 government troops but could not come up with an exact figure for their own losses, but guesstimated them at between 100 and 150.

A trip to the alleged final battlefield, a four square kilometre area littered with destroyed or abandoned military hardware and perforated with trenches and bunkers, did little to resolve the conundrum.

Did the government troops leave or were they thrown out? If they did capture Mavinga, why did they leave and why did they allow Unita to sabotage "their" air-strip? If, as Unita say, the government troops were short of food, water and diesel before their defeat, how did they manage to simply drive 300km back to their base at Cuito Cuanavale?

## Manipulation

Finally, in the end does it really matter?

A simple ground-rule for every journalist is to accept that both sides are lying — manipulation is the name of the game.

In the end what probably matters the most is that neither side can claim absolute victory. Old Africa hands have long said that both sides had needed to vindicate past propaganda by a battlefield confrontation without allies at their sides.

Previously, government hawks had said that only South Africa had kept them from razing Unita's capital at Jamba, while Unita boasted that only the Cubans and the Russians had denied them Luanda.

If both sides realise that military victory is impossible, and at the same time claim military victory, then strangely enough honour is maintained and a political solution becomes possible.

# The city that goes to war by night

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**LUANDA** - By day, life in Luanda has been much the same for 15 years: armed soldiers stand on street corners, women wait in line at dismal shops for the monthly rations of necessities, and everyone looks tired.

At night, war comes to the city, which less than a year ago was cautiously preparing for peace.

Four bombs have exploded in the capital this year. Most of Luanda has been dark after sundown since rebels sabotaged 44 high-voltage pylons east of Luanda in April. Sporadic gunfire can be heard until dawn.

## Sabotage

Guerilla sabotage has interrupted water supplies and delayed food shipments, sending prices soaring in bustling black markets that are much better supplied than state stores, where prices are fixed.

In April, the curfew began at midnight and most people ignored it. Now it starts at 9.30pm and is enforced by soldiers, who push curfew-breakers into vans and take them to police stations for the night.

Rebel leader Jonas Savimbi was angered by an army offensive deep into his southern strongholds early this year and has stepped up urban sabotage and bombings, despite new peace efforts that began in April. Most of the attacks have been in and around Luanda.

## Electricity

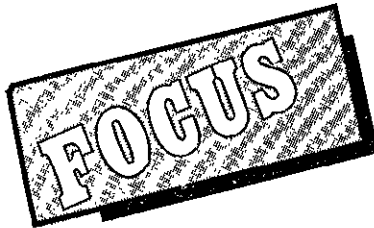
In the dusty suburb of Palanca, a young soldier who identified himself only as Ben leaned against the barred doors of a darkened cafe and switched off the regular "Good Morning, Combatant" programme on his transistor radio.

"It's not just that people are frightened to go out at night," he said. "There's no electricity, so there's nowhere to go."

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**Angola's civil war began as soon as it gained independence from Portugal in 1975 and fighting continues despite peace talks. Associated Press correspondent TONY SMITH travelled to Luanda and filed this report from the government side.**

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Bars and discos that provide Luandans with a weekend release from the war are becoming scarce.

Last year, new bars and nightclubs began to thrive after President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire brought Savimbi and Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Angola's president, together on June 22 and the two foes sealed a truce with a handshake.

## Compatriots

The ceasefire collapsed within days, however, and tentative peace talks broke down soon afterwards.

In April, low-level officials from both sides met in Portugal for the first discussions since then. Unita has called for a new truce, but government delegates say agreement on terms and a future agenda must come first.

Dos Santos' government, still avowedly Marxist and backed by an estimated 1.5 billion dollars a year in Soviet military aid, has hinted it might accept rebel demands for free multi-party elections, but only when peace is well established.

"The government doesn't want to prolong a pernicious war when political solutions are feasible among compatriots," Defense Minister General Pedro Maria Tonha said on television last month.

He said Operation Zebra, an offensive the government says captured a strategic airstrip on February 2 at Mavinga, which is 110 km south-east of Luanda, shows the army "has sufficient fighting power to silence Unita militarily".

Tonha spoke at a ceremony in southern Cuando-Cubango province, where he decorated soldiers who fought in the campaign.

On May 15, Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Furtado, Zebra's chief of staff, told foreign reporters visiting the south-eastern military base at Cuito Cuanavale his soldiers were withdrawing from Mavinga because it had "lost its strategic importance".

## Bombardment

A Defence Ministry statement in mid-May said Mavinga, some 145 km south of Cuito Cuanavale, was firmly under government control and that Dos Santos threatened to "strangle" the rebel headquarters at Jamba, further south, with long-range artillery bombardment.

UNITA claimed its fighters routed government troops well

north of the area last week, but Western diplomats in Lisbon, capital of Portugal, said intelligence reports gave no indication of such a battle.

Large troop movements through the Luanda airport support claims by Western sources that two of four government battalions from the Mavinga operation were being moved north to the new Cuanza-Bengo front, which starts about 55 km east of Luanda. It is commanded by General Antonio dos Santos Franca, who planned operation Zebra.

Military sources in Luanda say the estimated 2 000 Unita guerillas operating in small sabotage and ambush squads around the capital should be no match for government ground and air offensives.

## Fighting

Heavy fighting continues in the northern Uige, Zaire and Malanje provinces, near the border with Zaire, and rebels have attacked government units guarding foreign oil installations near the coastal city of Soyo, north of Luanda.

Also, Unita says it always can return to bush warfare, making hit-and-run attacks on areas under government control.

UN observers in Angola say more than 33 000 of the Cuban soldiers who helped fight the rebellion since it began in 1975 have returned home under US-brokered accords signed by Angola, Cuba and South Africa in December 1988. Cuba had about 50 000 military personnel in Angola when the withdrawal began.

Under the agreement, South Africa promised Namibia independence and an end to its military and logistical support for Unita.

The rebels still receive about \$50 million a year in US military aid, most of it funneled through Zaire. The State Department has pledged to continue assistance until peace is achieved. - Sapa-AP.

# Cuban troop withdrawal goes ahead on schedule

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HAVANA - Assurances had been given that Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola was proceeding on schedule, Director General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil Van Heerden said in a statement yesterday.

Speaking from the Cuban capital Havana, spokeswoman for Mr Van Heerden, Ms Alayne Reesberg, said that at the eighth ordinary meeting of the Joint Commission held on Monday in Havana, Cuba had assured the delegates that withdrawal of its troops from Angola would continue as scheduled despite increased activity by Unita rebels.

## Observers

The meeting was attended by delegations of the governments of Angola, Cuba and South Africa as members of the commission, and delegations from the USSR and the USA as observers.

Van Heerden described the meeting as successful.

During the meeting the accession of the government of Namibia as a full member of the Commission was formalised under the provisions of the Protocol of Brazzaville.

In a joint communique issued after the meeting, the delegates said different views and perceptions had been exchanged on the statement made by the Angolan delegation regarding the continued interference in its internal affairs. - Sapa.

...question of minority  
rights will be a key issue when obstacles to  
negotiation have been cleared away.  
...reports  
po sympathisers

## Angola to move troops as 'goodwill gesture' (S)

NEW YORK — Angola's UN envoy said on Tuesday Luanda was withdrawing its troops fighting Unita rebels in the southeast of the country as a goodwill gesture.

Ambassador Manuel Pedro Pacavira could not say how many men were involved.

But he told a news conference that, based on some indications that Unita was more receptive to peace moves, Angolan troops were being moved north.

He said the move was also partly in response to requests by the US, which supports Unita, for President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to show flexibility in helping end the 15-year-old civil war.

Pacavira said a similar gesture was made earlier this year when Angolan troops withdrew from the strategic town of Mavinga. *6/10am 11/6/90*

"In the next two or three weeks, a delegation from our government will meet again with a delegation of the opposition to discuss all questions concerning a ceasefire accord," he said, without giving details.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura announced the meeting would be in Portugal but he also gave no date, according to the Angolan News Agency (Angop) yesterday.

Pacavira said details of the Angolan move had been sent to the Portuguese government, which was organising the peace talks, as well as to the US, US congressional leaders, and other governments concerned with peace efforts.

The two warring parties met in Portugal in April for the first time for what Unita leader Jonas Savimbi described as "exploratory contacts".

The April meeting marked the first direct meeting between the MPLA government and Unita since the Gbadolite meeting in Zaire last June when agreement was reached on a ceasefire.

De Moura told journalists "the second meeting with Unita will also be secret in order to safeguard the interests of all concerned". — Sapa-Reuter, ANO.

# Angola govt brushes off Unita truce proposal

*CAP Times 11/6/90*

**LISBON** — Angola has brushed off a proposal by Unita rebels for a three-month truce while peace negotiations are held.

A statement by the Angolan embassy here did not explicitly accept or reject the suggestion.

It proposed instead that a permanent ceasefire should be discussed at the next round of peace talks, due to be held in Portugal before the end of June.

"The Angolan people want a lasting peace — not just provisional truces which could mean a desire to return to war again," it said.

The Unita proposal was made in a statement signed by its leader, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, and Unita military and political commanders. — Sapa-Reuter

LISBON. — Negotiators representing the Marxist MPLA government in Angola and Unita rebels have held a second round of secret talks here, which could lead to a new ceasefire in early July.

No details were immediately available but diplomats said the two sides, meeting under the auspices of Portugal, had discussed three fundamental issues: National elections, mutual recognition of the legitimacy of both sides and steps aimed at a lasting ceasefire.

● President George Bush's administration is asking Congress for an

## MPLA, <sup>CAN. Times</sup> 19/6/90 Unita meet a 2nd time

additional \$10million to \$15m in covert military aid to Unita.

Quoting unnamed administration and other sources, the Washington Post said yesterday the request apparently had been formally approved by the Senate and House intelligence committees last week. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

## Unita, Angolan govt in secret talks

LISBON — Angola's Marxist government and US-backed Unita rebels held secret talks at the weekend near Lisbon to discuss ending 15 years of civil war, Portuguese media said yesterday.

The two sides met at a military installation in the seaside suburb of Oeiras on Saturday and Sunday, to define political positions which would eventually lead to a ceasefire accord.

Sources close to the talks said the discussions focused on forging an agreement in principle to hold a general election and establish a multi-party system.

This was the second meeting between the two sides in three months to be hosted by Portugal, which ruled Angola as a colony until 1975.

Further negotiations are expected.

An Angolan Embassy spokesman, while declining to confirm the talks, emphasised secrecy was necessary for the delicate negotiations to succeed.

There was no immediate comment from Unita or Portuguese officials.

Exploratory contacts between Unita and the MPLA government were held in April in Portugal, but were officially confirmed only later.

Diplomats said the two sides were still

distrustful of each other, with Unita insisting on an immediate multi-party system and the government demanding recognition from the guerrillas.

But they noted that both sides were worn out from heavy fighting in recent months, especially in the north.

The talks are the first promising sign of a negotiated end to the conflict since the collapse of a short-lived verbal truce brokered by Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko last year.

The Washington Post reported yesterday that President George Bush's administration was asking congress for an additional \$10m to \$15m in covert military aid for Unita.

Quoting unnamed administration and other sources, the Post said the request apparently had been formally approved by the Senate and House intelligence committees last week.

Administration officials could not immediately be reached for comment.

Secretary of State James Baker told the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week administration officials had been holding "extensive discussions" with the Soviet Union on ways to end Angola's civil war. — Sapa-Reuter.

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# Unita halts peace talks

LISBON — The rebel movement Unita said yesterday it was suspending peace talks with the Angolan government until it had cleared up misunderstandings which arose during secret contacts in Portugal at the weekend. *Star 19/6/90* (5)

"Unita considers that these exploratory contacts should continue at a later date, when the misunderstandings that have arisen have been removed," the movement said in a statement issued by its Paris office.

Unita officials in Paris said it had been sent from the rebel movement's headquarters at Jamba, Angola.

"After two days of direct talks between Unita and the MPLA, under the auspices of the Portuguese government, Unita has decided to recall its delegation for consultations," the statement said, citing communications problems with Jamba.

Sources close to the talks said the discussions hinged on forging an agreement in principle to hold a general election and establish a multiparty system.

But they said there was contention over how to enforce a ceasefire, with Unita insisting on international supervision, and over a timetable for the gradual surrender of arms. — Sapa-Reuter.



# SA is not yet ready to abandon its old ally

While the African National Congress and other opponents of apartheid are campaigning for tougher sanctions against South Africa, the MPLA government in Angola is urging Pretoria to set up a trade mission in Luanda.

And, in an almost bizarre reversal of its search for acceptance in Africa, Pretoria is believed to be responding coolly to the Angolan overtures.

The reason, apparently, is that the South African Government sees more advantage at present in not accepting the offer than in accepting it.

For if it accepted the Angolan invitation, South Africa would have to abandon its old ally, the Unita rebel movement headed by Dr Jonas Savimbi. This Pretoria is not prepared to do, according to reliable accounts circulating here.

Abandoning Unita would expose South Africa to accusations of bad faith in its international alliances. And by weakening Unita's foreign support it could encourage the hardliners in Luanda who are against negotiating a settlement with Unita.

## Reconciliation

Pretoria's prime concern in Angola at present is helping to bring about a reconciliation of the warring parties, which would in turn clear the way to the rebuilding of the wrecked but still potentially rich economy.

From this South Africa would hope to gain substantial benefits, both in trade and politically.

Acceptance of the Luanda overtures at this stage would offer only the political benefit that would come from being openly accepted by another African country.

The MPLA government is thought by observers to want a South African trade mission in Luanda not only to improve its access to South African goods and services but also to end what it apparently believes is continued material support for Unita from the Republic.

Pretoria has said it is no longer giving military aid to Unita.

According to the Lisbon newsletter, InformAfrica, however, President dos Santos of Angola complained to President de Klerk when they met in Windhoek at Namibian inde-

In a reversal of its search for African acceptance, Pretoria is believed to be responding coolly to overtures from Luanda. GERALD L'ANGE of the Star's Africa News Service reports.

pendence that South Africa was still supplying the rebels with food, clothing and medicine.

The newsletter claimed Pretoria was also still supplying them with fuel, but did not say how this was accomplished after South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia deprived it of direct access to the rebels.

Pretoria is believed to be actively involved in the Angolan peace efforts — but as a facilitator of the Portuguese initiative rather than on its own.

A tentative start has been made, with direct talks between the MPLA and Unita in Portugal. They are due to resume early next month.

## Obstacle

A major obstacle appears, however, to be the inability of the MPLA to agree on a stance because of the continuing conflict between the hawks in the government who favour a military solution and the doves who want negotiation.

This situation is aggravated by the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are continuing to supply arms to Unita and the MPLA respectively. The Soviets are thought to be willing to stop the traffic but only if the Americans do the same.

## Withdrawal

The Americans are believed to take the attitude that they must be allowed to give Unita something like military parity with the MPLA before arms supplies are stopped.

The issue is being discussed by the superpowers and may be resolved, but until this happens it will probably continue to hamper the Angolan peace effort.

In the meantime the Cuban troop withdrawal, which was ahead of schedule, is reported to have been slowed, apparently to signal Havana's displeasure at the continuing attacks on Cuban personnel by Unita rebels. There is no suggestion, however, that Cuba will halt the withdrawal.



# 'Stop this civil war'

## Angolan president calls for ceasefire to stop 'great suffering

From DALE LAUTENBACH

Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola has renewed his appeal for an end to the bloody civil war in his country.

He urged this after the latest peace talks with Unita stalled in Portugal earlier this week.

"The Angolan people are suffering a great deal," said Mr Dos Santos in an exclusive interview with The Argus yesterday, his first with South African journalists visiting Angola.

Expressing great disappointment, Mr Dos Santos said that the Unita delegation to the talks had requested a postponement and had not been ready to discuss the ceasefire agreement Angola hoped to reach.

"They said they needed to have consultation. However, we do not know the reason behind the postponement.

"We regret that no decision has been taken because the Angolan people are suffering a great deal."

He cautioned Unita not to exploit this latest stalemate with an increase in its military activities. Any such attempt

would be "frustrated by an energetic reply from our armed forces".

Mr Dos Santos said no date had been established for the resumption of talks but he expected it would be some time next month.

He praised Portugal's "good offices" in hosting and helping to arrange the series of face-to-face encounters between his government and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels.

Mr Dos Santos did not identify any way in which South Africa might be of direct assistance in the resolution of Angola's internal conflict.

### Destabilisation

He did suggest, however, that President F W de Klerk might "use all his capabilities to hinder" those conservative South African forces which might be involved in the continued destabilisation of Angola.

"There are forces within South Africa that are not making the process of peace easy (and which are) complicating the task of President De Klerk by opposing his policy of a peaceful settlement of the

problems of apartheid," he said.

Mr Dos Santos said these were "conservative forces" which "may have some influence in the defence and security forces in South Africa".

"We are living through a new era in our region — that stage of confrontation is part of the past now," he said, praising Mr De Klerk's "noble" reform efforts. He said he "strongly" endorsed Mr Nelson Mandela's decision to lead the African National Congress into negotiations with Pretoria.

Mr Dos Santos, who met Mr De Klerk for the first time in Windhoek on the occasion of Namibia's independence on March 21, said he hoped for continued dialogue with South Africa and described his counterpart as a man of "integrity" and "open to discussion".

He spoke with enthusiasm of regional co-operation and the role of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) in uniting a Southern Africa challenged by other powerful regional economic groupings, particularly the European Community.

Argus  
21/10/80  
(S)

# Dos Santos supports trade ties with SA

By Dale Lautenbach,  
The Star's Africa News Service

LUANDA — President José Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has given open support for trade links with South Africa and has praised President de Klerk's "noble" reform initiatives.

He has also endorsed a major role for a post-apartheid South Africa in a southern African economic grouping that would help the region compete with other trading blocs.

President dos Santos was speaking in an exclusive interview with The Star's Africa News Service in which he renewed his appeal for an end to the bloody civil war in Angola.

He did not identify any way in which South Africa might be of direct assistance in helping end the war.

He did suggest, though, that President de Klerk might "use all his capabilities to hinder those conservative South African forces which might be involved in the continued destabilisation of Angola.

## Complicating

"There are forces within South Africa that are not making the process of peace easy (and which are) complicating the task of President de Klerk by opposing his policy of a peaceful settlement of the problems of apartheid.

"We are living through a new era in our region — the stage of confrontation is part of the past now," he said, praising Mr de Klerk's "noble" reform efforts and "strongly" endorsing Nelson Mandela's decision to lead the ANC into negotiations with Pretoria.

President dos Santos described Mr de Klerk "as a man of integrity who was open to discussion."

He added that his government accepted the idea of a general election in principle and had proposed a referendum in which the people would decide between a one-party or multiparty state. The political role of Unita would be put to the vote.

## Angola shakes up its economic team

Star 2/1/90

(5)

LISBON — Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos, shaking up his government's economic team, has sworn in new ministers of finance and planning, and made several other changes, the official news agency Angop said yesterday.

The new appointments include both the governor and deputy governor of the war-ravaged African country's central bank, the Banco Nacional de Angola, Angop, monitored in Lisbon, said.

In a speech at the swearing-in ceremony on Monday, Mr Dos Santos denounced official corruption and inefficiency.

He also named a new information minister and deputy minister, saying more open government would help counter hostile propaganda from Western-backed rebels.

Mr Dos Santos' ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has moved away

from its original Marxist economic policy and sought to encourage foreign investment.

Two rounds of government-rebel talks to end the 15-year-old civil war, which has devastated the potentially rich country, have been held in Portugal in the past few weeks.

Aguinaldo Jaime was sworn in as finance minister, Fernando Van-Dunem as planning minister and Boaventura da Silva Cardoso as information minister. Angop did not say if Van-Dunem was relinquishing his previous portfolio, justice.

The new central bank governor, whose appointment was announced separately, will be deputy governor Pedro Cunha Neto. Joao Baptista Madeira Torres was appointed deputy governor.

Dos Santos also appointed several other deputy ministers and secretaries of state. — Sapa-Reuter

## CP warns Govt of threat to Unita forces

The Conservative Party has claimed Angolan government Fapla forces are moving south towards Rundu on the Angola-Namibia border, and pose a threat to Unita.

Koos van der Merwe, CP MP for Overvaal, said in a statement last night that the CP had called on the Government to protect Unita in the interests of peace in the region.

The Department of Foreign Affairs last night said that it had been unable to confirm the claims made by Mr van der Merwe, that Angolan government Fapla troops were at Rundu in northern Namibia.

A spokesman for the department said in Pretoria that similar rumours had done the rounds in the past and had been shown to be unfounded.

He said that from the nature of its duties, the South African mission in Namibia remained aware of developments in the country.

A newspaper report claimed that the air base at Rundu, which had been used previously by the South African Defence Force, could enable Fapla to strike at the Unita movement in Angola with Mig 23 military aircraft. — Sapa.

# Angola signals support for SA trade links <sup>5/22/90</sup> (5)

By Dale Lautenbach,  
The Star's Africa  
News Service

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola has given open support for trade links with South Africa and praised President de Klerk's "noble" reform initiatives.

He has also endorsed a major role for a post-apartheid South Africa in a southern African economic grouping that would help the region compete with other trading blocs.

President dos Santos was speaking in an exclusive interview with The Star's Africa News Service. He renewed his appeal for an end to the bloody civil war in Angola.

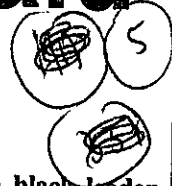
He hoped President de Klerk might "hinder" those conservative South African forces which might be involved in the continued destabilisation of Angola.

"We are living through a new era in our region. The stage of confrontation is part of the past now," he said, praising Mr de Klerk's reform efforts and endorsing Nelson Mandela's decision to lead the ANC into negotiations with the Government.

His government accepted the idea of a general election and had proposed a referendum in which Angolans would decide between a one-party or multiparty state. The role of Unita would be put to the vote.

# Mandela slams US aid for the Unita rebels

Sowetan 26/6/90



WASHINGTON - South African black leader Nelson Mandela, in his first major criticism of Washington since beginning a triumphant US tour, condemned the United States on Sunday for supporting rebels fighting to topple the Angolan government.

Mandela said both nations were obliged to respect the independence and sovereignty of Angola and not throw their weight behind rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, whose group known as Unita, has been fighting the Leftist Angola government since independence.

"The United States of America and South Africa are the main countries that supported Savimbi," he told a news conference for African-American media.

"We strongly condemn this because ... independent countries should respect the political sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and no assistance should be rendered to Savimbi," he said.

Mandela said the subject had not come up during his current discussions with the South African President FW de Klerk but if his African National Congress and

the Government reached a settlement "we will not tolerate that South Africa should be involved in operations of this nature."

The United States has stepped up aid to Savimbi in recent years following South Africa's announced withdrawal of military support, funnelling many of the weapons through Zaire.

## Oil

On the other hand US oil companies work closely with the Angolan government in extracting oil from Cabinda province.

On the eve of his visit to President George Bush, Mandela would not say what he planned to discuss or whether Angola would be included in the meeting the White House says will be to review negotiations between the ANC and the South African government and how the US will support these talks. - Sapa-Reuter.

# 'Angola wants SA trade'

Argus 26/6/90

**T**HE exclusive Argus interview with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola came at an auspicious time: he had just announced a Cabinet reshuffle, unambiguously aimed at giving muscle to his country's economic reform programme.

He used the opportunity of the announcement to address the nation with a stern warning against what he acknowledged as corruption in the ranks of government. It would be rooted out as Angola prepared for peace and the possibility of sweeping changes in its political life.

Much of what the President said echoed interviews we had had with numerous members of his government in the preceding days. Common themes were an irreversible desire to transform the economy and to open it to market forces for the first time since independence in 1975, an overwhelming tiredness with the intractable civil war and thereby a genuine desire to reach a resolution and an unexpected eagerness to set up links with South Africa, sooner rather than later.

## Economic reforms:

We asked President dos Santos what vision he had for Angola and the entire sub-continent once peace had been established and political solutions found for the various conflicts.

"The next main task will be national reconstruction," he said. "Economic and social reconstruction and development. And in that view all countries will have something to offer each other. We already have an instrument of regional co-operation in SADCC (Southern African Development Coordinating Conference) ... that must improve so we can avail ourselves of the economic potential, the technological and human potential that our region has. And in that context South Africa has an important role to play."

Was South Africa's role in this economic development an active one?

"That's exactly what I'm trying to say. We are waiting for that moment when South Africa will free itself from apartheid to break (its) international isolation. A non-racial and democratic South Africa will be an integral part of these institutions in our region (SADCC and others). We also have the Organisation of African Unity and other organisations ..."

(It's worth an aside that in an amusing interchange over dinner with our hosts one night we quizzed new deputy Minister of Information Joao Miranda, another of the President's new men, on South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha. What did he think of him? Mr Miranda laughed mischievously: "OAU secretary general in five year's time.")

## EXCLUSIVE: INTERVIEW with PRESIDENT dos SANTOS OF ANGOLA

An economic and financial recovery programme (known by its Portuguese acronym SEF) was launched in Angola three years ago but the government acknowledges it has made little significant progress so far. We asked President dos Santos whether his Cabinet reshuffle, including new ministers of finance and planning, the former a 36-year old non-party member best described as a technocrat, was designed to give impetus to this programme.

"Yes, the aim is to give an impulse to the execution of the economic and financial recovery. It will be an instrument for the new policy, to conduct the reforms. On the other hand it is also to reinforce state discipline and to organise public administration to fight corruption."

Was corruption a problem then?

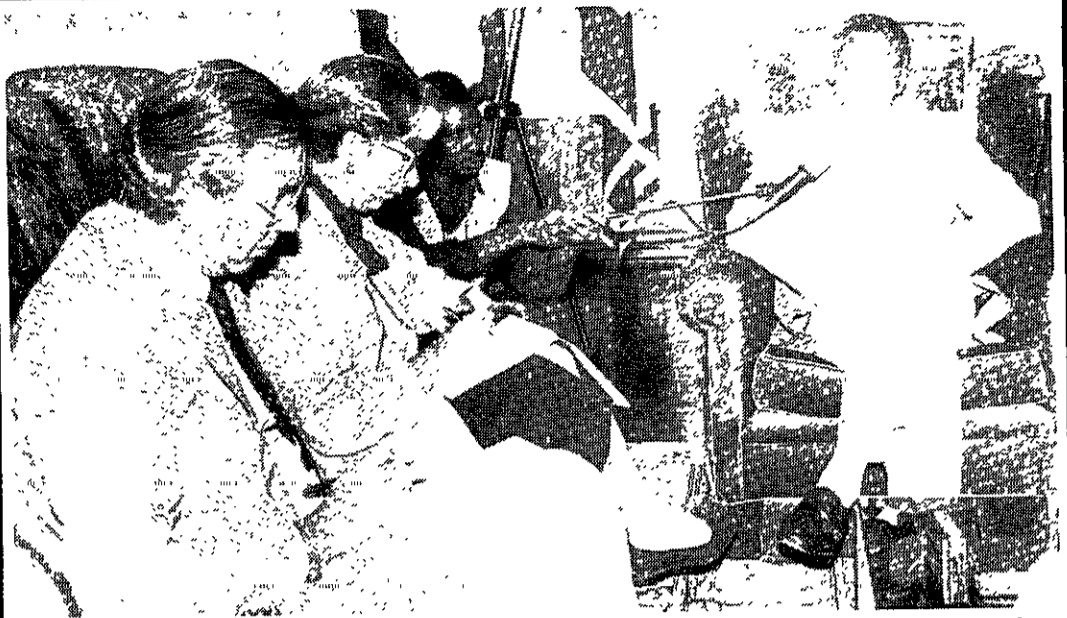
"Yes — very serious, not only in Angola but in the whole of Africa ... or maybe I should say black Africa. And this is something which has been noted by the international financial institutions, by the European countries, by the Americans. African states have always been criticised for the corruption phenomenon. We want to fight this problem. This is our intention and we hope we will manage."

President dos Santos said the Angolan population itself had been critical of corruption among its leaders. "They are hoping for measures (to fight this) and we say we agree."

A major component of the economic restructuring programme is to make Angola a more attractive prospect for foreign investment. Investors no longer face nationalisation and apart from the oil and mining sectors, companies may be 100 percent privately owned. Angola's new membership of the World Bank also offers guarantees to offset the risks of investment in such an unstable environment.

In all conversations about Angola's changing economic scene and its intended shift to a market economy, our Angolan hosts spoke with unbridled enthusiasm about trade links with South Africa. The President's response was no different.

"Yes, it is our wish to develop trade exchange with South Africa and to carry out these links we hope that there



ARGUS editor ANDREW DRYSDALE and DALE LAUTENBACH, Argus Africa News Service correspondent, interviewed Angola's President José Eduardo dos Santos at the presidential complex near Luanda last week. IT was the president's first formal meeting with South African journalists in Angola.

The interview (summarised alongside) covered events in strife-torn Angola, southern African affairs, his recent meeting with President De Klerk, bilateral relations with South Africa, and international perspectives. The interview was conducted through an interpreter.

are steps taken in the political field in South Africa. We are also making important steps in order to achieve peace.

"Even at this very moment some economic relations (with South Africa) have already started. They are still very weak but I believe they will increase as the political process progresses in South Africa as well as in Angola when we reach peace and stability."

## SA's reform process:

President dos Santos met his South African counterpart for the first time in Windhoek on March 21 on the occasion of Namibia's independence.

"He's a person that discusses problems openly. Naturally we didn't solve all the problems. It was an opportunity for us to get to know each other. I feel he has an important role to play in South Africa as well as in our region."

"We know that he is a man of integrity and that he wants to carry out with success the programme he has outlined ... a united non-racial South Africa with peace and stability in the region as well as co-operation."

"We support these noble objectives and we are ready to maintain dialogue and discussions with the President of South Africa in order to see how we can support each other regionally for the realisation of these objectives. That would also be in the interests of Angola."

President dos Santos did not see President De Klerk's path as an easy one: "He has inherited a heavy past ..."

The Angolan head of state was encouraged by the openness to dialogue with the Af-

rican National Congress though. Asked whether he approved of Mr Nelson Mandela's decision to lead his organisation into negotiations with government, President dos Santos said:

"Yes we do — strongly. There is no other way out."

The President was disappointed that the peace talks with Unita held in Portugal last week had been stalled. Unita said it was not ready to discuss the ceasefire agreement the MPLA hoped to reach. Unita needed to hold further consultations and requested a postponement, said President dos Santos.

"However we do not know the reasons behind the postponement. We regret that no decision has been taken because the Angolan people are suffering a great deal."

The President hinted that Unita's blocking move might have been as a result of "external pressure ... but we do not have any data to make categorical statements". He ruled out the US as a culprit though.

"It is strange that Unita has made a lot of declarations that they want to achieve peace as soon as possible but they are not ready to discuss a ceasefire or reach agreement for a ceasefire."

"However, our wish is to proceed, to continue to develop positive initiatives in order to reach understanding."

He warned Unita though not to exploit this latest stalemate with an increase in its military activities. Any such attempt would be "frustrated by an energetic reply from our armed forces".

President dos Santos hoped the next round of talks would take place in July.

Asked whether South Africa could help in achieving peace, President dos Santos ruled out direct involvement.

"South Africa in the past was very closely connected to Unita in the war process and we do not say that these links have completely ceased. There are forces within South Africa that are not making it easy for the process of peace to proceed. And I feel these are the forces which are complicating the task of President De Klerk (by) opposing his policy to democratise South Africa and (bring about) a peaceful settlement for the problem of apartheid."

"These are namely the conservative forces that may have some influence in the defence and security forces in South Africa. We would like President De Klerk to use all his capabilities to hinder these forces from making difficulties in the process of peace in Angola and in South Africa itself. This would be a way in which South Africa could support Angola."

## Peace:

The Angolan government has said that it accepts the idea of a multi-party state and general elections in principle, to be addressed when peace has been established.

Asked whether his government doubted the wisdom of this position following the surprise outcome of the Nicaragua elections in which Daniel Ortega's revolutionary democracy was swept away at the ballot box, President dos Santos ruled out such comparison.

"The situation in Nicaragua is different from Angola. Angola has been independent less than 15 years. Nicaragua is an old state and has had a

multi-party system for a long time. The Angolan state has not been consolidated, it is only being built now, is not yet a very strong state. This is why we have to be very careful in the steps we take to settle the problem of the masses. Maybe the (Nicaraguan) solution is adjusted to their reality — but not to ours. Our solution should come from the people. In Nicaragua the people took that decision — let's try it here to find out what is the result."

"We say we are going through a process of democratisation — of society, of the state and even of the party (the MPLA Workers' Party)."

"Our point of view is that sovereignty lies in the people ... all decisions should be taken by the people. Therefore we have been saying that the role Unita will play in the national context will have to be decided by the people themselves. Therefore we have accepted the principle of general elections."

A referendum will also seek the peoples' choice for a one- or multi-party system. Before this could be organised though, people displaced by war would have to be resettled, the wide country would have to be combed for mines and the people would have to reach a level of social psychological stability shattered by the long war years. There has to be a census too and people will have to be registered.

"After that there will be conditions to hold general elections which will reveal the free expression of the people. I feel this is democracy. Savimbi has been saying that he is a big democrat, Unita says it's fighting for democracy. Now why don't they accept this?"

## Democracy

President dos Santos said he believed the political differences between his government and Unita were now "very small".

"And after the forthcoming Third Congress of the MPLA Workers' Party (due to be held in December but it could be brought forward) and if the theses that we put forward are agreed, then the differences will be even smaller."

"We've widened the base of the party. As long as (someone) is an Angolan patriot who defends independence, democracy, progress, national unity, he will be able to become a party member."

"Is it possible that Unita could want something different? Property owners, religious people — they will be able to participate now in the party. Is it true Unita wants something different from that? We are going to a market economy that is regularised — is it that Unita wants something else?"

"I feel that when we start discussing these issues we will notice the differences are not many."

## First interview for SA journalists

**T**HE presidential compound, at a place known as Futungo das Belas — formerly an upmarket residential retreat in colonial times — is roughly a 20-minute drive south of the capital along a road which passes a sprawling sector of modest concrete-block housing on the outskirts of the city.

The urban sprawl gives way to open ground scattered with baobabs and a palm-fringed coastline below.

A fortified military position and a nearby barracks signal the approach to Futungo das Belas.

Armed guards go through security procedures at the gate, including a mirrored device which sweeps the

undersides of vehicles for concealed objects.

The modern buildings within the enclosure are in spacious grounds with a broad view of the sea and a nearby tropical island.

WE await the president first in a reception enclave of grey leather armchairs, broad red carpets and marble floors.

Then we are ushered to an adjoining building where the interview — in front of state journalists and TV crew — takes place in a large, curtained room with glistening parquet flooring.

President Dos Santos, 48, enters briskly, shakes hands and wastes no



time in getting down to business. He is a trim man, greying slightly at the

temples, is in a dark blue suit, cautious tie, blue socks and black slip-on shoes.

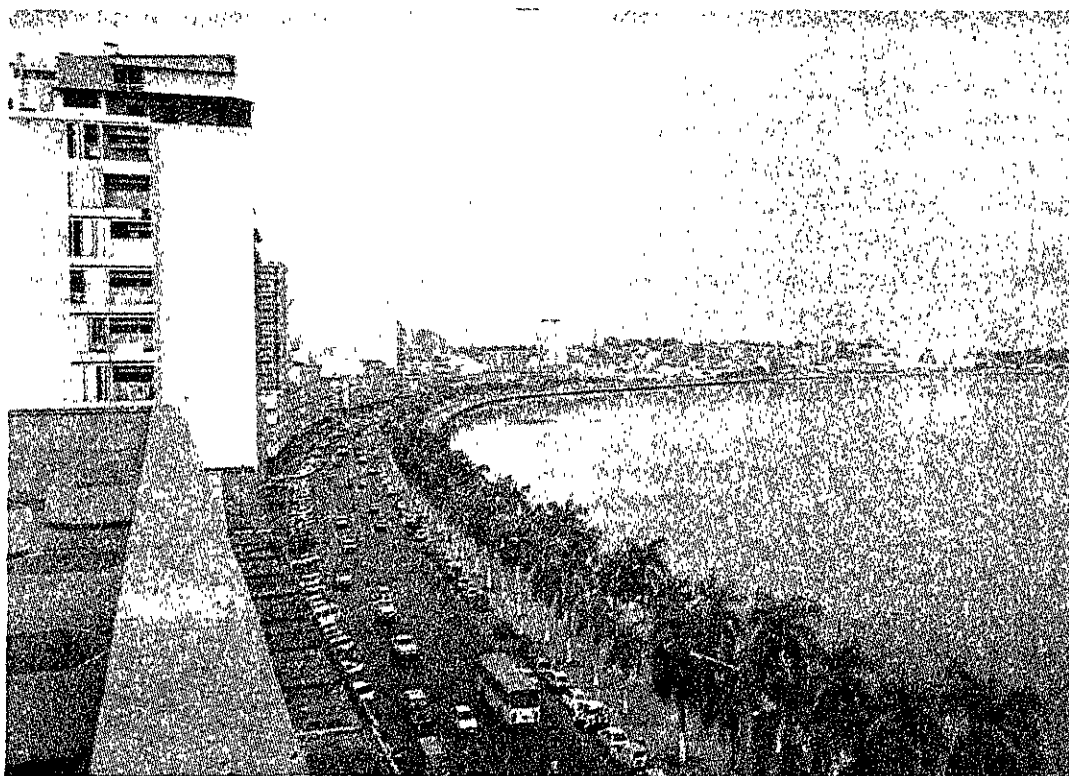
He is attentive, perfectly at ease and speaks quietly, answering questions through an interpreter.

AT the end of the interview, after 45 minutes or so, he says he hopes the "South African people become friends of the Angolan people" and adds that the press has an important role to promote positive elements among people to achieve "a wider approach."

He obligingly poses for photographs, shakes hands again, and is strides off surrounded by aides.



# crying out for peace



Picture postcard scene of the beautiful and placid city of Luanda as it is today. Below: President José Eduardo dos Santos, pictured during an interview.



streamline the bureaucracy and reduce delays, promote efficiency, encourage and broaden the base for private enterprise and foreign investment.

Already there are prospects of overseas interest in fishing and mining, notably from Portugal, Spain and Japan.

Behind the quest for foreign involvement is the need to boost exports and to estab-

lish substitutes for imports. The mood is to move away from state-owned business, a task it is "incapable of handling." Rather than deliberate nationalisation, explains a senior official, the state was compelled to take over enterprises which were abandoned in the frenzied flight of the Portuguese at the time of independence.

While there is presently little private sector involve-

ment from South Africa, the impression is that it would be welcome, particularly for reasons of proximity, technology and expertise.

Says a senior official: "The time has come to clear ideological obstacles. We are brothers, we need to seek understanding."

Angola, which is overwhelmingly dependent on oil and diamonds (they account for more than 90 percent of foreign exchange), is looking to diversify — notably in agriculture, in which it once excelled — and to rebuild infrastructures such as roads, bridges, railways and harbours.

Declarations of intent to root out corruption — something which the president himself rails against — need to be matched by vigorous action.

But salvaging the economy cannot happen effectively until there is peace in the land.

## Peace accord

**I**N spite of hiccups in early peace talks between the government and Jonas Savimbi's Unita, officials and others in Luanda are generally optimistic. The main factor is that after decades of killing and destruction everyone has had enough.

In a sense, too, the MPLA government has been obliged to make reforms because of changes in Europe and elsewhere. With the Soviet Union distancing itself, Cubans on the way out and the SADF gone, the imperative is a peace accord.

President Dos Santos speaks of testing public opinion on future political structures and participation. He insists on a ceasefire first, holds that people should return to the home areas and that a national census and registration are needed.

A scenario by a authority clear of party political interests suggests an interim government with a president above the party, an integrated national army, an executive to prepare for elections, a national assembly and the restoration of justice and the rule of law.

Whatever the outcome, none of it will happen without peace.



Bishop Emelio Julio Miguel de Carvalho

## Pleas for peace

**T**HE MPLA'S President José Eduardo Dos Santos, disappointed at the recently stalled ceasefire talks with Unita — which may soon be back on track — declares: "The Angolan people have suffered a great deal."

Says a Minister: "Everyone is tired of war, but there are political restraints."

The churches (two-thirds of Angolans are Christian, mostly Catholic) seek impartiality between state and rebels and are pressing the combatants to settle.

Methodist bishop Emelio Julio Miguel de Carvalho, says: "Our people tell us they are tired of war."

The churches, he asserts, have done well in promoting the peace process.

"There will never be a military victory. People in Angola and South Africa, be they blacks or whites, must get together."

Cardinal Alexandre Do Nascimento, archbishop of Luanda — freed by Unita after being held for 31 days in 1982 — says the church is promoting reconciliation and unity but cautions that war has brought "great feelings of hate and mistrust" between people of various regions and it will take much effort to put that aside.

**POLITICAL** life in Angola is polarised between the internationally recognised government of the MPLA and Jonas Savimbi's US-backed Unita rebels.

(S)  
The FNLA, historically a third player, now flirts among the tatters of the main conflict. But today there is a new political voice in the Angolan capital and as a test of current efforts by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to reform the one-party model of his shattered country, this liberal voice, still small and exploratory, has not been silenced.

DALE LAUTENBACH of ARGUS AFRICA NEWS SERVICE met Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, president of the Angolan Civic Association, in Luanda. *Southern 27/6/90*

# Liberalising Angola <sup>(5)</sup>

Sowetan 27/6/90

**LUANDA - The first news of East Germany's New Forum movement came out of family homes where men and women of books and quiet passions about peace exchanged political ideals over coffee.**

In a sitting room which fights to stem the roar of traffic on the Largo 4 de Fevereiro as it sweeps along Luanda's limpid Baia Azul, Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a lawyer, former priest and a man also of books and ideals, represents Angola's new opposition political force.

The comparison to New Forum is irresistible; Pinto de Andrade draws it himself, stressing that he is president of an organisation seeking not political power but the space for political expression.

## Dialogue

New Forum's founding document said late last year: "We are asking for a dialogue beyond or outside the Party." History tells the rest.

"Angola is a closed society," says Pinto de Andrade, who was elected president of the Angolan Civic Association on January 25 this year by its 130-member founding group.

"Before independence we had colonial rule. After independence we had a party (the MPLA) which conquered the others (Unita and FNLA) and arrived in the ruling position by armed force. There were no elections. The MPLA was imposed on the society."

Pinto de Andrade was himself a founder member of the MPLA in 1956. A year before independence on November 11, 1975, he broke from the MPLA to form MPLA Active Revolt, one of two factions which opposed the MPLA itself.

Following independence he was detained by the new rulers.

Today he describes the MPLA as a "monolith", a force which perceives itself as the exclusive director of the society.

"After 15 years of civil war in Angola the society is bi-polarised. If you're not MPLA you're Unita and vice versa. Therefore, the real Angolan society, the civil society, has no role in the country, caught as it is between these two opposing military forces."

He believes that peace will come now; but an end to the war holds new dangers: either one party will emerge as dominant or the MPLA and Unita will "divide the cake". In either case the majority of Angolans will remain excluded.

"By power sharing or domination, government remains an imposition on society."

The ACA's goal is to provide the space in which the voice of this silent population may be heard; the voices of those who have chosen "one boat or the other" because there has been no alternative and because they have needed jobs and security.



**JOSE DOS SANTOS**

"If there was another space for expression, they would take it."

Interestingly, it was Pinto de Andrade's name that Mr Savimbi put forward as a neutral figure to lead a transitional government when, in March, Unita was talking transitional rule.

Pinto de Andrade says he does not want an executive political role though and he remains committed to the slow task of spreading the ACA idea.

Angolan law recognises liberty of association in principle and seeking to exploit this, the ACA group has sought legal approval.

The Ministry of Justice examined its founding documents in February, finding the organisation's aims legal.

"But they said there were political questions not within the com-

petence of their ministry to decide," says Pinto de Andrade.

The ACA dossier was passed to the party's central committee and nothing has been heard since.

Or rather what has been heard was a document from the MPLA's political bureau denouncing the ACA as "the imperialist lackeys of the United States and Unita", says Pinto de Andrade.

"We are in favour of a multi-party system. This did not please the MPLA."

He acknowledges though that the very existence of the ACA would not have been tolerated as little as a year ago.

"There is a totally different climate now. A year ago we would have been locked up."

But the changes are not due to government good intentions, he says.

The MPLA has been forced to change by, internally, the decomposition of the force and credibility of the party due to the war with Unita, inefficiency and corruption and, externally, due to the changes in Eastern Europe.



**JONAS SAVIMBI**

Pinto de Andrade compares Angola to South Africa, saying of the latter that President FW de Klerk has had the courage to seek change through negotiation.

In Luanda, the government recognises the need for change but wants to manage and control that change itself.

"There will be an evolution in our country whether the party likes it or not. And whether it recognises us or not, we will continue. We are a new dynamic in the society."

SOWETAN Wednesday

**Rebels ready**

PARIS - Angola's Unia rebel movement said it was willing to resume exploratory talks on ending the country's 15-year civil war after withdrawing its delegates last week.

5 Dec 1975

# Unita calls for a free economy

(5) Sowelen  
27/6/90

THE Unita movement says conditions for peace and multi-party democracy must be created in Angola as soon as possible to allow for a free market economy and foreign investment.

In a statement carried by its news agency, KUP, Unita said the Angolan economy was in sharp decline as a result of economic mismanagement by the Luanda government.

It said that Angola was endowed with enormous natural resources, and just over 15 years ago had been one of Africa's leading exporters of cash crops.

Unita blamed the MPLA government's Marxist economic policies, in terms of which all Angola's industries had been nationalised.

In addition, Unita charged that corrupt MPLA officials had emerged as the new economic barons of the country. It said many of them had amassed large personal fortunes for themselves and their families. - Sapa

# A new voice in Angola

7-6-65 28/6/90 5

## A small group of liberals speak out

Political life in Angola is polarised between the internationally recognised government of the MPLA and Dr Jonas Savimbi's US-backed Unita rebels. The FNLA, historically a third player, now flirts among the tatters of the main conflict. But today there is a new political voice in the Angolan capital and as a test of current efforts by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to reform the one-party model of his shattered country, this liberal voice, still small and exploratory, has not been silenced. DALE LAUTENBACH of Argus Africa News Service met Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, president of the Angolan Civic Association, in Luanda.

THE first news of East Germany's New Forum movement came out of family homes where men and women of books and quiet passions about peace exchanged political ideals over coffee.

In a sitting room which fights to stem the roar of traffic on the Largo 4 de Fevereiro as it sweeps along Luanda's limpid Baia Azul, Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a lawyer, former priest and also a man of books and ideals, represents Angola's new opposition political force.

The comparison to New Forum is irresistible, Mr De Andrade draws it himself, stressing that he is president of an organisation seeking not political power but the space for political expression. New Forum's founding document said late last year: "We are asking for a dialogue beyond or outside the party." History tells the rest.

"Angola is a closed society," says Mr De Andrade, who was elected president of the Angolan

Civic Association on January 25 this year by its 130-member founding group.

"Before independence we had colonial rule. After independence we had a party (the MPLA) which conquered the others (Unita and FNLA) and arrived in the ruling position by armed force. There were no elections ... the MPLA was imposed on the society."

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# Angola loosens socialist bonds

col/G AR/bs 30/6/70

A pragmatic attempt to free the Angolan economy from its socialist bonds is reflected in a recent Cabinet reshuffle giving a non-party reformist at the head of the Ministry of Finance.

Prime responsibility for economic reform is in the hands of Mr Aguinaldo Almeida, who leaves his post as director of the Foreign Investment Board to become Finance Minister.

Government officials are fairly frank about the failure so far of the economic recovery programme initiated three years ago. So last week's Cabinet reshuffle, which includes a new Minister of Planning, is being presented as an effort to speed the reform process.

The programme had been stalled by bureaucracy and an apparent unwillingness to devalue the official currency, the kwanza, because of the enormously negative political impact this could have in the short term.

What has been achieved is a tinkering with the legal framework of the economy — some price regulation, especially in agriculture, has been abolished and laws have been redrafted to provide for state, private and mixed enterprise. But the short-term effect of devaluation of the kwanza would be dramatic price increases and unemployment.

ECONOMIC reform calls too for a streamlining of the bloated state bureaucracy, a move away from job protectionism and a significant reduction in state intervention — all changes which will bite into the present social order when it is already divided by the war with Unita.

"Yes, there is the fear that the programme will create social instability but the government has concluded that there is no alternative," says Mr Jaime. The thinking seems to be that what looks hard right now will be even harder tomorrow, so let's get on with it.

Dr Joao Filipe Martins, a director in the foreign affairs department, acknowledges that the government could become unpopular as a result: "But it is preparing the people, telling them that there will be problems. It must be done."

Mr Jaime anticipates a 100 percent devaluation of the kwanza soon.

Another reformist thinker in government had suggested the devaluation could be as much as 300 percent.

"Could be, could be," says Mr Jaime.

At present the official exchange rate is about 30 kwanza to the dollar while on the black market, which everyone seems to use in the interests of survival, the rate is between 2 500 and 3 000 to the dollar.

## MPLA joins economic revolution

Mr Jaime is confident that the short-term problems will be relieved in the longer term by the creation of jobs in an economy made more attractive to investors.

THE steady income from oil, which even after the price drop still accounts for 95 percent of export earnings and 53 percent of government revenue, had in the past blinded the government to the inefficiency of its economy, according to Mr Jaime.

The fall in the oil price resulted in more pragmatic thinking and opened the way to technocrats like Mr Jaime.

He explains that with the mass exodus of Portuguese expertise in the chaotic independence process of 1975, the new MPLA government had to run the show on its own. State intervention was not a political choice, he says, but a necessity.

"And the results were a disaster."

Today foreign investors are no longer threatened by nationalisation.

"The state has concluded that it can't take care of so many state-run companies," says Mr Jaime.

He outlines the basic components of the recovery programme, known by its Portuguese acronym SEF, as a change in the management of the economy by freeing it to market forces — less administrative interference ("as in the past") and greater encouragement of foreign investment.

The government will also negotiate with creditors for the settlement of Angola's foreign debt (Angola was admitted to the World Bank and the IMF last August and successfully negotiated a rescheduling of its \$6-billion debt).

THE Foreign Investment Board which Mr Jaime led until now was set up in April last year and since January this year there has been a dramatic show of interest, says Mr Jaime.

About 100 foreign investment proposals have come in from Portugal (about 70 percent), Spain (with a special interest in fishing), Japan (mining), Belgium and the Netherlands.

There is also believed to be strong interest among South African business concerns and already there is evidence

of South African presence in Angola with Safair pilots training flyers for Angola's national airline Taag and leasing two planes to the state.

Another measure of Angola's shift away from a strictly socialist economy is that, with the exception of oil and mining, the state no longer insists on being a majority shareholder in industrial and commercial enterprises. In certain sectors it is now possible for a company to be owned wholly by private interests.

Political risk insurance, which is made more than usually important by the war, is offered to investors through Angola's membership of the World Bank's Multi-lateral Investment Guarantee Agency (Miga).

Labour laws which potential investors might regard as excessively protective of workers are being changed, says Mr Jaime. And, according to deputy minister of planning Mr Julio Sampaio, changes in tax regulations should also improve investment prospects.

Dr Martins paints a reformist picture of the bureaucratic bloat that has blighted state-run enterprise. A company presently run by 200 people could run efficiently with 25 to 50, he says.

"What we have now is a vicious circle and these state-run enterprises are draining the government."

With surprising frankness he says that after independence people were appointed to enterprises on the basis of party loyalty rather than commercial or industrial skill.

"When enterprise was ruled by government it was a disaster. Government realises that there are gains to be made in freeing enterprise to market forces."

TO ease the pain of the unemployment which will accompany such economic restructuring in the beginning, the government has created a fund to provide individuals with one year's cover. Training will be provided for those who lose their jobs because they lack skills.

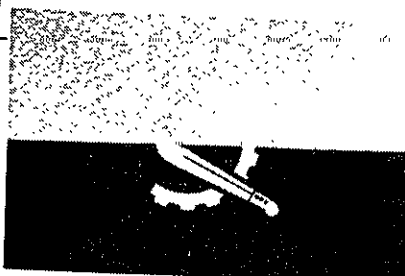
The cloud over all the bright new plans and the optimism, however, is Angola's overriding reality: the war.

With remarkable consistency, Luan-dans talk of war weariness.

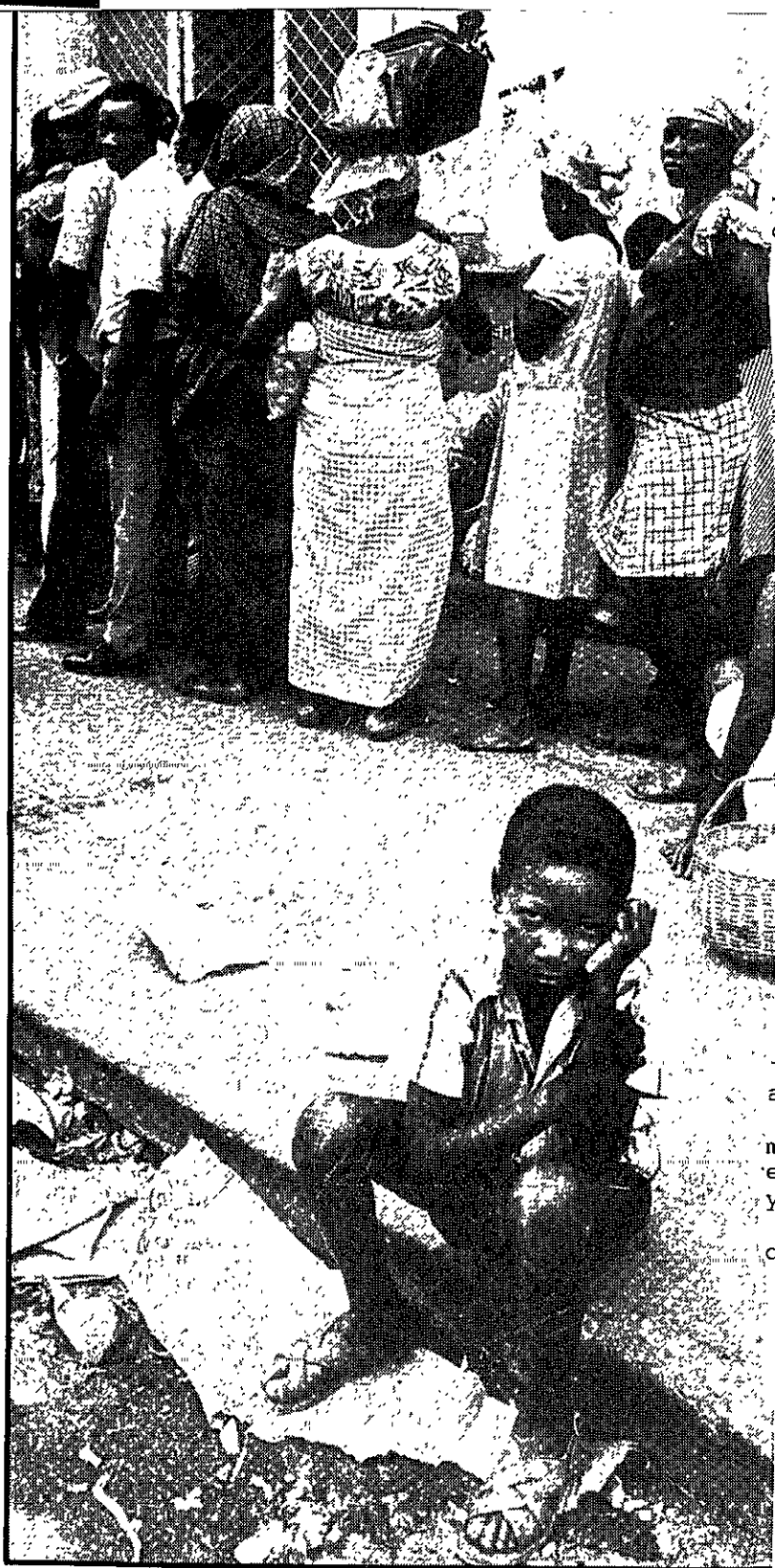
Says Mr Jaime: "Everyone is tired of war — but there are always political constraints." Mr Sampaio hopes for peace by the end of the year.

Obviously economic reform is unlikely to flourish while the country remains locked in a fratricidal dispute.

But government officials seem to take comfort in their new economic vision, cautiously confident that it will support the political resolution about which they have, amid shortages of everything else, only hope.



Despite its enforced preoccupation with the war against the  
bels, Angola's ruling MPLA is joining with other socialist gov  
in Africa's economic revolution, abandoning exclusive state c  
the economy and opting for a large measure of free enterpris  
LAUTENBACH of the Argus Africa News Service reports from



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**State control of the economy has made queueing  
for food a feature of life for most Angolans.**



ANGOLA - GENERAL

1990

JULY - ~~SEP~~, ~~SE~~ DEC .

55 News 17/90

# Bungling Billy, the worst actor in the SAP

F the South African Police had an award for the lousiest actor among their staff, it would have to go to spy Billy van Zyl.

I met Billy for the first time in Gaborone, Botswana, in September 1985. I was then chief sub-editor on the bi-weekly Botswana Guardian, and Billy ran the photographic department for the paper.

There was a lot wrong with the arrangement. I learned that Billy had resigned from full time employment at the paper to go freelance, although he operated on company premises. He had a small darkroom from where he developed and printed pictures for the paper and could do other private jobs.

I was told he had accepted a large cut in his income to "freelance" and I remember asking him once if it was not plain stupid to earn less but still be at the paper's beck and call.

From the outset, Billy's attitude to me was more like: "You and me are professional journalists. We have been through the mill, (both having worked for the Eastern Province Herald in Port Elizabeth at different times) let us work together and show these locals what good journalism is all about."

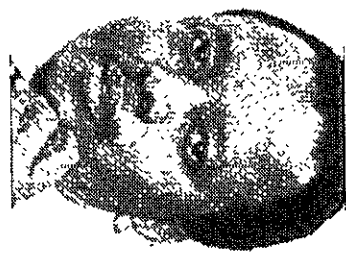
That was not to be. When the paper moved to Botswana Road, Billy decided he would operate from home because there was no room for him at the new building. He took

with him his old-time lackey, Ben Phetabosigo, a Motswana fellow duped senseless by the wily Van Zyl.

Ben, an office worker-turned-photographer, would literally shake with fury at those who, like me, questioned the bona fides of Van Zyl on the side. If anyone believed in Van Zyl, it was Ben. He worked for him, and was loyal to the man on and off duty.

When I saw Billy's mansion, I was taken aback. By Botswana standards, it was almost palatial. He rented the house from the parents of colleague Rampholo Molefe, and shared it with a bad-tempered, pint-sized white woman he lovingly referred to as "my wife";

William "Billy" van Zyl, the 28-year-old South African security policeman who allegedly infiltrated the ANC, has been released from the organisation's Quatro Prison in Angola. Before his arrest, he worked as a photographer in Gaborone, Botswana. CHARLES MOGALE, former editor of the Botswana Guardian, recalls his memories of the man shunned by many of his colleagues, and suspected by even his boss at the Guardian.



although they were not married.

They had two vicious dogs, and I remember Billy's "wife" scolding me for driving up their driveway without permission. My explanation that I merely wanted to see if Billy was in the darkroom at the back, fell on deaf ears. I could not leave the car

because of the dogs.

I asked Billy again how he could afford the house on the pittance I knew he was earning from the Guardian, pay Phetabosigo, and still maintain his extravagant lifestyle - expensive photographic equipment and all. His answer, as usual, was a helpless shrug of the

shoulders.

The more I got to know of Billy, the more apparent it became that he did not need the Guardian job to survive. He walked in and out of the office, accepted as a staff member, though shunned by many. On some occasions, he would make a hopeless attempt to throw a tantrum,

as if to say: "I'm just a normal guy."

One day we nearly came to blows after I had asked him about a picture he had given to me long ago. All I did was ask if he had the picture, and in return he blabbered about me trying to make him catch the flak for my own forgetfulness.

Everybody seemed to have a hunch he was a South African spy, but it was nothing you could put your finger on.

The refugee community shunned Billy, and many were amazed Ben Phetabosigo could workship the ground he walked on. On several occasions, Billy, out of the blue, would launch a scathing attack on the "boere". He never made a secret of his

being an Afrikaner, but his vitriolic attacks on his white countrymen were often unwarranted and out of the context of our discussions.

It was as if he was inviting comment from his listeners, a transparent and irritating ploy which made many South Africans, especially exiles, uncomfortable in his company.

William Jones, owner of the Guardian, was always suspicious of Billy. Jones was a shrewd businessman of unquestionable integrity, and it was not surprising he dropped Billy from his payroll. The two had running battles from time to time.

One day, when I was then editor of the Guardian, Billy's name came up during a meeting I had with Jones. At that time, the Billy-Ben duo had cornered out of the Guardian, but had offered to help us out if the need arose.

"I wonder if he will find time to do any work between spying for South Africa," Jones said with a sneer. In fact, I do not remember Jones saying one thing nice about Billy, and vice versa.

In spite of losing the Guardian contract, Billy continued to loiter in luxury, running his "photographic" business from home until he left the country in 1986.

The revelation that he is a spy - and a low ranking constable in the SAP - is not going to shock many. Except Ben Phetabosigo.

# Luanda besieged by Unita <sup>(5)</sup> claim

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — The civil war in Angola had swung dramatically in favour of the US-backed rebel Unita forces who had surrounded and cut off the capital of Luanda, Africa Confidential reported yesterday.

Luanda was trapped in a "Saigon syndrome," with the population anticipating a "final assault" by Jonas Savimbi's rebel forces, pressing home the major land offensive they launched in December and carried into northern Angola, the journal said.

The report said the capital was surrounded by a defensive cordon of Cuban and MPLA soldiers who were in turn encircled by the advancing Unita forces — and it was impossible for anyone to leave or enter by land.

Unita commandos had blown up 40 electricity pylons, cutting off supplies from the Cambamba Dam plant. Heavily armed convoys could not repair pylons because of Unita attacks.

Luanda's main water



© SAVIMBI

treatment plant had also been sabotaged and drinking water was being distributed by truck.

The journal said Unita forces received US supplies for a base at Beu, which lies 50km inside Angola and just 20 minutes' flying time by US Lockheed transport aircraft from Brazzaville in Zaire's Kinshasa province. Beu, reportedly the

key base for the northern offensive, lies 1 300km from Savimbi's headquarters at Jamba in the south-east.

Unita, it said, was reinforcing positions in the north of Angola to make a "final push on Luanda" led by a "huge offensive."

It also claimed populations had fled on foot to the provincial capital of Uige or the Zairean border.

Luanda has accused Zaire of using the main port at Matadi for unloading war material for Unita. Matadi is only a few kilometres from Noqui, the Angolan town which is the only land crossing between Zaire and Angola still officially open.

The journal said the scenario was exactly the same as in Vietnam in 1975, when North Vietnamese forces made their final onslaught on Saigon. "This time, though, the US is on the winning side," it said.

## Factor

Africa Confidential said the change in civil war fortunes followed four days of heavy fighting that ended on May 9 with Unita retaking the key south-eastern town of Mavinga, when poorly supplied Luanda forces were routed and withdrew in bad condition.

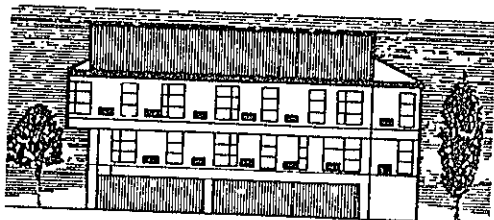
The journal said another key factor in Unita's claimed resurgence was Namibian independence, with Swapo president Sam Nujomo refusing to allow Luanda forces to use his territory to attack Jamba.

It said Unita representatives, who had their first official meeting with the MPLA government at Evora in Portugal on April 24-25, were now in a position of strength to negotiate.

There had since been secret talks between the MPLA deputy foreign minister Venacio de Moura and a delegation led by his Unita opposite number, Paulo Gato Lukamba.

The journal said the main difference between the parties was that Unita was demanding a reform of the constitution and free elections while the MPLA continued to demand "voluntary exile" for Jonas Savimbi and the integration of the rival armies.

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# Unita puts noose round Luanda for 'final push'

*M&S 3/7/90*  
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Unita is now planning a "final push" to capture Luanda, says Africa Confidential magazine.

The influential journal says the rebel movement has effectively thrown a noose around the Angolan capital, making it impossible to leave or enter the town.

Aided by the United States and logistical support from Zaire, Unita plans a major assault on Luanda, launched from Beu and other bases in northern Angola.

Far from being weakened by Namibian independence — and the attendant loss of South Af-

rican support — Unita has grown stronger, says the magazine.

The Luanda government has accused Namibian President Sam Nujoma of "monstrous ingratitude" for refusing to allow Fapla to use Namibian territory to attack Unita's traditional main base at Jamba, southern Angola.

Unita has also established a firm foothold in the north, with the aid of the United States, it says.

As Cuban troops continue to leave Angola, Luanda "is falling victim to the Saigon syndrome.

"The city's people live in anticipation of a final assault by Unita, so rapidly has the balance of forces been transformed since government troops launched an offensive last December.

"Luanda is now surrounded on its land side by a security cordon composed of Cuban and Angolan government armed forces. Beyond the cordon Unita has thrown a noose around the city."

Unita commandos, says Africa Confidential, have blown up over 40 electricity pylons between Luanda and the Cambamba dam, cutting off the supply.

3 1990

Nov 3/7/90

(5)

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The Star Bureau

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## 'Ingratitude'

It adds that the Luanda government has accused Namibian President Sam Nujoma of "monstrous ingratitude" for refusing to allow its Fapla forces to use Namibian territory to attack Unita's base at Jamba in southern Angola.

Unita has now managed in addition to establish a firm foothold in the north, with the aid of the US, says the magazine.

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Angolan government armed forces."

Unita commandos, says Africa Confidential, have blown up over 40 electricity pylons between Luanda and the Cambamba dam, cutting off the supply. Repair teams cannot get to the sites since even heavily guarded convoys are liable to Unita attack. After the sabotage of the water treatment plant for Luanda, drinking water is being distributed by truck.

The magazine says the planned offensive is being prepared with military supplies funnelled in from Beu, less than 50 km from the Zairean border.

"Re-supply to Beu is mostly carried out by aircraft leaving Kinshasa and delivering supplies to the airstrip at Maquela do Zombo, 40 km from Beu. From Kinshasa, Lockheed transport aircraft operated by or on behalf of the US government can reach Maquela do Zombo in barely 20 minutes. These Lockheeds are hangared at Kinshasa's international airport."

Luanda has also accused the Zairean authorities of allowing the country's main port at Matadi to be used for the unloading of war material for Unita.

"It is now becoming evident just how great is the strategic importance of the north compared with the far south-east of the country — the site of the main Unita headquarters at Jamba. Jamba is some 1 300 km from Luanda, while Beu is no more than 500 km away."

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● SAVIMBI

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# Civil war swings Unita's way

From IAN HOBBS

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which lies 50km inside Angola.

Africa Confidential said people had fled on foot to the provincial capital of Uige or the Zairean border. Northern towns like Maquelo do Zombo, some 40km from Beu, were ghost towns.

In his May Day speech, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos denounced foreign violations of Angola's northern territory. Luanda has also accused Zaire of using the main (estuary) port at Matadi for unloading war material for Unita.

The journal said the change in civil-war fortunes followed four days of heavy

fighting that ended on May 9 with Unita retaking the key south-eastern town of Mavinga, when poorly supplied Luanda forces were routed and withdrew in bad condition.

It said Unita representatives, who had their first official meeting with the MPLA government at Evora in Portugal on April 24, were now in a position of strength to negotiate.

There had since been secret talks between the MPLA Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venacio de Moura and a delegation led by his Unita opposite number, Mr Paulo Gato Lukamba.

# Angola offers olive branch to Savimbi

AP/6/80 5/7/90

From ANITA COULSON  
in Luanda

ANGOLA has offered an olive branch to rebels demanding political pluralism by announcing that it aims to move towards a multi-party system, according to diplomats.

They said the cautiously worded promise, made shortly before a further round of exploratory talks with US-backed Unita rebels, could take a long time to put into practice.

But it was likely to give a lift to the peace process as the third round of talks in three months gets under way in Portugal in the next few days, they added.

President José Eduardo dos Santos's proposal, for a referendum to decide between a single-party or a multi-party system after a ceasefire, won approval on Tuesday from his ruling party's Central Committee.

The committee endorsed the proposal after a planned three-day meeting had stretched into seven days of heated debate.

Diplomats said the Dos

Santos plan, and the recent appointment of Deputy Defence Minister António dos Santos Franca (Nдалу) to head the peace delegation, showed the MPLA government was taking the peace talks seriously.

"Why a military man to head the MPLA team? Because they are already thinking ahead to the integration of the two armies, and that will be the trickiest issue at any talks," a diplomat said.

Means of monitoring a ceasefire also needed to be sorted out, he added.

Diplomats said the new proposal could be a sign that the previous two rounds of talks had brought the two sides closer than had been made public.

## Ceasefire

The Central Committee also agreed to reform local and central government, and called for more powers to be given to the People's Assembly (parliament) as a counterbalance to the power of the ruling party.

President dos Santos has made it clear that there has to be a guaranteed ceasefire, allowing thousands of Angolans displaced by war, drought and famine to return

home, and that only then will it be possible to conduct a national census, draw up an electoral register and hold a general election and referendum. All this could take a number of years.

"The government has more to gain from a ceasefire: better foreign trade or the possible resumption of relations with the United States. It has (set) few conditions and has always shown itself willing to reach that stage," a diplomat said.

"Unita, on the other hand, has always set many conditions ... it has more to lose by a ceasefire and must make its gains first," he added.

The gap between the two sides was illustrated yesterday when the Angolan government denounced a proposal by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to set up "corridors of peace" for humanitarian aid to civilians in war zones.

A statement distributed by the Angolan embassy in Zimbabwe said Savimbi was making opportunistic use of a human tragedy to gain freedom of movement and easier access to US war material coming into Angola from Zaire.— Sapa-Reuter.

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## Plans for multi-party system 'too vague'

LISBON — Unita said the MPLA government here was too vague in its plans to move towards a multi-party system and questioned its resolve to end 15 years of civil war.

But Unita guerillas said yesterday they were open to a third round of exploratory peace talks in Portugal with the Angolan government in the second half of July.

The MPLA government issued a statement after a central committee meeting on Tuesday saying the country would evolve towards political pluralism, a demand long voiced by the guerillas.

### "PROPAGANDA MOVE"

But Unita's chief negotiator and Lisbon representative, Mr Paulo Alicerces Mango, said that the communique was a propaganda move aimed at buying time in talks.

"It contains nothing new," he said, adding that the rebels were awaiting more specific proposals.

Diplomats saw the timing of the MPLA statement as promising, however. — Sapa-Reuter.

# SA airlines keep Angola flying

CM-11418 6/7/80

JOHANNESBURG. — Two independent South African airlines, Safair and National Airways Corporation, have disclosed details of Angolan operations. SABC radio news reports that, as far as is known, it is the first civilian contact between South Africa and Angola since relations between the two countries were suspended in 1975.

Although Safair and National Airways had operated aviation missions in most countries of Southern Africa during South Africa's isolation, they had been kept secret because of their sensitivity.

The managing director of Safair, Mr Braam Loots, said that more than half of his fleet of Lockheed Hercules cargo aircraft were deployed in Angola at present. His company operated a large percentage of the flights of the Angolan national airline.

The managing director of National Airways, Mr Graham Conlyn, disclosed that his airline had flown a number of charter missions into Angola. He said what was significant was that the initial advances had come from the Angolans.

Both companies are intensively engaged in the maintenance of aircraft and the training of staff for a number of airlines in Africa. — Sapa

# Angola: US military advisers aiding Unita

Cap Trib 14/7/90 5

HARARE. — Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem yesterday accused the US of deploying military advisers to assist Unita rebels.

US officials in Harare immediately dismissed the charges as "absolute nonsense".

Mr Van Dunem's charge, the most serious in a war of words by President Eduardo dos Santos' MPLA government, comes as Unita is reportedly besieging the capital, Luanda.

Mr Van Dunem told a press conference Unita was "not the only one in this destabilisation offensive in the north of the country".

Asked if he was claiming a presence of American personnel he replied: "We have no doubt about that."

"Specialist American military advisers have been working with Unita and other mercenaries."

"They are there and undoubtedly

some of them will be captured if they do not withdraw."

The Angolan minister, who arrived in Harare from the Organisation of African Unity headquarters in Addis Ababa, scene of this week's summit by heads of state, said that numbers were "unimportant".

"They are in Jamba, now they are in the north. They are not only there to give Unita military and technical advice, but they are also there to operate the sophisticated military equipment with which the US has supplied Unita."

Mr Van Dunem said, however, that he was confident the MPLA government and Unita would sign a ceasefire agreement at peace talks in Portugal later this month.

"We don't think the few differences that still exist will prevent the signing of a ceasefire," he said. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter

# Savimbi lays siege to Luanda

SIT News 8/7/70

**IN A dramatic about-turn in the bloody Angolan war, MPLA government troops are fighting with their backs to the wall in the besieged capital of Luanda.**

A strong advance force of Jonas Savimbi's Unita guerrillas has isolated the crippled capital. The situation has reached such a critical state that food is having to be imported and repeated sabotaging of the water purification works and power supply has brought these services to a virtual standstill.

Dr Savimbi's rebel soldiers are now fighting Fapla forces on the doorstep of the MPLA government in Luanda.

Although intelligence sources don't regard Luanda as being trapped in a "Saiton syndrome" — with an anticipated "final assault" by Unita in the near future — indications are that the rebel movement is in its best military position since the war started 15 years ago.

## Front

Since the beginning of May the war theatre has changed dramatically from southern Angola to the north and north-east of the country.

According to informed intelligence sources, a new front had been formed in Luanda, to fight the advancing Unita forces.

The MPLA government can't launch any operations against Unita in the south

Fapla forces are facing the threat of a massive civil uprising

Fapla forces are facing the threat of a massive civil uprising

Fapla forces are facing the threat of a massive civil uprising

## BY DE WET POTGIETER

since their defeat at Mavinga on May 9.

At present only a single brigade of Fapla forces is deployed 80km from Ondjiva in the south.

Unita now controls the vital Benguela railway line area from the west coast to the Bia province. The traditional Benguela/Lobito area up to Huambo is also under Unita control.

The rebel movement is also active in the northern Malange, Uige, Bengo and Cuanza provinces.

Unita is also in control of the border region with Zaïre and enjoys the traditional support of the Bakongo tribe in an area formerly held by Holden Roberto's FNLA movement.



SAVIMBI... his timing was perfect

## Advance

It is believed that Unita receives its supplies from the US at its Beu base, 50km inside Angola, from Brazzaville.

Control over the Gabela, Conde and Waco Kungo regions south of Luanda have ensured more free movement for Unita soldiers around the capital.

In desperate efforts by the MPLA government to stop the Unita advance, Fapla forces have begun operations in the Malange and Cerca areas.

Fapla offensives have also been launched in the Sanza, Pambo and Darbo regions to gain control over the vital border areas with Zaïre.

weaken the Fapla forces.

Since January, bomb attacks on Luanda also increased dramatically, making it almost impossible for civilians to move around the outskirts of the city without military escorts.

On April 25, Unita launched a massive assault on power lines and destroyed 25 pylons. To date, 44 have been destroyed.

Cuban troops, waiting to be evacuated back to Havana, have now taken over the guarding and protection of power stations and the water works in the city.

## Fears

"Unita has taken the war into Luanda," an intelligence source said.

Small towns around Luanda are also frequently attacked by Unita soldiers and small, disgruntled, groups — some consisting of criminal elements — have started destabilising the situation even further from inside the heavily fortified Angolan capital.

One such movement, calling itself Catana Ardente (Burning Macheltes), has claimed responsibility for a bomb attack in Luanda and warned the government and anti-democratic diplomats in

the city that they would be executed.

Sources say there is no way that the MPLA government can win the war. Although Angola has the most sophisticated military equipment of all the Frontline states, it is almost impossible to fight a guerrilla war with conventional means.

Fears prevail in Luanda that the poor economy, the dusk-to-dawn curfew and the continuous threat under which the city's people live may lead to a massive civil uprising that the weakened Fapla forces will be unable to quell.

# Luanda

# Napalm used on civilians — Unita

*Off. Rep. 10/7/80*

JOHANNESBURG — Unita says the Angolan government has stepped up the use of chemical and other internationally-outlawed weapons in its military offensive against Unita in the north of the country, the SABC reports.

Unita said villages and other civilian installations were coming under increasing bombardment, with toxic and napalm bombs being used.

In the latest incident, two Soviet-made MiG-23 fighter aircraft of the Angolan Air Force are reported to have carried out indiscriminate bombing raids on a number of civilian settlements in Uige province.

Several villagers were killed and many others were injured, Unita said.

Crops were wilting after toxic bombs were dropped on farm lands, which had given rise to fears of famine in the area.

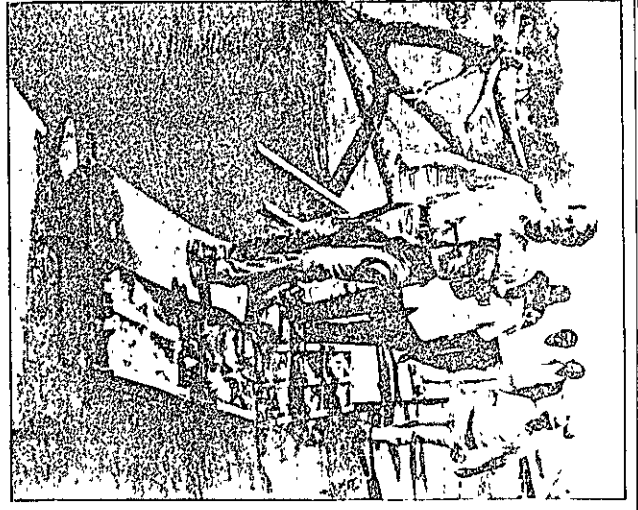
● Unita said yesterday they would be prepared to sign a ceasefire with the government at talks due later this month in Portugal. — Sapa-Reuter

# Looking for peace in the killing fields

Southern Angola was the hunting ground of the SADF, seeking Swapo's PLAN freedom fighters, often finding Angola's Fapla army or just the ordinary rural Angolan. With Namibia independent and south-west Angola relatively free of war, thoughts have turned to reconstruction. DALE LAU- IENBACH of the Star's Africa News Service was the first South African journalist to drive the road once so heavily trodden by the invading South African forces.



Damaged by South Africa... The bridge at Xangongo over the Cunene River which surges across southern Angola to become the Namibian border at Ruacana. The South Africans bombed the bridge in 1975 and in 1981. *Photographer: Dale Lauiebach*



Willing helper... Klaus Dieks, Namibian deputy Minister of Transport, surveys what needs to be done before traffic can cross the Cunene at this point again.

## Angola turns thoughts to reconstruction

Raggedly 5,000 people who cling to life under the open sky. Ongive has a church, but that too was bombed and no bell rings there. There is no running water, but there is a hospital — of sorts. With most of its roof gone, it is the only busy place in the stilled streets as mothers bring their children in response to a government vaccination programme.

Cunene commissioner Pedro Muthundi says about 150,000 people from the surrounding area were displaced by the South African invasion. Now that the South Africans have gone with the successful implementation of the United Nations peace plan for Namibia, and UNLTA is no longer active in the area, there is nothing to return to though. "No working conditions," says Muthundi.

Blunt questions In a country that has been effectively at war for 30 years you don't ask blunt questions about why there has been no rebuilding or maintenance. You understand from what you see that maintenance is watching the big savanna sun slide red into the western bush and seeing it beach the east again the next day... Just living.

But there is now hope now and plans in the air. If no money in the coffers yet. One Namibian contractor has provided a quote for the rebuilding of Santa Clara and Ongive.

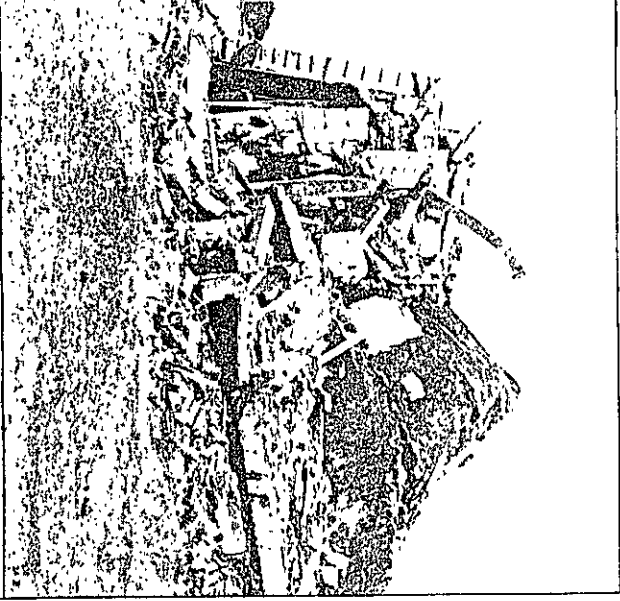
va, some \$35 million (£20.7 million). But who will pay while Angola fights itself still? Namibian government officials, eager to see their northern neighbour stabilised and with an eye on the transport network in this southern part that could be beneficial to both countries, are in the process of assessing the feasibility of reconstruction and the damage caused by South Africa.

They comment pointedly that South Africa can assistance in redressing this would be welcomed with open arms. North of Ongive the road jurches from handrime scar to bomb crater. At the roadside, the round depressions made when the screaming Impalas dropped their loads are so regular as to appear a geographical feature.

Along the roadside are wrecks of Soviet-made tanks and troop carriers which Fapla used in the area. About 10 along a particular strip mark the grave of a Fapla offensive launched in 1982 from Mongoma to the north in a bid to drive the South Africans back from the no-man's land they had established around Ongive.

You pass towns with ringing names like Cahama and Chibemba, but precious little else. You don't stop at a roadside finger-licking joint for a bite. Someone just says "This is Chibba" — And then it's gone.

The day goes suddenly too on this high plateau but the road travelled is spectacularly beautiful — and tragic.



Wrecked... like a monster with a broken spine, the remains of one of the many buildings in Ongive bombed by the SADF in the early '80s. This once housed the Cunene provincial administration.

Perhaps they were being overly cautious. The real handtime danger now lurks in the bush some 100 km east of this road. Then again, South Africa and its surrogate forces rumbled this area pretty thoroughly from the early '80s when the southern Angolan provinces of Cunene, Huila and Namibe were their hunting grounds for seek-and-destroy missions against the Swapo army's units in the area adjacent to the home they sought to liberate.

For a South African civilian, crossing the Namibian border at Oshikango and being ushered through the tatters of the bombed and blasted Santa Clara that is the Angolan port of entry, is like leaving behind the world of the known and predictable for a space that has been filled only by the imagination.

It's ironic that so many of one's countrymen have been here as soldiers over the past 15 years and yet Angola — the other side of the culture — remains unknown in the ordinary sense.

At Santa Clara the mind's map stops, now only curiosity fuels the journey with the few names that ring a bell from the official war reports that were released by the SADF during its period of foreign occupation.

Ongive rings one bell. It was a favourite target and was effectively destroyed in the early '80s, bombed for the first time in 1981 — "and then over and over", say your Angolan hosts.

Once a cattle-country town of about 12,000 people in a generous savanna landscape, it is now a hulk of a place in which bombed and roofless houses stare vacantly at the

## Savimbi in talks to end Angolan war

RABAT — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and a senior Portuguese official discussed moves towards ending Angola's 15-year-old civil war during a meeting in Rabat, a rebel spokesman said yesterday.

*6 Day 1979*  
The Tuesday night meeting with Portuguese Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs José Manuel Durao Barroso centred on the pos-

sibility of holding a third round of talks this month between Luanda authorities and the rebel group Unita led by Savimbi.

"No date has been fixed yet. Durao Barroso will be getting back to Luanda to make proposals," the spokesman said.

He said Savimbi, who arrived in Rabat on Sunday, had also met Moroccan officials. King Hassan has

been giving Unita military assistance for several years in co-operation with Western powers, diplomats said.

They said Durao Barroso, who has hosted two rounds of Unita-Luanda talks since April, delivered a message to Savimbi from Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.

Portugal has played an active part in diplomatic moves to end the conflict since it granted independence to Angola in 1975.

Sources close to the peace talks say the two sides are still far apart on several issues, including a timetable for Angolan general elections. — Sapa-  
Reuter.

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# Star 30/7/80 Chissano, Dos Santos bend before winds of twin wars

Angola and Mozambique have been unstable since the military government of mainland Portugal decided in 1975 to cut its losses in its African provinces and leave them to their own callow devices.

Prelimo in Mozambique was bequeathed an economy on its uppers, riddled with sabotage by white Mozambicans and Portuguese expatriates who felt betrayed by the parent nation's act of surrender.

Departing industrialists poured wet cement into their valuable machinery and set fire to factories and homes.

Hundreds of businessmen, professional people, skilled artisans and technicians left the country in fear of the new order.

The exodus from Angola was even quicker and more panic-stricken, though there was some humour in the going.

Refugees were allotted 5 sq m of deck space on Portuguese naval and merchant vessels. Some of the wealthy businessmen of Luanda took advantage of this stipulation to liberate their possessions by fleeing three times and more.

While there was much less economic sabotage in Angola, the MPLA party inherited a transitional government debacle which soon degenerated into an urban war. And, thereafter, proper and widespread



Joaquim Chissano (left) and Jose Eduardo dos Santos are a curious Tweedledum and Tweedledee pair fighting for their political lives against the pathetic backdrop of war in southern Africa. Both have inherited former Portuguese colonies under threat from rebel forces. Both are now trying to negotiate with the leaders of those factions to bring peace to their countries. JOHN RYAN of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

civil warfare that has continued ever since. So the vast potential of a country which could be one of the continent's richest remains inhibited, these 15 years on. And the latent resources of Mozambique are equally frozen.

Presidents Chissano and Dos Santos are remarkably similar in other aspects of their situation. They are also, clearly, friends, choosing to sit together at conferences of the Front-line states, the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement.

It is an affinity wrought as much by an acknowledgment that they share a common heritage as by the fact that both are Portuguese-speaking African states. Though he does not look it, Joaquim Chissano is the older

by almost three years. The Mozambican president is 50, Eduardo dos Santos going on 48.

Both emerged from humble beginnings. Chissano's family came from the rural Gaza province, north-west of Maputo, and he went to primary school at Xai-Xai.

Chissano was one of the first students from needy families to be educated at the Antonio Salazar High School in Lourenco Marques, where he matriculated in the late '50s.

Although an average student, he managed to win a bursary to study medicine in Portugal. But in 1960, after failing anatomy, he and several other Mozambicans established Ureimo (the Mozambican Students' Union) in France.

Two years later, Chissano became a founding member of Prelimo.

Eduardo Dos Santos was the son of a stonemason and a domestic servant. He joined the MPLA movement in 1961 after attending high school in Luanda. He left the country when the Portuguese security police began taking an interest in his political activities.

Dos Santos became vice-president of the MPLA's

youth league in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) and was the movement's first representative in Brazzaville.

In 1963, the MPLA sent him to Moscow to study. Six years later he graduated as a petroleum engineer. He also took a course in military communications before returning to take part in the war against Portuguese domination.

Dos Santos took over from Agostinho Neto, who died after an operation in September 1979. His election to the presidency was a surprise.

So, to a lesser degree, was Chissano's after the controversial death of Samora Machel in November 1986. Many in government in Mozambique still believe South African elements were to blame for the downing of Machel's aircraft.

There are other similarities between the two presidents. Both are having to stand firm against hawks in their armies.

Whereas Machel was regarded primarily as a military man by the Prelimo generals, Chissano was seen as a politician first.

And some in the army have been critical of his conciliatory attitude towards Renamo. They believe — with little evidence

on the ground — that they could have routed the rebels, given enough time.

Dos Santos has also run into flak from hardliners. They think he should have put pressure on Namibia's Sam Nujoma, whose Swapo fighters Angola harboured for so many years, to allow Fapla forces to use the former South African bases at Rundu and Katima Mulilo for jugular attacks on Unita's Jamba stronghold.

Nor have the hawks in either camp been enamoured with recent suggestions by the two leaders that they would be prepared to accept a multi-party system.

Dos Santos's party took that decision earlier this month, clearly in the hope that it would force the United States to end its military support for Unita.

Joaquim Chissano has been more guarded, saying he will go along with the concept if a multi-party system is what his people want.

If certainly seems to be, just as it has become clear to both the Angolan and Mozambican nations that 15 traumatic years of war — half a generation of conflict — constitutes no independence at all.



## US will aid Unita until peace efforts bear fruit <sup>3</sup>

LUANDA — The US will continue to assist Unita until peace efforts bear fruit, a senior US diplomat said on Tuesday.

At a news conference after holding talks with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Jeffrey Davidow said he would not propose restraint on American support for Unita.

"The US will continue to supply appropriate assistance to Unita until such time as there is a process of national reconciliation under way," he said.

Davidow, deputy assistant US Secretary of State, met Dos Santos during a two-day visit to Angola to probe the government's willingness to set up a multi-party system as part of a peace agreement.

He declined to go into detail on the prospects of a breakthrough in talks to end Angola's civil war, but he said his meeting with

Dos Santos took place in a cordial and frank atmosphere.

Portugal has hosted two rounds of discreet talks between the MPLA government and Unita and a third meeting is due shortly.

Dos Santos has won his party's endorsement for a gradual shift to a multi-party system if the war ends. But Unita leader Jonas Savimbi says that in return for recognising the Luanda government he wants recognition now as an opposition leader.

Davidow said: "After these talks we have a better understanding of many of the points of view of the government, and that is a positive development."

"The recent movements by the Angolan government towards multi-partyism, economic liberalisation and political reforms were important steps ..." — Sapa-Reuter.

Large insurance call f

## US talks in Angola on peace and poverty

WASHINGTON. — A United States delegation will meet Angola's government this weekend to discuss stalled peace talks with Unita and efforts to feed hungry Angolans.

The State Department confirmed that Mr Jeffrey Davidow, No 2 official in the African Affairs Bureau, Mr Jim Woods of the Defence Department and two other officials would travel to Luanda tomorrow.

In spite of the urgency of providing food in both government and rebel-held territory, international relief efforts have been stalled by disagreement between the warring sides over the supply routes.

### BACKLOGS AT PORTS

Several international helpers have revoked their pledges of food because of backlogs at Angola's ports and pilfering of relief supplies.

The International Committee of the Red Cross, which is leading the relief project, has decided that airlifts are too expensive and is trying to arrange safe passage through land corridors for trucks to carry the supplies.

The organisation estimates 250 000 people are in immediate need.

The United States refuses to establish diplomatic relations with Angola although US officials meet periodically with the Angolans. The United States provides Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi with more than R150 million every year in weapons. The Soviets send Angola R1 800 million in weapons annually, according to the State Department. — Sapa-AP;

# Angola hopes to stop US aid to Unita

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LUANDA. — Angola's Marxist government hopes its promise to create a multi-party system will persuade the United States to suspend military aid to Unita rebels after 15 years of civil war.

Official sources said Luanda hoped to impress upon US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Jeffrey Davidow, due in the country today, that it was serious about ending its one-party rule if the war stops.

Mr Davidow will spend two days in Luanda and meet Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem and other officials.

## POLITICAL PLURALISM

The sources, close to the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), said there were "high hopes" that the government's promise last month to move towards political pluralism when peace was established might influence Washington to stop aid to Unita.

Washington has no diplomatic relations with the MPLA.

A senior Portuguese government official announced last week that a third round of talks between Unita and the MPLA government would be held in Portugal soon.

Meanwhile, Angola has accused Unita of spreading false propoganda about high level corruption in the country's state-owned diamond and oil companies to undermine their reputation abroad.

President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos said in a statement Unita had given false information to Portuguese media alleging officials of the Endiama diamond company and Sonangol oil company had embezzled hundreds of millions of dollars.

"It is easy to understand the reasons that led Unita to take an interest in attempting to undermine the reputation and prestige of the mainstays of the Angolan economy," it said.

"Two of the (Portuguese) media have not hidden the fact that all their information was passed on to them by the magazine *Terra Angolana*, Unita's new medium in Portugal," it added.

Portuguese media reports have alleged corruption among very senior government officials and claimed the cases brought before the courts covered only the "small fry". — Sapa-Reuter.

# Savimbi aims for peace

By PATRICIA CHENEY  
Washington

ANGOLAN rebel leader Jonas Savimbi has proposed a plan for peace talks with the Luanda government that could lead to a ceasefire by the end of this year and multiparty elections by the end of the next.

The five-point plan, announced here by Unita representative Jardo Muekalia, calls for:

- "Explicit mutual recognition" by Luanda and Unita of each other as political parties.
- A firm commitment to multiparty democracy and free, fair elections.
- A ceasefire monitored by an outside organisation such as the UN.
- The formation of a national army.
- Assurances of freedom of speech, religion, liberty and association.

## Concessions

Mr. Muekalia criticised the MPLA government for refusing to allow other political parties, despite claims that it was heading towards democracy.

He also said Unita had made important concessions to the Luanda government and that the time had come for it "to back up its democratic rhetoric with a concrete timetable" for a multiparty system.

These concessions included recognising President Jose Eduardo dos Santos as head of state and dropping a demand for Unita to be part of a transitional government until elections could be held.

Government spokesman Francisco da Cruz was quoted by the Washington Post as saying a ceasefire should be agreed on before negotiations about a multiparty system.

Star 2/8/90 (5)

## Problems with Angola talks - PM

LISBON — The Prime Minister of Portugal, host to peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita rebels, said yesterday there were still great problems to resolve.

Anibal Cavaco Silva told reporters a third round of peace talks in Portugal was expected in the first half of this month, although an exact date had not yet been set.

He said a flurry of contacts in recent weeks between United States, Portuguese, Angolan and

Unita officials was aimed at advancing towards an eventual ceasefire to end the 15-year-old civil war.

But Mr Cavaco Silva cautioned against expecting too much from the next round of talks.

"There are still great difficulties and I do not venture to say that they will be completely overcome in the next meeting," he said, without elaborating.

Exploratory contacts in April and June in Portugal have un-

locked an impasse in peace moves since a short-lived verbal truce broke down a year ago.

But all parties say there are differences on several points, including the demand by Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) for recognition as an opposition movement.

Unita has been particularly active on the battlefield lately and said yesterday it had killed at least 107 soldiers in Angola over the past week. — Reuter.

# Troops out (5)

MORE than 35 000 Cuban troops have been withdrawn from Angola under peace accords signed in December 1988, says Cuba's Armed Forces Ministry. The remainder of the troops are due to return home by mid-1991.

5/11/89 518790

*Cap. Times 9/18/90*  
**Troops desert  
MPLA units**

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Large-scale desertions from government military units stationed in the northern provinces of Angola have been reported by Unita's news agency, KUP, the SABC's Africa desk said yesterday.

KUP said that in one incident desertions had reduced a battalion in Zaire province by a third.

The agency said MPLA military commanders in charge of units in Uige, Zaire, Kwanza Norte, Malange and Cuando Cuabango provinces were threatening to refuse to carry out any orders by the Luanda government if no steps were taken to end the desertions. — Sapa

# Unita 'exporting R109m in diamonds'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The rebel group, Unita, is estimated to be exporting diamonds worth up to R109 million annually from Angola.

In the latest edition of Africa Confidential it is reported that one of the main purchasers of the Unita diamonds is "said to be Fernando Lopes, the former Portuguese settler whose Frama company had the main contract to trade with Unita in the days when it received huge South African backing from northern Namibia".

The journal claims that Mr Lopes is "working out of an island in the Kavango River in Caprivi".

"Also said to be involved in the diamond business is a Windhoek businessman of Portuguese origin, who is

close to senior Swapo officials."

It adds that "a mystery continues to hang over the presence in Windhoek of a representative of Lazare Kaplan International (LKI), the New York diamond company headed by Maurice Tempelman".

Despite this presence, it says, an LKI spokesman said the company had done no business in Namibia.

Africa Confidential says Windhoek itself is "rife with rumours of political involvement in diamond-smuggling, with several cabinet ministers said to be implicated in the trade". The gems are allegedly smuggled out of the Consolidated Diamond Mines at Oranjemund, by workers, many of them migrants from Ovamboland.



# Angola Update

ONDJIVA - Nothing in this southern Cunene province town appears to support a Unita claim that the Angolan army had massed over 2 500 men here in readiness for an attack on rebel headquarters at Jamba.

And if a build-up of this size was possible to hide from a passing journalist, an organiser from a neutral food-aid organisation who had been in the town for some months, has similarly seen no recent increase in military activity.

Unita's Chief-of-Staff, General Arlindo Chenda Isaac Pena Ben-Ben claimed in Lisbon last week that three Fapla infantry brigades and one artillery brigade were concentrated at Ondjiva and had been inspected by senior Fapla officials and Soviet military advisors.

He said the build-up was part of a planned offensive against Unita's southern frontier to the east in Cuando Cubango province.

## Propaganda

The allegation came at the time when Unita and the Angolan government were supposedly beginning round three of their highly secretive peace talks in Portugal, a meeting for which Unita claimed the government representatives did not show and which, on Friday, was announced would now take place at the end of August.

Noting that the timing of Ben-Ben's claim was ripe with propaganda potential, diplomats and Unita observers suggested a cool approach to his claims, saying the general's was not usually the voice heard in the political posturings between the two opposing sides.

On Thursday, however, a Unita statement reiterated the claims. What made the next part of the process rather unusual was not the apparently fruitless trip to Ondjiva in search of corroborating evidence but the fact that within 36 hours of the second statement I was in Ondjiva, the Angolan government having agreed with unprecedented speed to my request to allow a representative of an independent newspaper group to see for herself.

The 15-year Angolan civil war has been one of the uncovered

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WHILE parties in the Angolan peace talks were reportedly hoping to reach a ceasefire agreement, Unita rebels put out the claim that the Angolan army was planning an offensive on Unita's south-eastern territory from Ondjiva, westwards just north of the Namibian border. Seeking independent evidence, Dale Lautenbach of the Argus Africa News Service drove to Ondjiva in search of the mass Fapla presence alleged.

conflicts. Each major battle has had as many claims for victory as there have been parties involved and there has been no-one to tell the real score.

An excessively closed regime in Luanda has issued statements through its government mouthpieces and escorted the international Press on the odd sortie to locations chosen by the military. Unita's Jonas Savimbi is renowned in turn for organising junkets to Jamba where he too makes his point to journalists before escorting them safely on their way.

## Involvement

During its involvement in Angola, the SADF declared the war a similarly no-go area to anyone seeking a free flow of information.

Ondjiva is about 35km north of the Namibian border by road and exactly a month ago I travelled the same road so was able to compare the military presence in the area.

As last time, there were three military checkpoints along the way, manned, as before, by small groups (less than 10) of combined Fapla, military police and civilian police forces.

The only new sight was the burnt-out hulk of a truck about halfway to Ondjiva, the road still scarred with the black marks of destruction. My Angolan guide said it had been a Namibian commercial vehicle, ambushed by Unita on July 26.

In the last two months, two other vehicles had hit landmines planted along this road by Unita recently, he said.

Red Cross officials I spoke to in Ondjiva later confirmed treating landmine victims in this period and said "it's not easy working here - you never know where there's a landmine".

My guide also took an AK-Super out of our car boot once we had crossed into Angola. "You get some Unita's here," he said, explaining as we waved to the odd Fapla soldier along the way that one could never be sure whether they were Fapla or Unita ... a well-worn bush uniform lost all dead-sure identifiability.

One aspect of Unita's claim which did prove valid was that Fapla had established a logistics base at Ondjiva. Major Jose Vergilio is in command of this recent development and said between two and 300 soldiers, police and border guards were deployed in the Cunene province "for security".

Explaining the creation of the logistics base, he said that following Namibian independence, it was now possible for Angola to trade with that country, unlocked as it was from official South African ties.

## Afrikaans

There was laughter and a laconic shrugging of shoulders when I pointed out the Afrikaans label on the coffee which ended our "open-air" lunch in the major's half-bombed, half-reconstructed house and HQ.

The purpose of the logistics base was to distribute food to the local population, said the major, in the absence of a functioning civilian administration in a country at war: the military did the job.

So show me your stores, I said. And they did: a big warehouse packed with bags of millet and white sugar, all marked ex-Otavi, Namibia.

The major said too that the sporadic Unita activity on this road was aimed at interrupting the commercial traffic now venturing for the first time in years into the Cunene and as far as Lubango, capital of Huila province just to the north.

Huila, Cunene and Namibe provinces have been fairly quiet militarily for some time and provincial officials are seeking to reconstruct this area shattered by SADF occupation of the last decade.

Following my previous trip, a Namibian construction company confirmed this and said it had already quoted for the rebuilding of Ondjiva.

Coincidentally, I met three of the company's engineers at the border this time. They had been in Lubango, negotiating. They were depressed.

## Socialist

The Angolan will to rebuild was genuine enough but trying to dovetail free-market thinking with Angolans who are just beginning to revise their socialist ways was a headache.

Continuing the search for massed Fapla, I asked to see Ondjiva airport, a few kilometres out of town. There was nothing to be seen. A few soldiers along the way and a bombed airport building, destroyed in 1983, by Unita.

The town of Ondjiva, bombed by the SADF for the first time in 1981, remains a shell of a place and nothing on a weekend afternoon here betrayed the presence of a force of 2 500 men.

But perhaps they had all been hidden? Could such a grand deception be staged for a single journalist at 36 hours notice? Bernie Hutchinson, the chief of logistics for Care International food aid organisation, had been in Ondjiva a few months and was freer than his Red Cross colleagues to talk to me.

Had he seen an increase in the number of military personnel carriers and tanks in the area of late? "I haven't seen personnel carriers or tanks here, period," he said.

# Unita, <sup>AP 7/2/80</sup> MPLA <sup>7/18/80</sup> to talk <sup>S</sup> today

LISBON. — US-backed Unita rebels said they would meet the leftist Angolan government for a third set of peace talks today but ruled out progress on ending 15 years of war unless they won formal recognition.

The meeting would probably take place in the Portuguese capital or nearby, Unita's Lisbon representative Mr Adolosi Paulo Mango Alicerces told Reuters.

At the top of the agenda is Unita's demand for formal recognition as an opposition political movement by the ruling MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) which it has been battling since independence from Portugal in 1975.

He said other matters to be discussed were a shift to a multiparty system, a date for general elections, setting up a single army and how to implement a ceasefire.

# Angolan talks <sup>Mc-708</sup> still at <sup>29/8/90</sup> impasse

LISBON. — Portuguese diplomats searched for a breakthrough yesterday to end the apparent deadlock in negotiations between the Angolan government and Unita.

But as talks in Lisbon to end the 15-year civil war entered their second day, a ceasefire seemed unlikely.

Unita are demanding government acceptance of a series of political demands before they will accept a truce, including recognition as an opposition force, a fixed date for multiparty elections, and agreement on the formation of a national army.

The government has agreed in principle to Angola's transition into a multiparty democracy, but says the fighting must stop before major political changes.

However, Angola's parliament, the Peoples Assembly, is due to vote today on a government proposal to break constitutional links between the Angolan armed forces and the ruling MPLA.

Observers in the capital Luanda said the constitutional changes could open the way for the creation of a national army.

The Lisbon talks opened on Monday in a heavily-guarded military studies institute in a western suburb of the Portuguese capital. — Sapa-AP.

# Bid to end Angolan civil war resumes

Sowetan  
29/8/90

**Sowetan  
Correspondent**

LISBON - Efforts to end Angola's 15-year civil war have resumed here, as representatives from the Angolan government and the Unita rebels meet for a third round of direct discussions.

Diplomats were guarded as to the chances of progress, as long as the two sides remain as far apart over the key issues of a ceasefire and of formal recognition by Luanda of Unita as a political movement.

## Ready

The Unita guerrilla movement led by Dr Jonas Savimbi says it is ready to sign a ceasefire, but its officials have repeatedly stressed that progress will depend on the movement's formal recognition.

Luanda wants a ceasefire first, to be followed by further negotiations to set out the principles of a final political



**JONAS SAVIMBI**

settlement which would include explicit recognition of Unita.

An Angolan government announcement last month that it would "evolve towards a multi-party system" - one of Unita's main demands - had raised hopes of progress in the current round of talks.

## Cloud

But repeated postponements of the meeting amid accusations of inflexibility from each side, and the last-minute

downgrading of Unita's delegation to the talks, have cast a cloud over the possible outcome of this week's meeting.

"It's got off to a rocky start, but the impression we get is that both sides want a settlement, and the gaps are not insurmountable," a diplomat said.

Mutual suspicions have not been reduced by the failure of previous attempts to end the war.

(5)  
B 1004 29/8/90

# Portuguese search for way of saving Angolan talks

LISBON — Portuguese diplomats searched for a breakthrough yesterday to end the apparent deadlock in negotiations between the Angolan government and US-backed Unita rebels.

But as talks in Lisbon to end 15-year civil war entered their second day, a ceasefire agreement seemed unlikely.

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They want recognition as an opposition force, a fixed date for multiparty elections, and agreement on the formation of a national army.

The Marxist government has agreed in principle to Angola's transition into a multiparty democracy, but says the fighting must stop before major political changes.

However, Angola's parliament, the People's Assembly, was to vote today on a government proposal to break constitutional links between the Angolan armed forces and the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.

Observers in Luanda said the constitutional changes could open the way for the creation of a national army.

The Lisbon talks opened on Monday in a heavily guarded military studies institute in a western suburb of the Portuguese capital.

Angola's state-run radio accused Unita on Monday of delaying a ceasefire until after a US Congress vote scheduled for mid-September on a proposed increase in

arms supplies to the rebels.

If a truce is reached, "Congress might not vote for the increase... and Unita does not want to take that risk," said the radio report.

The Bush administration has asked Congress to add \$10m-\$15m to the estimated \$50m in arms sent annually to the rebels, Washington sources said in June.

According to Portuguese Press reports yesterday, the talks opened with a dispute over the composition of the two delegations.

Government officials protested that Unita had not kept a pledge to upgrade their delegation.

## Led team

The government replied by switching the leadership of their team from Col Fernando Piedade, deputy minister for state security, to Antonio Pitra, a close adviser to President José Eduardo dos Santos, said the reports.

Pitra led government negotiators at the earlier rounds.

Unita's delegation was headed by the rebels' Lisbon representative Gen Paulo Alicerces Mango, who led Unita's team at the previous meetings in Portugal.

Unita has been fighting the Soviet-backed government since Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

An initial ceasefire brokered by Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko in June 1989 collapsed within days. — Sapa-AP.

# Angolans discuss economic reform

6/20/90 30/8/90  
 LUANDA — Angola's parliament began a four-day meeting yesterday with plans for reforming an economy devastated by 15 years of civil war topping the agenda, the state newspaper Jornal de Angola said.

It said the session, which ends on Saturday, would hear details of the 1989/90 economic recovery plan, the state budget and the state's policy outline for the year.

Reports earlier this month said the Council of Ministers had given the go-ahead for tax reforms designed to increase government revenue and cut state spending this year by 50%.

## Devaluation

A full package of economic reform measures, which has yet to be made public, has been described as an austerity plan by those who have seen it.

Among components of the plan, according to published reports and information given to Reuter, is the intended devaluation of the Kwanza currency unit to 60 to the US dollar from its present rate of just under 30 to the dollar.

The black market rate, now around 1 800 to the dollar, has reached highs of 2 200.

The MPLA government and US-backed rebels Unita have been at war since independence from Portugal in 1975.

Angola, which gets 90% of its revenue from oil production, has had to plough

about half its income into defence spending.

Economic specialists in Luanda said the planned economic austerity measures, which fall within the scope of a broad plan agreed with the IMF, were bound to cause hardship to a large segment of the population.

Meanwhile, reports from Lisbon were that Portuguese mediators tried yesterday to unblock an impasse in peace talks between Angola's leftist government and Unita.

The two sides began a third day of bargaining with diplomats unsure they could agree on a ceasefire to end the war.

"Neither side wants to make concessions. They're being very inflexible," one source said about the deadlocked meeting at a military installation near Lisbon.

Unita insists on immediate recognition and a firm date for multi-party elections before signing a ceasefire accord.

But the MPLA wants a truce first to ensure a peaceful transition to political pluralism. Recognition would come later.

The talks were the third between the foes hosted by former colonial ruler Portugal in five months.

Unita has been scoring military advances in the country's north and could profit from the phased withdrawal of the MPLA's Cuban backers by mid-1991. Unita denies this and accuses the MPLA of launching a big southern offensive. — Sapa-Reuter.

LISBON. — A third round of peace talks between Angola's government and Unita rebels ended without a ceasefire accord to end 15 years of civil war, Portuguese mediators said yesterday.

But they said progress had been made in unblocking an impasse over demands by Unita for formal recognition by the ruling MPLA and the two foes would meet again next month.

"Both parties showed interest in continuing this dialogue and agreed to meet again in Portugal in the second half of September," Foreign Affairs Secretary of State Mr Jose Durao Barroso told reporters after the four-day meeting here.

But much of the meeting was deadlocked by Unita's demands for formal recognition as a political opposition group.

Mr Durao Barroso said Unita was now willing to accept being recognised

# Angolan talks end with no ceasefire

merely as a "partner in the search for peace".

Meanwhile Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday denied delaying a ceasefire in the Angolan civil war because of future US congressional votes on aid to his rebel movement.

Dr Savimbi was speaking in an interview with the Voice of America.

The American Congress is expected to vote on aid to Unita in October and US officials have said that once there is a ceasefire and a political agreement there will be no reason to continue aid. — Sapa-Reuters

**37 000 Cubans out**

*AP 1/11/88  
4/9/88*

HAVANA. — More than 37 000 Cuban troops had been withdrawn from Angola by August 31 under peace accords signed by Angola, South Africa and Cuba in December 1988, the armed forces ministry said.

**Develop Africa — pope**



poned to September 26.

*CMT T-15 12/9/90*

## Joint Commission meets

PRETORIA — The South African director general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, will leave here for Windhoek today to attend another meeting of the Joint Commission to review the status of Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

# We're talking to Cubans

Sowetan 12/9/90



WINDHOEK - The ninth ordinary session of the Joint Commission between South Africa, Angola, Cuba and Namibia is due to begin here tomorrow.

South African Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden will lead the South African delegation and the chief of the Angolan Defence Force and deputy Minister of Defence, General Antonio do Santos Franca Ndalú, will lead the Angolan delegation.

Mr Peter Tsheehama, Namibian deputy Minister

for State Security, will lead a 13-person Namibian delegation and chair the meeting.

The Joint Commission was established following the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol which set the ball rolling for the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia. The forum was designed to facilitate discussion and the resolution of any dispute arising from the tripartite agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

FIM 1419190 (5)

Mack, who is also a friend of mine. I think Congress will continue aid . . . at least at the same level."

"Unita says the MPLA forces are using toxic gas. They showed me canisters which they claim contained the gases. They told me there have been about 4 000 victims, all showing signs of paralysis of the lower limbs and lung problems. People have reported the smell of onions, garlic and peanuts before they lost consciousness. Apparently this indicates certain kinds of poison gases."

During his visit, McKee was accompanied to the Jamba hospital by director of medical services Dr Manassas Neto, who told him that the International Red Cross has shown little interest in the allegations. "Neto told me that doctors from Germany, Belgium, the UK and Spain have all substantiated that chemical weapons were used, after they visited the hospital. The Red Cross, however, only gives aid to the Luanguado hospital, which is a seven-hour drive from Jamba."

McKee says he has also been shown large craters in the ground which Unita alleges were caused by napalm. "I could see that the trees in the area were severely burnt."

Unita is optimistic that it is making gains in the war. "But they are worried about another MPLA offensive from the south-west. And they claim that Namibian air space is being used by MiG fighters to level out their approach during bombing. They also allege that the Soviets are still unloading weapons to MPLA and that there has been more Soviet involvement since the Cubans have left."

Unita thinks the MPLA will continue to use their massive mechanised units to attack. "That is why they are stalling the peace process which was started some time ago."

McKee says he has not detected any animosity by Unita against SA since Pretoria stopped all aid to the rebel organisation. "But they are in need of medical supplies and the drought is causing a severe food shortage."

Eddie Botha

ANGOLA (5)  
**YEARS OF WAR** FIM 1419190

**Angola's** Eduard dos Santos has become the Saddam Hussein of southern Africa, by allowing chemical weapons to be used against Unita rebels. So says a US legal adviser to Unita's Jonas Savimbi, after visiting the Jamba headquarters of Unita. The adviser was told by Unita that chemical weapons are being used by the ruling MPLA troops.

In another development in the long civil war between the forces of Savimbi and Dos Santos, it is alleged that Soviet-built and supplied MiG fighter planes crossed Namibian air space to launch attacks on the rebel forces.

This is the message which commanders at Jamba have given to Clarence McKee, a US legal adviser to the Unita leader. In an interview with the *FM* after his return, McKee, a former appointee of President Ronald Reagan to the White House's board of legal resources, said he would report back to various US congressmen on Capitol Hill in Washington.

McKee, an American black who led the Republican Party's Washington delegation to its convention in Dallas in 1984, says Congress is ready to vote on its aid to Unita again. "I'll advise some congressmen, as well as Florida Republican Senator Connie



McKee at Jamba . . . disturbing claims

# Superpowers focus on Angola 5

WASHINGTON - The United States and the Soviet Union have offered to send officials to take part in the next round of peace talks aimed at ending the Angolan civil war, the US State Department said.

"We have been discussing recently with the Soviets how we might vote best to contribute to advancing the Angola peace process," said department spokesman Richard Boucher.

Peace negotiations remain deadlocked

over the demand by Unita for immediate recognition and the Marxist government of Angola's insistence on a ceasefire first.

"We have offered to provide experts at the technical level for the next round of talks between Unita and Luanda authorities to be held under Portuguese auspices, and we continue to urge both sides to move forward on the peace process," said Boucher. - Sapa-Reuter

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# Angola gears up to stir the global coffee market

LUANDA — Angola, once the world's fourth largest coffee producer, is still fighting an agricultural battle to stop a long-running civil war draining away its pre-independence riches.

But growing moves towards peace and a plan to revive the flagging sector have raised cautious hopes of a return to profitability in the foreseeable future, Secretary of State for Coffee Filomeno Ceita said in an interview.

The plan included privatisation of some state coffee estates and finding ways around transport problems by paying 3.5% of the market price as commission to any agent who can get a coffee crop to the coast, he said.

"We don't have exact figures, but we can give an example: as a direct consequence of the war, from 1987 to 1989 our export earnings fell from around \$23m to \$13m," Ceita said.

Angolan production available for export by volume has also declined in recent years, going from about 14 000 tons in 1985 to 15 000 in 1986, about

16 000 in 1987, down to 10 000 in 1988 and 1989, Ceita added.

"But I don't think it will be difficult to move back to around 20 000 tons by 1992," he said.

"We think that from 1992, and in conditions of peace, production could slowly go up to maybe 30 000 tons or 35 000 tons by 1995. Of course this will depend very much on the state of the external market."

## Nosedive

In 1974, the year before independence, Angola supplied 19% of world Robusta imports and exported 215 000 tons of the coarse beans used to make instant powdered coffees.

The civil war, which made it difficult to get crops to the coast, and the abandoning of an international export quota system last year, which caused world prices to nosedive, led to lower production.

"The problems with transport are linked to security," Ceita said. "They are also linked to the state of the roads, as in some zones it is impossi-

ble to use lorries and this impedes transport."

Ceita said Angola planned to change export regulations to make it easier for small private producers to band together and export coffee.

A plantation privatisation scheme — through auctions — was announced in January and was being implemented.

Ceita said as yet there was no foreign participation in the industry. He said the basic incentive for foreigners was the right to transport and export their own coffee.

Foreigners investing in Angola would be invited to set up joint ventures with the Angolan government, in which the government would provide the estates, but would not take part in management. Profits would be shared, he said.

Portuguese as well as other foreign companies were interested.

"There are English groups, for example, not only Lonrho but also other groups such as Booker-Tate," he said, adding that multinational groups were also interested. — Reuter.

LUANDA — The leaders of Angola and Namibia have signed economic accords pledging co-operation in a number of fields, including energy, transport and fishing.

Namibian President Sam Nujoma also said international aid to drought-stricken southern Angolan could pass through his country, said a joint statement released on Tuesday.

Nujoma met Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on Tuesday in Lu-bango. The visit was Nujoma's first to Angola as Namibian president.

## Dos Santos, Nujoma sign accords

Nujoma told Dos Santos Namibia would soon open an embassy in Luanda.

The statement said aid channelled through Namibia to the victims of southern Angola's drought must be subject to government controls.

The 15-year civil war between the government and US-backed Unita has hampered efforts to distribute aid to an estimated 1.4-million people threatened by starvation.

Unita offer to set up "peace corridors" to allow aid over borders and battle lines into government- and rebel-held territory has been rejected by Luanda. The government says such routes could be used by the US to move military supplies to Unita.

However, Dos Santos said on Tuesday his government welcomed any aid from the US or other Western nations. "We want this aid to reach all Angolans."

## AFRICA

The joint statement said the two presidents pledged to work for "stability on the common frontier to benefit the prosperity of the two countries and increase trade".

Since Namibian independence trade between the two countries has reopened. The first delivery of Angolan fuel oil was reported to have arrived in Namibia this week. Dam projects in southern Angola are supplying water and electricity to northern Namibia.

A fourth round of talks between the Angolan government and Unita is scheduled for next week. — Sapa-AP.

# Pretoria 'stepping up' Angolan peace efforts'

SA WAS in the process of stepping up its involvement in efforts to end the Angolan civil war, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden indicated yesterday.

Van Heerden told a meeting of the SA German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg yesterday that stability throughout southern Africa would remain fragile until the conflict between the MPLA government and Unita was resolved.

He had set aside this afternoon for dis-

PETER DELMAR

ussions with the Angolan delegation to the Joint Commission on Cuban troop withdrawals, meeting in Windhoek today.

SA's role in helping to end the war would be discussed, Van Heerden said.

The JMC meeting will be attended by SA, Angolan, Cuban and Namibian delegations, with US and Soviet observers.

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**Peace talks resume**

LISBON - Angolan peace talks resume this week with the two backstage players in one of Africa's nastiest conflicts finally seated openly at the negotiating table.



# Ceasefire consensus for Unita, MPLA

CAM-71a75  
29/9/90

LISBON. — Angola's leftist government and Unita rebels have agreed in principle to let their super-power backers monitor an eventual ceasefire in their 15-year civil war, Portuguese mediators said yesterday.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Mr Jose Durao Barroso told a news conference after four days of peace talks that the two sides reached consensus on various points of a ceasefire mechanism although an accord was not yet ready to sign.

Details had to be worked out but one major point of agreement in principle was that Unita and the MPLA government's respective allies — Washington and Moscow — and Portugal would help oversee an eventual truce to guarantee its success.

He said it was still unclear whether military personnel would be deployed in monitoring teams.

Mr Durao Barroso said there was also agreement in principle that formal recognition of Unita could take place simultaneously with a ceasefire signing.

During the talks the MPLA announced it would speed reforms over the next few months.

Unita and the MPLA will meet again in the last week of October. — Sapa-Reuter

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SPECTRUM

# SA'S 'looking glass' war

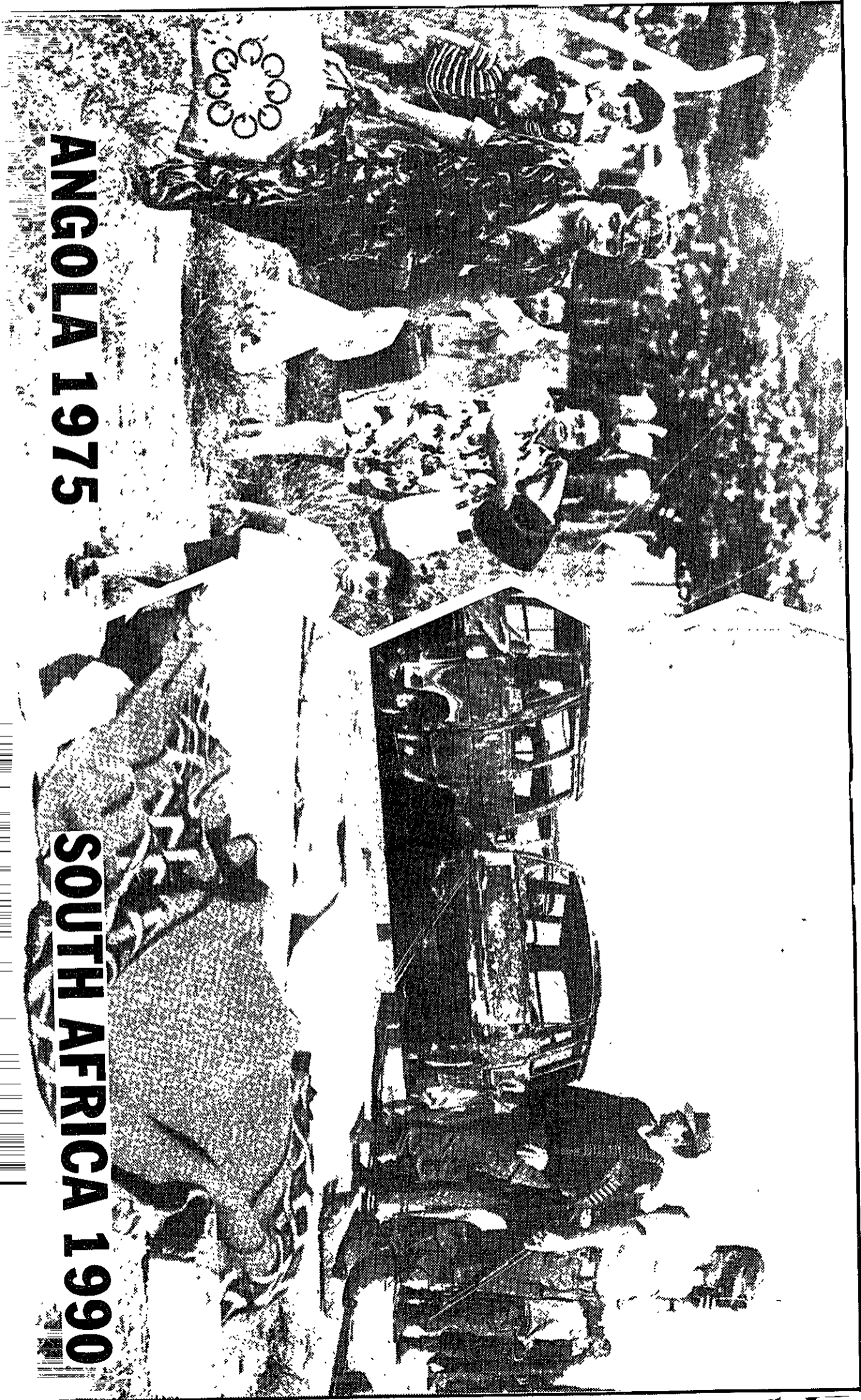
## Crackdown, troops' role, mirror '74 events in Angola

DAVID WILLERS

**T**HE sudden and unfortunate turn of events in SA last week culminating in a police crack-down and the semi-derailment of the peace process reminds one vividly of the situation in Angola in 1974-5. Indeed the situation generally in the country is reminiscent of the months following the coup in Lisbon in April 1974.

I was fortunate enough to be living in Luanda during those turbulent years and had, as it were, a "ringside" seat of events leading up to the declaration of Angolan independence in late 1975 under the MPLA govern-

ment. Every foreigner and every Portuguese settler was affected by the deterioration of law and order throughout Angola after the collapse in March 1975 when the MPLA was attacked by the

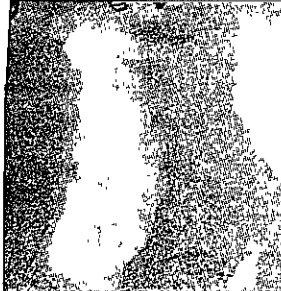


ANGOLA 1975

SOUTH AFRICA 1990



# Into a Slump?



## Predictions

Predictions of petrol at R2 a litre by the end of the year should a Gulf-crisis not be resolved

attending the IMF and World Bank conference in Washington this week, says interest rates cannot possibly be reduced at a time of soaring oil prices and a slowdown in world economic growth. "Higher oil prices will lead to lower living standards in South Africa," he told colleague Sven Lunsche who covered the conference for The Star.

In private, local economists are starting to discuss the possibility of the current downswing matching that of 1981/82/86. This contrasts with repeated statements by government economists that the downswing is unlikely to be as severe as the previous one. At the annual conference of the International Monetary Funds, which ended in Washington this week, it was stated that oil at \$30 per barrel will depress growth in the US economy by 0.5 percent and push up inflation by one percent.

socialist movement as the only realistic option (both the FNLIA and Unita lacking educated urbanised leadership) capable of running the new country. White army patrols were increasingly fired on by Unita and the FNLIA and when they lost their neutrality in the eyes of the locals they lost their effectiveness as a peace-keeping force.

is no different from what Unita thought. Its first response has been to protect its territorial turf before it is further marginalised. Hence the blood-letting which may or may not be aided and abetted by elements in the security forces, as people say. We shall see what the inquiries throw up. But in the big picture it hardly matters any more, because the findings will merely be further evidence which one or other party can latch on to as proof that the army cannot play an impartial peacekeeping role where the national movements are squaring up to fight a civil war.

Such was the relative confidence among whites that very few left Angola between April 1974 through to January 1975 when the transitional government was formed. Whites were confident the largely white army — with some integrated guerilla units — could keep the peace in the townships.

A move towards a rapid settlement seems to be called for at this stage if the troops are not to be hopelessly compromised. At least that's what history tells us, but then when do we ever learn anything from history, as events in the Middle East show!

However, it rapidly became apparent that, with the nationalist movements able to campaign openly for support in Angola for the first time, that the mistrust and hatred — both ideological, personal and tribal — built up over many years of underground and exile politics, was blowing up into open township fighting.

Indeed, Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last week that South Africa was already in a state of civil war.

The white army was soon accused of siding with the MPLA, because the authorities in Lisbon were thought to favour the

Indeed, Nelson Mandela has already said an alliance of sorts with the National Party is possible. What Inkatha thinks of all this

believe that white domination was still possible even after the revolution, because General Spinoza, during his five months in office, took very few steps towards decolonisation.

The author is editor of The Natal Witness in Pietermaritzburg.

ships around the capital.

In the months that followed, the Portuguese armed forces did their best by patrolling the townships in strength, but they were caught in the middle of the fighting and soon became targets themselves.

There were endless incidents where soldiers were accused of siding with one or other movement, and various inquiries, but all to little avail. The troops were demoralised, the political cost to the Portuguese government high and, when it became evident that neither the discarded transitional government nor the army could offer adequate protection, whites began to look to Portugal and South Africa as places of refuge.

After May 1975, open warfare between the nationalist movements — fought mainly in the townships, and very similar to the pattern of attacks we see today in Sebokeng and the townships around Maritzburg — provoked a massive exodus of Portuguese settlers and other foreigners from Angola.

The fighting was accompanied by a crime wave of random assaults on civilians throughout the country. People were hi-

acked from their cars by AK-47 firing militants, break-ins and murders became common, road blocks in the townships began to affect building operations and the normal servicing of facilities, and there was little either the police or the army could do.

Indeed the police were eventually disarmed at the insistence of the transitional government because they were not trusted to be neutrals. Not surprisingly, effective policing and crime detection all but collapsed.

The international airlift organised to evacuate whites from the former Portuguese colony was the culmination of a period of bitter disillusionment for local settlers, some of whom had the same enlightened hopes for the future of Angola as South African whites have for the future of this country.

Significant numbers of Angolan intellectuals and liberal businessmen had been campaigning for years for a release

from reactionary Portuguese rule. Many of them were descended from European forebears who had settled in Angola 500 years before and they felt as little attachment to the "motherland", say, as a 15th generation South African might feel for Holland.

This is not to pretend that they weren't fascist. Many of them were. But the Angolan white leadership increasingly recognised that some form of majority rule was the only way forward.

A number of white businessmen in Luanda shared the criticism that the Portuguese political leadership under Salazar, and later Caetano, was incapable of transcending anachronistic racial and colonial beliefs.

For the majority of less enlightened settlers in Angola, though, the coup was bad news because it portended the end of Portuguese rule in the country. But large numbers of Angolan whites continued to cling to the

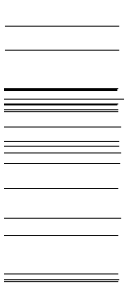
September 29 1975

Late gold

Hong Kong: \$405.55 (\$404.35)  
Zurich: \$406.25 (\$406.00)  
Frankfurt: \$407.04 (\$402.36)  
Paris: \$409.24 (\$404.15)  
London: \$404.75 (\$405.75)

FEATURING: MEDIA AND M

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PAGE 13

## Talk, talk ... but peace eludes Angola

LISBON: Talks between Angola's government and US-backed guerrillas, aimed at ending 15 years of civil war, entered a fourth day yesterday with no ceasefire accord in sight.

Sources close to the talks said Portuguese mediators were trying to break a deadlock over whether democratic reforms and mutual recognition should take place before or after a truce.

"It is very problematic, but at least they are still meeting," one diplomatic source said. *WMA 3118-27190*

Expectations had been high for the meeting, held at a Lisbon military instal-

lation. It is the third round in five months hosted by Portugal. But neither Unita nor the ruling MPLA wanted to make concessions, sources said. (5)

Talks were due to end on Tuesday but Portuguese Foreign Affairs Secretary of State Jose Durao Barroso extended them in the hopes that a compromise could be reached.

In Luanda on Wednesday, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told parliament he questioned Unita's commitment to peace. "While we use the language of peace Unita uses the language of war," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

# Savimbi predicts ceasefire by year-end

Blom 2/10/90

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, lobbying for a continuation of US military aid, is predicting a ceasefire with the MPLA by the end of the year followed by elections in 1991.

This follows the fourth round of talks between the parties in Lisbon last week at which the principles for a ceasefire and political settlement were broadly agreed upon, sources familiar with the negotiations said.

The principles will go into effect if and when the MPLA party conference in December amends the Angolan constitution to recognise Unita and permit multiparty elections.

The potential breakthrough comes amid growing co-operation on Ango-

la between the Soviet Union and the US. Both attended the latest talks as observers.

Pretoria also appears to have played a role in persuading Savimbi to enter ceasefire talks before the formal recognition by the MPLA of Unita as a political party.

Savimbi, who is to see President George Bush today, argues that any cut-off in US aid — now running at about \$50m a year — prior to the conference could make the MPLA think twice about recognising Unita.

LINDEN BIRNS reports that military experts said yesterday the Soviets were stepping up supplies of mili-

tary hardware to the MPLA.

They said this in the wake of reports that Cuban troop levels in Angola were higher than the 12 000 they should have been in terms of the multinational withdrawal plan.

They said the cash-strapped Soviets were selling — and not donating — equipment to the oil-rich Angolan government.

One expert said the Angolans were receiving obsolete technology at the same price as new equipment.

Yesterday Foreign Affairs spokesman Elsa Dry said the SA ambassador to Namibia, Riaan Eksteen, was monitoring the Cuban withdrawal and had reported that everything was going according to plan.

reach the top in commerce and

# Savimbi confident of ceasefire soon

(S)

Sowetan 2/10/90

WASHINGTON - The leader of Angola's US-backed rebels says he believes peace negotiations with the country's leftist government are so far advanced that a ceasefire is likely within the next three months.

"We feel the climate is favourable by the end of the year," Jonas



Savimbi, head of Unita, said in an interview. He based his optimism on the last round of negotiations with government repre-

sentatives, which ended on Thursday in Portugal.

Savimbi outlined his thoughts to two American reporters on Sunday at the start of a week-long round of official talks and media appearances. He meets President George Bush today.

## Leader

The veteran guerrilla leader seemed more upbeat about peace prospects than at any time since he took up arms against Portuguese colonial rule 25 years ago. He and his followers have been waging a bloody civil war against the Soviet-backed government for 15 years.

Savimbi said it should be possible for free elections to be held in Angola by the end of 1991 if all

goes according to plan. But he said the process could be upset if Congress denies his forces additional aid.

"If aid to Unita is put in doubt, then this is going to hamper tremendously the negotiating process," he said. The US assistance, provided covertly, is believed to average about R150 million annually. - Sapa-AP

## Reparations from Iraq

NEW YORK - Britain and the US are considering seeking a UN resolution to demand reparations from Iraq for damage inflicted on Kuwait since Baghdad's troops invaded the emirate, British officials said.

They said the idea, aimed at stepping up pressure on Iraq to pull out of Kuwait, was discussed at talks and a subsequent dinner between British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President George Bush on Sunday evening.

"There was considerable interest in a resolution to try to signal that reparations and war crimes are on our agenda," one official said. - Sapa-Reuter

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# Angolan war may end <sup>5</sup>

NEW YORK - The United States and the Soviet Union have indicated they would be willing to police a ceasefire and elections to end Angola's 15-year-old civil war, *The New York Times* reported.

A US-Soviet role in reaching a settlement was discussed last week in Portugal during the fourth round of negotiations between Luanda and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or UNITA, the paper said. A senior US State Department official told the paper that the Soviet

Union and United States had agreed to accept an invitation from the two Angolan sides to join in an international force that would work out and then supervise a ceasefire.

The official expressed optimism that the two sides in the Angolan conflict were closer to an agreement on elections, saying: "For the first time they are talking seriously about a ceasefire."

The superpowers have strong influence in Angola because of their roles in the conflict. Moscow supports Angola with 1,100 advisers, while

Washington has backed UNITA with 60 million dollars in military assistance.

A ceasefire was arranged last year under the mediation of President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire but it quickly broke down and the fighting intensified.

Soviet, US and Angolan officials told the *Times* they hoped the involvement of the two superpowers would make it more likely a ceasefire would hold this time. - *Sapa-Reuter*

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# Fireworks herald a united Germany

Sowetan 4/10/90



BERLIN - East and West Germany united amid street parties and fireworks on yesterday, burying 45 years of Cold War division and creating the richest and most populous state in Europe.

At the stroke of midnight, as a giant black, red and gold German flag was hoisted before Berlin's historic Reichstag building, the struggling ex-communist East joined the rich Western state it had long reviled.

Hundreds of thousands

of revellers, watched by nervous police, thronged central Berlin to cheer the



ceremony and millions more watched on television.

The Liberty Bell pealed throughout Berlin and President Richard von Weizsaecker proclaimed: "In free self-

determination we have completed the unity and freedom of Germany. We want to serve world peace in a united Europe."

Fireworks soared over the nearby Brandenburg Gate, until recently marooned behind the now-demolished Berlin Wall, and lit up the sky in cities across the new country of 79 million.

Unification - the end of the Cold War and catalyst to a new security structure in Europe - came 11 dramatic months after the Wall burst open under the pressure of mounting protests against

the East's Stalinist leaders.

At first feared by neighbours who had twice suffered at German hands this century, the merger won official approval all around after tireless diplomacy by Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his veteran Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

"The end of East Germany is a positive turn of the kind history only rarely allows," Lothar de Maiziere said in his final address as prime minister of the disappearing state.

## Savimbi's notion

5

WASHINGTON - Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has rejected the notion that Angola could be a part of a southern African economic common market as an idea that was premature.

Savimbi said this in answer to a question after speaking to the Congressional Task Force on Angola and Freedom House on Capitol Hill on Tuesday. Sowetan 4/10/90

He said it would be wrong for a new Angola to lock into a regional economic grouping without first establishing where else in the world it might get economic assistance to reconstruct its economy.



# Food convoy leaves to aid both sides in Angolan war

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The first consignment of food aid for the starving people of southern Angola to be taken across the Namibian border departs today under the flag of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

ICRC Windhoek director Mr Nicol Rougemont said a convoy of trucks would leave Otavi, carrying 150 tons of Namibian maize and 50 tons of beans.

Half the convoy would cross the border at Oshikango-Santa Clara for Lubango in Angolan government territory, while the rest of the trucks would reach rebel Dr Jonas Savimbi's

Unita-held territory through Bagani en route to Likue.

The arrangement follows negotiations in recent weeks to find a way of aiding the drought-stricken people of southern Angola.

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos accepted an offer, from Namibia at a meeting with President Sam Nujoma about three weeks ago, that its territory could be used to route the aid.

The Angolan government's primary concern has been that food aid reaching Unita-held territory should be monitored to prevent contraband reaching the rebels.

# Hungry Angolans get food <sup>5</sup> supplies

**WINDHOEK** - The first consignment of humanitarian food aid for the starving people of southern Angola using routes through the Namibian border departed yesterday under the flag of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

*Sowetan 9/10/90*  
ICRC director in Windhoek Mr Nicol Rougemont said a convoy of trucks carrying 150 tonnes of Namibian maize and 50 tonnes of beans would leave Otavi today.

Half the convoy would cross the border at Oshikango-Santa Clara for Lubango in Angolan government territory while the remainder of the

trucks would reach rebel Jonas Savimbi's Unita-held territory through Bagani en route to Likue.

## Arrangement

The arrangement follows intense negotiations in recent weeks to find a way of aiding the drought stricken people of southern Angola irrespec-

tive of which side of the war they found themselves on.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos accepted an offer from Namibia in a summit meeting with President Sam Nujoma about three weeks ago that its territory could be used to route the aid. - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

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Angola to get  
<sup>ARC. U.S. 10/10/70</sup> special UN <sup>(S)</sup>  
famine relief

NEW YORK. — The Angolan government and US-backed Unita rebels have agreed to an expanded UN relief programme aimed at reaching all famine victims, including those in conflict areas, a United Nations spokesman said here.

In recent months worsening conditions and increasing reports of death and malnutrition because of starvation in other areas had underscored the urgency of expanding the relief operations.

UN Secretary General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar had sent a mission to Luanda in August to discuss ways of widening the existing relief programmes to cover all provinces severely affected by drought and war-related famine. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Angolan peace but not on economic front

Washed 5/16 - 11/10/90

THE Angolan peace talks were overshadowed by rebel sabotage to the power supply and by the issuing of a new currency and accompanying 100 percent devaluation.

The peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita rebels, from September 24 to 27 in the Portuguese town of Sintra, were not conclusive, but produced a structure to work towards a ceasefire.

Inside Angola, the peace talks went largely unnoticed following the introduction of the first of the government's economic reform measures, including the issue of the kwanza (NKZ) and a 100 percent devaluation.

At the talks it was decided to set up two sub-committees to study the political and military aspects to be settled before a permanent ceasefire.

The political group, chaired by Portuguese secretary of state for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation Durao Barroso, includes the two delegation leaders, Antonio Pitra and Unita representative in Lisbon General Aliceces Mango. They have to resolve the question of recognising Unita as a legal political party.

On the military side, the team will be led by Portugal's military attache to Angola, former paratrooper Colonel Avelar de Sousa, and includes veteran Unita guerrilla Jorge Valentim and the Angolan president's military adviser, Colonel Jose Maria. They will decide how to disarm and demobilise the rebels.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said he expected a ceasefire to be reached by the end of this year. "We advanced so much that now the process for a ceasefire and elections is irreversible," he told a press

*Angolan peace talks move ahead, so does devaluation, but life is still tough in Luanda, reports ANITA COULSON*

conference in Washington. Savimbi met President George Bush and several key politicians to press for continued US military aid "to keep up the pressure on the Marxists in Luanda to continue seeking peace". The US is currently giving about \$600-million a year to Unita.

American officials announced that the US and Soviet Union have offered to jointly police a ceasefire and election to end Angola's 15-year war.

But it was the currency change which took Angolans by surprise. President José Eduardo dos Santos announced on September 21 that Angolans would have one week to exchange their old kwanzas for the new currency. The move, aimed at reducing the money supply, has left Angolans with little purchasing power.

After hours — and sometimes days — of standing in queues at banks, Angolans received just five percent of the value of their old kwanza notes. The other 95 percent would be kept in government debt bonds and bond notes to be issued to each individual. These bond notes will pay interest of eight percent a year but will not be redeemable for years.

The president said the ratio between the money supply and GDP had leapt from 30 percent in colonial times to about 143,8 percent. He said the currency had to be taken out of circulation to allow the other economic reforms to work. About KZ70-billion has been handed in (commercial firms are still

processing their old kwanzas) and only about three billion new kwanzas issued. As a result prices have gone haywire.

Luanda's buses are running virtually empty as no one has the correct change to pay the NKZ20 fare. After a week of intense price speculation in the markets, with people desperate to get rid of their old kwanzas and to buy up food stocks, vendors were reluctant to sell anything other than perishable produce. Bread, tomatoes, onions, peppers, which retailed at between 500 and 1,000 old kwanzas per 500g, are now selling for

between NKZ5 and NKZ20.

The black market is expected to be hard hit by the 400 percent tax slapped on international travel. It will no longer be possible to trade three crates of beer for a return ticket to Lisbon. As a result the inflow of goods from abroad for resale in the black market is bound to dry up. Salaries in the public sector will be raised by up to 20 percent to offset the hardships brought on by the new economic measures. However, about 70,000 people are likely to lose their jobs in the state sector.

# UN relief for Angolan war, famine regions 5

610am 19/10/90  
LUANDA — UN relief aid would start rolling on November 1 into four of Angola's nine provinces suffering from war and famine, a top UN official said.

The relief will reach — for the first time — areas under Unita control.

UN under-secretary Gen Abdulrahim Farah told a news conference on Wednesday that 25 000 tonnes of food were already available for distribution at a rate of 8 000-10 000 tons a month, with a target of 16 000 tons a month.

"This is not an easy operation. Some of the routes are reported to be heavily mined, key bridges have been destroyed, and both the primary and secondary road networks are in poor condition," Farah said.

He said the government would help clear roads and he hoped Unita would do the same in areas it controlled. UN experts would also precede the aid convoys to make sure roads are safe.

Despite the problems, the UN plans to move about 118 000 tons of humanitarian supplies over six months at a cost of between \$70m and \$80m.

The world body estimates 1.9-million people have been affected by war or drought-induced famine in nine provinces in the centre and south of Angola.

Farah said UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar was satisfied with arrangements for the relief.

The government and Unita are due to hold a fifth round of direct peace talks at the end of this month.

Farah said the Angolan government had the right to inspect relief cargoes entering the country from Zambia and Namibia.

He said about \$22m had been earmarked for non-food essentials such as medicines, seeds and clothing.

Perez de Cuellar will launch a new international appeal for aid at the end of this month or in early November, he said.

The previous appeal had received a disappointing response, Farah said, but it was hoped donor governments would be encouraged by the fact that the United Nations was taking responsibility for logistics, transport and need assessment. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Prospect of peace sparks business interest in Angola

*blam 5/10/90*  
LUANDA — The prospect of peace in Angola after 15 years of civil war has awakened the interest of many foreign firms, but only a handful are turning interest into investment in an abundantly blessed but battered economy.

More than 250 foreign investors sought information about business opportunities in Angola in the first nine months of 1990, the director of the Luanda Foreign Investment Bureau (GIE) said.

"Inquiries only really took off after the Angolan government announced at the end of last year that it was prepared for direct negotiations with the rebels," Maria Luiza Perdigao Abrantes said.

## Ceasefire (5)

Angola's hitherto Marxist-Leninist government has been fighting a civil war against Western-backed Unita guerrillas since independence from Portugal in 1975.

Four days of peace talks near Lisbon last week ended with Angola's MPLA government and Unita agreeing in principle on some of the outlines of a ceasefire.

The civil war has crippled a potentially rich economy. Angola produces at least 450 000 barrels of oil a day and could be a major exporter of diamonds and coffee — the country was once the world's fourth largest coffee producer.

Foreign interest has concentrated on manufacturing industry, mining, fishing, agriculture, building and construction, and rehabilitation of equipment.

Potential Portuguese investors are leading the way, but there have also been queries from France, Britain, Brazil and SA.

Incentives to foreign investors include tax exemptions and unlimited repatriation of dividends, but the surge in interest has yet to be translated into a surge in the opening of new, foreign-backed businesses.

Only seven out of 250 or so inquiries are likely to be approved by the end of this month. The process should take six months but has been subject to bureaucratic delay.

So far no company operating with foreign capital has withdrawn from Angola for security reasons, but some would-be investors have expressed caution about setting up before a permanent ceasefire is signed.

"Investment proposals mentioned so far are all for areas under government control," Abrantes said.

The Angolan government was providing guarantees against confiscation and nationalisation, she said.

The country, which joined the IMF last year, has been working on launching a full structural adjustment programme in 1991 and bringing the country into a Western-style free-market economy.

The government is about to embark on a quasi-privatisation programme intended to relieve the government of expensive subsidies and an big salaries bill. Part of the plan entails shedding 70 000 public sector jobs.

## Bloated

From October 1, the government halved the exchange value of its currency, the kwanza, in an attempt to restore order to its shattered economy and cut down on black market dealing.

But detailed discussion on cutting back the bloated state sector and handling repayment and servicing of the \$6bn foreign debt was put off until after the end of October.

Diplomats said the Angolan government was concerned that any fresh hardships would spark protests from the slums of Luanda. — Sapa-Reuter.

# 38 000 Cubans quit

NEW YORK - More than 38 000 Cuban troops have left Angola, ahead of the schedule agreed to in the Namibia independence plan, Mr Pedro Van Dunem, the Angolan foreign minister, said yesterday.

But he said that American and South African "conservative circles" support for the Angolan

insurgent group Unita had damaged hopes for a peaceful settlement based on the talks in Gbadolite.

Van Dunem said his government reaffirmed its dedication to a continued peace effort "geared to national unity and reconciliation of Angolans."

This was not equally true for Unita. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

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503

# Soviets soured by Angolan civil war

Soviet Union  
1/11/90

## FOCUS

IF Moscow can untie the knot that binds it to Angola, it will be doing a good turn not only to the Soviet people but to others elsewhere who are "fed up to the back teeth with war".

This view, expressed by a Soviet commentator, reflects what appears to be growing disillusionment with the military involvement in Angola.

Writing in the prestigious Soviet publication, Literaturnaya Gazeta, Vladislav Yanielis suggests that Moscow has got nothing in return for the millions of dollars of military aid it gave to the MPLA government.

There can never be a victorious conclusion to the war, he says, because "the people are fighting each other. It is not the poor fighting the rich; it is the poor fighting the poor".

bers of the Soviet military mission in Angola, which once exceeded 1 000 in number - "work for their pay", putting themselves at risk in the battlefield and other diseases. Yet they failed to help the MPLA win victory even after the departure of the South Africans.

### Advisers

Yanielis quotes Colonel Novitski, senior Soviet officer at Lubango, as saying that since the number of the Soviet advisers was reduced: "Everything has come to a halt; there has ceased to be any sort of order. There is no military out-vice as such. Battle posts have been allowed to deteriorate. There are no repair bases."

Soviet government of the day thought that by handing over aircraft and tanks to Angola for a nominal sum or even free it could point the country along the socialist road.

"We can see what has come of all this. There is hunger in many towns and villages. Hundreds of thousands of people on the war fronts have been killed or maimed. Production of the traditional export, coffee, has fallen by a factor of ten. More and more Angolans favour the idea of national reconciliation and a pact with Unita and its leader, Savimbi.

"But what about us? What have we gained by supporting the MPLA for 15 years, by incurring significant losses, by sacrificing the health and sometimes the lives of Soviet citizens?"

"We schooled Angolan soldiers into thinking that Soviet ar-

them, that our arms and equipment are given either completely gratis or at a cut price with infinite deferred payment."

Yanielis estimates that last year alone the Soviet Union supplied Angola with 60 tanks, 60 fighter aircraft, 30 surface-to-air missile systems, 1 000 artillery pieces, 900 mortars, scores of helicopter gunships and 200 armoured personnel carriers.

### Aircraft

Half of the aircraft and helicopters have become unserviceable because of negligence by Angolan air crews and poor maintenance, Yanielis says.

This happened with a Soviet military presence in Angola.

In recent years, he says, the Soviet Union has tried to reduce its military aid to Angola but the MPLA government has

protested that this would be a breach of friendship. Over the past 15 years of "a particular cast of people has sprung up for whom war is a means of self-assertion and prosperity."

Yanielis says that rather than giving the Soviet Union concessions for its military aid, the MPLA has reduced the quota of fish it can take from Angolan waters, offered unfavourable conditions for oil prospecting and snubbed the Soviets socially and diplomatically.

Yanielis asks: "How does one untie the Angolan knot? And along with that knot it is possible that there are other knots, in different parts of the world. Were we to untie these knots we would be doing not only our own people a good turn but also other people who are fed up to the back teeth with war."



## Angola aims for greater production of local goods

LUANDA — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said that the government's economic programme of action was aimed at increasing the supply of locally produced consumer goods in the country by making use of local raw materials.

Dos Santos was speaking at a meeting attended by representatives of the country's strategic enterprises, Angolan news agency Angop reported on Wednesday.

The president considered an "urgent necessity" the reactivation of the country's production to increase, in the first phase, the supply of essential consumer goods for the benefit of the population.

"All this will only be possible with the substitution of imports with local ones," he said, adding that at the moment too much emphasis was being placed on increasing the supply of commodities by using imported goods.

Dos Santos said efforts have been made to increase the production of beer with a view of reducing imports and thus saving valuable foreign currency. This had to be extended to food production and clothing manufacture.

He regretted the fact that the Angolan government was still importing trousers, shirts and other clothes while the country had the capability to produce these items. *81 Day 26/11/72*

There was also still a too large state involvement in the baking of bread. He said efforts were being made to decentralise the baking industry and use the capabilities of other economic agents. — ANO.

# Angola plans to dump communism

Own Correspondent

**LISBON.** — The MPLA government in Angola, one of the last bastions of orthodox Marxism in Africa, seems set to abandon doctrinaire rule and begin a move towards democracy.

The party has agreed to introduce a multi-party system and hold free elections possibly within the next 36 months.

This could open the door for an election in which the rebel Unita movement and other groups will be allowed to participate — one of the guerillas' main demands.

At an extraordinary central committee meeting in Luanda on Friday, the MPLA decided to reconstitute itself as a social democratic group, abandoning its communist dogmas.

According to Portuguese news reports in Lisbon at the weekend, the central committee's decisions will be ratified by the party's third congress in December.

A Unita spokesman in Lisbon welcomed the decision but said 36 months was too long an interim period.

"Namibia didn't need that much time to

prepare elections, neither does Angola," he said.

The central committee reportedly approved a programme, tabled by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, providing for the redrafting of the current constitution to take into account the planned reforms. The task is scheduled to take 12 months.

There appeared to be hesitation over setting a definite election date, which would be determined "by experts and date from the day of the ceasefire", according to a communique issued after the meeting.

## Corridors of peace set up in Angola

*Byron 29/10/90*  
HARARE — Trucks loaded with international aid will set out this week along "corridors of peace" to try to help feed hundreds of thousands of starving Angolans on both sides of a crippling civil war.

The Luanda government says nearly 900 000 people are starving. Unita claims a much higher figure, taking account of those living under Unita control.

The mercy mission, organised by the UN and due to start today, is the first to try channelling food to both sides down "corridors of peace" agreed by government and rebel leaders.

Diplomats, regional economic officials and aid agencies say the way ahead is full of pitfalls. The war has devastated Angola's economy and infrastructure.

"Although the corridors plan would be a significant step, it would not necessarily resolve how to get food from the main arteries to the outlying rural areas, which could be open to attack," Andrew Couldridge of the British aid agency Oxfam said.

Until now, international aid has been sent mainly to ports. Efforts to distribute it to government areas inland have been thwarted by rebel attacks on the dilapidated road network.

The first trucks are due to set off from the Atlantic ports of Benguela and Lobito and arrive in the southern inland city of Huambo in a few days. — Reuter.

# Unita <sup>CNF</sup> rebels <sup>7/14/90</sup> attack <sup>30/10/90</sup> oil fields

LUANDA. — Unita guerillas attacked oil fields in north Angola damaging installations belonging to Belgium's Fina oil company, an army statement said yesterday.

The statement did not mention any casualties in the attack on Friday, but said three oil pumps and a 160 000ℓ storage tank were destroyed.

According to the statement, the raid by Unita guerillas hit the town of Luango, some 300km north of here in Angola's oil-rich Zaire province.

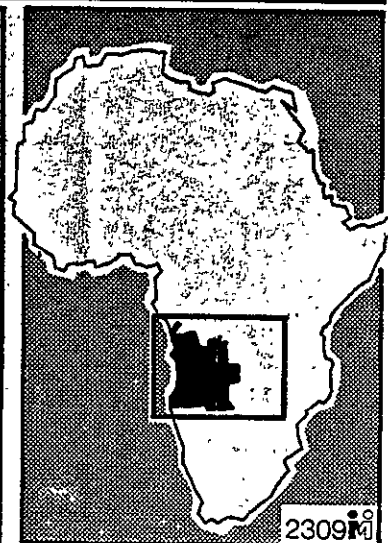
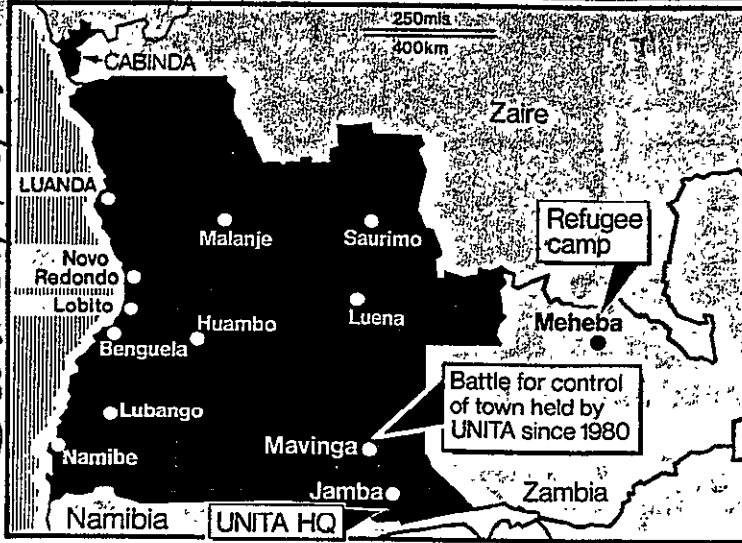
The attack was the 13th reported this year against oil installations in northern Angola. Oil exports are a lifeline for the war-ravaged Angolan economy.

Earlier this month an American helicopter mechanic working for a firm contracted by Chevron Oil was kidnapped in northern Angola.

Government officials blamed Unita for the kidnapping. The rebels said the American was taken by a separate group demanding independence for Angola's northern Cabinda province. — Sapa-AP

# Angola

South 29/11-5/12/90



## Aids orphans

From PAUL CHINTOWA  
**DAR ES SALAAM.** — Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (Aids) has orphaned 20,000 children here.

Experts are worried many more will die as women of child-bearing age become the group most likely to be infected by the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV).

Local professionals have expressed alarm at the spread of Aids and the impact this will have on objectives to reduce the number of deaths of mothers and children from child diseases and pregnancy complications.

Paediatrician Kisali Pallangyo at the nation's main referral hospital says national figures are still being compiled, but they are high.

Surveys in two provinces in the north and south of the country have shown an average annual 15 percent increase in children born HIV positive between 1984 and 1989.

"This (Aids) is a more serious problem than the child diseases," says UNICEF representative in Tanzania and the Seychelles, Laetitia Van Dunem Assum. — *AJA*

## Weird and wonderful world

### Beating about the Bush

US President George Bush may appear to some to be pushy on the Gulf crisis issue.

But he's not really a go-getter, if you consider that the Procrastinators Club of America has given him its Procrastinator of the Year award for the slow pace of talks on the federal budget.

Western sector the day after the Berlin Wall came down.

"What's the time," his wife asked.

"Twenty divided by seven," he replied.

### Grabba McCastro now!

HAVANA has been hit by the "McCastro", the Cuban version of the imperialists' McDonald hamburger.

They contain pork instead of minced beef.

Maybe the Cubans will find a substitute yet for that other symbol of capitalist America, Coke.

### Joking Germans

ALTHOUGH Germany is now reunited, West Germans are still telling jokes of their East German cousins — regarded as the Van der Merwes of that part of the world.

One of the latest doing the rounds goes: How can you tell when you have an east German in your office?

Answer: From the Tipp-Ex marks on your computer screen.

Or there's the story of the East German who bought a digital watch in the

### Tug of war

IT'S the thought that counts, as they say.

Poland wants to contribute to the international show of force taking up formation in the Gulf.

Reports reveal it has just offered to send a tugboat to the crisis area.



Currency stripped of all value

# Angola shifts from Marxism

5

Sowetan ~ 11/1/90

Luanda - Formerly Marxist Angola will be operating on a market-based economy within two years, says finance minister Aguinaldo Jaime.

But, like other African countries that have switched from extreme socialism to free enterprise, Angola will not start reaping immediate benefits.

The situation will in fact get worse before it gets better.

The Angolan economy appears a labyrinth to the passing observer. Not only does there seem no clear exit but the very entry is hard to find when trying to understand just what is going on.

## Signposts

There are a number of signposts now though: A new willingness - indeed an urgency - on the part of the Angolan government to effect change, a commitment (albeit stalled) to the very necessary programme of currency devaluation, a pragmatic understanding of the need to attract foreign investment and trade (including South African) to this country and a number of financial managers who are not hung up on yesterday's ideology.

## Deduce

Jaime is a small, young man with a British education and, one must deduce, some necessary nerve.

He smiles recalling a recent meeting (boundary-breaking in itself) with South African Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in Geneva: "It was very important to listen to someone in a key position in the financial and economic reform - and in the political reform - in South Africa."

Jaime's smile turns a little wry: "Mr du Plessis said he was impressed by the enormity of what we are undertaking in Angola."

## Troca

In October the Angolan population was hit by the troca as it's called here, even in English dialogue.

Troca is Portuguese for exchange and one can't help noticing that the next word in the dictionary, the same but for a cedilla under the c, means ridicule or mockery.

By all accounts many Luandans must have experienced the troca of their kwanza currency this way.

The troca was an effective 95 percent confiscation of the money supply. You handed in your old kwanza notes at the bank and received five

SOUTH Africa and the Soviet Union engaging in joint commercial enterprises in Angola? What now seems bizarre is being suggested seriously by Soviet diplomats as Angola shifts from Marxism to free enterprise and South Africa from pariah status to respectability. *Sowetan Correspondent Dawn Lautenbach reports from Luanda.*

percent back along with a piece of paper, a government IOU, for the rest.

When the new money (overprinted old notes) ran out, according to diplomatic sources, your piece of paper promised 100 percent of what you had surrendered and you left the bank empty-handed.

The old kwanza coins were retained, the biggest being the unit of 20. Several sources and some ordinary Luandan would-be shoppers (for there was little in the shops, they said, although stocks had been promised) reported that the smallest new kwanza note was a 500 unit.

There was nothing between 20 and 500 until the government released old 50 kwanza notes on to the market.

## Crisis

Along with the troca came a new petrol price: k2.50 a litre and that, in oil rich Angola, has nothing to do with the Gulf crisis but the imposition of a 500 percent government tax on petrol refined right in Luanda itself.

The official US dollar-for-kwanza exchange rate was and remains 1 to roughly 30.

A devaluation of 1 to 60 was supposed to have followed hot on the heels of the troca but has been delayed while officials "assess the impact of the currency change and establish how much currency there is in circulation," says Jaime.

He says not even the Banco Nacional de Angola had any idea how much money was out there: "In the past we financed our budget

deficit by printing more money."

It was a hard week, the week of the troca. Bank accounts were frozen and even embassies found themselves without money.

There is talk in Luanda that the International Monetary Fund was critical of the way the exchange was handled.

## Denial

Jaime denies this: "That is not my impression. They have nothing against our monetary reforms."

What they have criticised, he says, is that Angola has taken so long to implement the reforms, first proposed in 1987.

The devaluation will probably take place soon, he says.

Yes, it was supposed to be a few days after the exchange "but things in Angola are difficult." The war creates "unpredictability." Normal methods cannot be applied in an abnormal society, he says.

All discussions in Angola weave back to the war.

"I think sometimes they use it to justify everything that goes wrong," remarks one disgruntled Luandan.

## Economy

What's happening now does seem chaotic and Jaime acknowledges that the situation is less than satisfactory.

He remains committed though to the market economy plan, saying it will be a step-by-step process, the first being to sell off about 100 small state enterprises to international entrepreneurs.

South African? Jaime smiles. "We have been visited by many South African enterprises. They are interested in cooperation."

A Soviet diplomat, by the way, has an even broader vision. The Soviet Union needs to get something back for all the years spent supporting the MPLA.

The diplomat too smiles, envisaging joint ventures involving Angolan, Soviet and South African interests.

## Excess

"The enormity of what we are undertaking" as Du Plessis expressed it involves giving meaning too to a currency stripped of all value. An excess supply of money and an extreme shortage of goods has nurtured the parallel markets (candongas) where the value of the kwanza has been about 100th of its official rate and beer is a currency valued above the kwanza.

But with the first bite of economic reform and the troca came the "troca police," a sort of commercial branch of the police force swooping now on backdoor deals out of poorly stocked government shops and traders charging excessive prices.

## Survived

Each night on national television, one of these policemen reports to the nation and names the day's offenders.

The candongas clearly have to be brought to heel if the economy is to establish any sense of reality, if the kwanza is to gain a measure of respect.

But for Angolans who have survived the crazy combination of government price controls on the one hand and on the other the wild sort of make-do entrepreneurship of the parallel markets, it's going to be a hard adjustment.



Luanda . . . empty streets, empty shops and even emptier pockets as the wartorn country battles to recover economically.

## Angola gets \$138m in aid

LUANDA — The EC would grant \$138m to Angola within the framework of Lome Convention IV, an EC official told Angop in Luanda yesterday.

In addition, \$720 000 would be used to finance work at a nursing centre in Luanda with the participation of the Medicines Sans Frontiers organisation, EC division for common market development head Wichelruf Blonk, said.

He said the EC would also grant 13m ecus for upgrading Luanda's sanitation system. *B 10/18/1990*

During his visit Blonk met Planning Minister Fernando Franca Van-Dunen, Health Minister Flavio Fernandes and Agriculture Minister Faustino Muteka. He was also to inspect Americo Boavida Hospital renovations financed by the EC.

Meanwhile, Brazilian ambassador to Luanda Ivan Oliveira Canabrav said yesterday that trade between Angola and Brazil was estimated at about \$800m.

Trade relations between Brazil and Angola had existed since 1976, he said.

Brazil, the first country to recognise Angolan independence in 1975, exports mainly trucks, meat, frozen chicken and other consumer goods to Angola. — ANO.

# Angola edges closer to peace

South 29/11 - 5/12/90 (5)

THE two sides in the Angola war, meeting this week in Lisbon, are close to signing a ceasefire, according to the Portuguese mediators.

The major stumbling block now may be how to integrate the rebel Unita movement's fighters into one single national army.

"Agreement has been reached on many matters related to the ceasefire in Angola. A peace agreement may be signed during the next round of talks," Portuguese minister of state Durao Barrosa told journalists last week.

## Arrangements

A sixth meeting is expected at the end of January.

As this round of talks ended, the two sides were still formally insisting on different arrangements: Unita wants political recognition before a ceasefire; the government side wants a ceasefire first; the Portuguese mediators want a ceasefire and political recognition to go together.

This may be the option that wins out,



**ANGOLAN PRESIDENT:**  
José Eduardo dos Santos

say Angolan sources.

Luanda's view is that if it does not have a ceasefire first, Unita will be able to bargain fresh concessions from a new position of strength, having won legitimacy as a political party, with its own army.

It will further prolong the negotiations, in Luanda's view.

But during the talks Barroso announced: "The problem of recognising

Unita politically has been settled. The ceasefire agreement is almost ready to be signed."

Portugal's optimistic stance followed sharp exchanges between the two sides, in which observers noted their "inflexible stances".

It also followed a meeting between rebel Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, in which the exchanges were described afterwards by Portuguese radio as "very frank and probably even harsh".

Pressure was also being applied from the US and the Soviet sides — both in Lisbon as observers. Alexandre Smirnov, the head of a Soviet team of observers, said Moscow wanted to see an early cut in military support to both Angolan sides to encourage a ceasefire.

## Aide

Portuguese officials believe the presence of the new Angolan presidential aide, Lopo do Nascimento, had a major positive effect on the talks.

If a ceasefire does go ahead in January, it is expected to have an immediate effect on Angola's relations with the US — Africa envoy Herman Cohen said earlier this month the US would open an interest section in Luanda. — SOUTHSCAN





# Angola epic confirms hunches, guards secrets

BOOKS

**THEY LIVE BY THE SWORD.** 32 "Buffalo" Battalion — SA's Foreign Legion, by Col Jan Breytenbach (Lanar Books R49,95)

THE war in southern Angola which culminated in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in 1988, the biggest in Africa since El Alamein, was the least reported war of modern times.

Journalists had to rely on the Press releases of the Angolan government and the claims of Unita, neither of them reliable, and the rare, bland statements of the SA government, often equally unreliable. Sometimes groups of journalists were invited to a staged presentation of the war and, according to their own convictions, accepted or rejected what they were told. The only other source was Western diplomats in the region, feeding off secondhand information and putting their own twist to it. Unlike the diplomats and politi-

By Day 26/11/90

cians, soldiers tend not to muck about with the truth. Colonel Breytenbach may exaggerate at times and his account is one-dimensional, but when a much-needed history of this war comes to be written this will be a prime source book.

Having tried to cover this war as a journalist based in London, I find it gratifying to have so many of one's hunches and guesses confirmed by this book. For example, when in August 1985 four Fajpa bridges were wiped out near Mavinga, Unita claimed it had destroyed them. Col Breytenbach confirms they were destroyed by SA Impala aircraft and G5 artillery. He also confirms that 32 Battalion troops continually posed as Unita and worked with it, despite the denials of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

What is more astonishing, however, is the extent to which Breytenbach and his fellow officers despised

their allies, Unita, and regarded its forces as unreliable, cowardly and even treacherous. They deeply resented risking their lives because of Savimbi's failures and his foolish attempts to build a conventional army and abandon guerrilla tactics.

Less revealing is his account of the attack on Cassinga in May 1978. Swapo, with substantial anecdotal and photographic evidence, said this was a refugee camp where hundreds of Namibians including women and children were massacred. According to the Col Breytenbach: "The refugees were the best armed and best trained ones I have ever come across... Cassinga in fact, was PLAN's main training and logistical base and headquarters."

But he tells us little about what was found there. Is it possible Cassinga was both base and refugee camp? One would like to know the timing of the advance of SA forces into An-

gola in 1975. The dates are crucial to understanding how the superpower proxies nearly clashed here but the colonial, scrupulous about dates and the times when it comes to battles, omits these vital facts from this campaign.

This is a gripping account of the formation of SA's "Foreign Legion" by its chief midwife, and a detailed shot-by-shot account of its extraordinary role in Angola from 1975 until the final withdrawal last year. But the colonel is no literary genius. He may be able to shoot straight but Breyten seems to have stolen his brother's share of literary genes.

The book is raw and crudely written, full of clichés. Battles are invariably "punch ups" and the enemy is "stomped". A good editor and a few maps could have turned this bleeding hunk of battlefield anecdote into a more readable account. But what is most disturbing is

Breytenbach's attempt to explain what all his young soldiers died for. The main enemy, the "communist terrorists" of Swapo which 32 Battalion hunted down all over southern Angola how rule an independent Namibia. Breytenbach and his chums may live by the sword but the pen has proved mightier — and fatal to their murderous "foes" in Angola. The pen brought the war to an end when SA, Cuba and Angola signed an agreement in Brazzaville in 1989.

So why did all those brave young men die? "...they fell for you and me, so there could be a better life in a free SA. Perhaps they didn't understand this but then many of us don't understand it either," writes Col Breytenbach. "Those who died were white, black, every colour, but what does skin colour matter?" he continues, apparently missing the answer to his own doubts.

RICHARD DOWDEN

## MPLA looks at democracy

LUANDA — The central committee of Angola's ruling MPLA party met yesterday to discuss constitutional changes making way for multi-party democracy in its country. (S)

The meeting, scheduled to last three days, followed a fifth round of peace talks in Lisbon between the MPLA and Unita, which failed to bring a ceasefire to the 15-year civil war.

Unita has demanded formal recognition as a political party, but the MPLA wants a ceasefire in place first. *By way 29/11/90*

The government has issued a statement saying 1 738 civilians were killed by Unita action during the first 10 months of this year, and that 2 989 civilians were kidnapped. — Sapa-Reuter.

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**RICHARD DOWDEN**

PRESTON

# Namibia sending food aid to Angola

South Africa 11/11/90  
WINDHOEK - Relief food aid worth over R400 000 is being packed onto trucks in Otavi in northern Namibia for transport to south-eastern Angola this week under the flag of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

ICRC delegation head in Namibia, Nicolas de Rougemont, said in Windhoek on Tuesday the convoy being prepared, the second this month, would take 120 tons of maize meal, 36 tons of beans and 24 tons of cooking oil on six trucks, mostly with double trailers, to the Cacuchi region of south-east Angola through Bagani in the Caprivi.

The area is a recognised Unita stronghold.

"In the whole of southern Angola, we have identified separate groups of people, about 120 000 altogether, who are going to need help until the harvest in January," De Rougemont said.

## Victims

"Some are victims of war (between Unita rebel and Angolan MPLA government forces), some of drought and war and some only of drought," he explained.

"The last group, in a country at peace, would be assisted by the National Red Cross or League of Red Crescent Societies.

"Since none of these exist or has had access to south-eastern Angola, we have to do it."

De Rougemont said funding for the relief project was provided by the European Economic Community and the Swiss government.

The ICRC was not going to areas where it would be cheaper and more direct to ship aid

from donor countries to the southern Angola port of Lobito, from where it would be taken inland by convoy or plane, when too dangerous for a convoy.

"The ICRC convoys from Namibia are going to both parts of Angola," De Rougemont said, referring indirectly to Unita and MPLA government-controlled regions of the country. - *Sapa*

# End to Angolan war predicted

South 1/11-7/11/90

THE 15-year war in Angola could be over by the end of the year.

Both sides, the MPLA government headed by Eduardo dos Santos and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), predict at least a ceasefire by December.

While fighting continues, observers are asking who will inherit the war-, famine- and drought-racked nation which, on paper, could quickly rival South Africa's economic might if there were peace and coherent national management.

The stakes are high. Angola is embarking on a process of fundamental political and economic change that will either offer an opportunity to bring the original promise of democratic social transformation a step closer or run the risk of slipping into a neo-colonial status managed by Portugal, the former imperial master.

These are the options that have emerged from the diplomacy of the past year in Lisbon, Kinshasa, London, Harare and Washington DC, and the course of the war and economic crisis in the nation

itself.

On the military side, decisive intervention by the United States and its local ally Zaire on behalf of embattled Unita forces during a December-February offensive by Fapla, the Angolan armed forces, made the Dos Santos administration accept that it could not win the de facto war.

## Strategy

As US military assistance flowed to the rebel group, the Luanda government embarked on a two-pronged strategy of negotiation and internal political change.

On the economic side, 15 years of war finally took its toll.

Between 1987 and 1989 the economy, which had managed to use oil revenues to pay its debts and devote 70 percent of its income to the military, slipped into debt for the first time since independence in 1975.

This caused the government to look at the chronic economic chaos and take up the suggestions of the International Monetary Fund to apply an austerity programme. — AIA

BENEATH the plaster-chipped ceiling, about 20 Angolan orphans huddled on the floor. Most had limbs missing, silent testimony to the raging war which also shattered the institution's windows.

The grim orphanage in southwestern Huila Province is one of the many throughout Angola striving to provide for the more than 50 000 children orphaned in the devastating war waged against the government by the United States-backed rebels of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita).

I was introduced as an American journalist and Jo Da Silva, the orphanage director, clearly wanted the full impact of each child's traumatising and horrific experience to be recorded. She had each child describe how they lost their parents and how they were injured. The emotional stories were all variations on a disturbing theme, each accompanied by teary eyes reliving brutal treatment.

At the end Da Silva looked at me and

## Words of hate like landmines for an American in Angola

When American citizen  
**VICKI FINKEL** visited Angola recently, she found that there was much enmity and animosity for her country

her bitter words exploded like a well-placed landmine, "I hate the United States!"

Her burning words of enmity for the country emblazoned in gold letters on my passport haunted me throughout my month-long stay in Angola. I constantly identified the crippling effects of the 15-year civil strife with America's contradictory involvement with the oil-rich country.

Despite the MPLA government's new commitment to forming a multi-party system, holding open elections and undergoing economic liberalisa-

tion, the US House of Representatives intelligence committee last month approved \$50-million above the \$60-million already budgeted for Unita for the present fiscal year. The increased aid was ratified by the Congressional House last week.

"I am very sorry to hear that," said Jack Blackshire, president of the Angolan operations of the American oil giant Continental Oil Corporation (Conoco), when I told him about this action to bolster aid to Unita.

"The Angolans just need to be left alone," he said in a Texan drawl, unseasoned by 10 years in Africa.

Blackshire and I strolled through the grounds of Conoco-Angola's headquarters to a towering baobab tree, under which he said he wished to be buried.

Looking over the deep blue waters of

Luanda Bay, Blackshire pointed through the wire fence down to a fishing village complete with 10 outboard motor boats and recently constructed fish-drying racks. It is one of the 36 development projects Conoco has financed with a total of \$4-million during their five years in Angola.

"It is in our interest to work in a stable environment, the worst thing is to have the country in turmoil," said Blackshire, whose amiable relations with the Angolan government have caused him to be denounced as a communist by United States congressmen who visited the Conoco-Angola base.

Ironically, US dollars purchase 80 to 90 percent of Angola's total oil production and in turn finance the MPLA government's defence against the Unita rebels.

When invariably questioned about my place of origin, I found myself tempted to give the misleading, "I am coming from Zimbabwe," but could not avoid the truth that I was an American.

# Starvation ~~5~~

THE United Nations  
Children's Fund <sup>5</sup>  
(UNICEF) has called for  
nearly \$22.7 million for  
emergency relief in  
Angola, reports SABC's  
Africa Desk. <sup>South Africa 30/11/90</sup>  
UNICEF predicts a  
widespread starvation. -  
*Sapa.*

# Angola talks: Hopes of a settlement fade

*CAF 7 hrs 20/11/90 (S)*  
LISBON. — Peace talks between the Angolan government and US-backed Unita rebels entered their fourth day yesterday, but hopes of a settlement dimmed after accusations of bad faith on both sides. "What's happened so far is unhappily very little, almost nothing, because of the manifest lack of political will on one side," a Unita spokesman said. Unita broke the silence imposed by both sides at this round of talks and the four earlier meetings to counter Portuguese news reports blaming the rebels for the deadlock. Negotiations appeared stalled on the timing of moves to unite the armies and government recognition of Unita's legitimacy.

● Meanwhile, a 550-strong Unita force has attacked oil installations in Northern Zaire province, Radio Angola reports. — Sapa-AP-Reuter



## NEWS IN BRIEF


*B10am 9/11/90*  
**Tyre manufacturing plan** 

HARARE — The Zimbabwe government was looking into the possibility of setting up a company to compete with Dunlop in the manufacture of tyres, news agency Ziana quoted vice-president Joshua Nkomo as saying on Wednesday. He was addressing the Zimbabwe transport organisation annual congress.

*B10am 9/11/90*  
**New petrol price hike in Maputo** 

MAPUTO — For the second time in two months, the Mozambican authorities have announced large rises in the price of fuels. The price of a litre of petrol in Maputo rises by 42,5%, from 0,95c/l to \$1,35/l. Diesel suffers the same percentage increase, rising from 0,33c/l to 0,47c/l.


*B10am 9/11/90*  
**R10m deal for Botswana bank**

GABORONE — The Bank of Botswana has signed a contract worth about R10m for the construction of a four-storey building. The bank was experiencing an office accommodation shortage. 

**Mozambican peace talks** 

MAPUTO — A government delegation was in Rome to hold peace talks with Renamo representatives, SABC radio news yesterday quoted Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano as saying. But he said much was still to be done in the process of reconciliation. *B10am 9/11/90*

**Fewer Cuban doctors in Angola**

LUANDA — Angola has reduced the number of Cuban doctors in the country from 310 in 1988 to 86, a source close to the Ministry of Health said yesterday. 

*B10am 9/11/90* REPORTS: Seps, ANO.

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810 am 9/11/90

# Angola tests democra

ARGUS 22/11/90

5

ANGOLA celebrated the 15th anniversary of its independence at the weekend as a country in the grip of tumultuous change, committed now for the first time to a timetable for introducing multiparty democracy and optimistic about a ceasefire with the Unita rebels before the year is out.

At a landmark meeting at the end of October the central committee of the ruling MPLA announced a "partial revision" of the constitution to "enshrine multipartyism" and change the present law providing for a one-party system within the first three months of next year.

Within 12 months a new constitution should be ready, clearing the way for general elections as soon as peace is established. At the same time a single national army would be created, independent of the MPLA.

## Enthusiasm

Diplomats in Luanda say the commitment to a timetable should please the Americans, who have been impatient at the lack of progress, and who are still withholding diplomatic recognition, aid and investment.

But on the streets and on the fine beaches of Luanda, the reform has yet to generate popular enthusiasm.

Angolans grub through each day as it comes, numbed even more than unusual by the economic chaos following the money change earlier in October which withdrew 95 percent of the money supply prior to an 'imminent' 100 percent devaluation of the kwanza that has yet to be announced.

The government had reportedly promised that there would be food in the shops. Ordinary Luandans say this promise has not been met. But in the first of two government shake-ups earlier this month, Dr Dumilde Rangel, the Minister of Commerce

After 15 years of Marxist-Leninist autocracy, Angolans are being promised democracy — but most will believe it when they see it working. DALE LAUTENBACH of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Luanda.



and Industry, who had apparently given the undertaking, was replaced.

On the beach one Sunday a journalist in his thirties expressed the anger of what he called "the lost generation": people like him who grew up under Marxist-Leninist ideology that is now being overturned in an awkward flurry after 15 years of war and devastation. Not that he opposed the reforms ... but the waste, the waste.

The waste swirls around one in the tatty capital. But daily, the Jornal de Angola, the only newspaper, bears beneath its masthead the legend "1990 — Year of the Third Party Congress and the Extension of Democracy". Roberto de Almeida, the MPLA head of ideology, defends this idea of a progression, saying that the majority of the MPLA party members are not Marxist-Leninists. "Although the political base was Marxist-Leninist we were always conscious that it was not an ideal or to be fixed forever. It was used as a guide," he says.

No more than 65 000 Angolans in a population of about 10 million are party members, he says.

"That is very small. Therefore we have decided to invite broader contribution in a more open political organisation."

He talks now of a total restructuring of the party in the course of which some departments, possibly his own, will disappear. The ideological framework is democratic socialism, he says.

"There is no contradiction

between socialism and democracy as we understand it. The socialist can have true democracy which recognises the rights of free association, religion, strikes ..."

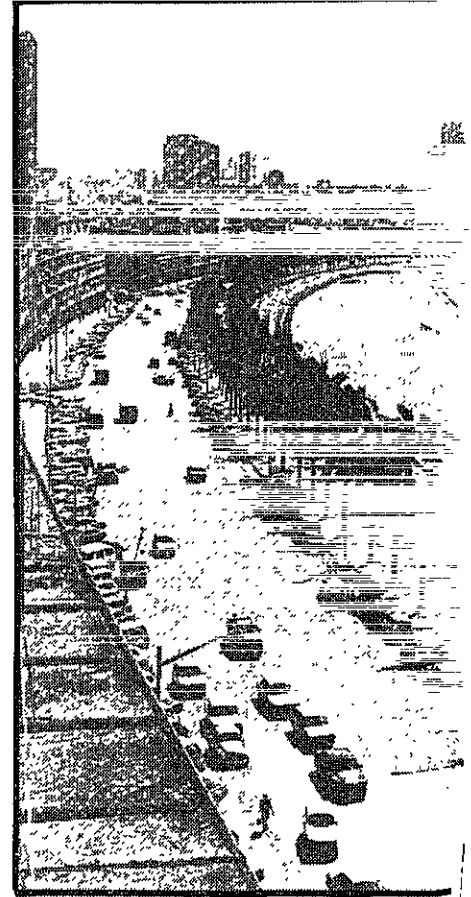
At this stage though, terms are still being bandied about. A senior diplomat says he has heard talk of democratic socialism and social democracy. And of Christian democracy, too, in a country where the power of the church, predominantly Roman Catholic, is being encouraged by government to re-emerge. (The recently appointed Minister of Justice, Dr Lazaro Dias, for example, is a churchman through and through.)

Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, founder member of the Angolan Civic Organisation which seeks to encourage political debate in a society until now closed and in many ways still silenced (whether by decree or habit), praises the MPLA central committee announcement, but with reserve.

His association has yet to be granted the legal right to organise that it has been seeking since it was launched early this year and he is suspicious that the latest moves do not represent a real shift in party thinking as much as expediency in the face of pressure from the United States.

Only last month President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told the US Congress that it was impossible to set a date for multipartyism, says Pinto de Andrade.

"Now suddenly, they give a date. But they've not thought it through, I don't see a progression in their thinking."



The sprawling, and once beautiful

Broadly, though, there is praise for President dos Santos. Good Dos Santos men are being appointed, notes one diplomat, adding that already there is some evidence of a separation of government and party.

The old talk of a split between the hawks and the doves in the party — yesterday's hardline ideologues and the new reformers — is still there but with a perception now, endorsed by diplomats from very different ideological backgrounds themselves, that the President's hand is growing stronger.

"He is the best reformist we have," says Finance Minister Aguinaldo Jaime of his President. Jaime, a young

technocrat and not a party member, says of the likelihood of a split in the party: "The processes are so complex that you can't expect unanimity."

But how the Angolan people express themselves on the changes remains to be seen. It will depend largely on how much genuine openness the law providing for free association allows. And, perhaps more crucially, how able the people are to make use of such a freedom.

The Third Party Congress begins early next month. Thereafter the timetable must be seen to work if the Angolan government is to win the international credibility and foreign investment it seeks.

# Angola eager to turn on the tap

Star 20/11/90 (5)

Angola is anxious to begin trading with South Africa and is ready to supply the commodity SA needs most — oil — despite the International embargo, reports DALE LAUTENBACH.

AS soon as politicians show the green light, Angolan oil will be on its way to South Africa.

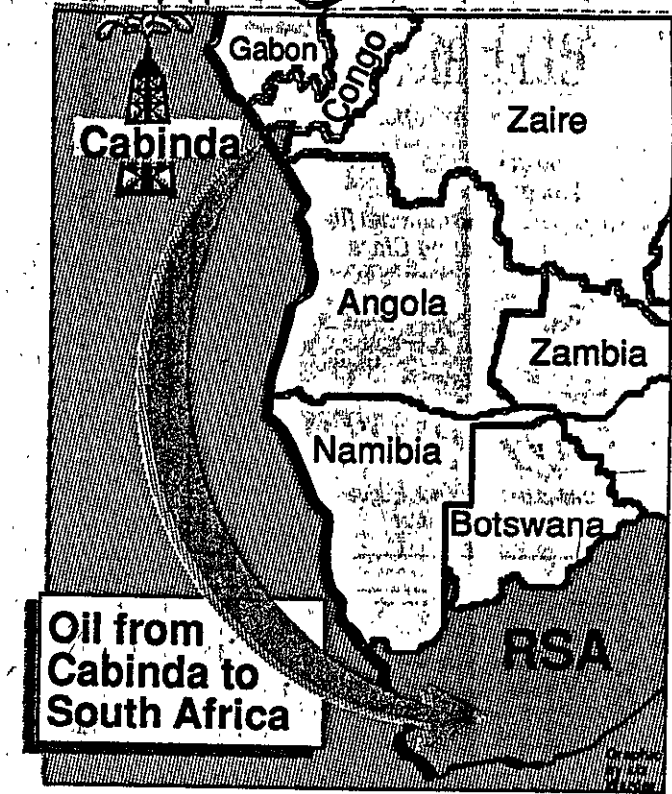
This was the interpretation of oil officials in the Angolan government on the issue of Angolan oil being sold to the Republic.

South Africa, which has operated under an oil embargo since November 28 1973, is extremely close on the subject of where and how it gets its petroleum products, and has legislation barring the publication of information about its politically sensitive oil deals.

Some obvious questions begged for answers, though, when South Africa's Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Dr Dawie de Villiers, made a low-profile visit to Luanda in September for talks with his energy counterpart there just a month after the Gulf crisis had begun to squeeze world markets.

At the time, both sides confirmed that oil had been on the agenda of Dr de Villiers's meeting with Zeferino Cassa Iombo. South African sources were at pains, however, not to have this "over-emphasised".

There is still no confirmation of an agreement between the two governments, but if attitudes can be an index of future action, Desiderio Costa, Angolan vice-Minister of Petroleum, speaks eagerly now



Oil from Cabinda to South Africa

about trade with South Africa.

"If I received orders today to send tankers to South Africa, I could. But the top (the political level) must be sorted out first. We are waiting for the green light, the will is there."

Mr Costa had strong views about building relations between his country and South Africa — quite besides his personal ambition to be the first Angolan to sail to South Africa.

He said he no longer gave interviews to journalists. He agreed to see me, however: "Because South Africa needs the real truth about Angola".

He spoke of Angola's desire to end its internal conflict, of the role South Africa could

play in helping to achieve this and, more reluctantly, of oil.

"At the moment there is no commercial business in oil with South Africa, but that doesn't mean we are not prepared. Not only are we prepared to sell but to buy products from South Africa. In future South Africa will be one of Angola's important partners. You produce maize, no? And your technical experience. There are already some South African products here — that shows goodwill."

There is an indisputable logic to oil and other trading links being formed between South Africa and Angola.

"We are not far from you," said Mr Costa. "An oil tanker would not take too long and if

we wanted to buy goods from you it would take maybe seven days, whereas now it takes 11 to 15 days from the European markets."

While expressing appreciation for the reform efforts of President de Klerk, Mr Costa called urgently for an end to South Africa's support for Unita. South African Government sources claim this support is now only diplomatic and humanitarian. Angola insists there is continuing military support.

More restrained in his attitude to South Africa but no less optimistic, Joaquim David, general manager of the State oil company Sonangol, confirmed the desire to build a partnership.

"With the decrease in military activity in this part of the world we look with high interest to increasing co-operation with South Africa," he said.

At a recent meeting of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, he had perceived a general desire on the part of most of the countries represented to increase commercial relationships with South Africa.

He pointed out remaining political barriers, but with "firm, strong decisive steps being given, especially by Mr de Klerk, we all expect that in the very, very short future we can deal openly with South Africa".

Could he confirm that there had already been an undertaking from Angola to sell its oil, as has been rumoured?

"I can confirm that we had and still have correspondence and contacts towards increasing commercial relationships," he said. "There are still some barriers but everyone is working closely to overcome that." — Star Africa Service. □



The war-damaged wall of the Calueque Dam ... new hydro-electric dams are being planned for Angola.

# Rivers make Angola a superpower

By DALE LAUTENBACH  
Argus Africa News Service

**LUANDA** — The nights roar with the sound of private generators installed on apartment balconies and in backyards. They cling into action as soon as the lights go off, which they do often because of sabotage to the power lines to the city by the Unita rebels.

But in the midst of electricity supplies made almost rudimentary by the war, engineers are speaking of a far-flung network of power lines not only criss-crossing Angola but feeding into a regional network across the whole of Southern Africa.

Angola is uniquely blessed with enough vigorous rivers to set a hydro-electrician's heart pumping. These rivers give it a vast, untapped potential for hydro-electric power. It is this that

the engineers are thinking of as they look beyond the backyard generators to a settlement of the war that has blocked nearly all development.

But some development is going ahead despite the war. The project at Capanda on the Kwana River will double Angola's hydro-electric output when the first phase is completed in 1993 to give an output of 260 megawatts, says the project director, Jose Somemberg. The second phase when completed will take the output to 520 mw.

Capanda, which is being built by Brazilians with Soviet technical help, will distribute water as well as electricity. Through on-site training, it will give skills to 2 000 Angolians by 1993. An agricultural scheme provides for the project community and teaches current farming methods to the surrounding population.

The great lake formed by the dam will irrigate

agricultural development and support fish breeding in a rural area where problem has always been a problem.

Estorn's chief executive, Dr Ian MacRae, is not alone in following a vision of a giant power transmission grid criss-crossing Southern Africa. Angolan authorities are thinking along the same lines.

Dr MacRae spoke in Harare recently about a grid linking the region from the Cahora Bassa dam in Mozambique to the Ruacana and Capanda schemes in the west.

Angola's deputy Minister of Energy, Carlos Amarel, envisages linking Capanda to Ruacana on the Cunene and thus, as Namibia and its southern neighbour are already linked, to South Africa as well. The Namibian electricity authority is eager to build another station at Epupa, downstream of Ruacana on the Cunene River.

The Angolans seemed less enthusiastic about Epupa for which at least their agreement would be necessary as the Namibia-Angola border is the centre of the river here.

Their dreams seem to lie with their remarkable Kwana. Somemberg says the 200km stretch of the middle Kwana drops one kilometre along its course and on that stretch of plunging water eight more hydro-electric installations besides the existing 100 mw Cambamba and the Capanda

could be built. At least two of those eight futuristic dams would have an output greater than the 520 mw Capanda.

A number of people are already critical of the Capanda scheme, let alone more installations abroad. They ask what Angola is going to do with all that power. Somemberg replies: "Maybe we'll need a railway to be electrified and when the total system is linked, we could electrify the Beira-Lusitana line."

# Angola's untapped rivers of power

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Star 3/12/90

Looking beyond the Angolan war, engineers are already planning for the day when electricity generated by the country's surging rivers will be used to fry eggs in Johannesburg, reports DALE LAUTENBACH.

LUANDA nights roar with the sound of private generators installed on apartment balconies and in backyards. They chug into action as soon as the lights go off, which they do often because of sabotage to the power lines to the city by Unita rebels.

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could be built. At least two of those eight dams could have an output greater than the 520 Mw Capanda.

A number of people are already critical of the Capanda scheme, let alone more installations, although these are still very much on the drawing board. They ask what Angola is going to do with all that power. Mr Sonnenberg replies, "Maybe we'll need a railway to be electrified, and when the total system is linked, we could electrify the Benguela line."

A more objective view may be given by an energy evaluation programme which the World Bank and the African Development Bank is conducting in Angola for presentation early next year.

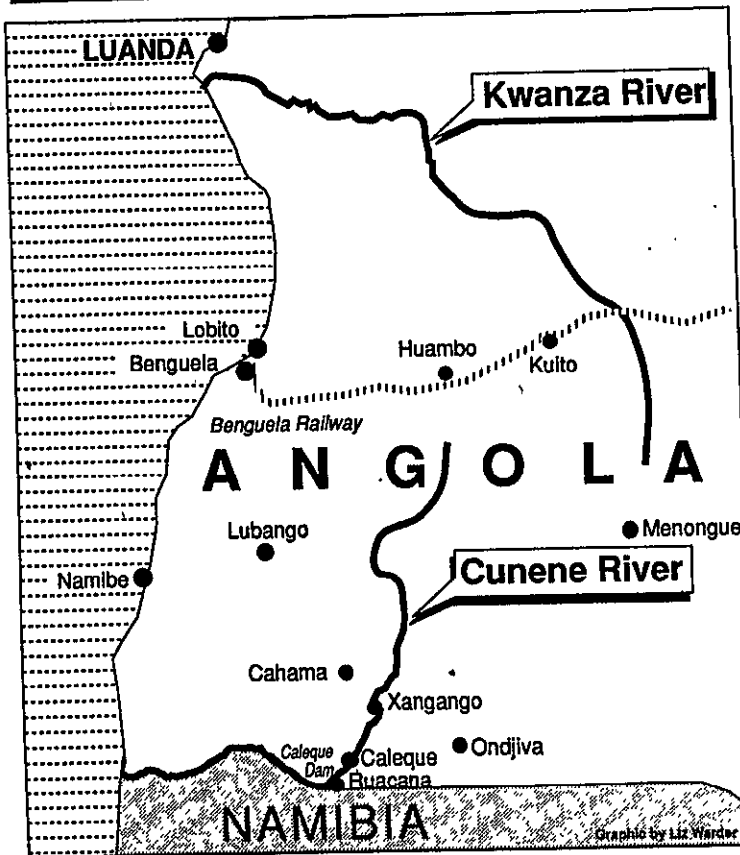
The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) is, of course, also thinking in terms of a transnational power grid incorporating South Africa when it becomes politically respectable enough to join the SADCC.

Dr McRae notes that the peace initiatives in both Angola and Mozambique have made the power grid idea more than the optimistic dreams of engineers. Even now the security problem in respect of Cahora Bassa is "definitely diminishing", he says.

The moves towards market-oriented economic thinking, while clumsy and beset with problems and legacies of war, might also encourage different attitudes from international enterprise and financing institutions.

Mr Amaral sketches Angola's new thinking on the development of two energy utilities for the country, one in the north where 80 percent of the population is clustered, and another in the south covering a much larger, but sparsely populated, area. The thinking is that one would be public while the other would be open to commercial competition.

"We want to create competition between the State sectors to vitalise performance," he says. — Star Africa Service. □



Graphic by Liz Warder

# Industry to tap waters of Okavango

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The 20-year battle to save Botswana's famous Okavango Delta from being tapped for industrial purposes has been lost.

The Botswana government intends extracting water from the swamps which constitute one of Africa's richest wildlife areas.

The water will feed De Beers' diamond mine at Orapa, the town of Maun and some small irrigation schemes and wildlife areas. Work will begin "almost immediately".

Many people in Maun are angry about the 40 km channel and claim it was planned in secret.

The director of Water Affairs in Gaborone, Mr Moremi Sekwale, told me there was never any secret and that informative public meetings had been held in Maun.

He said the channel from the swamps would be only 1m deep and flow at a rate of 1 m every three seconds. "It is not a canal, merely an improved channel."

### ABOVE AVERAGE RATE

The channel will not be concrete lined and, apart from being shallow will have a base 3 m wide and a rim 23 m wide so it will not trap animals which, he said, will treat it as a natural stream.

During years that the natural river which drains the swamps is flowing at an average or above average rate the channel's supply will not be needed. During drier years the scheme's four reservoirs, will be used to provide an assured supply for Orapa and other developments south of the swamps.

Mr Sekwale said their would be no clearing of trees and he doubted people would notice any scenic or ecological differences.

"We called in top overseas experts to do an independent environmental impact analysis and we asked them to look at the tourist aspect. Their report is available to the public in our offices at Gaborone.

### GEOLOGICAL FAULT

"There is no question of us felling trees or draining the delta."

The area accommodates some of Africa's last great herds of buffalo, elephant and other animals.

The 16 000 sq km delta — the biggest inland river delta on earth — is created by the Okavango River, Southern Africa's second biggest river after the Zambezi. The river dams up behind a geological fault. In prehistoric times it flowed into the Limpopo. Now it spreads out over the Kalahari.

Only 3 percent of the Okavango flows out at the southern end, the rest evaporates or sinks into aquifers.

Mr Sekwale said he did not anticipate an adverse international reaction.

Botswana had not applied for the Okavango Delta to be listed as a world heritage wetland under the recent Ramsar agreement.

# Unexpected benefits of being South African

ARGUS 4/12/90

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By DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Africa News Service in Windhoek

WHOEVER would ever have thought that being a South African journalist in Angola would give you a head and shoulders advantage over the rest of the pack?

## AFRICA

Indeed it seemed logical to expect the reverse: cautiousness on the part of the Angolans at very least, some suspicion surely, even hostility.

But, in the course of five visits to Angola, two of them to the capital, I have experienced the very opposite. Dare I go so far as to call it a welcome? Yes, I have felt welcomed.

When I first visited Luanda in June this year, I went expecting frustrations. Other journalists had told me about their fruitless attempts to secure interviews with Angolan government officials. If you got lucky, they said, and were promised a meeting, chances were slight that from some corridor where you waited for hours you would actually be ushered in to the awaited audience.

Again, not my experience. But perhaps, rationalising things, it was because on that first visit I was not alone but with a weighty delegation comprising four of the five editors of the Argus group's daily newspapers. Perhaps it was because we had requested an interview with President Jose Eduardo do Santos.

My next visit would test that theory. After two weeks in Luanda this time, and

alone, I have, with one exception, seen everyone with whom I requested a meeting — and more.

In a good-humoured sort of way I'm not exactly popular with my colleagues in Luanda either.



President Dos Santos at a meeting with editors of the Argus Group earlier this year

I'm the journalist who gets through the doors they don't and for no reason other than that I am South African.

□□□□

I telephoned a British colleague to make contact. "Hullo, I'm Dale Lau..." "Hullo, yes, I know who you are." "You do?" "You were the journalist who interviewed the President in June. The whole thing was on TV and radio (all 45 minutes of it?). We all know you as the bunch of South African journalists who swept in here and within a week had the interview others had been trying to get for months. But don't take it personally — it's just interesting."

Isn't it.

The Angolans make no bones now about wanting improved relations with South Africa and the Argus group seems to have taken the initiative with canny timing. As little as a year ago it's certain that the reception would have been frosty.

Now, somewhere in Angola's ruling hierarchy someone

as a result the Press centre also has a rotten reputation with journalists because its arrangements invariably come to nought through a lack of co-operation, it seems, from government members of whom the interviews are requested.

I was told that the Press centre acts too as a sort of watchdog on your activities but it made no attempt to inhibit me when I added to my schedule on arrival, making my own contacts, dismissing my guide now and then to meet someone alone. Was I followed? I don't know.

□□□□

There are twitchy areas certainly. Twice I was accompanied by silent, impassive men described as "physical protection" — not my protection, clearly. But hell, this was in an oil refinery and as just last week this installation was attacked and damaged by Unita rebels, this sort of security is to be expected.

Another twitch is that taking photographs is still difficult. You have to ask permission and sometimes argue for it. But I have never felt that I should not argue.

□□□□

Beyond my own perceptions of this unexpected open-door treatment, a number of on-the-record welcomes from senior government people provided confirmation.

I saw the deputy Energy Minister for Petroleum. I wanted to talk oil. He wanted to talk South Africa. "I never see journalists now," he said telling of some bad experience in the past. "I agreed to see you because you are a South African. Go back to your country and make propaganda for peace."

Propaganda. I laughed. Yesterday's language, certainly, the familiar vocabulary has not changed yet. But the word has a whole new meaning.

has understood that the way to improve your image is through open communication. The image consciousness is new too: as Angola opens up to Western thinking and moves away from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the past it is concerned that, worldwide, its image is not good.

This understanding is all the more interesting as Angola does not yet function as an open society and foreign journalists based there are all pretty edgy about what they file and, according to their versions and reports of surveillance, they have some cause.

□□□□

But I have not yet been (and hope never will be) leaned on to be anything but my own pen.

In Luanda itself all journalists must work through the state Press centre which falls under the Ministry of Information. It provides you with a guide cum interpreter and arranges the interviews you request in advance, those interviews which South Africans get and others don't. As



# One-party rule to go, MPLA told

5  
Starr  
5/12/90

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos called yesterday for sweeping economic and political reforms and told his ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola their 15-year one-party rule would soon be over.

President dos Santos told 700 MPLA delegates that the party's third congress which opened yesterday would be "the last under a single-party system".

In a 30-minute speech interrupted by frequent applause, he said the MPLA must abandon its Marxist economic model to embrace the free market and a new strategy of democratic socialism.

The six-day congress is scheduled to debate proposals for reforming the centralised economy and introducing multi-party democracy.

Delegates will also discuss ongoing peace talks with US-backed Unita rebels to end a 15-year civil war which has devastated what is potentially one of Africa's richest economies.

After a fifth round of peace talks between the two sides last month, Portuguese government mediators said they were close to a ceasefire.

## Introduce

President dos Santos yesterday said political advances would be difficult while the war continued with Unita.

He has said that plans to introduce a multi-party system would go ahead early next year, even without an agreement with the rebels.

Peace talks are expected to resume next month.

President dos Santos criticised the centrally

planned economic system followed by the MPLA since Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.

"The inadequacy of the system is showing in an economic asphyxiation because of the high level of collectivism of the means of production and services," he said.

Angola is rich in minerals and agricultural land, but the war has crippled economic activity and severed communications.

Only exports from the heavily guarded north-western oilfields have kept the economy afloat.

President dos Santos faces resistance to his reform plans from MPLA hard-liners.

Observers in Luanda said opposition to some planned changes may delay their discussion until an extraordinary party congress early next year. — Sapa-AP.

# Dos Santos pleads for end to Marxism

CMT-1415 5/12/80 (5)

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After a fifth round of peace talks between the two sides last month, Portuguese government mediators said they were close to a ceasefire.

President Dos Santos said yesterday that political advances would be difficult while the war continued with Unita. Previously he has said that plans to introduce a multi-party system will go ahead early next year, even without an agreement with the rebels.

Talks are expected to resume in January.

Mr Dos Santos criticised the centrally planned economic system followed by the MPLA since Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.

"The inadequacy of the system is showing in an economic asphyxiation because of the high level of

collectivism of the means of production and services," he said.

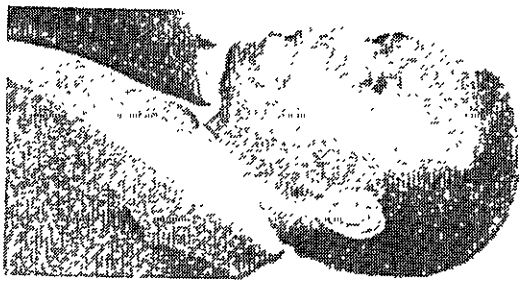
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President Dos Santos faces resistance to his reform plans from party hardliners.

Observers in Luanda said opposition to some planned changes may delay their discussion until an extraordinary party congress early next year.

President Dos Santos hopes to strengthen his hand at the current congress in elections for members of the policy-making central committee.

Tipped to win the new position of MPLA general secretary is the president's special assistant and leading reformer, Mr Lopo de Nascimento. — Sapa-AP



President Dos Santos

8/24 5/12/90 (S)

# Angola gears up for perestroika

**LUANDA** — After 15 years of Marxist-inspired one-party rule, civil war, foreign invasion and economic crisis, Angola's leaders are preparing to follow their allies in the Soviet Union by radically changing the nature of their state.

At a congress that opened yesterday, the ruling MPLA is scheduled to debate introducing multiparty democracy and a free market economy, as well as forging peace with Unita.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos faces a challenge from hard-liners who have not embraced his option of democratic socialism.

After 11 years as party leader and president, Dos Santos has recently given strong signals that he plans to abandon the communist model and open the political system to opposition forces, including Unita.

In April, the two sides opened peace talks in Portugal. At the fifth round last month, media-tors said they were close to a ceasefire.

A truce will have to be followed by changes allowing Unita a stake in Angola's future.

This week's congress is scheduled to discuss reforms to the Angolan constitution aimed at removing the party's position as the guiding

force in society, legalising opposition groups and preparing for general elections.

Dos Santos has said a multiparty system can be implemented early next year.

He is striving to ensure support for the changes. He is expected to remove at least five members of the old guard from the 13-member politburo and shed the party's Marxist ideology.

Angola is rich in oil, diamonds and other minerals. It has an abundance of arable land and well-stocked Atlantic fishing grounds. Its deep water ports could be a vital economic outlet for other southern African nations.

But the fighting has crippled economic activity and severed communications. Only exports



● DOS SANTOS

from the heavily guarded north-western oil fields have kept the economy afloat. Last month Dos Santos conceded the war was not the only cause of Angola's economic woes. At a meeting in Luanda, he admitted the centralised system adopted by all Portugal's African colonies after independence had resulted in many errors.

The most important was not understanding the role of private enterprise in the economic recovery of the country, Dos Santos said.

He promised reforms that would aid small businessmen and encourage foreign investment. A long-awaited devaluation of the kwanza was introduced in September as part of an austerity programme. To be effective, economic reforms had to be accompanied by an end to the war.

The government and Unita remain divided on a number of issues, including the timing of elections, the integration of the two armed forces and the composition of an international force to verify a ceasefire.

However, fighting has flared up recently with several Unita raids taking place in the Luanda area. — Sapa-AP.

Ex-chief instine iains





# Angola set to abandon Marxist era

ARGUS

6/12/90

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From DALE LAUTENBACH  
Argus African New Service

**WINDHOEK.** — Angola could no longer row against the tide, said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, setting the tone of the milestone third MPLA Workers' Party congress in Luanda.

This was "perhaps" the last congress in a one-party state; "perhaps" the last congress of the MPLA Workers' Party (MPLA-PT) in its present form, said the president this week. But all those "perhapses" appeared little more than political politesse aimed at the hardliners whose numbers among the 694 congress delegates is anyone's guess.

"The outgoing Central Committee has pronounced itself in favour of institutionalising a multiparty system and I am convinced that this congress is going to ratify that decision."

## Party on the line

President Dos Santos has therefore put his party on the line when, only last May, the proposed outline for this congress was a gentle "suggestion" that the multiparty system be "discussed".

The recent acceleration of the message of change has created its own momentum though. Foreign observers in the gallery at the Palace of Congress were said to be disappointed that the president said nothing new in his opening address.

Out on the streets of the capital too there is apparently little enthusiasm for the congress which continues until Sunday; a sense of *deja-vu* that this has all been said before.

Perhaps, now that Angola seems finally on a roll, history will judge the changes to be as precipitous as those which have shaken socialist states in Eastern Europe.

But while everyone watches for signals on the high-profile sister issues of the move to a multiparty state and to a market-

based economy, there are other more subtle political manoeuvres going on that could prove equally crucial for Angola's future.

The president announced that changes to the programme and statutes of the MPLA-PT be held over until an extraordinary party congress early next year. The base of the party remains, despite all pronouncements of change, Marxist-Leninist.

The penultimate Central Committee meeting at the end of October proposed shifting the ideological ground to democratic socialism and said the MPLA-PT would no longer be a vanguard party.

Now the talk in Luanda is said to be that democratic socialism does not take the move far enough and that the president is hoping to push things as far as social democracy.

So, if he waits until after this congress to address changes to the party's ideology, he will have a new Central Committee to work with after its election this weekend.

## Oust old guard

This thinking anticipates that the election (30 or so faces among a present line-up of 74 are reported to be expected to change) will oust some of the foot-dragging hardliners.

Indeed when he exhorted congress delegates to vote carefully he said consider "competence" and "moral integrity". He could be interpreted as saying get the old guard out.

The extraordinary congress next year then could be a smart play for time by a president banking on a more forward-looking new team.

And was he making a veiled plea for a real leap when he said the "edifice of socialism" had proved "not the best method for the economic reconstruction" of Angola?

# Unita clears way for peace

Star 1/2/90

(5)

By Shaun Johnson  
Star Africa Service



Softer line . . . Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi will be happy if Angola's MPLA government merely opts for a multiparty system.

## Savimbi apologises for Cuban soldier's death

Star Africa Service

JAMBA — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has apologised for the killing of a Cuban soldier by Unita troops because "the Cubans have been behaving very well".

"They have not been doing anything against us and they do not deserve it," he said of the incident.

He also apologised for a recent attack on an oil installation in northern Angola, launched after

the organisation announced it was stopping all offensive operations.

Turning to the outcome of any possible elections, the rebel leader predicted that Unita would win 60 percent of the popular vote.

JAMBA — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has made an important compromise as peace negotiations with Luanda are being stepped up — he has dropped his demand for explicit recognition of his movement.

Instead, he has called on the MPLA government to declare itself in favour of a multiparty system in Angola.

### Olive branch

Such a declaration would be enough to clear the way for a ceasefire in the 15-year-old war "very soon", he said, and would ensure that next month's sixth round of MPLA/Unita peace talks in Portugal produce a decisive breakthrough.

Speaking at Jamba, his "capital" in southern Angola, Dr Savimbi offered a carefully timed olive branch to the MPLA congress in Luanda.

He said: "This is a new position. If they (the congress) approve the multiparty system now — it's not only for Unita but other parties as well — if they do that, then . . . we sign a ceasefire."

Previously, Unita had made a ceasefire contingent upon specific and individual recognition from the MPLA.

In Jamba, Dr Savimbi said a generalised recognition of opposition polit-

ical parties would allow for recognition of Unita without the MPLA feeling humiliated. "They can say they did it, they were not forced to do so by Unita . . . It will mean there is no need for them to say they recognise us. It will be a fact."

Although differences over detailed arrangements will emerge — Unita insists on an Untag-style monitoring force, which the MPLA rejects — it is clear Dr Savimbi is going all out to achieve a ceasefire as soon as possible.

"We consider, quite sincerely, that for us the war is over, whether it is a matter of days or months," he said.

"This negotiation process cannot go wrong completely. We have made six major concessions already and are prepared to make more."

Dr Savimbi said the key to speeding up the process in Angola was "guarantees . . . that the US and the Soviet Union can, through the UN, offer a guarantee that MPLA will not (use a transitional period) to destroy Unita" and vice versa.

It was imperative that a "complete" ceasefire be achieved because a partial or ambiguous ceasefire "would not last".

For its size, Angola was one of the most heavily armed countries in the world. "Angola is full of powder. Only political will can lead us to peace," he said.

# Unita gives MPLA <sup>5</sup> proviso to end war

*AP 7/12/90*  
JAMBA: Unita rebels say they will sign a ceasefire ending Angola's 15-year civil war — provided the MPLA approve a system of multi-party democracy at a congress that opened yesterday in Luanda.

"For us the war is over," Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi told reporters at his bush headquarters here yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter

# Savimbi <sup>(S)</sup> confident of victory in free poll

Star 8/12/90  
**SHAUN JOHNSON**

JAMBA — Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is cock-a-hoop about his prospects for coming to power in Angola once the MPLA government follows the trend in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa and opts for a multi-party system.

Speaking this week in Jamba, his fortified rebel "capital" in the south-eastern corner of Angola, Dr Savimbi said he was keen to participate in elections "as soon as possible" and was convinced that Unita would win out right in a nationwide ballot.

He offered a further concession to the MPLA — whose crucial congress is under way in Luanda — by dropping his demand for explicit recognition for his rebel movement. The move was designed to encourage the Soviet Union and the United States — Luanda's and Jamba's chief backers respectively — to pressurise the MPLA into an agreement on free political activity.

Dr Savimbi, speaking about Unita's electoral chances, told reporters his belief was the movement would "get 60 percent of the vote".

## **Vote en masse**

Unita strategists say that if there is a free and fair election, for which Unita insists an Untag-style monitoring force is essential, rural areas in particular will vote en masse for Unita.

Sources close to the MPLA greeted Dr Savimbi's estimates with depression. They are confident that the majority of Angolans remain loyal to the tradition of Agostinho Neto, the MPLA's leader when it assumed power from the Portuguese.

Major logistical problems will bedevil any attempts to hold timeous elections. There is no voters' roll in Angola, and infrastructure in the vast country is almost non-existent. An Untag-style operation would be considerably more difficult than it was in Namibia. It is expected that if elections do go ahead, the main fight will be between the MPLA and Unita, although Holden Roberto's almost moribund FNLA might stage a revival.

● See PAGE 6.

# Angola to free economy in two years

LUANDA — Angola will be operating on a market-based economy within two years, says Finance Minister Aguinaldo Jaime.

But for the moment his task looks daunting.

All options, it seems, will make things worse before the healing can begin.

The Angolan economy appears a labyrinth to the passing observer. Not only does there seem no clear exit but the very entry is hard to find when trying to understand just what is going on.

There are a number of signposts now though: a new willingness — indeed to the point of urgency — on the part of the Angolan government to effect change, a commitment (albeit stalled) to very necessary currency devaluation, a pragmatic understanding of the need to attract foreign investment and trade (including South African) to this country widely quoted as potentially one of Africa's richest, and a number of financial managers, like Mr Jaime, not hung up on yesterday's ideology.

## Boundary-breaking

Mr Jaime is a small, young man with a British education and, one must deduce, some necessary nerve. He smiles recalling a recent meeting (boundary-breaking in itself) with South African Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in Geneva: "It was very important to listen to someone in a key position in the processes of financial, economic and political reform in South Africa."

In October the Angolan population was hit by the "troca" as it's called here, even in English. Troca is Portuguese for exchange, and one can't help noticing that the next word in the dictionary, spelt the same but for a cedilla under the c, means "ridicule" or "mockery". By all accounts many Luandans must have experienced the

DALE LAUTENBACH

troca of their kwanza currency this way.

The troca was an effective 95 percent confiscation of the money supply. You handed in your old kwanza notes at the bank and received five percent with a piece of paper, a government IOU, for the rest.

When the new money (over-printed old notes) ran out, according to diplomatic sources, your piece of paper promised 100 percent of what you had surrendered.

The old kwanza coins were retained, the biggest being the unit of 20. Several sources and some ordinary Luandan would-be shoppers reported that the smallest new kwanza note was a 500 unit.

Along with the troca came a new petrol price: \$2,50 a litre and that, in oil-rich Angola, had nothing to do with the Gulf crisis but the imposition of a 500 percent government tax on petrol refined in Luanda.

The official US dollar-for-kwanza exchange rate was and remains one to about 30. A devaluation of one to 60 was supposed to have followed hot on the heels of the troca but has been delayed while officials "assess the impact of the currency change and establish how much currency there is in circulation", says Mr Jaime.

He said not even the Banco Nacional de Angola had any idea how much money was out there: "In the past we financed our budget deficit by printing more money."

It was a hard week, the troca. Bank accounts were frozen and even embassies found themselves without money, they reported.

Asked when the devaluation will take place, he says "probably November". "Yes, it was supposed to be a few days after the exchange. But things in Angola are difficult." He refers to the war which creates "unpredictability"; normal methods cannot be applied in an abnor-

mal society, he says.

What's happening now does seem chaotic and Mr Jaime acknowledges that the situation is less than satisfactory. He remains committed though to the market economy plan, saying it will be a step-by-step process, the first being to sell off about 100 small state enterprises to international entrepreneurs.

South African? Jaime smiles: "We have been visited by many South African enterprises. They are interested in co-operation."

A Soviet diplomat has an even broader vision. The Soviet Union needs to get something back for all the years spent supporting the MPLA. The diplomat too smiles, envisaging joint ventures involving Angolan, Soviet and South African interests.

What Angola is undertaking involves giving meaning to a currency stripped of all value. An excess supply of money and an extreme shortage of goods has nurtured the parallel markets (candongas) where the value of the kwanza has been about 100th of its official rate and beer is a currency valued above the kwanza.

## Swooping

But with the first bite of economic reform and the troca came the "troca police", a sort of commercial branch swooping on backdoor deals out of poorly stocked government shops and traders charging excessive prices. Each night on national television, a policeman reports to the nation and names the day's offenders.

The candongas clearly have to be brought to heel if the economy is to establish any sense of reality, if the kwanza is to gain a measure of respect. But for Angolans who have survived the crazy combination of government price controls on the one hand, and on the other the wild sort of make-do entrepreneurship of the parallel markets, it's going to be a hard adjustment.



# Angolan rulers want multiparty govt system

Star 10/12/90

LUANDA — Angola's ruling party endorsed proposals during the weekend to revise its constitution in two phases to introduce a multiparty system. Jose Leitao e Costa, secretary of the Council of Ministers, said on television on Saturday that the 700-member congress of the ruling MPLA approved the plan, already voted through by the central committee. The first phase will end in March 1991 and the second a year later.

The rebel Unita movement, which has fought the Luanda government since independence from Portugal in 1975, said last week it would sign a ceasefire if the congress approved multiparty rule.

Mr Leitao said the first phase of reform would introduce laws on the formation of political parties, associations, the right of assembly and a press law. The MPLA's army would become a national army. The draft, amended by congress delegates before its approval, would be submitted to different levels of the MPLA, organisations and citizens.

Mr Leitao also referred to an economy based on free market laws, the protection of private property and foreign investment, consumer rights and the environment.

The changes also guarantee a state of law and a democracy based on popular sovereignty, national unity, political pluralism and respect for human rights, he added.

Mr Leitao said freedom of expression, association, religion, and assembly would be enshrined in the new constitution and Angolans would have the right to strike and to claim social security.

The congress, meeting for the first time in five years, agreed that a second congress would take a final decision on the MPLA's future ideological line. This extraordinary congress will probably meet before June next year.

The state news agency Angop said last week's congress had approved a draft resolution on the statutes of the MPLA to go before the extraordinary congress. — Sapa-Reuter

## MPLA endorses multiparty rule

8/20/90 10/1/90  
LUANDA — Angola's ruling party has endorsed proposals to bring in multiparty rule after 15 years of MPLA government.

Sapa-Reuter reports that the MPLA's 700-member congress, meeting this week to discuss proposals by the central committee, approved a plan on Saturday to revise the constitution to institute a multiparty state.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos would continue to act as both head of state and MPLA party leader until a law allowing the formation of political parties was on the statute books, probably in March, the state news agency Angop reported.

TIM COHEN reports that SA Foreign Affairs director general Neil van Heerden yesterday welcomed the MPLA's decision and said government would put pressure on Unita to stay at the negotiation table.

The MPLA decision, which follows a similar decision by the Mozambican government, confirmed the trend in Africa away from one-party states, he said.

Multiparty politics was high on Unita's list of demands and the MPLA decision would help ease the negotiation process, Van Heerden said.

World Bank and IMF requirements, that states wishing to receive financial aid would have to demonstrate their governments were truly representative, would have influenced the MPLA's decision.

# MPLA gives multi-party rule go-ahead

**LUANDA.** — Angola's ruling MPLA has endorsed proposals to bring in multi-party rule after 15 years of government.

The MPLA's 700-member congress, meeting at the weekend to discuss proposals by the central committee, approved a plan to revise the constitution to institute a multi-party state.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos would continue to act as both head of state and MPLA party leader until a law allowing the formation of political parties was on the statute books. The law should be ready by next March.

The US-backed Unita, which has fought the Luanda government since independence from Portugal in 1975, said it would sign a ceasefire if the congress approved multi-party rule.

Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden yesterday welcomed the MPLA's decision and said the government would put pressure on Unita to stay at the negotiation table.

Multi-party politics was high on the list of demands put forward by Unita and the MPLA decision would help ease the negotiation process between the warring groups, Mr Van Heerden said.

World Bank and International Monetary Fund requirements that states wishing to receive financial aid would have to demonstrate that their governments were truly representative would have influenced the MPLA's decision.

More importantly, the MPLA had realised it would not achieve a solution to civil war without freeing the political process, he said. — Sapa-Reuter and Own Correspondent

# Angola's milestone: multi-party democracy replaces Marxism

From DALE LAUTENBACH  
Argus Africa News  
Service  
in Windhoek

**T**HE milestone third congress of the MPLA Workers' Party, Angola's ruling and only legal party, has approved fundamental changes to lead the Marxist-Leninist state on to the road of multi-party democracy.

**ANGOLA**

The mood in Luanda as the congress ended early yesterday was reported to be anti-climactic. All the groundwork for the shift to multipartyism and a timetable for constitutional change to effect this had been achieved in the months and even weeks before congress.

The gathering of 694 MPLA-PT delegates was merely expected to ratify these proposals which had been approved by a Central Committee meeting in late October and which, significantly, included for the first time a commitment to a timetable to change the Constitution and provide for multipartyism, freedom of assembly and a free Press within the first trimester of next year.

## Ousting

Observers in Luanda for the congress, which began today, were reportedly more concerned about other signals which might emerge to affirm the push towards fundamental change in Angola.

The election of a new Central Committee which was earmarked to reflect an ousting of the so-called old guard or hardline Marxist-Leninist ideologues within the party, was less than dramatic though. While there were a number of changes, it was "not by a long chalk a clean



President dos Santos

sweep", according to one source.

The only real surprise was that Defence Minister Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale was not reelected which means he also falls out of the Politburo.

Changes to the ideological base of the party following President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's admission that the "socialist edifice" had failed to provide economic security in Angola, still reflect some confusion.

There is talk in Luanda that the President himself would like to see the move be one as far-reaching as a shift to social democracy. However, prior to the congress the Central Committee proposed that a programme of democratic socialism be accepted and a draft proposal to effect this was adopted by Congress.

However, the President has also called an extraordinary congress to be held in the first six months of next year and there is some expectation that social democracy could be accepted at that point when greater commitment to the separation of party and state is also anticipated.

Diplomatic sources in Luanda said democratic socialism, while not a dirty word in itself, had been somewhat discredited by its routine adoption by former Communist parties in eastern Europe

which otherwise reflected little real reform.

President dos Santos's reform programme has also proposed the separation of the state, the party and the military and while congress considered it "premature" to give effect to any of these changes now, debate was reportedly positive.

The President himself was "unanimously acclaimed" as party leader in the congress election but there was much discussion about the eligibility of party members for state office and vice versa. Debate also seemed to indicate that military personnel should not be eligible for party office.

## Approved

This question of eligibility and separation of powers is expected to be addressed at the extraordinary congress next year.

Congress also approved the decision to depoliticise the armed forces, a formal acceptance of moves already made by Mr dos Santos in November when he appointed General Antonio Franca N'dalu, then Fapla Chief of Staff, to reorganise the armed forces with this goal in mind.

Meanwhile, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi indicated from his headquarters in Jamba that a commitment by the MPLA-PT to multipartyism would be acceptable without special recognition for Unita itself, an issue which has long been a stumbling block in the continuing peace talks between the two sides which have been ongoing in Portugal since April.

However, observers at the congress in Luanda fear that Unita might consider there to be too few guarantees still, especially on the important issue of the integration of the two armies and the establishment of one national apolitical army.

Political writer Shaun Johnson assesses the prospects of peace between the MPLA and Unita

Spec 12/10/90

# A lot of 'if onlys' as Angola battles to end

**I**f only somebody would tell Unita's guerrillas to stop attacking oil refineries and food relief convoys, and if only someone would just persuade Fapla's pilots to stop straying Jamba with their MiGs... there just might be a political solution on the horizon for poor, stricken Angola.

Away from the clattering of weapons provided by the United States and the Soviet Union for the purpose of enabling Angolans to kill each other on the cheap, momentous developments are taking place in that benighted country's wayward search for peace. The war is still getting in the way, as it has done for 15 years, but the politicians might just be coming to their senses.

This week the ruling MPLA party approved a two-phase, two-year transition to a multi-party system and an unshackled economy. Against tenacious resistance from bitterenders in his party, Angolan president Jose Eduardo

dos Santos piloted through a resolution allowing for the introduction of free political activity, conceded that mistakes had been made since independence, and made possible peace with the Unita rebels.

For his part, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi exchanged posturing for practicality, backing off from his demand that the Luanda government confer on him public — and, for them, humiliating — recognition, and satisfying himself instead with a principled commitment to multi-partyism.

The auguries for a ceasefire emerging from January's sixth round of peace talks, hosted and refereed by the Portuguese government and brokered by the US and USSR, are better than ever. This is welcome news indeed for Angola's 10 million people, living in a country that is simultaneously one of the most militarised and backward on the globe. Some 200 000 fighters are under arms. Angola is, in the words of Dr Sa-

vimbi, "full of powder". The changes of heart in Luanda and Jamba are not the result, of course, of a sudden realisation that perhaps the other side has a point after all. Both sides privately concede they simply cannot take much more of the crippling, indeterminate war. Moreover, both are acutely aware their paymasters in Moscow and Washington are, if anything, even more fatigued than they by the whole thing. Hence the pre-emptive, serious search for the previously unattainable breakthrough.

Speaking in Jamba last week, Dr Savimbi listed six concessions he has made on behalf of Unita. President dos Santos has been recognised as legitimate head of state until elections can be held. His MPLA government has been similarly acknowledged. The sovereignty of Angola has been recognised by Unita. The rebels have accepted they will not participate in a transitional government. They have agreed to "scale

down" offensive military action in preparation for a full-blown ceasefire. Unita has conceded an integrated national army might begin to come into being during, rather than after, the process of transition. These, along with the acceptance of tacit rather than overt recognition, are substantial commitments.

Dr Savimbi is being disingenuous when he claims Luanda has made no similar moves towards rapprochement — the MPLA's willingness to restructure the constitution is the biggest compromise of all — but this is political blather, and not a serious obstacle to progress. That such obstacles remain is, however, undeniable. Chief among these are the technicalities of ceasefire, and the timetable for free elections. Unita is insisting (and shows no signs of a rowback on this issue) that an Untag-style monitoring force should oversee the process — particularly re-

garding the confinement of Fapla and Unita forces. Dr Savimbi has unqualified support for this position from Germany and qualified approval from the US, USSR and Portugal. The MPLA insists — curiously enough, echoing precisely the view of the Pretoria government regarding its own transition — that the Namibian experience cannot be invoked in Angola's case, because Angola is a sovereign state. While the MPLA does not rule out international involvement, it will not hand over the reins of transition to a "third force". Thus ceasefire in principle and ceasefire in practice remain two different things.

On the matter of setting a date for elections, it is still not known whether Dr Savimbi will accept President dos Santos's open-ended timetable. It is almost certain his initial response will be to cry foul, accusing Luanda of buying time. But, as the events of recent weeks have shown, previously immutable positions in the Angolan impasse are now subject to a great deal more flexibility. The Soviet Union is committed to supplying the Angolan government with weaponry into the first half of 1991. The US is unlikely to ditch Unita before then. Thus, while the January meeting in Portugal could throw up a strong commitment to ceasefire, it is unlikely to be implemented until the river of weapons has dried up. Practically, this means oil refineries attack, and the MPLA's "revving" of Jamba, will not be the last. But, if the superpowers continue to twist arms as they have been doing, these will be localised tragedies as opposed to the national one which has afflicted the country since 1975. And Angola, against all expectations, might just end up holding free and fair elections before South Africa does. □

WAR





12/12/90

★ Cape Times, Wednesday, Dec

# Ex-Koevoet boss 'not with Unita'

## Political Staff

THE ministry of Law and Order denied yesterday that former Koevoet police unit boss Major-General "Serk Hans" Dreyer is with Unita in Angola.

Namibian President Sam Nujoma claimed at the weekend that General Dreyer was with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi at Jamba in Angola.

But ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday that the allegation was "ridiculous" and added: "I know he is in Durban at present."

General Dreyer, a former head of the security police in Maritzburg and Port Elizabeth, was head of Koevoet in Namibia until December last year

when he was transferred to Pretoria.

Captain Kotze said yesterday that General Dreyer, who gained experience in counter-insurgency techniques in the Rhodesian bush war in the 1970s, had since retired from the police force.

He also denied Namibian allegations that former members of Koevoet had been recruited into a force to oust Mr Nujoma and the Swapo government.

"South Africa will not allow itself to be used as a springboard for targets in neighbouring countries," he said. "Any nature of an offensive operation against a neighbouring state will not be tolerated."

Unita <sup>5</sup> ~~2~~  
threat <sup>scattered</sup> 12/14/90

BENGUELA - The future of a R200 million United Nations food aid programme in central and southern Angola is being threatened by intensified Unita activity in the area according to a UN official.

Joao Ulica, a representative of the UN Children's Fund here said food convoys were unable to reach destinations in the affected area because bridges were being blown up by Unita.

# Bid for Angolan peace (5)

By David Braun  
Star Bureau 13/12/90

WASHINGTON — The US and Soviet foreign ministers met leaders from Unita and the MPLA in Washington yesterday in a superpower bid to clinch the Angolan peace process.

Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and US Secretary of State Jim Baker had talks with Angolan foreign minister Pedro Castro van Dunem.

Mr Baker also met Dr Savimbi and Mr Shevardnadze with Mr van Dunem.

The Soviet and American Foreign Ministers earlier this week announced they had deve-

loped a peace plan for Angola, calling for a ceasefire, a cut-off in arms supplies for each side and internationally supervised elections.

The next round of talks between the MPLA government and Unita is scheduled to take place in Portugal next month.

Details of the Shevardnadze/Baker plan were discussed during yesterday's Washington talks with Dr Savimbi and Mr van Dunem.

Talks between top US, Soviet, Portuguese, MPLA and Unita officials will take place in Washington following yesterday's meetings.

Dr Savimbi flew to Washington a few days ago at the request of Mr Baker.

Prospects for peace in

Angola are considered to be good following the decision at the weekend by the MPLA to recognise opposition political parties in Angola.

Unita had already announced that if the MPLA accepted the legitimacy of opposition parties it would drop its insistence that its movement be recognised and it would accept an immediate ceasefire.

If the superpowers agree to cut their military assistance to their traditional clients in Angola, Unita will lose some \$30 million (R78 million) in US support in 1991 and the MPLA stands to lose hundreds of million dollars in armament supplies from the Soviet Union.



## US-Soviet plan for Angolan peace

WASHINGTON — The US and Soviet Union yesterday outlined a joint peace proposal to the MPLA and Unita in the hope of producing an internationally monitored ceasefire and an end to foreign-arms supplies to either side by the end of January.

In a break with precedent designed to build Unita confidence, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze personally briefed Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at the Soviet embassy here. *B Day 13/12/90*  
US Secretary of State James Baker simultaneously met Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Loy van Dunem at the State Department.

Follow-up consultations between senior officials from the MPLA, Unita, the US,

**SIMON BARBER**

Soviet Union and mediator Portugal were set for today.

As outlined in a joint statement issued yesterday, the US-Soviet proposal calls for a ceasefire, followed by:

- The participation of Unita and other parties in the political process of Angola in the framework of multiparty democracy;
- The conduct of free and fair elections with monitoring by international neutral observers; and
- The termination of deliveries of all lethal materiel to Angola.

Baker and Shevardnadze said they

To Page 2

## Angolan peace *B Day 13/12/90*

hoped the details could be nailed down finally at the sixth round on MPLA-Unita talks in Lisbon in January.

Sources familiar with the negotiations said the mechanical details of a ceasefire had already been largely settled, but several critical political issues were outstanding.

These included the integration of MPLA and Unita forces, which Unita wished to keep separate, but confined to base, until after elections.

**S**  From Page 1  
Unita was also said to be opposed to forming a government of national reconciliation in the run-up to elections.

There were still questions about the status of Savimbi himself during the interim period, which could be protracted if the MPLA wished to hold a census and delimit constituencies before an election.

Details of an international monitoring effort were also undecided. Indications are that that neither the US nor the Soviet Union is prepared to foot the bill for an operation on the scale of Namibia's.

# Angola goes multiparty <sup>5</sup>

South 13/12 - 17/12/90  
LUANDA. — Angola should have a multiparty system by the middle of 1991, ditching its Marxist stance practised since independence.

Elections should follow.

This is the result of the six-day congress of the ruling MPLA Workers' Party which ended here last Sunday.

The congress endorsed proceedings with amendments to the constitution that will create a multiparty system, the formation of political parties, the right of free association, freedom of the press, privatisation of state-controlled companies, depoliticisation of the army, and the application of free market principles to economic activity.

Many of the political and economic actions required to start the process have been coming into place during the last quarter for the year.

Jonas Savimbi, leader of the USA-supported Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) has pledged to implement a ceasefire when the multiparty system is in place. —AIA

## Savimbi hears the other side

WASHINGTON - Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told the leader of a US-backed Angolan rebel group that "people have grown tired" of the 15-year civil war in Angola. *Sovetain 14/12/90* (5)

Shevardnadze's first face-to-face meeting with Jonas Savimbi, president of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), seemed to suggest that a ceasefire was near.

## Angola starts a new bureau

LUANDA - Angola's ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) announced a new political bureau at the end of the first meeting of its new central committee. *Sovetain 14/12/90* (5)

The leading body of the party has been expanded from 13 members to 21.

# Angola moves towards peace after showdown

APR 14/12/90

(5)

## The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Top-level negotiations between the Soviet Union, the United States, Portugal and Angola's warring parties ended on an optimistic note here with all sides agreeing that significant progress had been made towards a ceasefire.

The MPLA government and Unita now enter the next round of talks to end the war with the differences between them narrowed. The talks are scheduled to be held in Portugal next month.

President Bush was personally involved in the meetings yesterday when he met the leader of Unita, Dr Jonas Savimbi, reaffirming US support for the rebel group but emphasising the need for an early ceasefire.

The talks started in Texas this week when the foreign ministers of the US and the Soviet Union met to discuss issues including the 15-year civil war in Angola.

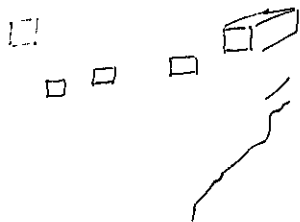
US Secretary of State Mr James Baker then met Angolan Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem and Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze met Dr Savimbi in separate talks in Washington on Wednesday.

The superpowers said after Wednesday's talks that they had developed a plan to bolster the Portuguese-led initiative to end the war between Unita and the MPLA government.

## GUARANTEES

The crux of that plan, according to sources, was for the US and the Soviet Union to furnish political and military guarantees to the two Angolan parties that in the event of their signing a ceasefire agreement no external lethal aid would be supplied to any organisation inside Angola.

The superpowers had effectively agreed to remove all external forces from the Angolan conflict, leaving the Angolans free to concentrate on reconciling their differences.



# MPLA used gases against Unita

CAP  
7/1/18  
14/12/90  
5

BRUSSELS. — A Belgian toxicology expert alleged yesterday that the Angolan government used chemical weapons against Unita-controlled villages earlier this month, killing dozens of people and injuring hundreds.

Professor Aubin Heyndrickx, head of Ghent University's toxicology department, said he was in regular contact with three prominent Angolan doctors.

He said the Soviet-backed MPLA government bombed several villages near Jamba, headquarters of the rebel Unita in south-eastern Angola, on December 5 and 6.

Professor Heyndrickx, who has repeatedly visited Angola with colleagues from European universities, feared the government had used new mixtures of gases supplied by Moscow.

## Washington talks

He said he believed that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein possessed the same Soviet-made weapons as those in Angola.

"That's why we now want to know the chemical composition of the weapons used in Angola, so we can use that information if war breaks out in the Gulf."

Unita and the Angolan government have met five times in Lisbon this year to try to end the civil war and are now meeting in Washington.

Unita president Dr Jonas Savimbi met Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze in Washington on Wednesday, a move which indicated a ceasefire could be near.

Mr Shevardnadze told Dr Savimbi that "people have grown tired" of the war in Angola.

After the meeting Dr Savimbi said: "Today all the big powers understand they can co-operate to find peace and stability for our country." — Sapa-Reuter-AP

**WORLD IN FOCUS**

# Angolans prepare for multi-party democracy

Last weekend's MPLA congress made major steps towards transforming the political and economic scene in Angola.

**ANITA COULSON** reports

from Luanda  
W/Mail 14/12-19/12/90

BY THE time Angola's ruling MPLA party ended its third-ever congress in the early hours of Monday morning it had stepped closer towards peace by agreeing to establish a multi-party democracy and a free market economy.

The party will make these changes in two stages: first it will establish a multi-party system by the end of March 1991 and then allow the registration of other political parties, which will be invited to a national commission to re-draft the constitution within the following 12 months.

Western diplomats in Luanda agree that the MPLA has gone "nearly all the way" to creating conditions for a ceasefire, but complained that the 36-month process mapped out by the MPLA should be speeded up.

Yet early reaction from the Unita rebels was not encouraging. "The mountain has given birth to little more than a mouse," Unita spokesman Norberto de Castro said elliptically from Lisbon. He said the congress had been "too timid" and Unita would still demand immediate political recognition.

Only last week, however, Unita leader Jonas Savimbi told a group of journalists in Jamba that he would accept implementation of the multi-party system as tantamount to recognition.

The most decisive meeting to bring peace may well have taken place in Washington this week where US Secretary of State James Baker met Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem, and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Savimbi. Such unprecedented attention by the superpowers who back the clashing sides bodes well for the peace process.

After 15 years of ruling Angola as a one-party Marxist state, the MPLA endorsed sweeping constitutional changes to include broader protection for human and individual rights, including guarantees of freedom of expression, religious belief and freedom of information and the press.

Already this week President Dos Santos sounded as though he was kicking off the MPLA's election campaign. Addressing a rally of the party faithful on Tuesday, to mark the 34th anniversary of the founding of the MPLA party and the 13th anniversary of its transformation into a workers' party, he told the rally and wider television audience that "Unita representatives will appear before you one day soon to ask for your votes. But we all know that they infiltrate into our midst armed, in the still of the night, to attack, kill and kidnap our children and steal our goods".

International observers in Luanda say it is in the MPLA's interest to have a long transitional period before the elections, both to allow for many other parties to organise and to create the public impression that they are the party that achieved peace and democracy.

Unita, on the other hand, is perceived to want quick elections to capitalise on the current lack of sophistication of the majority of the Angolan population. Analysts say an early election would polarise the nation into two camps, MPLA or Unita, and this might favour Unita, given the sacrifices and sufferings under the 15 years of MPLA rule.

What remains to be settled may well involve the co-operation of the superpowers, such as the formation of an international observer force to monitor a ceasefire and elections and in the cessation of all military support for the two belligerents. In any case this week's changes means that everyone is more optimistic about the chances for peace.

# Angola is closer to ending war

(5)

Star 15/12/90

WASHINGTON — The leader of Angola's anti-communist rebels said yesterday that he had reached tentative agreement with Angola's Marxist government to set a date for free elections and end the country's 15-year civil war.

The Angolan government and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), held their highest-level meeting on Thursday, with the participation of officials from the Soviet Union, the United States and Portugal, Angola's former colonial ruler.

"We believe that significant progress has been made, and that the prospects for a successful sixth round of negotiations in Lisbon early next year have been enhanced," said a communique issued by the participants at the end of the meeting, which lasted more than five hours.

## Five-point plan

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said his organization and the Angolan government, represented by the ruling party's second-ranking official Lopo do Nascimento, had agreed on a five-point plan for ending the war.

Among the five points is agreement that signing of a cease-fire should be preceded by setting a date for free elections; a cease-fire should be guaranteed by international observers; and outside military assistance will stop once a cease-fire agreement is signed, Savimbi said at a news conference.

The other two points called for a

## Five-point plan may bring free elections

democratic system of government and international monitoring of elections.

The Angolan government official asked for more time to confer with his superiors in Luanda, but all the other participants were ready to sign the five-point plan at Thursday's session, Savimbi said.

But, he added, "there is no question" that the government will agree in principle, even if it might want to make some changes.

A US official, speaking on condition of anonymity, confirmed the gist of Savimbi's account of the meeting.

The parties set the next round of negotiations for January in Portugal, Savimbi said.

If the Angolan government approves the five points and proposes a date for elections, the sides can sign a cease-fire at the January session, he added.

Elections could be held within nine months to a year from the cease-fire date, he added.

"If my party nominates me, I'll

run for president," Savimbi said.

At the outset of the negotiations last year, the Angolan government demanded that Savimbi go into exile but it later dropped that demand.

The US has provided Unita with some \$50 million (R125 million) in weapons annually to counter the Soviet aid going to Angolan government forces.

The Soviets, at the height of the fighting, provided Angola's government \$800 million (R2 billion) in weapons annually, US officials say.

Savimbi met with President George Bush on Thursday after holding an unprecedented meeting on Wednesday with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The US, Soviet and Portuguese participants in the talks held a news conference late on Thursday but declined to cite the areas in which progress was made. They also said the discussion was an exchange of views rather than a negotiating session.

## Agreement

Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, said the "main point of agreement" is that Angola's leftist government is now willing to implement constitutional changes that will convert the country from a one-party Marxist state to a multi-party democracy. This was agreed to at a party congress last weekend.

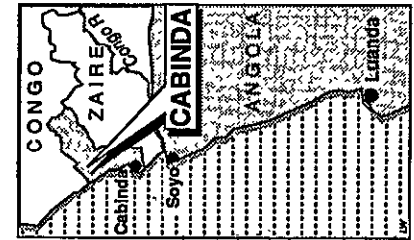
The Portuguese representative, Antonio Monteiro, said an "enormous gap of confidence" has existed between the two factions but that this problem is being overcome. — Sapa-AP.

BRIEFING

# Foreign enclaves that leave tatty Angola untouched

5

Star 17/12/90



**A** LITTLE bit of California, they call it, and that is what it looks like.

Malongo, the base camp in Angola for Cabinda Gulf subsidiary of the American company Chevron, is a place of trimmed green lawns surrounding neat bungalows. Heavy flowers hang in vegetation that suggests the beginnings of the great equatorial rain forest just a little further inland.

Inside one prefab building, rooms lead off a carpeted corridor and outside each door stands a golf cart with clubs at the ready.

Golf and other sports are one of the few forms of distraction here. Cabinda, the nearest Angolan town and capital of the enclave province of the same name, does not offer much in

the way of entertainment. Anyway, it is out of bounds for security reasons.

The long white beaches beneath densely forested cliffs are alluring, but security again precludes sunset strolls and Cabinda Gulf workers are strictly confined within the perimeters of Malongo. At night their view is a black sea spotted with oil flares on the offshore platforms.

At dawn each day helicopters drone overhead to and from the platforms at sea, taking new shifts on, old shifts off.

The helicopter pilots are said to be all veterans of the Vietnam war.

More helicopters fly south to Cabinda airport on a daily shuttle ferrying workers in and out on schedules of 26 days on, 28 off. Most workers spend these

furloughs back home in the United States or Europe.

It is strangely artificial and rootless and, in some ways, away from this rich resource. In Cabinda, the last significant threat was in 1985 when the SADF captain Wynand du Toit was captured there.

An official at the Information Ministry in Luanda laughed: "That was good propaganda for us. A South African plan to blow up an American oil installation."

My guide in Cabinda pointed to the place where du Toit was

captured: An undistinguished stretch of forest within sight of the Malongo residential camp.

More recently though, this five-year calm ended when an employer of one of Cabinda Gulf's sub-contractors was "kidnaped" outside the camp resulting in tightened security rules for all employees.

To the south, near Soyo, where the only offshore oilfields are run by Petrofina, a Belgian company operating through its Angolan subsidiary, Fina Petroleum, it is not as comfortable. There have been about 15 at-

tacks this year despite the presence of troops of the Angolan government army, Fapla. The damage is relatively slight but debilitating for these fields where production is waning.

Soyo is on the wide mouth of the Zaire River and just below the southern lip at Ponta do Papaco, where the Portuguese first landed in Africa in 1482.

The town of Soyo itself is heavy with mango trees and other tropical vegetation, but Kwanda Base not far away. Here are the rich but ugly service centres for Fina and for the huge offshore fields whose operators are America's Texaco and France's Elf Aquitaine.

Kwanda Base is the nerve centre and accommodation complex for all the operators,

their partners like Total and Braspetro of Brazil and their many attendant sub-contractors, a multi-national array of specialists from drilling companies to caterers who serve up a sort of Franco-American menu in the big communal canteen, just about every morsel imported.

At the backbone of Angola's economy, you flit from one multi-million dollar oil platform to another.

However, when you pass through the towns of Soyo and Cabinda where, quite untouched by the oil dollars, life is much the same as in any other Angolan town: poor, rural, tatty and undeveloped — waiting for a share of the oil wealth that never seems to come their way.

— Star Africa Service, O

in the enclave of Cabinda on the mouth of the Zaire River a largely foreign community of technicians extracts the oil wealth that is the lifeblood of the Angolan economy — but whose benefits always seem far from the war-ravaged poverty of most of the country. DALE LAUTENBACH reports.



# Plenty still to play for in Angolan end-game

10.04.18/12/90 (5)

THE MPLA and Unita have reached the end-game. Whether it is the end-game of the final match remains to be seen. Nor is it clear how long this particular end-game will last.

A lot depends on whether the fact that the US and the Soviet Union see eye to eye on an issue means that the issue will resolve itself in the manner desired by the two superpowers, especially since agreement between them is no longer very unusual and the Soviet Union has ceased to be particularly super.

In any event, Secretary of State James Baker and his Soviet counterpart Edward Shevardnadze agreed three weeks ago in New York to sponsor a five-point peace plan synthesised for them by mediator Portugal in the five rounds of Unita-MPLA talks held thus far in Lisbon.

## Simultaneous

The plan called for the signing of an internationally supervised cease-fire once agreement had been reached on a date for elections. These too would be internationally monitored. Arms supplies from any outside source to either side would cease upon the cessation of hostilities. Both sides would be committed to a multiparty political process. To get the ball rolling, Baker and Shevardnadze arranged to have simultaneous meetings last Wednesday,

Baker with Angolan Foreign Minister Loy Van Duren and the Soviet with Unita's Jonas Savimbi. These were to be followed by a day of consultations between Unita, the MPLA, Portugal, the US and the Soviet Union on Thursday at the State Department aimed at achieving general agreement on the plan in preparation for the sixth Lisbon round in January.

The string also called for maximum Press exposure. After their meeting, a hearing Shevardnadze took questions on the steps of the Soviet embassy with an equally beaming Savimbi.

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, his Soviet opposite number Yuri Yukalov and the Portuguese mediator, Antonio Monteiro, gave a joint briefing after the Thursday consultations.

Monteiro summed up: "I think between the two parties, there is enormous mistrust, an enormous gap of confidence. That's why the role of the superpowers is so important."

It was hard to say whether the gap was bridged from the MPLA's point of view. On the surface, at least, things seemed to be going very much in favour of its adversary.

Beneath the media dog and pony show, there was disappointment that Thursday's consultations had not resulted in greater progress. It turned out that Van Duren and MPLA Cen-

## SIMON BARBER in Washington

tral Committee member Lopo Do Nascimento had come to Washington without a brief and were unable sign even the basic principles without referring them to Luanda.

As veterans of the Namibia negotiations know, this is never a particularly propitious omen. Decisions have a way of not getting made in Luanda. The best that could be said, one official observed, was that the MPLA delegation "did not get hysterical" about what was put to them.

On the other hand, Savimbi was ecstatic. He evidently saw his encounter with Shevardnadze as a triumph, especially since the Soviet seemed to share his view that the MPLA could not possibly expect an interval of three years between a ceasefire and elections.

He appears to have made an important concession of his own, agreeing for the first time to the integration of Unita and MPLA forces in a new national army before elections.

But the question is, how much pressure can the Soviet Union actually apply on the MPLA these days? There are reports that Soviet arms shipments to Luanda have already ceased. As for positive inducements,

how many can a country that is obliged to beg for food to survive the winter without riots really have to offer?

Indeed, watching Baker and Shevardnadze do their thing this past week, one began to have the sneaking suspicion that Shevardnadze's main interest was less in exerting influence than in trying to convince the world his country still had some influence to wield.

By the same token, one might also be forgiven for thinking Baker's sudden interest in getting Angola settled was inspired in part by a desire to clear up as much of the mess of the Cold War as possible while there was still a Soviet Union out there to help with the tidying. After all, without the Soviet Union in the picture, Angola would cease to be a "Regional Conflict". And if it were not a "Regional Conflict" what would be the political and diplomatic mileage to be gained from settling it?

Look at it this way. Does anybody over here care what happens in Liberia? Not in the least. The Soviets are not involved, therefore whatever happens can neither enhance nor diminish Baker's reputation. The same would apply to Angola once the Soviets were out of play.

On the other hand, the MPLA has proved itself so hapless and so prone to self-destructive willfulness and

disregard for the well-being of its population, that if a settlement is to be reached it will take every drop of influence that can be brought to bear. Since Soviet power is a rapidly wasting asset, it would be best to use it where there's still some left.

The most important aspect of that power may now be less its direct effect on the MPLA than the fact that it deters the US Congress from unilaterally suspending US military support to Unita and encouraging further prevarication in Luanda.

## Troubling

This is a troubling thought, for it suggests that far from prodding the MPLA to settle, the joint US-Soviet initiative could well derail things.

Instead of being alarmed by Shevardnadze's handshake with Savimbi, those in the MPLA who would rather fight than lose their jobs and Mercedes-Benzes, might argue as follows: Savimbi's US support is tenuous, based largely on the fact that he is fighting a Soviet-backed regime. But if the Soviets are now on friendly terms with him and he will support him when his is fighting them, that rationale falls away. Who will support him when his is fighting just us, especially when we ourselves are now in favour of multiparty elections and democracy?

## Angola back with De Beers

LONDON — Angola, a major diamond-producing nation, is re-entering the fold of the De Beers diamond cartel after five years, De Beers said here.

Endiama, the Angolan state diamond company, and De Beers Centenary AG have signed an agreement re-establishing their relationship.

Endiama and De Beers will meet again in January to conclude agreements calling for De Beers' Central Selling Organization to market Angola's diamonds from its Cuango region.

Roger van Eeghen, a De Beers spokesman, said that meant that De Beers would be marketing

about three-quarters of Angola's current annual production of about a million carats.

Angola had been marketing its diamonds independently since 1985 because civil war prompted De Beers to pull out.

Under the agreement, De Beers also will provide Endiama a \$50 million loan to be used toward increasing production in the Cuango area.

De Beers will also build and lease to Endiama a building in Luanda for the sorting and valuing of diamonds and will spend \$50 million over the next five years to develop other diamond sources in Angola.

# Relief ban angers Unita

Star 24, 12, 90  
LUANDA — United States-backed Unita rebels expressed dismay yesterday at the Angolan government's partial suspension of United Nations relief operations.

A broadcast by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) on its radio said the government's reasons for the partial ban were "fallacious and based on lies".

Angola said on Friday it was temporarily suspending a UN famine relief operation for up to 1.8 million people in "peace corridors" because of rebel attacks on convoys.

Unita, which has fought a 15-year-old bush war to overthrow the government, said President

Jose Eduardo dos Santos was trying to exploit the existence of "peace corridors", where starving people have massed, to obtain a temporary truce.

The six-month programme, which began seven weeks ago and is expected to cost R200 million, is aimed at delivering emergency food to peasants living in areas controlled by both the government and Unita.

Since November 2, the UN has managed to send only three convoys with between 1 200 and 1 500 tons of food. The government says other trips have been stopped because of rebel attacks on bridges and convoys.

— Sapa-Reuter.

## Angola guns for foreign tax evaders

LUANDA — Angola, in an effort to clamp down on tax evasion, has told all its businesses to deal only with foreign investors who have tax clearance from the government. *bloay 27/12/90*

"All Angolan firms, state, private or mixed, are forbidden to enter into business contracts with foreign firms unless these first show the appropriate Ministry of Finance document proving they have complied with their tax obligations," President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said

in an order just issued. (5)

The measure was necessary to improve tax collection and combat tax evasion, he added.

Disciplinary action would be taken against companies which ignored the order, he said.

Angola, which has announced plans to abandon its 15-year-old Marxist economic system, is trying to woo foreign investors to revive an economy battered by civil war. — Sapa-Reuter.

## 10 000 jobs created in Zimbabwe every year

*bloay 27/12/90*  
BULAWAYO — An average of 10 000 new jobs were created annually in Zimbabwe in the formal and informal sectors in the past 10 years, according to the Zimbabwe Banking Corporation's latest economic review.

Ziana national news agency reports the publication as saying faster employment creation was also aided by the Investment Centre's approval in the past 12 months of Z\$750m worth of new projects which would create a further 10 000 new jobs in the coming year.

Formal sector employment, excluding the agricultural sector, totalled 891 600 in September last year, an increase of 24 300 or 3,4% over the previous September of 1988, it says.

"Employment increased in all sectors but mining and quarrying and finance. Including formal sector agricultural employment of 280 300, total wage employment is apparently growing by some 4% or by only 46 000 jobs annually," the review reports.

The creation, in the past decade, of 10 000 new jobs each year, was due partly to the actual 5,8% and estimated 4,5% real gross domestic product (GDP) increases in 1988 and 1989 respectively.

"But even doubling employment creation rates would still leave jobless over half the 200 000 school-leavers annually entering the labour market," it says.

The review says the Investment Centre's figures suggest a Z\$75 000 outlay is required to create each new industrial job.

"In agriculture, where employment rose by 25 600, expanding tobacco and horticultural production could yield better results from the standpoint of increasing both employment and exports."

Meanwhile, in the construction sector, latest figures show that building output in 1988 fell 13% in value and in civil engineering where the public sector accounts for a more dependable two-thirds of production, its output was down to 33%.

Construction sector employment rose to 18% in 1988, but in September 1989 it nose-dived to 11%.

The Construction Industry Federation estimates its members' aggregate foreign plant, equipment and transport needs in the next three years at Z\$520m.

According to the review, the annual shortfall of imported material inputs — assumed as 7,5% of total construction values — is estimated at Z\$100m.

Building plans passed in the first 10 months of 1989 totaled Z\$435m which was 58% more than during the same period in 1988.

"So construction sector activity may not slow much further provided import requirements can be met," notes the review. — Sapa.

Debt weighs heavily on Zimbabwe's economic growth

... are treated with  
... mins are injected.

... bringing him  
down, so that examina-  
tion and treatment could  
begin.

Given the animal's

This is the second  
black rhino to be born in  
the park in two months,  
the last one being an  
adult female.

## Three injured as bomb blasts Luanda airport

LUANDA — President Jose Eduar-  
do dos Santos inspected damage at  
Luanda's international airport yes-  
terday, hours after a bomb ripped  
through the passenger terminal  
causing extensive damage and in-  
juring three people.

Officials blamed the Thursday  
night blast on Unita, which has been  
stepping up attacks in and around  
Luanda.

Last month a Unita raid halt-  
ed production at an important oil  
refinery in the capital. Unita has  
also blown up bridges and attacked  
Cuban troops guarding approaches  
to Luanda.

### Anonymous caller

However, an anonymous tele-  
phone caller to a radio station in  
Lisbon claimed yesterday that he  
represented another rebel group  
which carried out the airport bomb-  
ing.

The caller said he was from the  
National Front for the Liberation of  
Angola (FNLA).

Unita made no immediate com-  
ment on the bombing.

The bomb damaged the passenger  
check-in area at the airport and  
destroyed the VIP lounge.

Officials estimated the cost of re-  
pair at \$1 million (R2,6 million),  
State news agency Angop reported.

However, the airport, which lies  
five kilometres south of central  
Luanda, remained operational.  
None of the injured was seriously  
hurt.

Unita officials are scheduled to  
meet a government delegation in  
Portugal next month for peace  
talks.

The two sides have met five times  
this year under Portuguese media-  
tion.

Earlier this year Unita leader  
Jonas Savimbi and high-ranking  
government officials talked with  
US, Soviet and Portuguese diplo-  
mats in Washington.

The talks raised hopes that a  
cease-fire in the conflict could be  
signed at the next round of talks in  
Portugal.

A congress of the governing party  
this month agreed to end one-party  
rule in Angola in preparation for  
free elections. — Sapa-AP.

## Luanda blast could set talks back

LUANDA — A bomb blast that badly damaged Luanda's international airport could jeopardise hopes for an early end to Angola's civil war, diplomats have said.

Angolan authorities blamed Unita rebels for the explosion on Friday in which damage estimated at \$1m was caused to the passenger terminal.

A Unita statement issued in Lisbon denied any involvement.

Authorities in Luanda said two people were slightly injured by flying glass when the bomb exploded in the VIP area minutes after more than 100 passengers boarded a French UTA flight for Paris.

Diplomats feared the incident would damage chances for an early agreement in a sixth round of direct peace talks between the government and Unita, due to open in Portugal in late January.

Security sources in Luanda said the bomb was similar to a series of explosions in the Angolan capital earlier this year for which Unita accepted responsibility.

Reports from Portugal said an any-

mous phone call to the media there claimed responsibility on behalf of a splinter group of the inactive FNLA movement. But official Angolan sources and diplomats in Luanda doubted the existence of such a group. (5)

An Angolan armed forces communiqué said its troops had killed four rebels in Cuanza Norte province southeast of the capital on Tuesday.

Military sources said Unita had tried unsuccessfully to take the town of Munhango in central Bie province on December 25, the 15th anniversary of the start of its armed struggle. (Sapa 31/12/90)

Munhango is the birthplace of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, who is presiding over a meeting of senior officials at Unita headquarters in Jamba to discuss negotiations with the government.

Angolan military sources said Unita had shown it was intent on keeping up military pressure on the government before the talks. — Sapa-Reuter.