

ANGOLA - GENERAL

1991

JANUARY - JUNE

ANGOLA/CSO FM 4/1/91 (5)

WELCOME BACK (5)

Angola's return to the Central Selling Organisation (CSO) fold strengthens the cartel's hold on the diamond market at a time when it seems likely to show the first effects of recession in the international economy.

The terms of the deal between Angolan State diamond company Endiama and De Beers Centenary follow the precedent set when the CSO tied up the output from Australia's giant Argyle mine to allow part of the production to be sold outside the cartel.

De Beers Centenary is to lend Endiama US\$50m to expand alluvial diamond production from the Cuango area, while a fur-

FOX FM 4/1/91 (5)

ther \$50m is to be used over the next five years to evaluate the Camutue kimberlite deposit in north-eastern Angola. De Beers will also build a diamond sorting facility in Luanda at the cost of another \$25m. In return the group gets the exclusive right to market the output from Cuango.

De Beers Centenary spokesman Sej Motau tells the *FM* the Cuango area produced 1,2m carats of mainly gem diamonds during 1990, equivalent to about three-quarters of total Angolan diamond output. Remaining production from Endiama's Lucapa and Andrada sections will be sold outside the CSO, mainly through Antwerp dealers.

Observers see this arrangement as a marketing concession to Endiama, but Motau says the two other regions were excluded from the agreement because of the chaotic conditions created in them by the Angolan civil war.

Angola's diamond output is tiny in relation to De Beers' total output of 24,8m carats in 1989, but the terms of the agreement will be of interest to major producer De Beers Botswana (Debswana), which is currently renegotiating its marketing agreement with the CSO. Debswana is jointly owned by De Beers and the Botswana government, and its mines produced 15,25m carats in 1989, amounting to 61% of total De Beers group output. It appears the Botswana government is keen to market part of that production outside the CSO.

Motau says the marketing agreement with Debswana has to be renewed every five years and negotiations are under way but declines to comment further.

Brendan Ryan

All's well with Angolan oil

Stew 2/11/91.

(5)

ANGOLAN officials have said they are willing to sell oil to South Africa when the political moment is right just when that moment has not been spelled out, but South Africa does appear well placed to get supplies from its fellow Southern African state.

Angola appears well placed to provide the oil. One of the few things that works in Angola is the oil industry, operating in a kind of vacuum, untouched by the civil war that has rumbled almost everything else in the country.

A good relationship exists between the foreign oil operators and the MPLA government as it leads the country out of a one-party Marxist-Leninist system into multi-party democracy. Oil production is approaching 600 000 barrels per day (bpd) in oilmen's terms.

It is ironic that the one area in which the MPLA has been less than doctrinaire is the saving grace of the country, accounting for about 93 percent of exports in 1989 and giving the state oil company a projected revenue of R2 800-million from its own pro-

duction of about 186 000 bpd.

The Economist Intelligence Unit estimates that the industry's total revenue for 1989 was R6 250-million. But it also warns that with a collapse in virtually all other sectors of the economy since independence in 1975 Angola is "dangerously exposed to adverse shifts in the world oil market."

A vulnerability that has created problems in the past when the oil price has dropped.

This is obviously not a concern at present but the rise in the price caused by the tension in the Gulf has been greeted soberly by the Angolan industry.

Revenue will increase, naturally, but operators have not boosted their production to exploit the situation, they say. They were all operating near to capacity before the Gulf crisis arose and they are unwilling to push their wells to over-production that could cause them to dry up.

The State oil company, Sociedade Nacional de Combustiveis de Angola (Sonangol) has a share in all oil production through joint ventures or product sharing agreements with foreign operators. Sonangol does its own mar-

ketting of its share of the oil and if South Africa buys from Angola it could well be buying from the state company as most of the foreign operators are tied to markets in their own countries.

The major operators, Cabinda Gulf Oil Company (Cagoc), a Chevron subsidiary, Elf Aquitaine, Texaco and Petrofina, all report good relations with Sonangol and intentions to expand their operations.

Texaco's assistant general manager, Michael Malcolmson, said: "Angola is very good about respecting contracts. We have a good relationship. They're easy to work with and they're realistic people."

Sonangol is said to drive a hard bargain at the start and the negotiation of oil concessions is a long business. But once signed and sealed "there is no unilateral change of the agreement," said Bob Common, managing director of Cagoc.

The French are a little more cynical: "They have the right to control everything we do," said Marc Hiege of Elf. But his company has been "lucky" and is looking to expansion.

It's the only industry that works normally. It's well managed by several Western companies and is not affected by the Angolan situation because we're working offshore with imported equipment."

The Angolan government is also said to be realistic about imposing its requirement that Angolans be employed in the industry. No bureaucratic dictates have prevented companies from employing personnel from outside Angola when this has been considered necessary.

"We recognise the complex technology and we try to be realistic," said Joaquin da Costa David, director of Sonangol. He

said he was proud of Sonangol's reputation with the foreign operators.

Cagoc is Angola's largest stake in the offshore fields of the enclave of Cabinda, with Sonangol owning 51 percent and Agip 10 percent.

"We've been producing for 20 years and generally we've been increasing production," said Mr. Common. Output at present was 240 000 bpd but "we've been higher and we will be higher."

Elf is the second largest producer at 160 000 bpd in a product sharing agreement with Sonangol and smaller partners who include some Japanese companies. Texaco, the third largest, produces 49 000 bpd from its offshore fields and has a share in the onshore fields near Soyo on the northern tip of the Angolan mainland where Petrofina is the operator and produces about 30 000 bpd from old and gradually declining fields.

There is talk among the top three operators of negotiating further offshore concessions in deeper waters beyond the existing demarcations. The Angolan coast

is presently divided into 13 blocks in addition to Cabinda, Block Two and Block Three, both off the mouth of the Zaire River, are with Cabinda, the only ones in production at present. The American company Conoco is exploring in Block Five just north of Luanda and negotiating for Block 6.

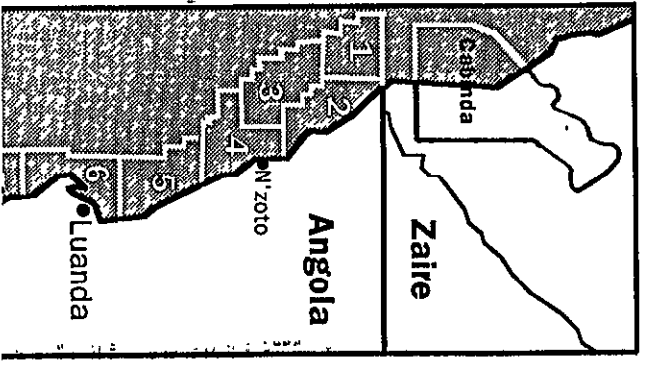
Elf has a concession to explore Block Seven, south of the capital. There are more blocks to explore, further concessions to negotiate and none of the operators is talking of pulling out.

All have invested heavily and with Angolan oil being a low-sulphur product and favourably light, apart from Cabinda's heavier crude, they are all looking for more business.

Jack Blackshear, president of Conoco, a company not yet producing but "optimistic", says the only thing more risky than the oil business is a trip to Las Vegas.

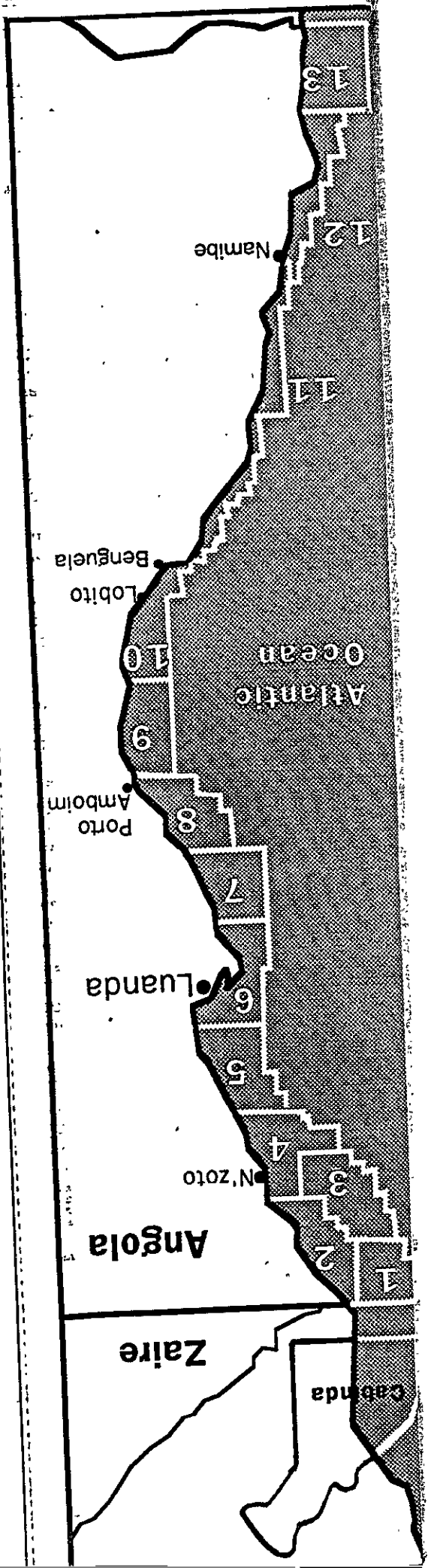
On the coffee table in his office he has a copy of "Sacred Hope", a volume of poetry by Angola's first president, Agostino Neto. Significant?

Mr. Blackshear smiled: "It's an accurate reflection of our involvement in Angola." □



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Angola sorry for bombings of Namibia

By Dale Lautenbach
Star Africa Service

WINDHOEK — The Angolan Ambassador to Namibia has apologised to his host government for what he described as the "sad" incidents of "accidental" bombings by the Angolan airforce of northern Namibia.

Alberto Bento Ribeiro Kabulu said there were Unita rebel bases close to the northern border of Namibia, and deeply regretted the accidental infringement of Namibia.

There has been no official word from Luanda, but reports indicate that authorities have unofficially described the bombings of Bagani and Omega, both in Caprivi near the border with Unita-held Angolan territory, as a case of Fapla planes overshooting their Unita targets just north of the border.

The bombing incidents, on Friday and Saturday last week, were the fifth and sixth such mistakes by the Fapla airforce since January last year.

Namibian police are also investigating reports that more bombs were dropped in the north, four at Nkurenkuru some 200 km west of Bagani and three at Omega 3, to the east.

If these reports are confirmed, it would bring to 14 the total number of bombs dropped on Namibian soil in a period of just three days.

The incidents also appear to reflect an increase in fighting between the Angolan government forces and Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels.

Sorry to bomb you — Angola

From DALE LAUTENBACH

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The Angolan Ambassador to Namibia has apologised to his host government for the "sad" incidents of "accidental" bombings on Namibian territory by the Angolan Air Force.

Mr Alberto Bento Ribeiro Kabulu said the bombs were meant for Unita rebel bases close to the northern border of Namibia and deeply regretted the accidental infringement.

There has been no official word from Luanda but reports indicate that the bombings of Bagani and Omega in Caprivi were caused by Fapla aircraft overshooting Unita targets.

If reports are confirmed, it would bring to 14 the number of bombs dropped on Namibian soil in three days.

The incidents appear to reflect an increase in fighting between Angola and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita.

War is over but Angola risky

Refugees can't go home just yet

do we can 25/9/91 -
LUANDA - The United Nations is delaying the return of refugees to Angola now that the 16-year civil war is over for their own safety and wellbeing.

The Angolan government estimates the civil war with Unita rebels that ended on May 31 forced 400 000 refugees to flee to neighbouring countries. Of these, some 200 000 registered with the United Nations need assistance to return home.

Ms Hope Hanlan, Luanda representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said none of the registered refugees would be brought home before May next year because their survival could not be guaranteed.

Hope

"We cannot uproot families who at present have a roof over their heads, access to health and educational facilities and a means of earning a livelihood and bring them back to insecure, heavily-mined areas with no infrastructure to receive them," she said.

Officials of the UN body work closely with the Luanda government's Secretariat of State for Social Affairs on the refugee question but have been forced to restrain post-war enthusiasm for the immediate return of refugees.

The only previous experience

of returning refugees to Angola points to the pitfalls ahead.

In September 1989, more than 1 724 families - around 5 000 men, women and children - were flown from their refugee camps in Zaire for temporary resettlement in Lunda Sul and Moxico provinces in eastern Angola.

Around half live in Sacassange, 13km south of Moxico's provincial capital of Luena, which suffered a 45-day Unita artillery bombardment and siege before the May ceasefire.

Reach

"When the refugees arrived at Sacassange, this was totally bush, because even the authorities couldn't reach this place," admitted Mr Alfred Samihombo, of the Geneva-based Lutheran World Federation charity, which assists the returned refugees.

"The land was identified as suitable for agriculture so they were transferred to Sacassange, but when they arrived here they were in a pathetic situation and had virtually nothing."

The federation donated

hoes, axes and machetes to add to tools and seed provided by the UN body. Today, Sacassange grows manioc, maize, sorghum, beans and groundnuts and vegetables - enough for about half its food needs.

The Lutheran charity encouraged the refugees to build their own adobe-and-thatch homes, but Sacassange still has an impermanent feel and lacks electricity and water.

But its inhabitants have built a bakery, tailor and carpentry shops, schoolrooms and a health clinic. Carpenters complain, however, that there is no market for their goods and they cannot make a living.

It is not easy to make ends meet. Some refugees collect firewood to sell in Luena, making the 26km round trip twice a week on foot along a road potholed by mine explosions and flanked by disabled rocket launchers and empty bunkers.

Treating

The two-roomed clinic is run by nine refugees with basic nursing skills, treating around 70 people a day for a variety of ailments,

including malaria and tuberculosis.

But the shelves are almost empty of medicines, an eloquent testimony to the limitations of help they can provide.

Sacassange was intended as only a temporary camp but, after two years, most of the refugees will probably stay.

"Where should I take my family now?" asked Mr Pedro Domingoe. "There is not much here, but it would be worse if we went back to our original homestead further south in the province."

Hope

For all its limitations, Sacassange has an air of hope that the end to civil war will bring a better life.

Some people, however, query whether Sacassange should have happened in the first place.

"They (the refugees) should never have been brought back in 1989," one diplomat said privately. "At the time, the official view seems to have been that they were better off dying in Angola than surviving outside the country's borders." - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Angolans fear repeat of 1975 chaos

ARGUS 16/1/91
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WINDHOEK. — The Angolan government has strongly rejected Unita's demand that the two warring armies be united into one national force only after general elections have determined the country's future ruling party.

PEACE TALKS

"There could not be fair and democratic elections in the climate of intimidation and insecurity that would naturally stem from the presence of two armies," said Angola's ambassador to Namibia Alberto Bento Ribeiro Kabulu.

Fresh in the Angolan memory was the chaotic transition to independence in 1975 when no caution was taken to unite the three armies attached to the then opposing factions in the struggle for power.

"Under no circumstances will we permit a repetition of that tragic time in our history," said Mr Bento Ribeiro.

"And if Unita lost elections now we could be faced with, in a worst-case scenario, an Angolan version of an Irish Republican Army," he said.

Single army

"As the government sees it, the process of forming a single national army should start immediately after the signing of a ceasefire and be completed before elections, using a supervisory mechanism with equitable participation of representatives of the government and Unita as well as international observers to be chosen by both parties."

The latest government thinking on supervision of the process was Unavem, the United Nations Angola Verification Mission, already in place in the country and charged since January 1989 with monitoring the Cuban troop withdrawal. The UN Security Council had been "responsive" to this suggestion, said Mr Bento Ribeiro.

Adding credibility to this government position are events in Luanda of recent months. At the milestone third congress of the MPLA Workers' Party (MPLA-PT) in December, there was favourable debate on the separation of the state, party and military and security apparatus.

Giving what would seem to be practical effect to this, two top army men were stripped of their military roles this week while retaining political powers, most im-

The Angolan government approaches round six of the peace talks with the Unita rebels following considerable preparation outside the direct negotiation forum including top-level consultations with the Americans and the Soviets. DALE LAUTENBACH of Argus Africa News Service asked a senior Angolan diplomat to outline the problems that stalled the fifth round and subsequent developments which will influence meeting number six



Unita leader, Jonas Savimbi

portantly General Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu who steps down as Chief of Staff of Fapla and retains his political post as deputy Minister of Defence, tipped too for the top post in the near future.

Said Mr Bento Ribeiro: "We are convinced that only in this way (by the creation of a national army before elections), with the army not serving groups or ideologies, will Angolans be able to guarantee the tranquility and stability needed for the process of assuring peace and the democratisation of society."

But issues, like these, that have been on the table between the Angolan government and Mr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels since peace talks began anew (this time with Portuguese government facilitation) in April last year, have been consistently fogged by both sides blaming the other for the failure of each successive round to achieve the desired ceasefire agreement.

Right now the Angolan government was ready to sign, said Mr Bento Ribeiro. It considered broad agreement on the timescale for general elections and general consensus as to who should monitor the integration of the armies as the only outstanding matters.

The failure to reach a ceasefire at round five in Lisbon between November 16 and 20 was due to Unita's "intransigence".

Further, a Unita 10-point platform released after a recent conference at rebel headquarters in Jamba had now clouded the chances for round six, said the latest gov-

ernment document on the talks process. The 10 points introduced elements "adulterous" to a working paper agreed to by all sides in a meeting with the Soviets and Americans in Washington last month as containing all the principles for an Angolan settlement including the "triple zero" principle by which the Americans, the Soviets and any other third party (an oblique reference to South Africa) would stop all military supplies to their respective dependents.

Among the 10 Unita points, most odious to the Angolan government, always insistent on its sovereignty, was the new recommendation that Angola be placed under international control during the period of transition to general elections.

Reason to stall

But also right now, South African Foreign Affairs diplomats who remain close to Unita say the rebels are ready to sign. They suspect the Angolan government has reason to stall.

There is still some hope though that pressure from the superpowers who have been observers to the talks since the fourth round, might break this vicious circle of stalemate. In Lisbon this week, all parties were meeting again seeking clarification on numerous technical aspects of the agreements, political and military, in order to smooth the path of the next direct talks.

Another area of disagreement at round five was Unita's demand for explicit rec-

ognition as a political party, said Mr Bento Ribeiro. The nature of Unita's status has dogged the talks so far and the government has made concessions in recognising Unita as a movement but not a party.

Mr Bento Ribeiro pointed out that Unita was essentially a military organisation with determined political goals. Nowhere in the world was legal political status given to armed groups, he said.

In addition there was the legalistic question of the Angolan constitution which, while under revision now to provide for a multiparty system and freedom of association and speech, was not yet ready to accord party status to any group other than the MPLA-PT.

Sensible course

"The only sensible course is for Unita and the government to reach a ceasefire agreement and commit themselves to forming a single national army after which, already demilitarised (and with the constitution by that time revised for multipartyism), Unita could participate in national political life like any other party."

Unita had also demanded that general elections be held within 180 days of signing a ceasefire: "We are not surprised by Unita's deliberate lack of realism," said Mr Bento Ribeiro.

"This proposal is nothing but another means by which Unita is subtly trying to defer the issue of forming a single national army until the post-election period." And a militarised Unita in an election contest was a recipe for all-out war and chaos, he said.

"Also, we have repeatedly stated that time will be needed to dispel hatreds built up over 15 years of war and to instil in Angolans attitudes of tolerance and national concord."

Advised by United Nations agencies which have studied the problem of preparing for the elections including work as arduous as clearing minefields across the country, freeing the circulation of people and goods and resettling vast numbers of the population displaced by war, the Angolan government believed 36 months was the minimum period needed.

Three years from the date of the ceasefire that is. While there is still some optimism for round six, there has been optimism for previous rounds too.

arrested in San Kazei.

Attacks by Unita alleged

Chit 7-25 10/1/71

LISBON. — The Angolan government accused US-backed Unita forces yesterday of a range of attacks across the country, including the bombing of a water pipeline. A military communique, quoted by the Portuguese news agency Lusa in Luanda, said Unita destroyed the pipeline in the northern Lunda-Norte province.

Oil high on agenda at Angola/SA talks

B. locm
18/1/91 EDYTH BULBRING (5) (E)

A high-powered Angolan government delegation will meet Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers on Monday to discuss economic co-operation between the two countries.

The sale of Angolan oil to SA and mineral exploration is expected to be high on the agenda. Angola produced 450 000 barrels of oil a day last year.

The delegation, which arrives on Saturday for a five-day visit, will also meet a number of businessmen and business organisations, including SA Chamber of Business deputy director-general Ron Haywood.

Foreign Affairs director-general for Africa Rusty Evans said yesterday there was no "specific agenda" for the talks between De Villiers and the delegation. Economic co-operation in general would be discussed, he said.

Oil deposits in the north-west of Angola are the mainstay of its economy which has been devastated by a 15-year old civil war.

Angola signed an agreement to supply oil to Namibia in November last year which would reduce Namibia's dependence on energy imported from SA.

Evans declined to comment on the possibility of an SA-Angolan oil deal being concluded at the conclusion of the visit.

The visit to SA by the Angolan delegation was in response to De Villiers' visit to Angola last year. The talks on Monday would therefore be a continuation of these discussions, he said.

It was reported earlier this week that a delegation of Angolan businessmen was due to arrive in Johannesburg for the possible signing of an agreement with De Beers.

Oil deal with Angola mooted after talks

EDYTH BULBRING

AN ANGOLAN government delegation has held talks with the Central Energy Fund amid speculation that the meeting could result in the sale of Angolan oil to SA.

Government sources said yesterday the talks would continue and a statement was likely to be released today.

Angola produced 450 000 barrels of oil a day last year. Deposits in the northwest of the country have been the mainstay of an economy devastated by civil war.

Last November Angola signed an agreement to supply oil to Namibia which would reduce that country's dependence on SA.

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A spokesman for Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers yesterday declined to comment on any discussions, or to confirm that they concerned an oil deal. He said De Villiers would have an informal supper with the Angolan delegation last night in Cape Town.

The Angolans — who arrived in SA on Saturday to discuss economic co-operation between the two countries — were also expected to meet top SA businessmen. They leave SA tomorrow.

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Angola accepts plan to end war

LISBON. — Angola's government said yesterday that it had accepted a peace plan to end 15 years of civil war.

A diplomat at Angola's embassy here said his government had proposed only slight amendments to the plan elaborated by Portuguese, US and Soviet diplomats earlier this month.

Angolan officials said they were ready for new talks with the Unita rebel group "at any moment", to fix a ceasefire in the civil war.

Unita say they are in broad agreement with the plan.

The current plan links a ceasefire formula discussed by the two sides in

December in Washington with working documents drawn up at earlier negotiating rounds hosted by the Portuguese government last year.

The Washington plan includes a agreement that a ceasefire be preceded by setting a date for free elections; international observers to guarantee the truce; and an end to outside military assistance once a ceasefire agreement is signed.

Portugal ruled Angola as a colony until 1975. Unita — the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola — have been fighting since then to share power with the leftist government. — Sapa-AP

Angola accepts peace plan

LISBON - Angola's government yesterday said it had accepted a peace plan to end the 15-year civil war against United States-backed rebels.

A diplomat at Angola's Lisbon Embassy said his government had proposed only slight amendments to the plan elaborated by Portuguese, US and Soviet diplomats earlier this month in Lis-

South Africa 24/1/91

(5)

bon, Portugal. Angolan officials said they were ready for new talks with the Unita rebel group "at any moment" to fix a ceasefire in the civil war. A sixth round of peace talks is expected soon in Portugal. Angolan government officials held talks here on Monday with Portuguese diplomats mediating in the peace process.

Unita say they are in broad agreement with the plan. The current plan links a ceasefire formula discussed by two sides in December in Washington with working documents drawn up at five earlier negotiating rounds hosted by the Portuguese government last year. The Washington plan includes a agreement

that a ceasefire be preceded by setting a date for free elections; international observers to guarantee the truce; and an end to outside military assistance once a ceasefire agreement is signed. Other points call for the integration of the two armies; constitutional changes instigating a democratic system of government and international monitoring of elections. - *Sapda-AP*.



'Two ceasefires will be signed this year'

Star 29/1/91
Political Correspondent

The American administration believes that ceasefires will be signed in Mozambique and Angola this year, ending protracted civil wars.

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen told this to journalists at a briefing in Cape Town.

About 80 percent of the negotiation work had been completed in five rounds of Portuguese-sponsored talks between the MPLA government

and Unita since last June. The remaining 20 percent were tackled at five-nation talks involving the US and USSR in Washington on December 13.

"As a result we were able to come up with a basic framework for a settlement," Mr Cohen said.

The thorny issue of what to do with two armies would be dealt with by disbanding both and establishing a new national army.

Joint ^{Chx 7-1-8}
^{30/1/91}
Commission
winds up
SA talks

SOMERSET WEST. — The multilateral Joint Commission talks between South Africa, Cuba, Namibia, Angola, United States and Russia ended yesterday at a luxury hotel outside Somerset West.

The leader of the South African delegation, Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, told journalists the commission had "so far accomplished the spirit of its mission".

He said he was not at liberty to divulge details before a joint communique, still being prepared, was released.

The head of the Russian delegation, Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov, said he was happy with the outcome.

It was understood from sources that items discussed included the final withdrawal of Cubans from Angola by July and allegations of continued Koevoet sorties into Angola.

The commission's final two meetings are scheduled for Havana and Luanda later this year. — Sapa

'Sympathetic' hearing of Luanda complaints

Star 30/1/91.
President de Klerk listened "sympathetically" to Angolan allegations of continuing interference by South Africa in the internal affairs of that country and indicated his desire to establish a "constructive relationship", said Angolan Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Venancio de Moura yesterday.

The Angolan delegation to the Joint Commission monitoring the Angola/Namibia peace agreement met Mr de Klerk separately yesterday.

Mr de Moura said his delegation was concerned that South Africa was not only still supplying military aid to Unita but was "negatively interfering" in the direct peace talks between the Angolan government and the Unita rebel movement.

The Joint Commission talks between South Africa, Cuba, Namibia, Angola, United States and the Soviet Union were completed at a luxury hotel outside Somerset West.

The head of the Soviet delegation, Ambassador Vyacheslav Ustinov, said he was happy with the outcome.

The leader of the South African delegation, Neil van Heer-

den, director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, told journalists the commission had "so far accomplished the spirit of its mission".

Mr van Heerden said there had been wide consensus that there should be a mechanism for Southern African regional co-operation.

He suggested that it was possible that the Joint Commission, perhaps under a different name, could become the basis for this regional mechanism.

It was understood from sources that items discussed included the final withdrawal of Cubans from Angola by July and allegations of continued Koevoet sorties into Angola. The situation in Namibia was also discussed.

Mr de Moura said the Angolan delegation had "concrete evidence" of destabilisation by South Africa over and above "humanitarian aid".

His government was "well informed" that "lateral" aid with military application was reaching the rebel movement from South Africa. — Star Africa Service, Political Staff and Sapa.

Angolan bombing raids are a mystery to Namibians

ARGUS 20/2/91 (50)

Taking the line that there's "always something new out of Africa," GERALD LANGE, the Editor of The Argus Africa News Service, reflects on some current oddities on our continent

JOHANNESBURG. — The folk who live round Bagani in the Caprivi Strip have never dug anything more ambitious than a pit latrine or a well. But if the Angolans keep dropping bombs with careless abandon round their locality they are going to have to start digging slit trenches or even bomb shelters.

AFRICA

Like most Namibians, these peasant people have no idea why they are being showered with the latest in lethal technology by planes of a neighbouring country that is supposed to be friendly.

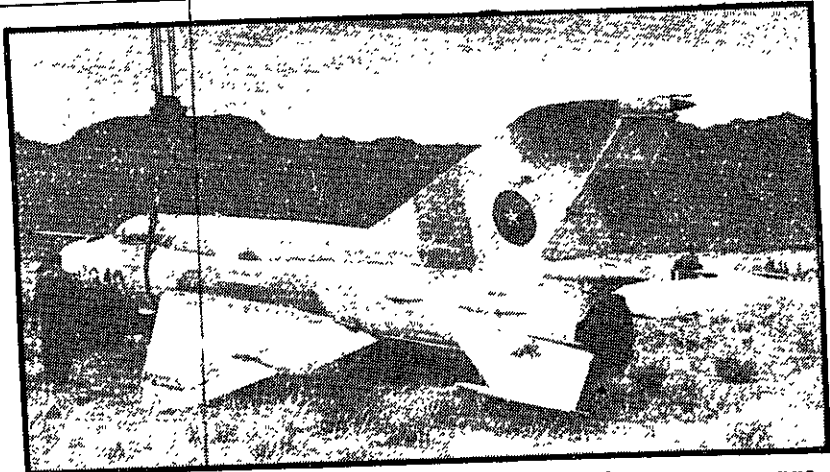
If the Angolans know why their Migs keep dropping bombs around the little village on the banks of the Okavango River they are keeping it a secret. One theory is that the Angolan pilots jettison their bombs in the area when they head for home after failing to find their targets at Jamba, the Unita headquarters, which is about 100 km to the east.

Angola's embassy in Windhoek has hinted darkly at South African destabilisation skulduggery in the region but has given no information to warrant the claim being taken seriously.

Stingers

The most likely theory is that the Angolans are trying to hit a Unita base which is situated across the border in Angola, at least 10 km away. This does not say much for their aim.

Angolan pilots have tended to drop their bombs from a great height to avoid being shot down by one of the sophisticated American Stinger missiles possessed by Unita. Colleagues who have visited Jamba more recently than I, tell me that when the Migs bomb it they do so from an altitude so high that they are difficult to see.



An Angolan Mig 21 which crash-landed in Namibia two years ago.

Given that Jamba is a collection of thatched buildings widely spread over many square kilometres, their chances of success are probably about as good as those of a poker player holding a pair of twos.

They may in fact have less chance of hitting their targets from their sophisticated jets than the German aviators who used to toss artillery shells over the side of the cockpit onto the South African troops below during the First World War campaign in South-West Africa.

Flying rickety wood-and-canvas biplanes of the Red Baron style, the German aviators pioneered aerial bombing in Southern Africa and perhaps in all Africa. To keep their shells nose-down they attached strips of canvas to the base. These fluttered so loudly as the shell fell that one South African said it sounded like "a giant stuttering in wrath".

One German with a sense of humour substituted a pair of ladies' knickers for the canvas strip, thereby inventing the bloomer bomb.

Later they progressed to more sophisticated technology, attaching beneath the fuselage the canvas nosebags that were used at the time to feed horses. The nosebag was attached to a cord which the pilot

pulled when he judged the moment was right, upending the bag and causing the shell that had been placed in it to fall out.

These primitive bombs actually hit their targets from time to time, in one case wiping out an entire South African gun crew, which seems to be more than can be said for the bombers of Bagani.

We all know why they do it but it still seems a little odd that the independent African nation of Namibia should be so openly friendly to South Africa when so many others in Africa are not. Take, for instance, a newspaper advertisement inviting exhibitors to the international trade fair in Windhoek in May.

"South Africans are particularly welcome," it says.

While modernising the telephone system of Dar es Salaam, the Mitsubishi company accidentally tore up a main telephone cable, cutting off 2 000 subscribers and putting their phones beyond immediate repair. Among the victims was the Japanese embassy.

There must have been repercussions in Tokyo—or will be when the ambassador can get a call through.

Angola needs \$400m a year

13/12/2019
LUANDA — Angola's

industrial sector needed an estimated \$400m a year to continue functioning effectively, Angolan industry minister Justino Fernandes told the daily paper "Jornal de Angola".

His ministry had drawn up a three-point strategy to streamline the industrial sector.

The first point was related to the relaunching of the essential production aimed at substituting imports, the second foresaw support for small industrial enterprises in aiding them with the processing of raw materials in the agricultural sector. The third point was related to the policy of industrial alliances. — ANO.

Angola settlement 'irreversible' 5

By Dale Lautenbach
Star Africa Service

WINDHOEK — The Portuguese mediator in the Angolan peace talks, Dr Durao Barroso, says the settlement process between the Angolan government and the Unita rebel movement has entered an "irreversible phase".

Star 1/2/91

The parties are due to meet in Lisbon on February 6 and 7 for round six of the direct talks between the opposing sides in the 15-year conflict.

There are three docu-

ments — to which both sides have already agreed separately — to be initialed.

This would be a "pre-agreement", said Dr Barroso, Portugal's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, in an exclusive interview with The Star Africa Service last night.

He saw a fruitful system of political and economic co-operation in the region.

Angola could be a very reliable partner to South Africa, he said, when the South African situation was normalised and if a

secure peace was established in Angola.

"If we are not yet at the end of the (peace) process — and there are still problems — I would say we are in the irreversible phase. It would be very difficult for one of the parties to get out of the agreements now."

The documents will not be formally signed as there are still missing aspects, most crucially a date for a ceasefire.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said he thought this could be achieved by June.

Angola talks could bring peace, says Lisbon envoy

By EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN
DELEGATES from the Angolan government and the Unita guerrilla movement will meet in Lisbon this week to "initial" three documents which could end the country's 15-year civil war.

Visiting Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister Dr José Durao Barroso, a mediator between the two sides, stressed that the documents were to be initialled and not signed, therefore not constituting a formal ceasefire.

But he added: "The documents can be seen as the global architecture of the peace process."

Elections

He said the documents concerned fundamental principles for a ceasefire, integration of military forces and a date for multiparty elections.

"The meeting in Lisbon on Wednesday and Thursday is a major development in the peace process," said Dr Barroso, who visited the sub-continent this weekend to attend a meeting of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference in Windhoek.

Apart from the Angolan



Dr JOSÉ DURAO BARROSO

delegates, the Lisbon meeting will also be attended by representatives from the Soviet Union, the United States and Portugal.

Dr Barroso said there was still sporadic fighting in remote areas of Angola, but added: "I believe there is a new commitment to peace by all concerned."

He said peace in Angola and the solution of South Africa's internal problems could lead to a Southern African Economic Community in which South Africa would be the "dyna-

mic economic locomotive".

He said once peace had been achieved Portugal would retain trade links with Angola and southern Africa despite his country's membership of the European Community and its access to European markets.

He said the Cuban withdrawal from Angola was going ahead on schedule and that the Angolan government had appealed to Portugal to provide doctors and technicians to fill vacant posts.

Dr Barroso said that while in southern Africa he had met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who had expressed disapproval of Portugal's decision to lift some sanctions against South Africa.

He said he told Mr Mandela that the Portuguese government believed State President FW de Klerk needed encouragement for his initiatives and that it had welcomed Mr De Klerk's speech in parliament on Friday.

Armed gang strikes twice

A GANG of armed robbers struck twice in Johannesburg's eastern suburbs yesterday. Police said the gang, armed with knives and guns, made off with R20 200 from a Malvern jewellery and struck at a Kensington pharmacy three hours later.

Dale Lautenbach of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Windhoek on a desire for dialogue

Military talks may hold key to regional stability

“THE key is the integration of South Africa into regional security arrangements. South Africa inside such arrangements is not dangerous. South Africa outside and alone, can be...”

That was Herman Cohen, United States assistant secretary of State for Africa, reflecting on how the region might profit from the continuation of the Joint Monitoring Commission in some altered and expanded form.

He is not alone in this. A senior Angolan diplomat has spoken of the valuable contribution this talking forum could continue to make as the region moves through the difficult transition of the post-Harare Declaration period.

Nell van Heerden, South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs and leader of his country's delegation to the JMC, has also

endorsed the idea of ongoing dialogue.

As Mr Cohen put it, the JMC was the place where disagreements and ambiguities could be aired and resolved between the parties; talk rather than war.

The original JMC, which has just had its third-last session and which is due to wrap up business in June, was established by tripartite agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, with the US and the Soviet Union as observers.

Its original mission was to provide a forum for the negotiation and settlement of any problems which arose during the implementation of the United Nations peace plan for Namibia.

This included the monitoring of Cuban troops from Angola. Since Namibia became independent on March 21 last year, this has been

the commission's main remaining concern on a multilateral level and an ever shortening part of the meeting.

Much of the emphasis and value of the JMC has moved to the bilateral meetings. Here's where the interesting part now lies and here, too, is where the main concern is regional security beyond the specific concerns of the Namibian peace plan.

“The JMC is a unique organisation” said Mr Cohen. “Maybe the first of its kind.”

It was essentially not a political-economic forum or a diplomatic forum but, crucially, a political-military meeting, place where the generals themselves sat face to face, sized each other up and, without too much effort were told, began laughing at each other's jokes.

But the full realisation of the

Star 5/2/91

New York accords for Namibia's independence will not signal the end of military issues in southern Africa though, said Mr Cohen.

“The region is swimming in armies with large numbers of soldiers. We need a forum to reduce arms, the size of armies, to protect against border violations. And there's no other forum that can do that.”

The Organisation of African Unity, for example, or any other African body could not have the same effect because the key player, South Africa, would be missing from the table, having been isolated from all such gatherings because of apartheid.

“And it's important to have South Africa involved as the most powerful military force,” said Mr Cohen.

The Angolans certainly agree with that. They remain deeply

concerned and convinced that elements emanating from South Africa, be it from the right wing or from within the ranks of the military establishment itself, have not turned over the new leaf that the South African politicians are boasting about.

They say their is continuing destabilisation of Angola by South African elements — by way of support for Unita.

And to put an end to this, the people you really need to engage with across the table are the militarists or the securocrats, to use a term the Angolans insist has not yet died.

Mr Cohen said there was “an inclination” among commission members to find a way to continue the dialogue they have had so far where “South Africa has demonstrated it can cooperate with black African countries and that

constructive results can be achieved on political-military security.”
No details are available yet as to how the forum would adapt itself to a broader one designed to address security across the region, but Mr Cohen suggested that the body could rewrite its mandate and invite other governments, such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe, to join.
Despite tensions at JMC meetings — and they do exist — there's also always a quaint sort of congratulatory air among the delegates. Gosh, we can talk to each other. And still they comment on this healthy achievement.
From the millions of people who have suffered regional insecurity all these years, one imagines there's one reply: keep talking. □



Angolans gear up for new order

WINDHOEK - On April 1, Angolans will be empowered by a revised constitution to establish political parties outside the MPLA Workers Party that has had sole rights to the political field since 1975.

This was announced by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at a rally in the enclave of Cabinda yesterday to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the armed struggle against Portuguese colonial rule.

Angolan diplomatic sources said President dos Santos confirmed that the timetable announced at

the third party congress in December for revision of the constitution on stream.

There had been some confusion about this outside Angola with South African diplomats saying that as far as they understood the Angolan plans, the multi-party system would only come into effect in June.

President dos Santos's statement yesterday could well have a positive influence at the sixth round of direct peace talks between the Angolan government and Unita rebels due to begin in Lisbon tomorrow. - *Argus Africa News Service.*

Unita dissidents ⁵ form political party

WASHINGTON - A group of dissident Unita students in the US has formed a new political organisation to pressure their former leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, into releasing suspected political prisoners.

The new organisation has been called FDA (Angolan Democratic Forum) and its founders claim to have raised their funds from anonymous individuals and from per-

sonal contributions.

Angry Unita representatives in the US, however, claim the FDA is nothing but a front organisation for the MPLA, the party in power in Angola.

Mr Marcos Samondo, Unita's deputy representative in the US, claims FDA is run out of a suite of plush offices in Virginia and that it was created, financed and guided by the MPLA's in-

telligence services with the objective of undermining support for Unita in the West.

Samondo says FDA is run by four former Unita students "who flunked their exams" and who refuse to go back to Angola because they like the cushy life in North America and Europe.

The MPLA funds FDA through Mr Daniel Chipenda, the Angolan ambassador to Cairo.

The allegations have been roundly rejected by FDA's leader, Mr Jorge Chikoti.

The FDA's inaugural press conference in Washington was a farce, with Mr Samondo handing out leaflets denouncing his former colleagues and an angry exchange between him and the organisation's representatives dominating the proceedings. - *Argus Foreign News Service.*

SI Times 10/2/71

SA envoys in Angola

By EVELYN
HOLTZHAUSEN

A HIGH-POWERED delegation of South African diplomats, including Director General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden, flew to Luanda on Friday to counter Angolan government claims that South Africa is still giving military aid to Unita guerrillas.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the South African delegation met Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos for discussions over a wide range of subjects and the meeting went "very well".

The spokesman said "concerns about South Africa's performance in terms of the Angolan situation" had been discussed in "amicable" talks with

President Dos Santos.

He said the trip was planned earlier this year after a meeting of the Joint Monitoring Commission at Somerset West, near Cape Town.

The talks are, however, believed to have been prompted in part as a result of concern expressed by Angola that South Africa was providing more than the agreed "humanitarian" aid to the Unita movement.

The South African government has consistently denied this.

The claims of South African "interference" were apparently last raised at a

meeting between Angolan Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Venancio de Moura and State President F W de Klerk at the January 29 JMC meeting and afterwards in a meeting with Mr De Klerk.

According to reports from Lisbon, meanwhile, the Angolan peace negotiations broke down on Friday over differences on the timing of a ceasefire, without any meeting between the rival delegations.

They were the ninth round of peace talks and were aimed at getting the Angolan MPLA government and Unita to initial documents setting out the framework for a ceasefire and introduction of a multi-party democracy.

Sound labour relations 'vital' to SA's prosperity

By Day 12/2/91
BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Labour relations and negotiations had to be handled very carefully as they were vital to SA's prosperity, Manpower Minister Eil Louw said yesterday during the debate on the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

Louw said an efficient and effective labour force was SA's greatest asset. However, labour peace could not be enshrined in legislation and had to be worked for with patience and flexibility on both sides, he said. The proposed amendments showed this was the case.

They were the result of two years of negotiations which proved conflict was handled best through discussion. He also said anyone who argued for sanctions and made threats to scare off investors either had no knowledge of the working of the economy, or was insensitive to the lot of the poor and the jobless.

He said the proposed amendments were an attempt by employers, employees and the state to promote understanding and responsibility.

TANIA LEVY reports the most important features of the Bill, published in May last year, included the rein-

statement of the pre-1988 unfair labour practice definition and removed from the Industrial Court the power to interdict lawful strikes and lockouts. The Bill also limited the Industrial Court's ability to grant interdicts within 48 hours' notice to the respondent except in special circumstances. It extended the time limits for referring disputes through official channels.

The Bill aimed to delete from the Labour Relations Act a controversial clause which reversed the onus of proof required in the case of damage suits brought against unions for losses from unlawful strikes.

Sapa reports that Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central) said during the debate the Bill represented a healthy balance between the interests of employers and employees.



BILLY PADDOCK

"This shows what interim administration is all about," he said during the debate.

There had been talk of pressure being exerted on the standing committee by Saccola, Cosatn and Nactu. It would be naive to have ignored the power bases of such large organisations.

"The contents of this Bill are not a first prize for either of the unions, but signify a compromise from all sides. That is also what legislation should be about."

Jacobus Botha (CP Wonderboom) said during the debate SA would enter a period of unprecedented industrial unrest if the Bill was passed.

This was what the two union federations wanted, he said.

The stipulation in the draft legislation that the first 48 hours of an illegal strike would be regarded as legal clearly laid the basis for the mass action which the ANC/PAC alliance was advocating, he said.

Arrie Paulus (CP Carletonville) said consensus could not be reached if one side threatened the other.

He said trade unions had used threats of refusal to negotiate unless their demands were met during National Manpower Commission sittings.

POLITICS

Angola tipped as trading partner

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Trade with Angola was starting to take place and in the future Luanda would be SA's best partner in Africa, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden said yesterday.

In an interview he said Angola was a very rich country but it was "not a bread basket", so trade would be beneficial to both SA and Angola. Various business initiatives between the two had been started in the past few years which had paved the way for a warming of relations, a business source said.

One of the primary advantages for SA was Angola's rich oil fields.

Van Heerden said he envisaged the normalisation of trade with Angola in the next two years, but first there had to be a ceasefire and the peace process had to be on track.

He said a ceasefire would open all sorts of channels and therefore SA had a strong vested interest in helping it reach fruition.

Last Friday Van Heerden met Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda, where they discussed Angola's allegations at the Joint Commission talks that SA had started to resupply Unita with military hardware.

He said he told Dos Santos SA was not doing so, but pointed out many other countries were supplying aid to Unita, most notably the US.

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ive to investment. for interrupting him.

Aid flights from SA anger Angolan govt

Star 12/2/91
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Angolan government has complained to the South African Government about unauthorised International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) flights from South Africa bringing humanitarian aid to southern Angola.

The director-general of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden, said yesterday that this had been one of the problems he discussed with Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda on Friday at an "unusually long" two-hour meeting.

Mr van Heerden said South Africa would consider Angolan proposals to resolve the problem.

The Angolan government had complained that the flights by the ICRC and other agencies were violating Angolan airspace.

The aid was being flown both to govern-

ment-supporting areas in southern Angola and to supporters of Unita.

The Angolan government would like all the aid to be channelled through it — but neither the relief agencies nor the South African Government was likely to accept this, Mr van Heerden said.

But he indicated that the Government was sympathetic to proposals for the Angolan government to monitor the aid to ensure that it did not contain military assistance to Unita.

Mr van Heerden said he had once again firmly rejected Angolan government claims that South Africa was still giving military help to Unita.

However it was possible that non-lethal aid such as food and medicine was being flown unofficially from South Africa via places like Botswana. South Africa, however, discouraged this.

CHC 70-25 12/2/91
15

'New era' in SA's links with Angola

JOHANNESBURG. — Angola's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr J.E. Pinheiro, has said a new era has begun between his country and South Africa, according to a Food For Africa statement yesterday.

The statement followed the signing of a cooperation agreement between the Angolan government and Food For Africa in Luanda on Friday.

The agreement, which will allow the organisation to operate in Angola, followed discussions between Food For Africa founder, Mr Peter Pretorius, and various Angolan cabinet ministers last week.

There were acute food shortages in many parts of Angola and deaths due to starvation had been reported in recent months, the statement said. — Sapa

SA trade with Angola 'soon'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ANGOLA could become South Africa's most important trading partner in Southern Africa in the next two years, the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, predicted yesterday.

Mr Van Heerden was speaking at a press briefing after wide-ranging talks with Angola's President Eduardo Dos Santos and senior Angolan government officials in Luanda at the weekend.

He said that Angola's rich Cabindan oil reserves had been raised as a bargaining chip during the talks but noted that buying oil from Angola had obvious advantages over buying oil on the expensive spot market in Europe.

Mr Van Heerden said his delegation had discussed improved economic co-operation in a variety of fields with the Angolan authorities and that prospects for progress were good.

Once reconciliation was achieved between the warring

Unita and MPLA, the gates for trade would be opened.

Mr Van Heerden noted that Angola was a rich country, and added: "I predict that in the next two years Angola is going to be our most important trading partner in Southern Africa."

Misgivings

The two-hour meeting with President Dos Santos and top Angolan government officials follows misgivings voiced by the Angolan delegation to the Joint Commission talks last month that South Africa was once again supplying arms to the Unita movement in violation of the 1988 trilateral agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

Concern was also expressed that there might be elements of the South African government bent on influencing Unita against reaching a peace accord with the MPLA government.

The parties agreed to deal with the issue on a bilateral basis and Mr Van Heerden and the Deputy Director-General for Foreign Affairs, Mr Rusty Evans, visited Luanda at the weekend to allay

Angolan misgivings.

Mr Van Heerden assured the Angolans that there was no question of arms being supplied to Unita by South Africa but that the South African government continued to stay in contact with Unita.

He added that the MPLA government appeared to accept that it was necessary for South Africa to keep her communication channels open with Unita if Pretoria was to act as a go-between in the peace process.

To allay Angolan fear about the transport of military hardware to Unita from South Africa, the South African authorities invited Angola to place officials at venues around the country to inspect departing flights.

However, the Angolan authorities have yet to take up the offer.

The Angolan authorities also voiced their concerns that members of Koevoet formerly deployed in Namibia had linked up with the Unita movement in south-western Angola.

The South African delegation urged the Angolans to talk directly with the Namibian government about the problem.

Watching for the signals in a muddy relationship

Star 12/2/91 (5)

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has reportedly sent a strongly worded protest to President de Klerk about continuing South African interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

The Angolan leader is usually generous in his praise for Mr de Klerk's reform initiatives. But always in the same breath, he speaks of destabilisation by "South African elements".

Now, as Angola inches towards a peace settlement with the Unita rebels, the president's concerns seem to have heightened. News of the top-level Angolan protest was revealed in an Angop (Angolan News Agency) report last week and attributed to a source in Harare.

President dos Santos had protested against what he said was South Africa's violation of the New York Accords of December 1989, which not only stipulate that the countries of southern Africa should refrain from military hostilities but should not interfere in each other's internal affairs at a diplomatic level.

President dos Santos reported

DALE LAUTENBACH of the Star Africa Service examines Angola's continuing 'destabilisation' claims.

ly protested to South Africa on both counts. The Angop report came out on Friday but there were indications the protest reached President de Klerk earlier last week.

Then there was the news that Neil van Heerden, South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs, travelled to Luanda on Friday. He met the President — and South African sources said talks went well.

From there one has to watch for the signals and guess the code, for the real relationship between South Africa and Angola is as clear as mud. But if Mr de Klerk dispatched his DG to Luanda, chances are the matter is receiving serious attention.

Another part of the jigsaw was that this also followed a meeting between President de Klerk and the Angolan delegation to the

Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) in Cape Town two weeks ago. More than one Angolan reported that Mr de Klerk had listened "sympathetically" when they expressed concerns about destabilisation.

For months now Angolan diplomats and politicians have reported continued South African support for Unita by way of military and logistical supplies. Now they talk too of "negative diplomatic influence" in peace talks with Unita.

When you ask South African diplomats and civil servants, especially the JMC team, for their response, the answer is always a denial.

But President dos Santos is not saying all this is top-level policy. Rather, the Angolan government claims that "South African elements" are behind destabilisation. They challenge President de Klerk to take responsibility.

As an observer there is no judging where the truth lies. One can only weigh the credibility of these claims against the recent history of the region. □

Dos Santos protests SA interference

WINDHOEK - President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has reportedly sent a strongly worded protest to President FW de Klerk about continuing South African interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

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^{Sowetan 12/2/91}
President de Klerk earlier last week.

Then there was the news that Mr Neil van Heerden, South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs, travelled to Luanda on Friday. South African sources declined to say who he was meeting; Angolan sources indicated that it could be the President.

Subsequently it turned out to be the President indeed and South African sources said the talks went well.

From there one has to watch for the signals and guess the code for the real relationship between South Africa and Angola is as

clear as mud. But if De Klerk dispatched his DG to Luanda, chances are the matter is receiving serious attention.

This interpretation was obliquely confirmed by Angolan diplomatic sources in Windhoek who said that the two countries were "going through a difficult moment" and that efforts were being made to clear communications channels.

De Klerk had "reacted positively" to the concerns expressed by his Angolan counterpart. The "positive reaction" was Van Heerden, it appeared. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

SA maintains links with Angolan rebels

Sowetan (3/2/91)

SOUTH Africa has a team of communications experts stationed in the bush with the Angolan rebel movement, Unita, to maintain a two-way link with Pretoria.

This was confirmed yesterday by the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, who said there were about 10 men posted at Jamba, the location of Unita's headquarters.

"I can assure you this presence has no military connotation," he said. Van Heerden readily said they were Department of Defence employees - "We want to be quite open about it," he added.

South Africa's links with Dr Jonas Savimbi's bushfighters became the focus again last week of Angolan allegations.

A high-level Angolan delegation raised the issue at a Joint Commission meeting in Cape Town last week.

Van Heerden pursued the charges in bi-lateral meetings with the Angolans, and at a follow-up meeting of almost two hours with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda on Friday.

Personnel of SADF stationed at Savimbi's HQ

Political Staff

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South Africa's links with Dr Jonas Savimbi's bush fighters last week again became the focus of Angolan allegations when a high-level Angolan delegation raised the issue at a Joint Commission meeting in Cape Town.

Mr van Heerden pursued the charges in bilateral meetings with the Angolans and at a follow-up meeting of almost two hours with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Mr van Heerden said he had given Angola the categorical assurance that South Africa was no longer supplying Unita rebels in that country with military hardware.

Angola had expressed concern at SA flights continuing to land in southern Angola without government permission. Mr van Heerden said he had invited Angola to station officials in South Africa to inspect humanitarian flights before take-off.

Mr van Heerden also spoke to Angolan officials in Luanda about the possibility of SA buying oil from Angola.

"I predict that in the next two years, Angola is going to be one of our most important trading partners in southern Africa," Mr van Heerden said.

Angola shaping up to be SA's biggest African trading partner

WINDHOEK — Angola is potentially South Africa's best trading partner in Africa. So says Neil van Heerden, SA's Director-General of Foreign Affairs.

But he is not telling the business community something it does not already know.

For some time there has been a growing body of evidence to suggest that South African business interests are inside Angola now and laying the groundwork.

There is little advertising of this and both South Africans and Angolans are coy when questioned about their deepening relationship, for reasons of political sensitivity.

Increasingly, though, there is the perception that South Africans are getting in there because they would be fools not to.

The authoritative Economist Intelligence Unit Country Profile enumerates rather depressing statistics about Angola from the human costs of the war, through the ravages of famine to the crisis which still holds the economy in a vice.

However, the report's first sen-

tence under its subsection The Economy reads: "Angola is potentially one of Africa's most prosperous countries."

Recent signals from the Angolan government of promised political and economic reform have alerted not just the South African community to the fact that the time looks right, albeit still risky, to start investigating.

One South African company I have been in off-the-record contact with for some months is hopeful about clinching a joint-venture deal in the coming weeks or months. The reason the company is still so deeply off the record is not political, but purely business.

A company executive says there are 123 applications for the same deal and that at least one other of these is South African too. He just doesn't want to reveal his hand yet.

He says the Angolans have no objections to his company's bid on political grounds.

Politely, however, they have requested the South African com-

pany not to advertise the links too broadly. In fact, he says, there are more "negative vibes" from the South African authorities, who say they don't mind what we are doing, but won't go out of their way to help us out.

Another South African name picked up on the grapevine in Luanda is Gencor.

An executive has declined to give details for political reasons and because there remain so many uncertainties in Angola.

However, he confirms that "like most South African companies, we are interested in Angola."

Of course, politically, things do have to be ironed out before there can be normal trade relations.

Mr van Heerden expects this normalisation within two years, saying Angola will have to agree to a ceasefire with Unita and normalise its political system, in other words firmly establish the multi-partyism to which President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has already claimed to be irreversibly committed.

What Mr van Heerden seems

DALE LAUTENBACH Star Africa Service

to have overlooked though is that the Angolans, equally, require a normalisation of the South African political scene.

On the political level, Angola still subscribes firmly to the policies of the Frontline States and their parent body the Organisation of African Unity.

These require the full implementation of the terms of the Harare Declaration and the UN Consensus Declaration on South Africa.

I asked President dos Santos in Luanda just three weeks ago to define at exactly what point in the South African reform process Angola would start links.

He said trade decisions would not be taken at that level alone. Politicians would determine a relationship of co-operation in which trade - and most probably diplomatic links - could exist.

To some extent one suspects Angola is turning a blind eye to

South African business doing exploratory work now. But at the level of official endorsement and welcome, trade remains subservient to political normalisation.

First among the attractions in Angola for South Africa must be oil.

It is the one industry that has largely escaped the ravages of war and, with substantial foreign involvement, runs efficiently.

Production is approaching half a million barrels a day and a conservative estimate of the export figure for 1990 is R9,25-billion.

The logic of oil trade is self-explanatory and the quality, from off-shore fields just south of the Zaire River mouth, is apparently both light and sweet enough for South African refineries.

Mining in Angola holds promise, too, although much of this has still to be explored and established.

De Beers recently recommitted itself to diamond exploration in Angola through its off-shore Swiss-based company, but beyond these bright stones Angola has deposits

of more than 30 minerals, of which only diamonds and iron ore have ever been mined on a significant scale. The list includes coal, phosphates, uranium, titanium, gold, manganese, bauxite, mica, nickel, limestone, asphalt rock and rare earths and radioactive elements.

In the southwestern provinces of Hula and Namibe are also marble, black granite and kaolin.

Angola's agricultural wealth is going to need some time before it is re-established and the displaced population resettled in farming areas.

The pace of redevelopment and new development could mean a dynamic and changing relationship between South Africa and Angola.

Initially, South Africa could be a source of many of the consumer items that Angola imports all the way from European and other distant markets (almost 80 percent of the country's food is imported, the Minister of Commerce said last month).

But beyond the mere trading of goods, there should be scope

for South African involvement in the very redevelopment of these industries and all their satellites from processing and packaging to transport.

South African expertise, and a measure of goodwill, would probably be welcome in the reconstruction of the country, too.

Bridges, roads, railways, many blasted by South African acts of war, need remaking. A little good-will could go a long way in cementing ties for a potentially great partnership.

Tax laws too are being reviewed and all enterprises save oil and mining are open to private investment now.

If there is little certainty yet as Angola takes the hopefully final and painful steps towards peace, there is no shortage of willingness, it seems.

Angola wants to put things right. President dos Santos has conceded the failure of past policies and some of the technocrats he is gathering around him sound increasingly pragmatic about what is in their best interests.

Neil van Heerden . . . normalisation within two years



Neil van Heerden . . . normalisation within two years

No bases in Namibia, SA assures Angolans

Business Day Reporter
18/2/91

ALLEGATIONS that SA was still maintaining military bases along the Angolan-Namibian border are believed to have featured prominently at a weekend meeting between a high-level Angolan government delegation and President F W de Klerk.

Political Affairs Minister Nelo do Nascimento conveyed a personal message from Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, but no details of the meeting were released.

But government sources said it was believed that the Angolan claims of a SA military presence in northern Namibia were discussed, but that these were unlikely to seriously sour SA-Angolan relations.

The Angolan embassy in Windhoek claimed on Friday that SA was maintaining bases and installations which were being used for covert operations and to shelter rebels.

Sapa reports the Angolan ambassador to Namibia Albert Ribeiro was summoned by Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab on Thursday to explain Angolan bombing in the Bagani area between Kavango and Caprivi, close to the Angolan border.

Four people were injured on Wednesday when two MiG-23 jets dropped two cluster bombs.

SA government sources yesterday dismissed the allegations of SA military bases out of hand, and said Angola had been assured this was not the case.

Talks gave ANC 'tactical victory'

CAPE TOWN — The ANC this week regained, internally at least, some of the initiative lost to President F W de Klerk's sanctions-busting announcements to Parliament on February 1.

After 10 hours of secret negotiations to finally thrash out the full meaning of the ANC's undertaking to suspend the armed struggle and "related activities", no explicit agreement was reached to satisfy the government's demand that weapons of war be surrendered or its rejection of the establishment of self-defence units.

According to the ANC the mass campaign to force town councillors to resign was now accepted as legitimate political expression.

All three issues were central pillars of government's motivated refusal to expedite the release of political prisoners and the indemnification of exiles. The government's relaxing on these issues, even temporarily, is seen as a tactical victory for the ANC.

The applications from prisoners and exiles will now be processed, probably in time to meet the April 30 deadline.

The lengthy, minutely detailed legalistic agreement reached after Tuesday's airport summit was released at separate news conferences held by two Cabinet ministers in Cape Town and by the ANC information chief Pallo Jordan in Johannesburg on Friday night.

In their accompanying comments and

answers to questions, clearly differing interpretations were attached to the agreement.

Both sides said the agreement promoted the negotiations process. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said no compromises needed to be made.

However, at the end of the day Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had to concede that the agreement had not fully dealt with the weapons problem.

Agreement had been reached only with regard to ANC-held weapons which were legally licensable.

A liaison group would still seek a method "to gain control over" other weapons such as AK-47s.

He reiterated the government's urgent need "to get the guns out". This matter could not, however, be finalised at Tuesday's meeting, he said.

Another issue not finalised, and passed on for the further attention of the liaison committee, was the creation of self-defence units.

Again Vlok stressed government's absolute opposition to self-defence units being created by any organisation. "I don't want them," he said emphatically, "not with the ANC or the AWB".

Jordan's view was diametrically opposed. He told his news conference the establishment of self-defence units had been approved in principle.

● Comment: Page 8

Two killed in AK-47 hold-up on the Reef

TWO men died in one of two robberies involving AK-47 automatic rifles on the Witwatersrand at the weekend.

A Fidelity Guards security guard died in a gunfight with robbers who attacked his van, carrying hundreds of thousands of rands, on Saturday.

One of the four robbers died in hospital after being wounded. The other three fled without the money.

Sapa reports two men

Business Day Reporter

one armed with an AK-47 rifle, held up an Alberton construction company employee on Friday and escaped with a R10 000 payroll.

And in another armed robbery, police shot and arrested one of a gang of six who robbed the Rosslyn, Pretoria branch of Trust-Bank on Saturday.

Police said the six men

held up the bank manager and demanded the safe be opened. Staff raised the alarm and police arrived at the scene while the thieves were collecting the money.

One robber was wounded and arrested in a shoot-out that followed, but the remaining five managed to drive off in a getaway car.

A police statement said the robbers had fled "without the major part of their booty".

Baffled Bagani ⁽⁵⁾ may start digging

Stw 19/2/91

The folk who live round Bagani in the Caprivi Strip have never dug anything more ambitious than a pit latrine or a well. But if the Angolans keep dropping bombs with careless abandon round their locality they are going to have to start digging slit trenches or even bomb shelters.

The bombing is made harder for these peasant people to bear by the fact that they have no idea why they are being showered with the latest in lethal technology by planes of a neighbouring country that is supposed to be friendly.

Nobody, except perhaps the Angolans, is sure why the Angolan MiGs keep bombing this village in Namibia on the banks of the Okavango River. One theory is that the Angolan pilots jettison their bombs in the area when they head for home after failing to find their targets at Jamba, the Unita headquarters, about 100 km to the east.

Angola's embassy in Windhoek has hinted darkly at South African destabilisation skulduggery in the region but has given no information to warrant the claim being taken seriously.

The most likely theory is that the Angolans are trying to hit a Unita base that is situated across the border in Angola, at least 10 km away. This doesn't say much for their aim.

Angolan pilots have tended to drop their bombs from a great height to avoid being shot down by one of Unita's sophisticated American Stinger missiles. Colleagues who have visited Jamba more recently than I have tell me that when the MiGs bomb it they do so from an altitude so high that they are difficult to see.

Given that Jamba is a collection of thatched buildings spread over many square kilometres, their chances of success are probably about as good as those of a poker player holding a pair of twos.

They may in fact have less chance of hitting their targets from their sophisticated jets than

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



the German aviators who used to toss artillery shells over the side of the cockpit on to the South African troops during the World War 1 campaign in South-West Africa.

Flying rickety wood-and-canvas biplanes of the Red Baron style, the German aviators pioneered aerial bombing in southern Africa and perhaps in all Africa. To keep their shells nose-down they attached strips of canvas to the base. These fluttered so loudly as the shell fell that one South African said it sounded like "a giant stuttering in wrath". Once a German with a sense of humour substituted a pair of ladies' knickers for the canvas strip, thereby inventing the bloomer bomb.

Later they progressed to more sophisticated technology, attaching beneath the fuselage the canvas nose-bags that were used at the time to feed horses. The nose-bag was attached to a cord which the pilot pulled when he judged the moment was right, upending the bag and causing the shell that had been placed in it to fall out.

These primitive bombs actually hit their targets from time to time, in one case wiping out an entire South African gun crew, which seems to be more than can be said for the bombers of Bagani.

□ □ □

We all know why they do it but it still seems a little odd that the independent African nation of Namibia should be so openly friendly to South Africa when so many others in Africa are not. Take, for instance, a newspaper advertisement inviting exhibitors to the international trade fair in Windhoek in May.

"South Africans are particularly welcome," it says. □

Angolan waters of peace muddied by new clashes

W. M. 22/2 - 25/2/91. (5)

ANGOLA'S latest peace talks, due two weeks ago, never started. Instead fighting between government and rebel forces has escalated and spilled over the Namibian border — and claims have been made that former Koewot members are involved in the fighting.

The Angolan government was blamed by mediators for stalling the talks by introducing new conditions before it would accept what had been agreed upon so far. Nettled by mediators' charges that it was to blame for the failure of the talks, the Luanda government accused Unita rebels on Thursday of recruiting veterans of South Africa's Namibian paramilitary police.

It said 900 ex-members of the disbanded Koewot counter-insurgency unit and the South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF) were helping Unita fight in southern Angola.

Unita said Luanda was stirring up old hatreds by "playing the South African card" and made a counter accusation — that Luanda was responsible for an aerial bomb raid last Wednesday on the northern Namibian village of Bagani Bridge in which one woman was critically injured.

Windhoek military analysts say 38 bombs were probably dropped on Bagani Bridge by mistake, and the intended target was likely to have been a Unita base over 100km away inside southern Angola.

"It's disappointing. Before the talks it looked as though the peace process was moving fast. Now the waters are getting muddied again," said a European diplomat following Angola's negotiations.

The clashes are turning back a page in Angola's troubled history to the days before a 1988 agreement ended South African, Cuban and Namibian involvement in the war.

Since then — until this month — the 15-year-old hostilities have been kept inside Angola.

Peace talks mediated by Portugal over the last nine months have made some progress. Moscow and Washington,

Hopes for peace in Angola have been dashed by renewed fighting which has spilled over into Namibia.

By FAITH BROOKE in Harare

tired of spending money in Angola's military stalemate, have started sending observers to speed up the talks.

All involved were buoyed by the success in getting both sides to agree in principle to have a ceasefire and multi-party elections. In preparation for that

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has led his government away from its Marxist, one-party rule to pave the way for elections against Renamo.

But the Angolan house of cards collapsed at the start of the sixth round of talks on February 8, before the Angolan teams had even met. Before the talks began, both sides were asked to

initial the points of agreement reached so far about the ceasefire and elections.

Unexpectedly, the Luanda government introduced a new condition. It refused to sign unless Unita agreed to a ceasefire date of April 15. Unita would not accept unless a date was set at the same time for elections before April 15, clearly an impossibility.

After both sides stormed away from the abortive talks, Unita said it would continue attacking economic targets until the MPLA government agreed to a negotiated peace.

"We repeat our warning to foreign investors that at present conditions in Angola are such that the security of capital invested or to be invested cannot be guaranteed," it said.

The rebels are carrying out their threat. Last week they penetrated government defences at the northern port of Ambriz and destroyed oil installations which help Luanda pay its army bills,

after leaving about 50 foreigners flee by sea.

Unita clearly hopes military threats will stop Luanda repeating its tactics at the collapsed round of talks.

Despite the setback, negotiators say long-term hopes are intact for a solution to the war which has raged since independence from Portugal in 1975.

"A year ago, the two parties did not even want to talk to each other," Portuguese chief mediator Jose Durao Barroso said on Portuguese television. "Today we are already talking about problems of dates. That is great progress."

So far no new date for talks has been set, but mediators are hopeful both delegations will return to Lisbon for another, more fruitful round. Luanda delegate Lopo de Nascimento left Lisbon after the talks on a promise his government would keep to a reform timetable which will constitutionally end one-party rule by April. This is Unita's main demand.

Durao Barroso will visit Washington this month and the three mediators will consider their next step in Lisbon on March 4. Meanwhile, Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos met top Soviet officials in Luanda on Tuesday.

Unita's US aid will end with ceasefire

LUANDA — The US will stop its military support to Unita when it signs a ceasefire with Angola's government, says US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Jeffrey Davidow.

He said at a Press conference shortly after his arrival in Angola that the date for the signing of the ceasefire should be set as soon as possible, Angolan news agency Angop reported yesterday.

After the signing of the ceasefire, countries which assisted Unita and the Angolan government militarily would stop doing so, he said.

"I am convinced that the Angolan government and Unita are interested in overcoming their difficulties, which up to now have hampered the peace process," he said.

Despite the collapse of the sixth round of direct talks between government and Unita in Lisbon earlier this month, conditions for the continuation of the peace process still existed, the US official said.

The sixth round of talks failed on February 7 because the two parties could not agree on dates for the signing of the ceasefire and general elections.

Government advocates April 15 for the

signing of the ceasefire, and delaying a decision on the date for elections to allow discussions with other political forces.

Davidow held talks with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his political affairs adviser, Lopo do Nascimento, on Tuesday.

It is believed the peace process figured high on the agenda during the discussions.

Meanwhile, the UN awaits word from Angola's government on the reinstatement of a suspended programme to distribute food for up to two million famine victims, Sapa-Reuter reports from Lisbon.

Government halted all UN food supplies to areas held by Unita in December on the grounds that the guerrillas were attacking relief routes.

Portuguese news agency Lusa quoted the UN's permanent representative in Luanda, Otto Assian, as saying that neither side in the 16-year-old civil war had yet presented proof of violations of the emergency aid programme, which began on November 2 and was to have lasted six months.

International relief workers awaited Dos Santos's decision on whether the efforts to bring aid to starving people would be renewed, Lusa said. — ANO.

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Angolans apologise for bombs

WINDHOEK. — Angola has accepted responsibility for the bombs dropped near Bagani in northern Namibia a fortnight ago and promised it will not happen again.

“The Angolan government regretted the incidents, which were largely attributed to navigational errors, and promised the government of the Republic of Namibia that such incidents will be avoided in future,” the Namibian Information Ministry said in a statement here yesterday.

Four Namibian civilians were injured when two Angolan Air Force MiG-23s dropped two cluster bombs near the Bagani Bridge, between Caprivi and Kavango.

Angola has also offered to compensate the injured. — Sapa

'No conclusion' reached on oil deal with Angola

AN Angolan government delegation and the Central Energy Fund this week failed to reach agreement on an oil deal between the two countries, government sources said yesterday.

A source said the negotiations had not gone much further than those held during the visit to Luanda by Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers last year.

Certain non-political problems resulted in the talks ending inconclusively, the source said.

However, both sides still hoped to reach a deal once these problems were sorted out and talks would continue some time in the future.

The Angolan delegation met De Villiers in Cape Town on Monday night.

The Angolan delegation flew back to Luanda yesterday after a five-day visit to SA.

Sapa reports De Villiers said on Tuesday government hoped to move towards the establishment of formal

EDYTH BULBRING

trade links with Angola.

De Villiers declined to comment on speculation about possible oil deals with Angola, stressing only that "all potential areas" were discussed.

Included in Monday's discussions with the Angolans were trade potential, commercial opportunities and technical co-operation, De Villiers told Sapa. *6/24/79*

"I am optimistic it will lead to eventual trade, business, commercial ties and technical co-operation. Once the trade starts, other links will follow."

He said in the light of the current oil embargo it was detrimental to SA's sources of oil supply to discuss the matter.

No formal agreements were reached.

However, he said the discussions, described as exploratory, were "very constructive and positive".

Angolan govt agrees to peace plan

LISBON — The Angolan government said yesterday it had accepted a peace plan to end 15 years of civil war against Jonas Savimbi's rebel group Unita.

A diplomat at Angola's Lisbon Embassy said his government had proposed only slight amendments to the plan negotiated by Portuguese, US and Soviet diplomats earlier this month in Lisbon.

Angolan officials said they are ready for new talks with Unita "at any moment", to fix a ceasefire in the civil war.

A sixth round of peace talks is expected soon in Portugal. Angolan officials held talks on Monday with Portuguese diplomats mediating in the peace process.

Unita said it was in broad agreement.

5 The current plan links a ceasefire formula, discussed by the two sides in Washington in December, with working documents drawn up at five earlier negotiating rounds hosted by the Portuguese government last year.

The Washington plan includes an agreement that a ceasefire be preceded by setting a date for free elections; international observers to guarantee the truce; and an end to outside military assistance once a ceasefire agreement was signed.

Other points call for the integration of the two armies; constitutional changes instigating a democratic system of government and international monitoring of elections. — Sapa-AP.

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Angola opens the doors to opposition parties

LUANDA - The first draft of a law regulating the registration of opposition political parties in Angola has been published by the state owned Press in that country.

The draft law requires that parties be "national" in scope and proposes a state subsidy for parties based on the number of representatives elected to parliament, while restricting contributions from private companies or individuals.

Prospective parties will be required to

have a minimum of 3 000 members country-wide, with at least 150 in 14 of the country's 18 provinces.

A potential problem area could be that the law provides that party leaders or activists trying to alter the country's social or political order by "anti-constitutional means" can be jailed.

However the country's constitution is still inherently Marxist in content and any opposition parties are likely to be anti-Marxist. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

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Sowetan 1/3/91

Definitive account of the year-long

Sta 4/3/11

ON November 1 1975, Fred Bridgland was covering the war in Angola for Reuters news agency.

At Kuito (then Silva Porto) he spotted some Panhard armoured cars with Unita markings. They were crewed by youthful white men who claimed, in a gravelly accent, to be "from Inger-land".

The dispatch that he wrote after checking, which disclosed the presence of South African troops deep inside Angola, became front page news around the world. It changed the course of the war.

Nigeria immediately dropped Unita and handed \$20 million to the MPLA regime; the CIA's man in Angola, John Stockwell, commented: "The propaganda and political war was lost in that stroke."

And Fred Bridgland was less than popular in Pretoria.

Now, with South African military involvement at an end, Bridgland has written what must surely stand as the definitive account of "The War for Africa".

It should not have been necessary to recap his 1975 world scoop here, were it not for the fact that

so much writing about the Angolan conflict is incredibly political in purely internal South African terms. In the crudest sense, answers to the question "Who won in Angola?" determine one's stance in "the struggle" — the South African struggle, that is, not the Angolan one.

Bridgland provides an answer of his own. It is not one that will prove popular with the mythologists of liberation, to whom the only good SADF soldier is a dead one. Nor will it necessarily be popular with the blatant protagonists of total (white) South African military superiority.

For Bridgland believes that the final 12 months of the Cuban-South African conflict in Angola were epochal: they "spelled the end of the last great neo-colonial attempts at African conquest, by Cuba and the Soviet Union. (They) made possible the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa and the beginning of the end of one-party dictatorship in black Africa."

This is a massive claim, but Bridgland goes far towards proving his case. He is no pushover for any one side in the conflict. Al-

BOOK OF THE WEEK
The War for Africa: Twelve Months that Transformed a Continent
by Fred Bridgland (Ashanti R59,95)

Reviewed by JAMES MITCHELL

though his admiration for the men "at the sharp end" is clear — after all, much of the book is based on personal interviews with those who fought in Angola — it in no way blinds his critical faculties.

He has no illusions about Unita, with its Maoist structures and Messianic leader, which belie the pro-Western democratic claims of the movement's friends. But then he is equally candid about the Cubans.

"Castro's dreams of a Marxist revolution spreading from Angolan Africa had become a poor music-hall joke except perhaps in South Africa itself, where the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance had become by late 1990, along with Fidel Castro, among the last *serious* defenders of Marxist politics and economics in the world."

At the same time, the book has naught for the comfort of another

guru of liberation, South Africa's own Nelson Mandela, who, in "a profoundly cynical statement", "compounded the Angolan dishonour of the ANC when he visited Luanda in 1990 and described Fidel Castro as a champion of human rights".

In his descriptions of the fighting — often in the words of the combatants themselves — Bridgland is superb. This is both journalism at its best and history at its freshest.

To learn just how the lightly armed Ratel armoured personnel carriers took on heavily armoured tanks at incredibly close ranges, darting in and out of the cover of the bush to deliver bursts from their light canon until a vital part was hit, is to feel the immediacy, the excitement and the sheer terror of close-quarter fighting.

To read how the G-5 heavy artillery was used in action is to understand why a Cuban officer said

War for Africa

at the Sal Island negotiations: "Those fucking guns gave us terrible fear."

The South Africans expected a lot from their artillery, and more from the gunners who manned it. Bridgland describes how the men of Quebec Battery on the Mianel had "been on active service, night and day, for more than three months. They are caked in dirt and their clothes are coming apart at the seams. They are no longer following the prescribed drills. They are not dropping the barrels of the guns and camouflaging them when there are warnings of enemy aircraft".

The remedy was obvious: what the Americans used to call R&R — even if only for a day. Beer, meat, new overalls and water to wash... and time for sleep.

But who was going to pay the several thousand rand required? Not the SADF: it took an indirect approach to Armscor to get them to foot the bill for something vital to performance, indeed to survival.

This is an indictment of an attitude which all the smooth SADF talk about sophisticated man-

agement will fail to dispel.

There is a vivid description of how the SADF "liberated" a complete Sam-8 anti-aircraft missile system from the Lomba battlefield, in the face of Unita attempts to acquire it for their American friends. A Sam-8 system had never before been examined in the West.

As well as describing the fighting itself, Bridgland conveys well the stress of command, whether in analysis or decision-making. He retails the frustration of the front-line soldier with the "brass" and the politicians who could swoop into Angola, make impossible demands with ridiculous stipulations, then wait off to Pretoria again.

No doubt the on-site commanders are saying much the same thing just now in the Gulf.

Fred Bridgland, well backed by his publisher, has produced the book without which one cannot hope to understand the Angolan campaign. It is well illustrated in colour and black and white, while the maps are frequent, simple and superbly clear. □

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The war is finished, says Savimbi at Unita congress

A UNITA BASE (Angola). — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi has said he wants a ceasefire by next month.

During a congress which discussed preparations for peace, he said the 16-year war is "finished" and present battles were "only the last skirmishes".

Dr Savimbi said at the headquarters for his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) guerrilla movement in southern Angola that his men were confident about starting a national reconciliation process because they were in a strong position militarily and diplomatically.

"When you are strong it is time to negotiate ... I consider that the war is over in the minds of Unita soldiers as well as in the minds of MPLA (government) soldiers," he said.

CONCLUDE CEASEFIRE

His officers wanted to conclude a ceasefire when they meet Angolan government representatives and mediators from the United States, Portugal and the Soviet Union for a seventh round of peace talks in Portugal on April 3.

The Unita congress, which ended yesterday, reaffirmed the movement's negotiating position and proposed a ceasefire in April and the holding of multiparty elections in May 1992.

The government has refused to sign documents establishing the framework for a ceasefire — and introduction of a pluralist democracy — unless a specific date for a ceasefire is set.

Unita says it will negotiate this only if a date is set at the same time as the first multiparty elections, in which Mr Savimbi says he would win 75 to 80 percent of the votes.

The communique said if no ceasefire was agreed on by April 3 Unita would consider declaring a unilateral suspension of hostilities in the capital Luanda and the second city, Huambo.

Dr Savimbi said the only obstacle was Unita's disagreement with the

MPLA's demand that there be a three-year gap between ceasefire and elections.

Unita officials said they were confident that a compromise gap of around 15 months was possible at the April talks.

Key resolutions at the congress were to stop the war by all means; achieve peace and democracy in a short time, preferably between 1991 and 1992; and to agree to change the movement's "military mentality" into a "political mentality".

Unita, founded 25 years ago as a guerrilla group fighting Portuguese colonial forces, approved a plan at the congress to transform itself into a political party in preparation for elections among the population of seven million.

"We think we are going to get very good results in the elections, that is why we are prepared to make this change," Savimbi said.

Dr Savimbi said his guerrillas controlled all rural areas, where the majority of the population lived.

"There is not a single town that is not encircled by our forces, not a single one. Which means that anything happening now in Luanda, within two hours I have the information," he said.

US-backed Unita has fought for control of Angola against the one-party government of the leftist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) since independence from Portugal in 1975.

The war has devastated a potentially wealthy country and killed hundreds of thousands of people. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angolan war almost over, says Savimbi

Star 18/3/91

A UNITA BASE (Angola) — Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, preparing for fresh peace talks with the government, said yesterday that the 16-year-old civil war was almost over and he wanted a ceasefire next month.

"The war is finished, even if there are still small attacks. It is only the last skirmishes," Dr Savimbi said at a base of his National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) guerilla movement in southern Angola.

He told reporters his guerillas were confident about leaving the battlefield and starting a national reconciliation process because they were in a strong position militarily and diplomatically.

"When you are strong it is time to negotiate ... I consider that the war is over in the minds of Unita soldiers as well as in the minds of MPLA (government) soldiers," he said.

His officers wanted to conclude a ceasefire when they met Angolan government representatives and mediators from the United States, Portugal and the Soviet Union for a seventh round of peace talks in Portugal on April 3, he added.

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The war has devastated a potentially wealthy southern African country and killed hundreds of thousands of people.

A final communique of a Unita congress that ended at the base yesterday reaffirmed the movement's negotiating po-



Ready for peace ... Unita leader Jonas Savimbi wants a ceasefire next month.

sition, proposing the signing of a ceasefire in April and the holding of multiparty elections in May 1992.

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vimbi says he would win 75 to 80 percent of the votes.

The communique said if no ceasefire was agreed on April 3, Unita would, to help the peace process along, consider the possibility of declaring a unilateral suspension of hostilities in the capital, Luanda, and the second city, Huambo.

Dr Savimbi, referring to the MPLA demand that there be a three-year gap between ceasefire and elections, said: "At this round of talks Unita is well-placed to make any concession to get that (ceasefire). It is only one point that we will not concede — it is about the date of elections."

Unita officials said they were confident that a compromise gap of around 15 months was possible at the April talks.

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"We think we are going to get very good results in the elections," Dr Savimbi said.

Key resolutions at the congress were to stop the war by all means; achieve peace and democracy in a short time, preferably between 1991 and 1992; and to agree to change the movement's "military mentality" into a "political mentality".

— Sapa-Reuter.

Star 18/3/91

Angola calls for oil bids ⁵

LUANDA — Angola is to ask for competitive bids for drilling rights in five deep water zones through to be rich in oil deposits.

Sonangol director Joaquim David said oil reserves in the five zones could be seven times greater than those already discovered in Angola's coastal waters.

A number of foreign oil companies are reported interested in exploration in the five deep water zones which recent geological surveys indicate may be among the richest in Africa.

Crude Oil and petrole-

um products account for over 90 percent of Angola's exports.

Production is currently concentrated in northwestern Cabinda and Zaire provinces and in off-

shore fields.

With known reserves at over 320 billion litres, Angola is sub-saharan Africa's second biggest oil producer behind Nigeria.

— Sapa-AP.

Kwanza is halved in value

LISBON — A 50 percent devaluation of the Angolan kwanza will take effect today, nearly six months after it was first announced.

In a report from Luanda the Portuguese news agency Lusa said the devaluation date was announced by a group of

cabinet ministers at a news conference.

The devaluation had been due to take effect on October 1 but was postponed because of chaos over the introduction in late September of a "new kwanza" to replace the discredited old currency.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Unita must exchange the spoils of war for the fruits of peace

Savimbi swops the bullet for the ballot

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Sowetan
20/3/91

LUANDA - In a remote African bush area once called The End of the World, guerilla officers use Satellite telephones, watch CNN's 24-hour television service, drink beer and wine and eat hot meals.

Angola's rebel Unita movement - one of the world's best-funded guerilla groups - may have to leave some perks behind when it vacates its south-eastern fortress enclave for the wider reality of the war-ravaged country.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi (55), nudged on by a co-ordinated diplomatic push from the United States and the Soviet Union, is planning to give up the bullet for the ballot.

His delicate task is to turn a military machine backed by R150-million US aid a year into a political party that can win an election in one of the world's poorest countries.

Political analysts say Savimbi must persuade his more than 50 000 fighters that the rewards of peace, elections and civilian life are as good as the spoils of their 16-year

bush war against the leftist Angolan government.

"Those who have worn this uniform have a guarantee that they will not be forgotten," Savimbi told 3 000 cheering delegates at a Unita (National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola) national congress this week.

Congress sources said some delegates had expressed a desire to fight on, interpreting the government's willingness to negotiate as a sign of military weakness.

Talks

Savimbi, a stocky, bearded figure, told the congress: "Go back and tell your parents, brothers, cousins and nephews that those who have participated in the war will not be forgotten . . . we want a vocational training centre so that these people will be equipped for their lives.

"We want to create an Angolan government that can take care of its sons and especially society's weakest."

The peace process Savimbi is trying to hammer out in talks with the government may culminate in the return of several thousand Unita

members to the capital Luanda, one of Africa's most dilapidated cities.

That could be an anticlimax for Unita guerillas facing the unfamiliar tasks of civilian administration.

"How do you convince a 27-year-old Unita colonel who has spent his whole life in the movement to accept a lowering of status that a return to civilian life will bring?" asked Sean Cleary, a former South African diplomat who provides Savimbi with political advice.

A move to civilian life would strip away the security Unita has provided to soldiers with little education in peacetime skills or knowledge of city life, he said.

"Unita is a hierarchical organisation in which Savimbi's word is law," said Richard Cornwell, analyst at Pretoria's Africa Institute. "Becoming a political party means adapting to more open discussion in the movement."

Rusty Evans, head of the Africa Department of the South African Foreign Ministry, said persuading Unita troops to accept a return to civilian life was the major topic of the week-long congress.

Savimbi opposes a government proposal that Unita be integrated into existing military structures. He says Unita and government forces should disband and a new, smaller Angolan military should be built from scratch, with re-training in civilian skills for unemployed troops.

Observers with experience of guerilla movements elsewhere say Unita has achieved a rare feat for an irregular force in performing more like a regular army than a band of fighters.

Torches

That image was much in evidence at the Unita congress in Angola's far south-east, an area which Portuguese colonists used to call The End of the World or No-one's Land.

Flaming torches lined a runway cut neatly through the bush for planes carrying international observers bound for the Unita camp - a small town of rondavel huts, mud houses and underground bunkers in the rebel enclave that covers a third of Angola.

Officers in crisp uniforms moved purposefully from hut to hut and uniformed hostesses



Jonas Savimbi has a new battle in front of him.

guided congress delegates with a quiet efficiency.

Unita's well-organised appearance was reinforced by piped water to huts, uninterrupted electricity, fax and satellite telephones, South African beer and wine and piping

hot meals served on time to hundreds of people, and briefings delivered on schedule.

Reporters who have travelled in the field with Unita forces in recent years report they are usually well-fed.

Two of Unita's most senior military officers were in the field to persuade their men that they had a stake in the transformation process, "that they were not going to be sold out," Cleary said. - Sapa-Reuter.

Countdown to elections

LUANDA — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said that multi-party elections would be held in the country 36 months after the signing of ceasefire, which his government proposed for April 15. *B10am 22/3/91*

Speaking at the opening session of the People's Assembly (parliament), Dos Santos reiterated the proposal made at the negotiating table with Unita.

According to the Angolan News Agency (Angop) yesterday, the Angolan leader considered as "strange and irresponsible" recent statements made by Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, who said: "We are at the end of war in Angola."

Dos Santos said, "The war started by (Savimbi) . . . would only end with the signing of a ceasefire."

He said that Savimbi might have courage to "face the reality and move on, because time rolls on and is waiting for nobody".

This is the last session of the People's Assembly to be held under a one-party system.

The parliament's tasks include the discussion and approval of fundamental laws conducive to the formation of a multiparty democracy.

The present session will discuss and approve drafts on the revision of the constitution, political parties, the declaration of a state of emergency and rights of meetings.

Turning his attention to the formation of a national army, Dos Santos said such an army would guarantee every citizen's human rights and safeguard the independence and sovereignty of Angola.

He said that the formation of a national army would prevent the breaking out of armed conflict during the election period.

Development

The Angolan leader said he considered peace, the renewal of political and economic systems and finding solutions to the problems of hunger, housing, education and health as the main target areas of his new programme.

He added that the new economic restructuring programme would guarantee the satisfaction of the most pressing needs of the population and allow for the harmonious development of the war-ravaged country.

The first phase of this programme would be to stabilise the economy and the re-establishment of a fundamental economic equilibrium. — ANO.

Angolan peace talks back on line

AM 7:15
2/10/91
5'

LISBON. — Peace talks between Angola's government and Unita rebels will resume tomorrow with a United Nations observer present for the first time, sources close to the negotiations said yesterday.

Moscow and Washington, which back the Angolan government and Unita, respectively, are also sending observers to find a solution to the war which has dragged on since Angola's independence from Portuguese colonial rule in 1975.

The observer from the UN Secretary-General's office will be there to advise on technical aspects of a ceasefire.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said last week that a ceasefire accord could be signed by the end of April.

Western diplomats say the talks could break down through differences over the time between a truce and Angola's first multi-party elections. The Angolan government wants to wait three years for elections while Unita prefers to hold them a year after a ceasefire.

The Unita negotiating team, headed by Vice-President Jeremias Chitunda, arrived in Lisbon at the weekend. Luanda has not yet announced who will head its delegation.

Many hurt as battle rages in Angola

810 am 10/4/91
LUANDA — Angola has reported high civilian casualties in heavy fighting for the provincial capital of Luena despite peace talks with Unita in Portugal.

The Defence Ministry said government forces were fighting to defend Luena, capital of the eastern province of Moxico, under attack by at least four regular Unita battalions backed by irregular forces since April 1.

Angolan national radio said late on Monday night that more than 160 civilians, including 54 children, had died since the start of

the fighting.

It said 96 civilians were being treated in hospitals, but unconfirmed reports from Luena said the figures might be much higher. A correspondent said from Luena hospitals were unable to cope with the wounded.

A television report said more than 100 rebels had been killed in fighting, which was said to have spread to five city districts. Unita was also reported to be subjecting Luena to intense bombardment.

The government and Unita resumed peace talks

near Lisbon last week mediated by Portugal to end the war. Diplomats in Lisbon said they hoped the two sides would agree by the end of April on a ceasefire and a timetable for multi-party elections.

Reports in Luanda said two working groups were holding simultaneous talks about separate political and military issues.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said recently peace prospects were "encouraging".

Angolan radio said there were 53 foreign nationals in Luena. — Sapa-Reuter.

Thinking of going back

Star 10/4/91
By Helen Grange (5)

Hundreds of former Angolans living in South Africa are considering returning to their homeland now that peace negotiations have begun there.

Tony Figueiredo, chairman of the Angolan Club in Johannesburg, said many of the club's 2 000 members had expressed a willingness to return to the former Portuguese colony to contribute towards its post-war reconstruction.

There were also thousands of former Angolans scattered in other countries who wished to return to what they considered their homeland.

"Angola needs professionals — teachers, social workers, technicians, doctors and businessmen — and we want to contribute our skills.

"We are not interested in politics, only in helping the country

we left behind," Mr Figueiredo said.

South Africa became home to thousands of Portuguese Angolans when war broke out after independence in 1975.

"We were left with nothing and came here as refugees without passports. Although our children have rooted themselves in South Africa, there are many of my generation who want to go back to Angola and make amends.

Ceasefire

"We have already been in contact with the MPLA government and Unita to express our desires for peace and reconciliation," Mr Figueiredo said.

Unita recently announced that a ceasefire between itself and the MPLA military force could be expected by next month.

Sapa reports that Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos

Santos said on Monday he was confident his government and Unita would agree on a compromise at peace talks under way in Lisbon.

"There are two proposals on the table, one presented by the Angolan government and the other by Unita. We believe it will be possible to find a middle way," Mr dos Santos told journalists in Paris.

The talks, aimed at putting an end to 16 years of civil war, cover terms for a ceasefire and multiparty elections.

Diplomats say the chief sticking point between the leftist government and the US-backed rebel movement is the length of a transition period between a ceasefire and free elections.

Unita has been demanding a period of nine to 12 months, Mr dos Santos is calling for a three-year transition.

Asked how long he thought it would take to reach agreement, Mr dos Santos declined to comment.

Angolans (5)

go private

8024 5/4/91
LISBON — Angola plans to privatise 100 companies, nationalised after independence, over the next two years, Finance Minister Aginaldo Jaime said in an interview.

Jaime told the Portuguese newspaper Publico that some of the companies had been nationalised by government order and would simply be returned to their former owners, mostly Portuguese.

Others had been taken over by the state after being abandoned by their former owners. They would be privatised in other ways, Jaime said without elaborating.

The minister said the government would seek compensation for its investments in some of the companies to be privatised. — Reuter.

Supplies parachuted in twice daily, says Angolan colonel

SA 'aiding Unita in battle'

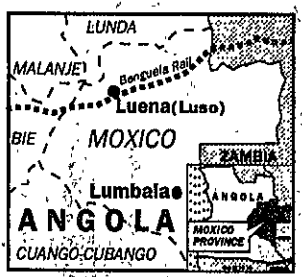
Star 15/4/91 (5)

Star Africa Service

A senior Angolan army officer has claimed that South Africa is air-dropping military supplies to Unita troops fighting a major battle for the town of Luena.

He also said that white men seen with the Unita forces at Luena were assumed to be South Africans and that South Africans were directing the Unita artillery in the battle.

This is believed to be the first time the MPLA govern-



ment has claimed direct involvement by South African forces in fighting in Angola since the SADF withdrew from that country in 1989 as part of the settlement that led to independence for Namibia.

The Angolan government has asserted that South Africa has continued to provide Unita with supplies, but this is the first time that these supplies are said to have been parachuted into a battle zone.

Colonel Higinio Lopes Carniero, chief of operations of the Angolan general staff, told a weekend news conference that the strong Unita forces trying to capture Luena were receiving mili-

tary supplies from the United States and Zaire as well as South Africa.

He said the South Africans were parachuting supplies to Unita, making two flights a day with Hercules C-130 transport planes that were using the international commercial aviation route that passes over Luena, to avoid anti-aircraft fire from the government forces.

Colonel Carniero said the precision with which Unita was using its artillery indicated the presence of highly skilled military experts.

The Angolan army believed that computer-guided systems were being used and that these were being operated by South Africans.

Luena (formerly Luso) is the capital of Moxico province and is situated on the Benguela railway where it crosses the main road from Saurimo (formerly Henrique de Carvalho) and Lumbala (formerly Gago Coutinho).

Colonel Carneiro said Unita was using six infantry battalions, supported by 106 mm guns and missile launchers.

But in spite of the battle, the MPLA government had no intention of withdrawing its delegation from the peace talks with Unita that are now under way in Lisbon.

Observers believe Unita has launched the attack on strategically situated Luena in an attempt to force the MPLA to agree to its terms for a ceasefire and for elections within a year rather than three years as proposed by the MPLA.

No comment was available from the SADF at the time of going to press.

5

SA parachuting supplies in war zone — Angola

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior Angolan army officer has claimed that South Africa is parachuting military supplies to Unita troops fighting a major battle for the town of Luena.

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tional commercial aviation route passing over Luena to avoid anti-aircraft fire from the Angolan government forces.

Colonel Carneiro said the precision with which Unita was using its artillery indicated the presence of highly skilled military experts. The Angolan army believed that computer-guided systems were being used and these were being operated by South Africans, he said.

Colonel Carneiro said Unita was using six infantry battalions, supported by 106mm guns and missile launchers, in the battle for the town.

Despite the battle, the MPLA government had no intention of withdrawing its delegation from the peace talks with Unita that were now under way in Lisbon, he said. The MPLA government intended to continue with the talks until a definite peace agreement was reached.

The main obstacle being tackled at the talks is the question of the timing of a ceasefire.

Observers believe Unita has launched the attack on strategically situated Luena, a provincial capital on the Benguela railway line, in an attempt to force the MPLA to agree to its terms for a ceasefire and for elections within a year rather than three years as proposed by the MPLA.

2 The Star Tuesday April 16 1991

SADF denies backing Unita

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Military observers said yesterday it was practically impossible for the SADF to be helping Unita forces fight the MPLA at Luena deep inside Angola.

A senior Angolan army officer, Colonel Higinio Lopes Carneiro, chief of operations of the Angolan general staff, has been reported as saying South Africa is dropping air supplies for Unita into the battle zone and that SADF soldiers are direct-

ing Unita artillery units.

The claims have been emphatically denied by the SADF as ridiculous.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden yesterday sent a message to the Angolan government saying the reports were unfounded. He also expressed regret for the continued fighting in Angola.

Military observers have pointed out that Luena is about as far inside Angola as the capital Luanda — beyond the practical range of the SAAF C-130 Hercules aircraft which Angola alleges are being used.

They said that to fly from air bases in South Africa to Luena and back, the C-130s would have to load so much fuel that their cargo loads would be halved.

They also pointed out that it would be impossible for the C-130s to fly into Angola by day, as alleged.

If they did so, they would be "sitting ducks" for ground-to-air missiles or MiG aircraft.

On the accusations that SADF personnel were directing artillery, the military observers pointed out that it would be im-

possible for the SADF to explain loss of life to next-of-kin if there were casualties of SA involvement in Angola now.

Colonel Carneiro said the precision with which Unita was using its artillery indicated the presence of highly skilled military experts.

The Angolan army believed that computer-guided systems were being used and that these were being operated by South Africans.

Colonel Carneiro said Unita was using six infantry battalions, supported by 106 mm guns and missile launchers.

But military observers pointed out it would be far too risky for South Africa to be involved in Angola.

A more disturbing explanation could be that Angola was preparing a propaganda campaign to demand that the last 12 000 Cuban troops still in Angola should remain after the July 1 deadline.

It is believed this is the first time the MPLA government has claimed direct involvement by South African forces in fighting in Angola since the SADF withdrew from that country in 1989 as part of the settlement that led to Namibia's independence.



Spes 16/4/91

NOT WITHOUT HONOUR

THE WAR FOR AFRICA: Twelve Months that Transformed a Continent by Fred Bridgland (Ashanti, 402pp, R59,95.)

If F W de Klerk had come to power in, say, 1986 instead of 1989, would he have been able to start and continue his radical reform process? Quite possibly not.

Analysis of SA history has depended too heavily on certain methods of interpretation. The leftwingers are happiest with the Marxist class analysis; liberals emphasise the racial factor; others place great weight on the role of individual leaders.

What they all ignore, and what Fred Bridgland's compelling book reminds us of, is the importance of regional strategy.

Change in SA was not possible until the problem of Namibian independence had been solved. And that depended on stopping SA's war in Angola, which in turn rested on a commitment by the Cubans and Soviets to go home. We tend to forget how impossible all this seemed in the mid-Eighties — and that it was F W de Klerk's good fortune to take over when much of it had been achieved.

In March 1987, SA reconnaissance teams in Angola reported an unusual and substantial build up by Angolan (Fapla) and Cuban troops, moving from the centre of the country towards the south-east. Intelligence experts decided that the aim was to capture Mavinga, a stronghold of Unita, SA's guerrilla ally in Angola. Bridgland sums up the strategic importance of Mavinga:

"Nearby was an important airstrip used by heavy transport planes bringing weapons and supplies to Unita from Zaire, SA and other African points of origin. The airstrip and the surrounding Unita bases stood on top of a plateau just south of the Lomba River: if Unita were to lose Mavinga, the way would again be open, as had been the case in 1985, for Fapla and the Cubans to prepare a major drive towards Jamba, Unita's 'capital' 250 km south-east of Mavinga. With the collapse of Unita, there would follow the collapse of Pretoria's military and diplomatic game-plan for southern Africa."

The strategic implications were obvious. The last thing Pretoria wanted was an Angolan army, bolstered by Cubans and Soviet advisers, sitting unhampered on the Namibian border. The war in Namibia and Angola had always been unpopular among SA's whites, not least because it was conducted almost entirely in secret: the Cabinet could not afford an escalation.

There was only one course to take: an early intervention to stop the Fapla advance and strengthen Unita's position. It is with these military operations by the SADF, between August 1987 and July 1988, that Bridgland's book is mainly concerned. This was the "war for Africa" of the title.

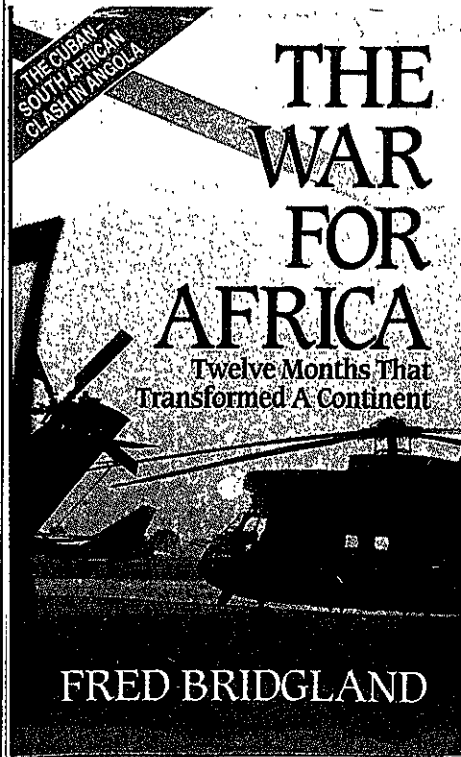
Above all, it is a gripping story. Much of the narrative is based on first-person ac-

counts by the men who were there.

The political dimension, ironically, is a major theme in this military struggle. This is because the tactics of the field commanders were constantly altered or vetoed by the generals and politicians.

There were two main reasons for this, the one familiar to all armies and the other peculiarly South African.

Firstly, shifting diplomatic relationships



were never far from the minds of Pretoria's strategists: a classic case of the dictum that the prosecution of war is a part of policy, not independent of it. This was no comfort to SADF commanders, who several times held the tactical initiative but were prevented from consolidating.

Secondly, because the war was kept secret, the SADF was under enormous pressure to take no casualties and to lose no equipment. This was an almost impossible aim, ridiculous even, but the SADF's field commanders strove to achieve it. Indeed, the total SA casualties were remarkably low when set against the scale of operations (often at brigade level, bigger than any SA involvement since World War 2). But it must be borne in mind that the SA infantry was mechanised and the casualties taken by the relatively unprotected Unita guerrillas were far higher (but, in SA, politically safe).

There were early successes against the numerically superior Fapla forces. The destruction of Fapla's 47 Brigade by the SADF's 61 Mechanised Battalion at the Lomba River must be singled out. Bridgland shows that it was one of the great victories by

5 ~~1987~~ FM 19/4/91

SA soldiers, achieved against the odds.

But the SADF also suffered vital setbacks, partly because it was not allowed to commit more forces, partly because of higher interference — and partly because of clear operational errors: this is no SADF whitewash.

The SADF's trump card was its artillery: the G5 (and G6, when it was used) was awesome in its combination of range, accuracy and firepower, and the gunners relied on brilliant forward observation. The SA signalling and intelligence-gathering in the field was far superior, and so was its capacity for manoeuvre under pressure.

The Angolans' more advanced MiG fighters gave them daylight air superiority. They had far more tanks, which often neutralised the SADF's artillery dominance.

Logistics was a problem for both sides but there were some serious SA logistical failures, which in turn affected morale. Malaria took a heavy toll; the hot, humid, desolate countryside invariably seemed hostile.

In mid-1988 a kind of stalemate was achieved, allowing all sides to go into negotiations in a position of some strength. This would have been highly unlikely if the SADF had not intervened to protect Mavinga.

The writing is clear and vigorous. It is supported by simple, clear maps. But — and this is a suggestion aimed at all publishers of military books — one longs for a pull-out map folder which could accompany campaign narratives, to obviate continual reference back to the relevant map.

Photographs, many of them in colour, are plentiful and an excellent aid in getting the feel of the war. But they appear to have been assembled without any attempt to match the narrative, which is a pity.

This cannot be a definitive history. It relies too heavily on the perspective of the middle managers — colonels, majors and sergeants — excluding both the generals and the privates. But this is why it is so fascinating. These men were at the sharp end but they were also senior enough to see the broader tactical picture.

Many of them, in another time and fighting for a less complicated country, would have been heroes.

David Williams

BUYING BOOKS

If you have difficulty obtaining a title from a bookshop, we suggest you contact the publisher's representative. The telephone number for the book reviewed this week: (011) 803-2506.

This week's reviewer, David Williams, is an *FM* Assistant Editor. He is working on a book about SA's part in the Western Desert battles of 1941 and 1942, to be published by Ashanti next year.

MILITARY aircraft from South Africa are flying covert missions over Botswana at night in what appears to be a huge airlift of supplies to Unita soldiers engaged in a fierce battle with Angolan government forces.

The Weekly Mail has detailed information from sources in Botswana — including maps which outline the aircrafts' flight paths — that corroborate Angolan government claims that South Africa has violated Botswana's airspace to fly war material into Angola.

A senior Angolan officer this week announced that South African Hercules C130 transport planes were dropping supplies at least twice daily into Angola to bolster Unita forces presently engaged in a major offensive against the strategic town of Luena in Angola's Moxico province.

The South African Defence Force has strenuously denied the claim and the Department of Foreign Affairs has sent a protest note to the government in Angola.

Midnight flights from SA

col wced 19/4 - 25/4/91

But a team of conservationists working in a remote part of Botswana told *The Weekly Mail* that, over a 10-day period last month, they monitored regular flights of Hercules C130s and Dakotas flying from South Africa along two separate routes across the Kalahari Desert towards Unita's headquarters at Jamba.

And the SADF's director of public relations confirmed, in reply to queries from *The Weekly Mail*, that the Botswana government has recently been in contact with Pretoria over "possible" violations of its airspace. "I personally monitored Dakotas flying every night over our camps in Botswana in the direction of Jamba between March 8 and March 17," said a member of the conservation team.

"There were three flights a night over this period except for Sundays when there was only one flight. The aircraft flew at high altitudes — one at 8pm,

Mystery aeroplanes without lights that routinely violate Botswana air space suggest massive support from South Africa for Unita's forces.

BY EDDIE KOCH

one at midnight and another at about three in the morning — and they always had all their navigation lights switched off."

According to the team, which includes experienced cartographers, one air route runs from the north-west Cape across the eastern Kalahari and the town of Maun towards Jamba. Maun residents confirmed such flights have occurred on a nightly basis.

The other flight path identified by the conservation officers comes from the Western Transvaal, crosses the Botswana border east of Gaborone and

heads across the western Kalahari in the direction of Jamba (see map).

It is strictly forbidden under international aviation rules for aircraft to fly at night without any aviation lights.

The SADF director of public relations said: "There is no supply of military equipment by South Africa to Unita. The Angolan government has been assured of this at the highest level."

But he added that South Africa has a "small liaison contingent" at Jamba to promote communication between South Africa and Unita and to "promote the peace process."

"To facilitate this peace process even further, communication flights, using private companies, are undertaken from time to time at the request of Dr (Jonas) Savimbi (head of Unita)."

He added that consignments of medicine handled by the International Red Cross are delivered from South Africa

carry war aid to

col wced 19/4 - 25/4/91

to Unita. The SADF has a long history of using private trucking and air freight companies to send covert supplies to Unita.

Arthur Gavshon reports from London that the Luanda government in February this year suspended a United Nations drought relief operation in southern Angola. It accused the South African government of using international and South African Red Cross activities in the project as a cover for sending war supplies to Unita.

The relief operation was resumed after an American diplomat visited President Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda and provided guarantees that the programme would not be used to infiltrate weaponry into Unita strongholds.

And *The Weekly Mail* estimates that the amount of material transported in planes monitored by its sources alone amounted to 90 tons over a 10-day period — far in excess of the "humanitarian aid" that the SADF acknowledges is going to Unita.

19/4 - 25/4/91

A Dakota can carry three tons of payload and the conservationists witnessed some 30 flights during the time they were in the aircrafts' flight path.

General Bob Rogers, the Democratic Party's spokesman on defence, has been supplied with these details by *The Weekly Mail* and will seek a written explanation from Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

Rogers, who is a former head of the South African Airforce Force, rejected claims by military observers that it is logistically impossible for the SADF's Hercules C130s to fly as far as the town of Luena.

The town straddles the strategic Benguela railway line and it appears that Unita is mounting an offensive against it in a bid to shore up its bargaining power during impending peace negotiations between the rebel movement



Top US, Soviet officials join Angolan peace talks

610am 22/4/91
LISBON — A top US official arrived on Saturday to give a boost to peace talks between Angola's leftist government and US-backed Unita rebels.

US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen joined his Soviet counterpart Vladimir Kasimirov to participate in the negotiations at Estoril, 25km west of Lisbon.

Before leaving Abidjan in the Ivory Coast, for Lisbon, Cohen said he was more hopeful than he had been in years that an agreement to end the 16-year civil war would be signed "within the next few weeks".

Kasimirov said on his arrival on Friday, "it seems we are getting close to an important and very happy moment for the Angolan people".

Cohen and Kasimirov were expected to join bilateral talks and plenary sessions at the weekend.

Unita chief negotiator Jeremias Chitunda returned to Estoril on Saturday after consultations with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

A Portuguese government spokesman declined to say whether Chitunda had delivered Unita's answer to a reported proposal for multiparty elections to be held between September 1 and November 30 1992.

Portuguese media reports indicated the mediation team led by Portugal and including US and Soviet officials proposed a compromise.

The reports said the Angolan government accepted the offer. — Sapa-AP.

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Talks focus on Mozambique

Political Staff Star 2/14/91

LONDON — Encouraging peace efforts in Mozambique and Angola dominated talks yesterday between South Africa's deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels and his British counterpart, Douglas Hurd.

Mr Wessels was accompanied by the department's director-general, Neil van Heerden.

The emphasis of the 40-minute meeting, sources said, was on preserving and nurturing the peace processes in Angola and Mozambique.

Britain is anxious South Africa should continue to actively support the initiatives.

Both parties agreed the achievement of a settlement in the two former Portuguese colonies would be in the interests of the region as a whole.

11/14/91

Economics as important as 'constitutional affairs'

HARARE — Economics, industry and trade ought to be given as high a priority in SA as constitutional negotiations, British MP David Owen told the Institute of Directors conference yesterday.

Owen told about 300 delegates that constitutional change and economics were "inextricably linked". He also warned that Eastern European demands would divert resources currently devoted to Africa.

He suggested that Angola would play an important role in the region in future. Links had been established

between SA and Angola and he suggested that the two countries might establish closer links after Angola's MPLA government and Unita rebels reached a settlement.

There was a good chance that Angolans would reach an "internal understanding" within a year, he said. If this was achieved, Angola would contribute to the region commodities which the region most lacked, particularly oil.

Owen predicted that when Angola did institute a market economy, the changeover would take

place rapidly. He would expect both the US and SA to invest in Angola.

He said there were years which were not groundless, that Europe would turn in on itself. However, it was more likely that a European internal market would be beneficial to the developing world. Europe would be more open to Southern African exports and would have a more cohesive attitude to development aid.

But Europe faced massive new demands on its own doorstep.

"We are now much more conscious that Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia have got to succeed."

"There are many of us who believe it is absolutely imperative that Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia must be taken into the community."

He said British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd had said last summer that resources allocated to Eastern Europe should become additional demands on the community and there should be no reduc-

tion in its commitment to Africa.

But since then the increase in the demands has been remarkable.

"The more we look at Eastern Europe, the worse it is."

On prospects for regional co-operation in southern Africa, Owen said the EC began as a modest co-operation between French and German coal and steel industries.

Similarly, he suggested, regional co-operation in southern Africa might begin with an attempt to form a regional electricity and transport grid. This should be a joint government-private sector undertaking.

Another lesson southern Africa could learn from the EC's development was the community's failure to prioritise the development of internal markets.

Internal markets did not require major political agreement or a great deal of integration. Neither did they require the discipline for breaking down protectionism and institutional barriers to trade.

MPLA gathers to bury communism

LUANDA — Angola's ruling party opened an extraordinary congress on Wednesday to formally renounce Marxist-Leninist doctrine and steer the country to multiparty rule.

The 540 delegates, meeting in the gleaming white, two-storey Palace of Congresses in Luanda, were also expected to change the MPLA Workers' Party to a left-of-centre organisation in preparation for multiparty elections next year.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos opened the four-day congress after ceremonial messages of congratulations from mass groups, like the Organisation of Angolan Women, that have yet to sever links with the MPLA and become non-partisan national lobbies.

The meeting of the MPLA, founded in 1958 to fight Portuguese colonial rule, takes place against a background of fighting in many areas of the country.

No results have emerged so far from the current round of peace talks in Portugal between the MPLA and the US-backed rebels Unita. Negotiators are hoping for a ceasefire in April to end 16 years of civil war.

Addressing the congress, President dos Santos said yesterday he had accepted a proposal by Portugal for a ceasefire in the civil war next month, followed by multiparty elections next year.

Dos Santos said his government had accepted "this reasonable proposal".

Diplomats say the timing of elections is the main sticking point in the Portuguese-sponsored talks to end the war.

All sides have expressed hopes of reaching agreement on a peace settlement before the end of April and implementing a ceasefire 30 days later.

The top Africa experts of the Soviet Union, which backs Angola's leftist government, and the US, which supports Unita, joined this seventh round of negotiations at the weekend to press for a breakthrough.

The party congress is expected to ratify new party statutes and a programme for a future multiparty democracy, announced last year, while retaining the emotive party initials MPLA.

But the "Workers' Party" tag, added when the MPLA became a Soviet-oriented socialist movement, may be dropped.

Political analysts expect the hottest debates to be over allegations of corruption in high places and proposals to expand the central committee to 120 members from the current 90.

The publicity mounted for the congress is far from the dry, dogmatic slogans of the past. "New times in Angola" is the rallying cry of party political messages designed with the help of Brazilian public relations experts. — Sapa-Reuter.

AFRICA

Unita replies to MPLA 'attack'

PARIS — The Angolan rebel movement Unita said it had ordered its forces to drive government troops out of positions near Luena, but denied a general offensive.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, in a statement issued in Paris yesterday, said the left-wing government's efforts to retake areas near the town threatened negotiations to end the 16-year-old civil war in Angola.

"Unita's military command ordered its units to drive back MPLA units that had been introduced into liberated territory."

Luena has been under heavy attack by Unita forces for four weeks.

Savimbi said Unita had achieved its tactical objectives by paralysing the town's airport and preventing the possibility of MPLA reinforcements arriving.

"Unita's armed forces will maintain this position until the signing of a total ceasefire between the two parties," he said. Unita was, however, prepared to discuss the evacuation of "foreign elements" — Bulgarians and Vietnamese — in Luena with the Red Cross.

Diplomats close to the seventh round of Portuguese-mediated peace efforts say talks in Portugal to end the war between the government in Luanda and Unita are likely to carry on into May. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angolan govt adopts social democracy

LUANDA — Angola's ruling MPLA party has ditched Marxism-Leninism in favour of social democracy with the aim of preserving its 16-year grip on power in the nation's first multiparty general elections.

But some groups and observers questioned whether the party, in a five-day special congress that ended on Sunday, went far enough to satisfy a population of 10-million people weary of 16 years of civil war.

Members of the Angolan Civic Association (Aca) said delegates had been too cautious and failed to push through more radical changes that would have moved the party closer to the centre of the political spectrum.

An action programme, approved by nearly 500 delegates at the historic congress, described the MPLA as a "democratic, progressive, independent, national and broad-based party united by patriotism and its belief in work, peace, liberty, solidarity and social justice".

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told the closing session the party was committed to peace and government was "making all efforts to reach an understanding" with Unita.

MPLA delegates at the Luanda conference committed the party to broadening its membership to members of the religious and business communities and to forming alliances with other emerging political forces.

They decided the party must ditch its bureaucratic style for more efficient administrative methods, with day-to-day management in the care of a secretary-general whose duties have yet to be defined by an enlarged central committee.

In a show of national reconciliation the 130-member central committee now includes two former leaders of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), Johnny Pincock Eduardo and Paulo Tuba, who were once strongly antagonistic to the MPLA.

But another emerging political leader, Prof Antonio Alberto Neto, summed up the MPLA congress with the old tag, the more things change, the more they remain the same.

He said people looking for change would not necessarily vote for Unita and that his Democratic Party would seek registration as a new political group. — Reuter.



Jonas Savimbi



Eduardo dos Santos



Douglas Hurd



James Baker

End of Angolan war now in sight

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32/4/91

LONDON — The end is in sight to the 15-year civil war in Angola, which has cost hundreds of thousands of lives and has devastated a country rich in oil, diamonds and coffee.

Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita rebel movement, said in London yesterday that agreements leading to an internationally monitored ceasefire and multi-party elections were due to be initialled in Lisbon today.

A formal signing ceremony will take place at the end of May, probably in Lisbon, where officials from Unita and the Angolan government are meeting.

Western diplomats last night confirmed that an end was in sight to a conflict fuelled by superpower rivalries.

But the diplomats stressed that implementation of the agreements, which include the integration of rival armies during an 18-month transition period before elections, would be fraught with difficulties.

The agreements would deal with the whole process leading to the ceasefire, elections, stability, and internal security, said Dr Savimbi, adding that he expected to arrive in Luanda in early July. Up to now he has been based in Jamba, the rebel headquarters.

The apparent breakthrough follows protracted talks co-ordinated by Portugal, the former colonial power, and attended by officials from the US, the main supporter of Unita, and the Soviet Union, once a staunch ally of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola's ruling MPLA party.

The Unita leader, speaking in London on the eve of a meeting with Douglas Hurd, Britain's Foreign Secretary, said he expected Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN Secretary-General, James Baker, US Secretary of State, and Alexander Bessmertnykh, Soviet Foreign Minister, would attend the formal signing. — Financial Times News Service.

Angolan government and rebels reach peace accord

Star 21/79

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ESTORIL — Angola's leftist government and US-backed Unita rebels have reached a peace accord to end 16 years of fighting within two weeks.

The agreement to end one of Africa's longest-running wars was initialled yesterday by officials of both sides after year-long negotiations mediated by former colonial power Portugal.

The accord entails a de facto suspension of fighting by May 15 and a formal ceasefire signing in Portugal at the end of the month. It provides for Angola's first multiparty elections in 1992.

"There were no winners or losers in the talks, just as there were no winners or losers in fighting. The only winners were the Angolan people," said the chief mediator, Portuguese Foreign Affairs Secretary of State Jose Durao Barroso.

Angola's MPLA government and Unita (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) would communicate their formal acceptance of the peace agreement by May 15, Mr Durao Barroso told reporters. Unita chief Jonas Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos would probably sign it.

Portuguese mediators and US and Soviet observers had recommended the elections should take place in September 1992 before the rainy season starts, he said.

The initialling ceremony ended 27 days of talks at a hotel school in this seaside resort. It was the seventh round of nego-

tiations in 12 months.

Pressure from Moscow and Washington, which support the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and Unita respectively, helped bring the foes to the negotiating table after the failure of African peace initiatives led by Zaire.

The Angolan officials who initialled the accord hailed Portugal's efforts to resolve the war, which has killed hundreds of thousands since erupting after independence in 1975.

"This is a day of victory for Angola," Lopo de Nascimento, the chief negotiator for the MPLA, said.

"We are going to do our utmost so that a new Angola can be born," Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda said.

Mr Durao Barroso said that the agreement provides for mechanisms to monitor a ceasefire, create a joint army and oversee a transition to democracy.

The International Committee of the Red Cross will handle the exchange of war prisoners, and a national army of 40 000 men will be split evenly between Unita and the MPLA.

The United Nations would send a team to Angola to help to monitor the accords, Mr Durao Barroso said.

A verbal ceasefire agreed by Mr dos Santos and Dr Savimbi in Zaire in June 1989 collapsed. The thawing of the Cold War and a desire by Washington and Moscow to end military support to their Angolan proxies helped to revive the peace process. — Reuter.

Rulers ease 16-year grip on Angola ③

Sowetan 2/5/91
LUANDA - Angola's ruling MPLA party has ditched Marxism-Leninism in favour of social democracy with the aim of preserving its 16-year grip on power in the nation's first multi-party general elections.

Some groups and observers questioned whether the party, in a five-day special congress that ended this week, went far enough to satisfy a population of 10 million weary of 16 years of civil war.

Members of the Angolan Civic Association (ACA) said delegates had been too cautious and failed to push through more radical changes that would have moved the party closer to the centre of the political spectrum.

An action programme approved by nearly 500 delegates at the congress described the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) as a "democratic, progressive, independent, national and broad-based party united by patriotism and its belief in work, peace, liberty, solidarity and social justice".

Ceasefire

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos told the closing session the party was committed to peace and the government was "making all efforts to reach an understanding" with the rebel Unita movement.

The MPLA and Unita, the US-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, are currently holding peace talks in Lisbon to reach agreement on a ceasefire and general elections.

Under Portuguese-mediated proposals, the MPLA has agreed to the country's first multi-party elections in October or

November next year, but Unita is demanding they be held by September 1992 before the rainy season.

MPLA delegates at the Luanda conference committed the party to broadening its membership to members of the religious and business communities and to forming alliances with other emerging political forces.

They decided the party must ditch its bureaucratic style for more efficient administrative methods, with day-to-day management in the care of a secretary-general whose duties have yet to be defined by an enlarged Central Committee.

Surprised

The 130-member Central Committee now includes two former leaders of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA): Johnny Pinnock Eduardo and Paulo Tuba, once strongly antagonistic to the MPLA, in a show of national reconciliation.

"Don't be surprised if the MPLA has to hold another extraordinary congress within the next few months to approve even more radical changes," said another former FNLA leader and MPLA member Hendrick Neto.

But another emerging political leader, Professor Antonio Alberto Neto, summed up the MPLA congress with the old tag: the more things change, the more they remain the same.

His Angolan Democratic Party will seek registration as a new political group.

He told Reuters the MPLA's failure to take steps to put on trial corrupt leaders, free political prisoners and consult other political forces on resolving pressing State problems showed the ruling party still hoped to

cling to the old ways.

Some political analysts suggested the MPLA's commitment to new alliances and a possible coalition indicated it feared that it could lose the forthcoming general election.

The MPLA has been in power since independence in 1975.

"The MPLA leaders realise the Angolan people will not be convinced by good intentions, however those good intentions are wrapped up in a policy package," one diplomat said.

"The people are fed up with sacrifices and may vote for change." - *Sapa-Reuter.*

AFRICA

Angolan ceasefire 'within a month'

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LUANDA — Crowds at a May Day rally greeted the news that the first document in an Angolan ceasefire accord would be signed in Portugal last night, with a mixture of delight and wariness.

President Eduardo dos Santos broke with recent tradition in Luanda by not making a speech on the eve of May Day. Instead, he broke the news of the agreement between his government and Unita at a union-organised rally yesterday.

Calling it a "political understanding", he said: "This does not mean the war will end immediately, but following steps will be taken so that we may yet achieve a cessation of hostilities from this month."

In June 1989, Dos Santos and Savimbi signed a ceasefire in the Zairean city of Gbadolite, but fighting resumed within days.

Yesterday, Dos Santos counselled patience, tolerance and understanding while a permanent ceasefire and lasting peace were consolidated. He told workers chanting slogans for "bread, water and better living conditions" that a better standard of living could be attained only when peace was achieved.

"First let us concentrate all our efforts on conquering peace. Once we have peace, we will all have to roll up our sleeves and get to work, for he who does not work cannot have bread," the president said.

Meanwhile in Lisbon, government and rebel negotiators raced to complete final details of the agreement.

"Everything depends on the final technical finishing arrangements which are being made," one diplomat said. "The lawyers are going through the documents by cross the t's and dot the i's."

Savimbi said in an interview with the BBC on Monday that there were no longer any obstacles to signing a peace agreement and he planned to take up residence in Luanda in July.

Diplomats said a lot of technical work was still needed to finish drafting the 1500-page pact but Savimbi's speech had added a sense of urgency to the process. — Sapa-Reuters.

Unita, govt set to sign Angola pact

CME Times 2/1/91

LUANDA. — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said yesterday that the first stage of an agreement with Unita rebels would be signed in Portugal later in the day.

In a brief address to workers at a May Day parade in Luanda, Mr Dos Santos, whose country has been racked by 16 years of civil war, said: "I can announce today that we have reached a political understanding. This afternoon, the first document of a general political agreement will be initialled.

"This does not mean the war will end immediately, but steps will be taken so that we may yet achieve a cessation of hostilities from this month."

In Lisbon, Mr Jose Alberto de Sousa, a spokesman for the mediator, Portugal, said the chief negotiators of the ruling MPLA and Unita would initial the pact at Estoril on the outskirts of the capital.

The agreement will be formally signed by Mr Dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in Portugal on May 28 or 29. An internationally-supervised ceasefire will take effect shortly afterwards.

The pact provides for government and rebel forces to merge into a national army and for multi-party elections to choose a parliament and president in late 1992.

A previous ceasefire signed in June 1989 broke down after only a few days. — Sapa-Reuter

Course set for war in Angola to end in weeks

WASHINGTON — Barring last-minute slip-ups, the 16-year Angolan civil war will be over by the end of the month, paving the way for national elections late next year.

Under a detailed set of documents initialled by Unita and MPLA negotiators in Lisbon on Wednesday, the parties have until midnight on May 14 to inform the Portuguese mediator that they formally accept the terms.

President Eduardo dos Santos and Unita president Jonas Savimbi are then to meet in Lisbon to sign agreements calling for an immediate ceasefire, the cessation of all outside military support to either side, the legalisation of political parties, the formation of a national army and the holding of elections between September 1 and November 30 next year.

The US and the Soviet Union are pushing for a September date, as is Unita, in order to beat the rainy season which could hamper polling especially in areas where Unita expects to win its strongest support.

The ceasefire is to be monitored by the UN which is to establish a mission of "several hundred" observers in Angola by June 15, who will also guarantee the neutrality of the police.

In addition, there will be a Joint Verification and Monitoring Commission consisting of the MPLA and Unita, with the US, Soviet Union and Portugal acting as observers.

Under a separate agreement on "fundamental principles for the establishment of peace", opposition political parties, including Unita, will be legalised to prepare for elections, while Unita will recognise the legitimacy of the existing government.

Documents hammered out in Lisbon over the past month on the basis of detailed proposals drawn up by the US Defence Department set the terms for the formation of a national army.

According to Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen,

SIMON BARBER

each side will contribute 15 000 men, to be selected from volunteers, to the new 40 000-man army. Unita has agreed to allow the navy and air force to remain in MPLA hands. Remaining forces will be demobilised.

The political and military aspects of the peace will be overseen by a Joint Political and Military Commission, composed in the same manner as the JVMC.

The US will not officially recognise the Angolan government until after elections have been held, but will establish an office in Luanda to participate in the commissions.

Washington has also reserved the right to provide Unita with economic assistance.

Democracies

The Republican Party arm of the National Endowment for Democracy, the National Republican Institute, plans a visit to Angola soon to study ways of helping Unita make the transition from a military organisation to a political party.

The Agency for International Development is also said to be interested in providing assistance under its new "governance" programme which is designed to help emerging democracies to develop effective institutions.

Cohen called the imminent peace "a vindication of US policy which has always been that a military solution to the Angola is not possible".

He said the breakthrough had begun to take shape in April last year when Secretary of State James Baker met Dos Santos during the Namibian independence celebrations.

Assured that the US did not intend to topple his government, but only to promote negotiation, Dos Santos agreed to accept Portuguese mediation.

SA is Angola's big worry after treaty

Sowetan 3/5/91



Sowetan Africa News Service and Sapa-AP

WINDHOEK - The South African Government's "negative attitude" and the participation of SA elements with Unita rebel forces was cause to be cautious about the new peace agreement, said Angolan ambassador to Namibia, Alberto Bento Ribeiro Kabulu.

Representatives of the Angolan government and the Unita rebel movement initialled a peace accord in Portugal on Wednesday which provides for an official ceasefire by the end of May and multiparty elections later next year.

Bento Ribeiro said the "negative attitude" of the SA Government to the peace process contrasted sharply with the "positive contribution" of the United States.

He praised the work of US Assistant Secretary of State for Southern Africa, Herman Cohen, who had been "instrumental in bringing about the settlement".

There was "hard evidence" of a "considerable SA presence" in the fighting at Luena, capital of the eastern province of Moxico.

Unita launched an offensive against the city on April 1 and latest Angolan government reports are that 300 civilians have died in the ongoing bombardment.

Bento Ribeiro said his government saw "the hand of the SA Government" in the fight for Luena. SA was involved through former members of Koevoet and the South West Africa Territorial Forces.

There were also "white SA officers manning artillery units for Unita at Luena", he said.

The Angolan government's evidence was based on reports from several prisoners taken in the recent fighting and on the capture of vehicles and weapons.

"It is the responsibility of the SA Government to stop the violence not only in the townships but in the region. It is nonsense for them to speak of new policies while they do nothing to stop destabilisation."

Bento Ribeiro hoped SA's cooperation could be won through the forum of the Joint Monitoring Commission, due to meet again either later this month or early in June.

He said this Angolan peace package was more hopeful than a former and disastrously short-lived ceasefire agreed to in Gbadolite in 1989.

The new deal, reached with mediation by Portugal, the US and the Soviet Union, had both superpower and UN guarantees and agreements for supervision of the peace process by both the warring parties and the guarantors.

Citizens

Meanwhile, citizens in the capital Luanda have reacted cautiously to news of the peace agreement, according to sources there.

"They don't trust Unita to hold to the ceasefire," said one source referring to the Gbadolite disaster which tempers Angolan optimism.

Here is a chronology of major events in Angola's recent history leading to Wednesday's announcement of a peace accord between the leftist government and US-backed rebels:

January 4 1961 - Nationalist rebels attack Portuguese military and civil targets in Luanda, the opening shots in a 14-year colonial war.

April 25 1974 - A revolution in Portugal topples the 48-year rightist dictatorship there and starts the independence process for African colonies.

January 1 1975 - Liberation movements - the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Angola National Liberation Front (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) - sign accords setting November 11 1975 as the date for Angolan independence. At the beginning, a transitional government included members of all three movements.

September/October 1975 - Unita and the FNLA split with the MPLA and begin fighting it, supported by SA and Zaire. Cuban troops arrive in Luanda to aid the MPLA.

November 11 1975 - MPLA leader Agostinho Neto declares independence from Portugal.

February/March 1976 - MPLA-Cuban offensives force Unita and the FNLA from strongholds in central and northern Angola.

September 10 1979 - Neto dies in Moscow. Planning Minister Jose Eduardo dos Santos succeeds him as president.

August 1981 - In Operation Protea, an estimated 15 000 SA soldiers penetrate Angolan territory backed by tanks and warplanes. The MPLA and Cuban troops resist.

August 1985 - The US Congress repeals the Clark Amendment, ending a ban on US government aid to Unita.

December 1985 - The FNLA abandons armed struggle.

May 1988 - Cuban and MPLA troops claim victory over SA and Unita forces after a five-month battle for Cuito Cuanavale in southeast Angola.

December 1988 - Angola, Cuba and SA sign an agreement in

New York for phased Cuban withdrawal, an end of SA aid to Unita and Namibian independence.

January 1989 - Cuba begins withdrawing its 50 000 troops from Angola.

May 1989 - The Angolan government proposes a plan for peace with Unita to eight African leaders at a Luanda summit.

June 22 1989 - Dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi shake hands at Gbadolite, Zaire and mark a ceasefire for June 24.

July 1989 - The ceasefire breaks down amid mutual accusations of renewed attacks.

December 1989/May 1990 - government troops launch a major offensive against Unita positions around Mavinga in the southeast. After six months of heavy fighting, the offensive ends in stalemate.

April 24/26 1990 - Portugal acts as host at secret talks between government and Unita delegations.

September 1990 - US and Soviet observers join Portuguese mediation at the fourth round of peace talks.

December 1990 - An MPLA convention votes to adopt multiparty democracy in early 1991.

December 13 1990 - A meeting in Washington establishes peace principles.

February 8 1991 - A new round of talks in Lisbon breaks down without the expected signing of provisional accords.

March 11/17 1991 - A Unita convention votes to transform the guerilla movement into a political party.

March 26 1991 - Angola's parliament approves legislation allowing opposition political parties.

May 1 1991 - Mediators announce agreement at Estoril peace conference to fix a truce and set free elections.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Mathaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fyri

All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Peace looms in Angola - with a huge bill for SA

W/mailed 3/5-9/5/91

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SOUTH Africa may be confronted with demands for war reparations and substantial investment in Angola following the clinching of a peace deal which promises an end to the country's 16-year bush war.

Agreement to end one of Africa's longest-running conflicts was initialled in Lisbon on Wednesday night by high-ranking officials of the MPLA government and the rebel organisation Unita, after year-long negotiations mediated by former colonial power Portugal.

The accord entails a de facto suspension of fighting by May 15 and a formal ceasefire signing in Portugal at the end of the month. It provides for Angola's first multi-party elections between September and November 1992.

Observers say that if the peace agreement holds, rebuilding the Angolan economy — potentially rich in oil, diamonds and agriculture — may cost billions of dollars. They say Angola is likely to seek reparations for war damage and, at the very least, substantial investment from the US and South Africa, which financed the Unita rebellion.

The thousand-page accord provides mechanisms to monitor the ceasefire, create a joint army and oversee the transition to democracy. The International Committee of the

A 1 000-page accord signed this week promises to end the Angolan war — and South Africa could face a hefty bill for reparations.

By ANITA COULSON



Vigilance call ... Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos

Red Cross will handle the exchange of prisoners of war and a 600-member United Nations team will help monitor the accord.

Arthur Gavshon reports from London, where Unita leader Jonas Savimbi is on a visit, that all foreign powers have agreed to stop supplying arms to the warring factions after the ceasefire is signed. The Angolan government accuses South Africa of continuing to supply the rebels and encouraging them to push for terri-

torial advantage.

During the transition to elections, the MPLA will continue to run the country under the watch of a joint MPLA-Unita commission.

Initial reaction on the streets of Luanda was cautious. Recalling the short-lived ceasefire two years ago between Savimbi and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos at the Gbadolite summit, many people said they would wait and see.

Announcing the accord at a May Day rally in Luanda, Dos Santos warned that it did not mean an immediate end to the fighting, which has killed hundreds of thousands since 1975. He counselled vigilance to ensure "Unita does not take advantage of any distraction on our part to seek to win by force what it has not been able to win up until now".

Fierce fighting has continued over a large part of Angola throughout the peace talks, with the eastern town of Luena under attack since April 1. Pressure from Moscow and Washington, sparked by the Cold War thaw and the superpowers' desire to cut military spending, helped bring their proxies to the negotiating table after the failure of African peace initiatives led by Zaire.

Diplomatic sources say Savimbi was finally swayed into agreeing to the accord by the personal intervention of US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen.

Angolan peace accord welcomed

LISBON. — The provisional peace agreement between the Angolan government and US-backed Unita guerillas was yesterday hailed as a major breakthrough by politicians. But in the Angolan capital Luanda, reaction was subdued.

"I have to congratulate the Angolan people because now they have a view of peace and development before them," said President Mario Soares of Portugal.

Officials from the Angolan government and Unita initialled an agreement on Wednesday, calling for a May 15 ceasefire in the 16-year civil war that has left

300 000 dead and devastated Angola's economy.

The ceasefire will be internationally monitored from the end of the month, and the country's first first multi-party elections will be held late in 1992.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, described the agreement as a "positive development for the whole region of Southern Africa".

"This is a day of victory for Angola," said Mr Lopo do Nascimento, the Angolan minister who joined Unita vice-president Mr Jeremias Chitunda in signing the

accords. "A victory for the mothers who lost sons, the wives turned widows, the separated families, the men, woman and children maimed."

At Wednesday's ceremony Angolan diplomats and Unita officials embraced and wept together.

"Seeing is believing," said Luanda taxi driver Mr Sebastiao Mota. He recalled celebrations that followed the June 1989 handshake between the two leaders in Gdadolite, Zaire.

That hastily arranged arranged truce collapsed within days amid renewed fighting. — Sapa-Reuter

Have the guns really fallen silent in Angola?

KEN VERNON of the Argus Africa News Service reports from Johannesburg

THE ceasefire signed yesterday between Angola's MPLA government and the Unita rebels ostensibly brings to an end almost 16 years of fratricidal war that came to involve soldiers from half a dozen African, European and Caribbean countries.

PEACE

However Angolan experts are treating the accord with circumspection because this is not the first time that a ceasefire has been signed in the civil war.

The guns fell silent almost two years ago in June 1989, after an historic handshake between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and President Edvardo dos Santos at Gbadolite in Zaïre.

Differences

But long-standing and unresolved political differences and personal animosities destroyed that ceasefire within weeks, and it remains to be seen whether the same will happen to the present pact.

The Angolan civil war has split the country along ethnic and political lines and ruined what is potentially one of the richest economies in Africa. From being a struggle against colonialism it became a crucial contest to deter-

mine whether the ideology and influence of Moscow and Havana would spread or be curtailed in Africa and embroiled South Africa in its biggest military involvement since the Second World War.

The final death toll, the numbers of crippled bodies and deranged minds, the sheer cost in material terms of 16 years lost to a country trying to drag itself out of the morass of 500 years of colonialism, will never be fully known.

The roots of the Angolan civil war began in the struggle for liberation from Portuguese colonialists who had been in Angola for five centuries.

Activists

In 1956 the country's first nationalist grouping, the Peoples Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), was formed and in 1961 a group of MPLA activists fired the first shots in the liberation war when they attacked a prison in northern Angola.

Unlike most African countries, the Angolan liberation movement soon fragmented along political and ideological lines.

The MPLA leaned toward communism and was sponsored by Russia. The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), formed in 1962, leaned toward the West, while in 1966 the charismatic Jonas Savimbi, after leaving the MPLA and flirting with

the FNLA, formed the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), with Chinese backing.

Behind the formation of Unita was the fact that Savimbi's tribe, the Ovimbundu, had been largely ignored by the MPLA and FNLA in spite of being the majority grouping.

When, in 1974, Portugal decided to pull out of Angola after its own revolution, it found it was impossible to identify a unified government to which to hand over power.

Elections

The 1975 Alvor agreement between Portugal and the three liberation movements setting up free elections quickly collapsed, partly through the actions of communists in the Portuguese military in favouring the leftist MPLA, and civil war erupted.

Late the same year shiploads of Cuban troops arrived in the country at more or less the same time as South Africa (with American connivance) intervened militarily in favour of the FNLA and later, the FNLA/Unita alliance.

The MPLA threw Unita and FNLA factions out of its stronghold of Luanda, and with Cuban support, defeated a strong Zairean-led FNLA column driving towards the capital from the north.

Supporters of Unita and the FNLA were ruthlessly hunted down and killed, creating hatreds that still burn strongly

in many Angolan hearts.

When America's will folded, forcing South Africa to withdraw in 1976, the MPLA were left in seemingly absolute control of Angola.

The dejected Unita forces withdrew to their tribal stronghold in the south-east and FNLA leader Holden Roberto sought refuge with his brother-in-law, Zairean leader Mobutu Sese Soko.

Recognised

In 1977 the MPLA repaid the Soviets and Cubans for their support by declaring itself a Marxist vanguard party and Angola a Marxist one-party state — recognised by most of the world with the major exception of the United States, which began covertly to support Unita.

While the FNLA faded away, Unita gradually reasserted itself and by the early 1980s had — with mainly, but not only, South African support — managed to extend its guerrilla operations against the MPLA to the whole of Angola.

Beginning in 1985, large scale South African intervention helped Unita defeat several massive Soviet-directed government offensives against Unita bases in the south-east.

In 1988 this military impasse was broken when a strong Cuban force occupied territory on the southern Angolan border, threatening to invade SWA-Namibia and hit



The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Lopo Nascimento, left, shakes hands with the Vice-President of Unita, Mr Jeremias Chitunda, in Estoril, Portugal, after exchanging initialled peace accords recording the ending of 16 years of fighting between Angola's leftist government and the Unita rebels. Centre is the chief Portuguese mediator, Mr Jose Barroso.

South Africa's logistical bases there just as a South African task force was threatening the major Angolan provincial capital of Cuito Cuanavale.

It was this impasse, coinciding with fundamental ideological changes in the Soviet Union, that led to a joint US/USSR initiative — the first of many — that led to a process of negotiation aimed

at ending South African, Cuban and super-power involvement in the civil war.

In December 1987 United States President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev opened the way at their summit meeting in Washington to super-power cooperation on the Angolan and Namibian questions.

The US Assistant Secretary

of State for African affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, then began intensive shuttle diplomacy that led to protracted negotiations culminating in an agreement between the USSR, US, South Africa, Cuba and Angola on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Angola, a South African withdrawal from Namibia and independence for that country.

Despite the withdrawal of the foreign forces from the Angolan conflict the MPLA made one last try at reaching a battlefield solution to the civil war.

But difficult stages still lie ahead. The MPLA and Unita must still get through an election, set up a stable government and combine their armed forces

Angolan accords hailed as a 'victory for victims'

POLITICIANS hailed a provisional peace agreement between the Angolan government and US-backed Unita guerrillas as a major breakthrough this week. But in the Angolan capital Luanda reaction to the accords was subdued.

"I have to congratulate the Angolan people because now they have a view of peace and development before them," said President Mario Soares of Portugal, the former colonial power in Angola.

Officials from the Angolan government and Unita this week initialled documents that call for a May 15 halt to fighting in the 16-year civil war that has left 300 000 dead and devastated the economy of Angola.

Under the accords, an internationally monitored ceasefire will come into full effect at the end of the month. Angola's first multi-party elections will be held in the autumn of 1992.

Diplomatic sources said the agreement, which has taken 12 months to hammer out, would be formally signed by Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, leader of the US-backed Unita rebel movement, at a ceremony on May 28 or 29.

In Washington, the State Department greeted the agreement as an "historic development which offers the possibility of peace for a country which has known only war for more than 30 years".

The US and Soviet Union joined the Portuguese-led mediation of the Angolan conflict last year, putting behind them years of superpower rivalry during which arms poured into Angola.

Wednesday's accords follow a year of occasional conversations in Portugal leading

to a month of intense negotiations that started on April 4 in the resort of Estoril outside Lisbon.

"This is a day of victory for Angola," said Lopo do Nascimento, the Angolan minister who joined Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda in initialling the accords. "A victory for the mothers who lost sons, the wives turned widows, the separated families, the men, woman and children maimed."

At Wednesday's ceremony Angolan diplomats and Unita officials embraced and wept together.

In Luanda, the reaction was more reserved.

Many people said they feared fighting could escalate during the month-long gap between Wednesday's provisional agreement and the scheduled meeting between rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos for formal signature of the accords.

"Seeing is believing," said Luanda taxi driver Sebastiao Mota. He recalled celebrations that followed the June 1989 handshake between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and Dos Santos in Gdadolite, Zaire.

That hastily arranged truce collapsed within days amid renewed fighting.

Dos Santos himself was cautious this week when he announced the imminent accord with Unita at a May Day parade in Luanda.

"It doesn't mean the war is going to end immediately," said Dos Santos in an appeal to his countrymen for vigilance and responsibility to ensure the success of the accords.

Unlike the Gdadolite agreement, the accords initialled Wednesday have a built-in mechanism of international guarantees.

An unspecified number of United Nations troops will monitor the ceasefire.

A commission comprising US, Soviet, Portuguese officials and representatives from the two Angolan factions will oversee the transition to free elections and the fusion of government and rebel forces into a united national army.

US assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Herman Cohen, told a Washington news conference the Soviet Union and the US were bound by the accords to suspend deliveries of military aid to their allies in Angola.

In a further step, the last Cuban troops are scheduled to leave Angola by June 30. Cuba sent about 50 000 soldiers to back the Angolan government, and South African forces fought alongside Unita.

South Africa agreed to halt its aid in a 1988 peace accord with Angola and Cuba under which Havana began a phased withdrawal of its troops.

A spokesman for the South African Foreign Affairs department called Wednesday's agreement "a greatly encouraging first step" towards reconciliation both inside Angola and between the country and the outside world.

Other African nations also welcomed the agreement.

"This historic event will permit the Angolan people to live in peace in a rich country," said Cape Verde president Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro. "It's a cause of joy for Africa and the whole world."

Cape Verde, one of five former Portuguese African colonies, played an important behind-the-scenes role in first contacts between the Angolan factions in the late 1980s. - Sapa-AP

FW seems ready to restore blacks' land

The Argus Correspondent

AGRICULTURE 3

JOHANNESBURG. — The government appears ready to restore land to some of the 3.5 million blacks forcibly removed under apartheid, reversing an earlier decision to reject all claims for restoration.

In an interview in today's Financial Times survey of South Africa, President De Klerk makes it clear that his government is willing to moderate its tough line on the land issue, which has been criticised by anti-apartheid groups and foreign governments.

His comments appear to be part of the government's attempt to create a climate conducive to constitutional negotiations at a time of rising political tension.

Mr De Klerk's policy shift follows the publication in March of a government White Paper which said it would not be feasible to restore land to the victims of forced removals.

In the interview, conducted three weeks ago but under embargo until today, Mr De Klerk emphasised that the "government is not ... unapproachable on the issue of restitution".

ARGUS 7/5/91

SA 'playing conciliatory role' in Angola

*CH 4-100
8/5/91*

PARLIAMENT.— South Africa was not involved in fighting in Angola but was trying to play a conciliatory role between the government and rebels there, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his vote, he said: "South Africa is not in any way involved in Angola."

The head of the SADF had also denied any South African involvement there.

The Cuban withdrawal from Angola was on schedule and was proceeding in an orderly manner.

Mr Botha assured Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) there was not one Cuban on the banks of the Orange River.

● SA actively supported the peace process in Mozambique and had been in Rome at talks between the Frelimo government and Renamo which resumed on Monday night, Mr Botha added.

Mr Botha said the weekend attack at Resano Garcia was regrettable and although SA was not involved, officials at nearby Komati-poort had opened the border to refugees fleeing the attack.

A meeting about the attack would be attended by SA representatives in Maputo on Friday. — Sapa

Foreign military must leave, says Savimbi

Chap 7/91 8/5/91 (3)

BONN — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said yesterday that foreign military advisers in Angola, including former East German agents, would have to leave the country under a peace accord to end 16 years of civil war.

Dr Savimbi, visiting European capitals after Unita and the Angolan government initialled a peace treaty on May 1, said the foreign advisers included up to 1 000 former East German agents. They helped set up a state security service for the MPLA government.

"We have agreed in this peace accord that when we sign it, all foreign advisers with a military or police ca-

capacity will have to leave Angola," he told a news conference.

But Dr Savimbi also asked for foreign help to retrain about 250 000 Angolan fighters from both sides who will soon be unemployed.

Under the accord, which is to take effect with a ceasefire on May 15 followed by multi-party elections next year, the two sides will merge fighting forces now totalling about 300 000 into a joint army of 50 000.

Dr Savimbi will visit Berlin today after two days in Bonn briefing leaders, including Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, on the peace accord. — Sapa-Reuter

5
**SA 'not involved
in Angolan war'**

South Africa was not involved in fighting in Angola but was trying to play a reconciliatory role between the MPLA and the rebels, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his vote, he said: "South Africa is not in any way involved in Angola."

South Africa actively supported the peace process in Mozambique, he added. — Sapa

AFRICA

Angolan peace accord on May 31

LISBON — US Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh would hold talks in Portugal on May 31, when they would witness the signing of an Angolan peace accord, diplomats said this week. *8/20/91*

"It will be a world discussion rather than a specifically Angolan one," said a diplomat involved in preparing the meeting.

It would be the second Baker-Bessmertnykh meeting in a month. Diplomatic sources in Egypt said the two would discuss the Middle East in Cairo on Sunday.

The venue and agenda of the meeting in Portugal had not been fixed, but it would be on the sidelines of the signing ceremony aimed at ending Angola's 16-year bush war, diplomats said.

It was the first confirmation of the date for signing the accord, which provides for an immediate ceasefire, integration of government and rebel forces into a new,

smaller national army, and multiparty elections between September and November 1992.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi are to sign it.

The Soviet Union, which armed government, and the US, which backs Unita, sent observers to the year-long negotiations in Portugal and were influential in securing the agreement.

UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar and Organisation of African Unity secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim have been invited to the ceremony.

Dos Santos convened an extraordinary session of parliament to ratify the pact with Unita and debate draft laws, including one ending state monopoly of the Press, official radio said late on Tuesday.

Although the ceasefire is to take effect officially on May 31, both sides have agreed to stop fighting from May 15. — Sapa-Reuter.



Dr. Jonas Savimbi

Jonas Savimbi poised

DONALD TREFLORD of the Observer reports from London

EXACTLY 25 years after he slipped, unobtrusively into the jungle with 11 guerrillas to lead a colonial war against the Portuguese, Jonas Savimbi is

poised to take Africa's second richest prize — the oil-and-diamonds state of Angola.

An agreement initiated last week in Lisbon and due to be signed by the end of this month in the presence of the US Secretary of State, James Baker, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Alexander Bess-

merturn, and the United Nations Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, will formally end the country's civil war and pave the way for internationally supervised elections, probably in September next year.

Savimbi's main opponents will be the ruling MPLA, whose corrupt and ailing Marxist regime, led by President dos Santos, he has fought to a standstill over the past 16 years.

He will move from his jungle headquarters at Jamba, where he controlled a region twice the size of England, into the capital, Luanda, when the last Cuban soldier leaves Angola in June.

The classic accoutrements of the jungle war leader — beret, and bandolier, sleeping on elephant grass, diet of antelope meat — seemed a

world away last week, 56-year-old Ph D (law) politics at Lausanne) was once rebuked by missionaries for his dancing, held court in a London hotel in a smart, tailored Mao tunic.

The suit is his only concession to Communism, though he is said to have to have bled his guerrilla from Mao Tse-tung and Guevara.

The son of a railwayer who was also a Protestant, he sternly rejects Marxism of the Soviet-bloc MPLA and accepted aid from the United States and Africa in what he presides a moral crusade as much a battle for power.

A tall, erect figure of ing personal authority promises a democratic situation with a bill of

7	1 COOL LOVER 2 Forever Silver 3 Kiss 'N Cuddle	1 COOL LOVER 2 Forever Silver 3 Kiss 'N Cuddle
8	1 DROP ANCHOR 7 Exclusive Model 8 File With File	1 DROP ANCHOR 7 Exclusive Model 3 Phantom Rock
		1 COOL LOVER 2 Forever Silver 3 Kiss 'N Cuddle
		1 DROP ANCHOR 7 Exclusive Model 3 Phantom Rock

Pick 6, Quinpot perms

PICK 6	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	Leg 6
R12	6	10,9,2	2,4	4	1,2	1,7
R14	6,3	10,9,2	2,4	4,6,3	1,2	1,7,2,5
QUINPOT	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	
R16	6,3	10,9	2,4	4,6	1,2	
DEREK WILSNAGH	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	Leg 6
R12	6	10,9,2	2,4	4	1,2	1,7
R14	6,3	10,9,2	2,4	4,6,3	1,2	1,7,2,5
QUINPOT	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	
R16	6,3	10,9	2,4	4,6	1,2	
GRAHAM POTTER	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	Leg 6
R12	6	10,9,2,3	4,2	4,3	1	1,7
R14	6	10,9,2,3	4,2,9	4,3,6	1	1,7
QUINPOT	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	
R16	6,3	10,9,2	4,2	4,3	1,3	
BARRY HOPWOOD	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	Leg 6
R12	6	10,7,9	2	4,3	1	1
R14	6,3,8	10,7,9,1	2,3,4	4,3	1,2,3	1
QUINPOT	Leg 1	Leg 2	Leg 3	Leg 4	Leg 5	
R16	6,3	10,7,9	2,3	4,3	1,2	

Jack

JACKPOT	Leg 1	Leg 2
R18	2,1	6
R16	2,1	6
JACKPOT	Leg 1	Leg 2
R18	2,1	6
R16	2,1,5	6,3

Milnerton

SATURDAY MAY 11	Quarrels on races 4, 5, 8
1.15 COBRA	Doubles on races 3/4, 7/8
MAIDEN JUVENILE	R17 500 1200m
	Swinner

9 SWIFT COUP, 8 ENLON, 10 TRAVEL HOSTESS, P K4
* Denotes blunders. Double
1st AV/AKE: Two-year-old
second, can go one year

Huge trade prospects foreseen in Angola

By Dale Lautenbach
Star Africa Service

WINDHOEK — War-ravaged Angola presents immense opportunities for South African business interests, especially in the South African construction sector.

This is the opinion of Paul Runge, manager of the Africa Business Development Group of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto), who says Angola is too important for South African companies to ignore.

As a potential new market it outstrips even Kenya in the promise it holds.

Mr Runge returned recently from Luanda, where he led a delega-

tion of 10 South African company representatives.

He said most significant in the scope Angola offered South African business interests was in the field of construction.

"There are about 200 bridges countrywide to be repaired. Seventy per cent of the roads need rehabilitation. With our shortage of construction projects in South Africa, it's a dream."

It all hinges, of course, on peace in Angola. Mr Runge said, however, that his advice to companies was to position themselves inside Angola now.

He cautioned though, against the expectation that foreign exchange in

Angola was no problem because of the country's oil industry (total exports for the industry are estimated to be about R10,74-billion for 1990).

Angolan sources told Mr Runge it would take up to 18 months after peace was established to release the major part of Angola's earnings tied up in the war effort.

"And they have a heavy debt problem (around R18,1 billion), although there is some optimism about debt relief."

Another problem he identified was bureaucracy and the investment code, which, while liberal, was "still just a set of laws" with not enough incentives.

Angolan troops flown back

3-14-77
LUSAKA — Several hundred Angolan government soldiers who fled into Zambia from fighting near Cazombo are being flown back from Ndola, according to The Times of Zambia. (S)

The disarmed soldiers are being taken to Ndola by bus from Solwezi in western Zambia, togeth-

er with civilians who fled from the fighting between Angolan troops and Unita forces.

Unita has launched an assault on the town of Luena on the Berguela railway and appears to have been active in Cazombo. More than 8 000 Angolans have reportedly fled to Zambia. — Star Africa Service.

UN to help?

UNITED NATIONS
Angola has asked for a
UN peace-keeping operation to monitor its
ceasefire agreement with
US-backed rebels ahead
of the country's 1992
elections. *Sowetan 15/11/91*

Foreign Minister
Pedro de Castro Van-
Dunem also accused
South Africa of sending
in Namibian mercenaries to
back anti-government
groups. *Sapa-Reuter.*

Angola's shaky

16/5/1975

Ceasefire

LISBON — A truce ending 30 years of war in Angola came into effect at midnight last night amid fears that the peace pact could easily fall apart. Foreign diplomats predicted that sporadic fighting would continue well after the deadline.

Representatives of the Angolan government and Unita confirmed to the Portuguese Foreign Ministry yesterday that they had accepted the terms of a peace pact initiated on May 1 that involved a de facto truce from May 15 and a formal ceasefire on May 31.

Angola's chief negotiator, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, were due to meet Portuguese mediators again today to finalise small details, a foreign ministry official said.

Maintain defences

Hours before the ceasefire deadline, Angola radio reported that guns were quiet in the eastern city of Luena, scene of fierce fighting earlier in the day and in recent weeks.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi yesterday declared the war over but said his men would maintain defensive positions. Meanwhile, his group accused the government of attacking two northern guerrilla-held areas.

"The peace process is being held back," said a Unita statement issued in Lisbon.

The peace accord, reached after a year of talks hosted by former colonial ruler Portugal, also provides for Angola's first multi-party elections between September and November next year.

An international team including United Nations experts will monitor the truce and election.

Not ready for peace

The pact is aimed at ending 30 years of bloodshed for Angola's 10-million people. Hundreds of thousands of people have died in fighting which shattered the economy despite riches in oil, diamonds and coffee.

Western diplomats believe it will be difficult to overcome years of distrust and some groups on both sides are not ready for peace.

"There will probably be reports of sporadic violations and incidents," said a diplomat, adding that Dr Savimbi may have particular trouble controlling forces in remote northern areas who are from a different tribe.

Working in the truce's favour is the international monitoring effort and a desire by Moscow and Washington to end military backing for their Angolan proxies.

● America's main diplomatic trouble-shooter, Assistant Secretary of State Mr Herman Cohen, has been called in to try to break the logjam in negotiations between Mozambique's Frelimo government and Renamo rebels.

A report from Mozambique said that Renamo had introduced new demands: the release of all political prisoners; the return of Mozambican refugees and discussion on "any other business."

The demands — particularly the latter, which could delay a settlement because of trivial matters — created the deadlock, the report said. — Sapa-Reuters

● Mozambicans long for peace, page 15.



DOS SANTOS

FW's ^(S) goodwill offer to Angola

SOUTH Africa and Angola held talks on Tuesday on the eve of a ceasefire ending the 16-year civil war in the former Portuguese colony, the South Africa Foreign Affairs Ministry said.

In a statement, the Ministry said Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos met a delegation headed by Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden in Luanda.

Van Heerden delivered a letter from President FW de Klerk pledging to "contribute to the achievement of lasting stability in the region", the statement said.

Agreed

The two sides also discussed "matters of bilateral interest" during which they agreed that complete adherence to the terms of the peace accord "was essential for the successful resolution of the conflict in Angola and for the future prosperity of the region as a whole".

De Klerk congratulated Dos Santos on the successful conclusion of peace talks in Portugal, which produced a provisional accord that has to be formally ratified on May 31.

On the eve of the ceasefire, fighting was reported to be raging between government forces and combatants of the rebel Unita movement. Sapa.

Angolan govt, Unita vow to meet ceasefire

⁵
LISBON — Angola's left-wing government and US-backed Unita rebels yesterday pledged to meet a midnight deadline to halt fighting.

Unita vice-President Jeremias Chitunda said rebel forces were ordered to stop shooting on Tuesday night, 24 hours ahead of the ceasefire deadline.

"Peace has begun in our country," Chitunda said.

Angola's Territorial Administration Minister Lopo do Nascimento said on arrival in Lisbon yesterday his government would instruct its troops to halt hostilities at midnight.

Do Nascimento said that when he left the Angolan capital of Luanda late on Tuesday night, Unita soldiers were continuing attacks on government positions. But he said he was hopeful the rebels would respect the ceasefire.

Chitunda and Do Nascimento were scheduled to meet in Lisbon yesterday and inform the Portuguese government of the two sides' official acceptance of peace accords initialled by the two men on May 1.

Portugal mediated year-long peace talks that culminated in the May 1 agreement. The mediation effort was backed by the US and the Soviet Union.

Secretary of State Jose Manuel Durao Barroso, who led the mediation team, said the deadline would mean a "de facto suspension of hostilities".

A formal ceasefire is scheduled to come into force May 31 after the accords are signed by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. — Sapa-AP.

Fighting 'rages' in Angola

et 16/5/74
LUANDA. — Fierce fighting was reported between government forces and Unita rebels in Angola, only hours before one of Africa's longest civil wars was due to end yesterday.

This comes amidst reports from Lisbon that Angola and Unita had yesterday pledged to meet a midnight deadline to halt fighting.

Local and foreign reporters taken on a conducted tour by government officials said the eastern town of Luena, under siege by guerillas in recent weeks, was being bombarded.

● South Africa and Angola held talks in Luanda on Tuesday on the eve of the ceasefire, the Department of Foreign Affairs said in Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter-AP

APR 16 1971

Missions soon in Lusaka, Luanda?

Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has hinted that Zambia may resume diplomatic ties with South Africa — provided all remaining apartheid legislation is repealed in the current parliamentary session.

He was speaking following a meeting of Front-line states and said he hoped the "bulwark" of apartheid could be removed by July — opening the way for the resumption of ties.

Western diplomats say South Africa is already paying rent on premises in Lusaka which could become a trade mission once ties are formalised.

● Mr Rusty Evans, deputy director of foreign affairs for Africa, who travelled recently to Luanda said South Africa may be represented there soon.

Accompanying director general Mr Neil van Heerden, he said the delegation had a "good" meeting with several senior Angolan officials and representation was raised.

The Angolans had been "quite positive" but no timeframe could be disclosed, Mr Evans said.

"We had been advised that we needed to clear the air (with the Angolan government) and this we did — the air is cleared," said Mr Evans.

He said the establishment of South African representation took on a new dimension following the peace accord reached between the sides on May 1.

Previously South Africa maintained a liaison group in Jamba for communication and, as early as the beginning of the year, believed a similar liaison mission should be established in Luanda.

This was rejected by President dos Santos in February who said a ceasefire should be reached before South Africa was represented in Luanda.

The nature of the mission would be very different following what all sides hope will be the cessation of hostilities.

In an interview, Mr van Heerden denied fresh

Angolan government allegations that South Africa was providing effective military support to Unita.

The latest claim came from Angolan Foreign Affairs minister Mr Pedro van Dunem Loy.



police since.

Unita seizes village (5) and violates ceasefire

16/5/75
Some from 17/5/75
LUANDA - The Angolan army said yesterday Unita rebels had violated a ceasefire, only hours after the two sides were due to end one of Africa's longest civil wars.

"At 8am Unita rebels attacked and captured the village of Monte Belo in Benguela province," a senior army officer said yesterday.

Angola's leftist government and the US-backed rebels of Unita

(the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) were supposed to end 16 years of war at midnight on Wednesday under a Portuguese mediated peace accord which will be signed on May 31.

Official reports said there was general calm in Angola, racked by the Unita rebellion since its independence from Portugal in 1975. - Sapa-
Reuter.

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Reuter



JOYFUL ANTICIPATION ... youths wave peace banners at a May Day march in Luanda

Photo: ALEXANDER JOE

Angola's peace deal begins, but where's the ceasefire?

Wimail 1715-23/591. (S)

Shudders of violence continued to wrack Angola even as the peace agreement between the government and Unita rebels came into effect on Thursday.

Fighting is especially heavy around the city of Luena in the south-eastern Moxico province, which is being repeatedly shelled by Unita artillery. Unita claims on its radio broadcasts that it is only responding to government attacks.

Both sides say they expect violations of the *de facto* ceasefire which became effective on May 16, but they intend to continue with the peace process as spelt out in the Lisbon agreement.

Angolan officials blame South Africa for the heavy fighting by Unita since the initialling of the Lisbon peace accord on May 1.

Sources in the Angolan delegation at the peace talks say they produced enough evidence to convince Portuguese mediators and American and Soviet observers that South Africa is still providing supplies and trained personnel to the rebels.

Angolan military intelligence sources say they have recorded radio communications in Afrikaans and have eye-witness accounts, as well as information from prisoners, to support their accusations that at least six white South Africans are directing operations at Luena.

Angola also charges that up to 300 former members of Koevoet are engaged in the fighting, while reports from Botswana record flights by South African military aircraft heading for the Unita-held area of south-eastern Angola, presumably to re-supply the rebel offensive.

South Africa's secretary for foreign affairs, Neil van Heerden, visited Luanda on Tuesday for discus-

Unita offensives continued despite the ceasefire that came into effect on Thursday.

ANITA COULSON
reports from Luanda

sions with top Angolan officials.

At the Lisbon peace talks, both the US and Soviet delegations vowed to stop any further supplies to Unita and the MPLA government.

"The Americans undertook to put renewed pressure on President FW de Klerk," said a member of the Angolan delegation, "but frankly we do not expect it to do much good." The view in Luanda is that the SADF's General Magnus Malan and others are finding it easier to sidestep scrutiny of their relationship with Unita than was possible under President PW Botha.

In April, while the peace deal was being hammered out in Lisbon, the rebels kept up daily artillery bombardments of Luena and captured the town of Cazombe in Moxico. Thousands of Angolans have fled across the border into neighbouring Zambia to escape the fighting.

Unita's Jonas Savimbi said in Brussels this week that his forces had been "provoked" to continue the fighting.

In terms of the peace agreement, Thursday's *de facto* ceasefire will be followed by a formal ceremony in Lisbon on May 31, at which President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi will sign a peace treaty. The formal ceasefire bringing an end to the 16-year civil war should come into effect in the first week of June.

The MPLA government's mandate is to re-establish control of all areas,

under the supervision of an international commission, to ensure basic services and to conduct a census in order to draw up an electoral register. Elections are planned for September 1992.

The joint MPLA-Unita military and political commission, including international observers and 600 UN inspectors, intends to demobilise and disarm some 200 000 members of the fighting forces from July 1. Twenty thousand soldiers from each side will be retained in the national army, and the airforce and navy will have a total of 10 000 men between them.

"The fact that all this has been agreed upon with US and Soviet approval makes it all the more tragic that Angolans are still dying in the last days of the war," said a military source.

Unita had nothing to gain from offensives at this late stage, he said. "It won't matter if they displace MPLA sympathisers, say from Moxico, and replace them with Unita people because when the census is done all Angolans eligible to vote will do so on the basis of their place of origin."

There may be no electoral advantage to be gained, but what infuriates the MPLA is that the government forces are perceived to be unable to protect civilian populations. More than 300 civilians have died in Luena and more than 3 500 have been injured, mainly during the indiscriminate artillery bombardments by Unita.

Government military sources say they are "responding vigorously" to all the rebel attacks, but their hands are tied by the MPLA's desire to maintain credibility by refraining from any direct offensive against Unita.

CT 17/6/91

'Unita has violated ceasefire'

LUANDA. — The Angolan army said yesterday that Unita had violated a ceasefire, only hours after the two sides were due to end one of Africa's longest civil wars.

"At eight o'clock (0700 GMT) on Thursday Unita rebels attacked and captured the commune (village) of Monte Belo in Benguela province," a senior army officer said by telephone.

Angola's leftist government and the US-backed Unita were supposed to end 16 years of war at midnight on Wednesday under a Portuguese-mediated peace accord which will be signed on May 31.

Official reports said there was general calm in Angola.

"There has been a considerable reduction of actions by Unita but it is premature to say whether they have in fact stopped hostilities," said the army officer, who declined to be named.

Western diplomats and other political analysts say fighting will probably continue on a small scale between some units but they expect the truce to hold.

The peace accord, agreed after a year of tough negotiations, provides for a ceasefire, integration of government and rebel forces into a new slimmed-down national armed force of about 50,000 and holding of multi-party elections between September and November next year.

In the eastern Angolan city of Luena, scene of the heaviest recent fighting, foreign journalists said a sporadic bombardment by Unita artillery ended minutes before the ceasefire deadline. — Sapa-
Reuter-AP

Unita blamed for 3 attacks after ceasefire

⑤
ARGUS
17/5/91

LUANDA. — Angolan authorities have blamed Unita rebels for three attacks just hours after a de facto ceasefire in the 16-year Angolan war came into force.

But Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has denied his fighters had violated the truce.

Nevertheless the government yesterday remained confident that the war would end as agreed at the end of the month.

Deputy Defence Minister General Antonio Dos Santos Franca said: "Violations of the ceasefire will not disrupt the peace accords. This time we really are certain of peace."

Said Major Americo Valente, a spokesman for the Angolan armed forces general staff: "No ceasefire has been signed yet so the period between May 16 and May 31, when the peace accords are due to be signed, should be viewed as a period of truce under the general undertakings of the agreement reached in Portugal."

He said there had been three truce violations yesterday by Unita rebels.

They had occupied Monte Belo in Benguela province, attacked government troop positions 32 km outside Bailundo in central Huambo province and bombarded another government position near Luena in eastern Moxico province.

But Mr Savimbi, denying his men had violated the truce, told a news conference in Brussels: "There have not been bombardments. Everybody is complying with instructions."

For the first time since April Luena itself was quiet yesterday, although Major Valente said the general staff was wor-

ried about Unita troop movements on its outskirts and in the area of Caculama in the northern province of Malange.

"Under the terms of the undertakings there should not be troop movements within a radius of 10 km of the other side's positions," said Major Valente.

He added that the Unita claim that Monte Belo had already been in their hands and was attacked by government soldiers was "simply not true".

Foreign correspondents who accompanied government forces in Luena this week reported heavy Unita artillery fire.

Officials said the process of installing a lasting peace in Angola had only just begun.

Deputy Information Minister Joao Miranda said: "The next two weeks will serve as an introduction to the idea that the war is over."

Meanwhile a Mozambican opposition party, formed in exile 12 years ago, has held its first news conference inside the country and announced it will contest multiparty elections scheduled for next year.

The Mozambican Nationalist Movement (Monamo), led by lawyer Mr Maximo Dias, was the fourth party to launch itself since Mozambique's parliament ended 15 years of one-party politics last November. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angola hangs on ⁽⁵⁾ to shaky ceasefire ^{cr 2015/91}

LUANDA. — The ceasefire in Angola's 16-year civil war appeared to be holding yesterday following a meeting between commanders of the government and US-backed Unita rebel troops.

The government's chief of operations, Colonel Higinio Carneiro, and Unita, chief-of-staff General Arlindo Chenda Pena met late on Saturday on the outskirts of the eastern town of Luena.

The capital of Moxico province bordering Zaire had been the scene of heavy fighting since April 1 as Unita tried to establish a foothold in the area before the May 15 ceasefire established in a provisional peace agreement initialled in Portugal on May 1.

But Unita accused the government of violating the ceasefire that took effect at midnight on Wednesday, and

said some fighters had been killed in clashes.

Major Americo Valente, spokesman for Fapla, the government's armed forces, reported that in the 24 hours till noon on Saturday there had been no violations of the truce.

But he said units of Unita were moving towards government positions in Negage and Uige in northern Uige province bordering Zaire and in Huila, Huambo and Bie provinces in southern and central Angola.

He quoted military intelligence as saying the Unita high command had ordered an attack on army positions in the centre and south of the country.

A full ceasefire will go into effect after President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi sign peace agreements in Lisbon at the end of the month. — Sapa-Reuter

Angolan peace still holding

Sowetan 20/5/79

LUANDA, Angola - The ceasefire in Angola's 16-year civil war appeared to be holding throughout the southern African nation yesterday following a meeting between commanders of government and US-backed Unita rebel troops.

The government's chief of operations Colonel Higinio Carneiro and Unita chief-of-staff General Arlindo Chenda Pena met on Saturday on the outskirts of the eastern town of Luena.

The capital of Moxico province, bordering Zaire, had been the scene of heavy fighting since April 1 as Unita tried to establish a foothold in the area prior to the May 15

ceasefire established in a provisional peace agreement initialed in Portugal May 1.

Inhabitants in the area are under threat of famine and disease following the 45-day battle when crops could not be gathered and bodies were hastily buried.

The delivery of food and medical supplies has been seriously disrupted.

Although both sides have confirmed that minor incidents have occurred since the ceasefire went into effect, they said these skirmishes posed no threat to the truce.

Tension rose in Luena shortly after the ceasefire when some 500 Unita guerillas found themselves positioned between two government units. - Sapa-AP

ARG 21/5/91

SA not welcome in Luanda yet

Own Correspondent (5)

LUANDA. — Angolan government officials have said South Africa will not be allowed to open a diplomatic office in Luanda as long as it keeps representatives in Jamba, headquarters of the rebel Unita movement.

The MPLA government's stance was made clear after a visit to Luanda last week by a South African delegation led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden who is believed to have discussed the possibility of opening a South African diplomatic office in the Angolan capital.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Venancio de Moura said South Africa had to recognise the MPLA government before there could be any South African representation in Luanda. He said the MPLA was not prepared to entertain the contradiction of a South African mission in Luanda while Pretoria retained representation in Jamba.

Even Unita now recognised the MPLA government and its president as the official head of state, he said.

The Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria has acknowledged that it has about 12 people in Jamba to maintain communication with Unita. It has denied MPLA assertions that there are SADF personnel in Jamba and has said that SADF members who had been in Jamba had been replaced by Foreign Affairs staff.

Pretoria is believed to be reluctant to abandon Unita for the MPLA out of loyalty to the rebel movement and for fear of acquiring a reputation for being untrustworthy.

No SA office while Unita link remains, says MPLA

Star 2115791

By Dale Lautenbach
Star Africa Service

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of loyalty to the rebel movement and for fear of acquiring a reputation for being untrustworthy.

Both the Department of Foreign Affairs and SADF have denied repeated assertions by the Angolan government that South Africa was continuing to give military support to Unita.

Officials of some of the new opposition parties emerging in Luanda also believe there has been South African intervention in the war on the side of Unita.

They do not believe, however, that this was ordered by President de Klerk, but rather that hardline elements within the military establishment and political right-wing remained involved after the South African Government formally stopped aiding Unita.

5
We won, says

Unita's leader

Star 2/2/91
MUNICH — Unita Leader Jonas Savimbi says his rebels had emerged the victor from the 16-year-old civil war in Angola.

"We have achieved what we wanted," he told the German daily newspaper Sueddeutsche Zeitung.

Dr Savimbi, who is touring Europe, said the fact that Unita was now accepted as an equal partner in the determination of Angola's future represented a political victory which would be sealed by the general election due in September 1992.

Dr Savimbi added he would accept without question the result of next year's election, even if it resulted in victory for President Eduardo dos Santos. — Star Foreign Service.

Angola: Joint military commission set up

① LUANDA — The Angolan army and US-backed Unita rebels yesterday agreed to set up a joint military commission to monitor a six-day-old provisional ceasefire, which was reported to be holding throughout the Southern African nation.

② The commission will co-ordinate the activities of the two forces which for 16 years have fought one of Africa's longest and bloodiest civil wars.

③ It will also help ensure the distribution of United Nations aid to an estimated 2 million Angolans threatened with starvation after a four-year drought and war-disrupted agriculture, army officials said.

④ Fighting stopped in the civil war on May 15, under a peace plan initialled by both sides two weeks earlier in Portugal.

Testing ground for Angola peace

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Star Africa Service

IN AN underground bunker in the shell-battered town of Luena in Angola, I watched history being made this week as the chief of operations of the Angolan government armed forces spoke over the radio with the chief of staff of the rebel Unita forces.

Little more than a week previously, Unita artillery had been bombarding Luena in what appeared to be a determined effort to capture it.

The real test of the Angolan peace pact, which was brokered in distant Portugal, is here in Luena on the eastern front, where Angolans consider the civil war to have started in spirit and where they hope it will end.

Luena was the site of the last big battle of the war, with Unita artillery shelling the government-held town for 45 days from April 1.

Now an uneasy calm hangs over Luena and there is a tentative yet joyous optimism among the soldiers of both sides. It is a week since the de facto ceasefire came into effect on May 15 and another week to go before the official ceasefire is signed and the United Nations monitors start arriving.

From the underground command centre of the government's Fapla forces, I, too, was able to speak on the radio on Tuesday to Unita's chief of staff, General Arlindo Chena Pena Ben Ben. He told me he was confident that the ceasefire would hold because the two sides were now talking to each other in the field.

In the bunker with me was Colonel Higinio Carniero, chief of operations of the government's Fapla army, who earlier had spoken to General Ben Ben through a field-radio link. He, too, was optimistic about the ceasefire holding.

On the outskirts of the town,

crouching in the shade of tall, yellow-daisy bushes, five Fapla soldiers conversed amicably with a group of Unita soldiers in a further manifestation of the reality of the peace.

The first meeting between the Fapla and Unita forces took place on Saturday beside the Cassondo River at Luena, brokered by an Angolan journalist, William Tonnet, who works for the Voice of America, and is known to both Colonel Carniero and General Ben Ben.

Tonnet was able to arrange a radio link with the Unita forces, and from Fapla's underground headquarters in Luena he spoke on the radio with General Ben Ben. Then, Colonel Carniero took the radio and the two commanders arranged to meet.

On the banks of the river they made arrangements for observing the ceasefire in an informal and ad hoc pact that has come to be known as the Cassondo Accord. □

UN asked to send forces to Angola

NEW YORK - UN secretary general has proposed the United Nations send 440 military and police observers and 175 civilians to monitor Angola's ceasefire and eventually help organise elections.

"It is a matter of great satisfaction that an end is at last in sight to the cruel war that has ravaged Angola for too long," Javier Perez de Cuellar said on Wednesday in a report to the Security Council.

Ambassadors from the US, the USSR, Britain, China and France - the five permanent members of the Security Council - met late on Wednesday to

Sowetan 24/5/91



discuss financing for the force.

The UN already has an operation in Angola, the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem) set up in 1988 to verify the withdrawal of Cuban troops, which will be completed on July 1.

De Cuellar proposed that this unit of about 70 military observers be enlarged as requested by the Angolan government and the rebel Unita in their peace pact.

The peace accords, to be ratified in Lisbon on May 31, provide for a ceasefire, the integration of government and rebel troops into a new slimmed-down force and the holding of elections between September and November 1992.

The secretary-general asked for up to 350 military observers, up to 90 police, three aircraft and 12 helicopters, 14 medical staff, about 80 international and 80 local staff for administration and support units.

Under the accords, the government and Unita are to establish joint monitoring groups to verify and prevent violations of their truce.

Initially the UN forces are to watch the monitoring groups conduct their investigations and help resolve potential ceasefire violations as troops from both sides gather at 50 locations for the process of merging their armies.

Nations contributing military officers to Unavem will be asked to increase their forces. They are Algeria, Congo, India, Jordan, Norway, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Brazil and Argentina.

The pact is aimed at ending 30 years of bloodshed in Angola, where guerrilla war against Portugese rule was followed by 16 years of civil war. - Sapa-Reuter



Angola peace pact is put to the test

Sowetan 24/5/91

LUENA - In an underground bunker in this shell-battered Angolan town I watched history being made as the Chief of Operations of the Angolan government armed forces spoke this week over the radio with the Chief of Staff of the rebel Unita forces.

Little more than a male nurse adjust the flow of milk in an intravenous feed to a young Somali child in a medical tent. The child, suffering from malnutrition because of the drought, is cared for by international relief agencies at refugee camps.

week previously Unita artillery had been bombarding Luena in what appeared to be a determined effort to capture it.

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SA's role in Angolan war coming to light

⑤ 25/5/91 ARGUS

LUENA. — Some of the more esoteric elements of South African involvement in the Angolan civil war are beginning to surface following the ceasefire agreed to by the warring sides.

With the Unita artillery having been silenced, a big C130 transport plane came into land at the airstrip at this shell-torn town in eastern Angola, where the last battle of the war was fought. The plane was watched by a mixed group of soldiers from the MPLA government forces and the Unita rebel army — men who a few days earlier had been trying to kill one another.

The plane was in the livery of the Angolan national airline, Taag, but turned out to be owned by the South African concern, Safair, and leased to the Angolans. The Angolan crew, fairly fluent in English, disclosed that they had been trained by Safair.

DALE LAUTENBACH, Argus Africa News Service

One of them proudly wrote something on a piece of paper: "The first Angolan commercial airplane to land at Luena after cease of hostilities."

I turned the paper over and discovered that it had come from one of the notepads issued to its guests by the Johannesburg Sun.

Two C130s came in to land at Luena, the first carrying petrol in a big tank in its belly and the second food for the recently besieged inhabitants of the town.

There was no hostility towards South Africans among the soldiers of the government's Fapla army with whom I had flown from Luanda. Yet Colonel Higino Carneiro, Fapla's Chief of Operations, maintained his government's insistence that South Africa had been giving military aid to Un-

ita right up to the battle for Luena.

The only evidence he advanced, however, was that the artillery fire that had been directed at the town was too accurate for Unita and the guns must therefore have been fired by South Africans.

The chief of Unita's general staff, General Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben Ben, who led the Unita troops on their peaceable entry into Luena after the ceasefire, told me: "We are ready to prove that there was no co-operation with South Africa."

He said he had no knowledge of the group of South African diplomats which the Department of Foreign Affairs has admitted stationing in the Unita capital of Jamba to maintain communications with the rebels. But then foreign affairs was not his business, he said.

After 31 years, the Cuban connection ends

LUANDA — The last Cuban soldiers in Angola packed their bags yesterday for the final flight home to end 31 years of military involvement in the name of "revolutionary solidarity" in Africa.

Cuban sources said the last flight was expected to leave shortly after dawn today.

Angolans have watched the Cubans leave with mixed feelings. Some shed tears at the unveiling of a monument to Cubans who fought and died in the country. Others are glad to see the back of them.

Cuba's Fidel Castro sent a 50,000-strong expeditionary force to Angola soon after it gained independence from Portugal in 1975 to support the Marxist MPLA government against rival nationalist groups. South African forces and Western mercenaries.

Cuban troops have been involved in one

part of Africa or another since 1960, mainly in support of Marxist governments.

But to orthodox communist Cuba's dismay, those countries, like others in Eastern Europe, have switched ideologies in the past couple of years.

Angola's government ditched Marxism earlier this year in favour of social democracy and a multi-party parliament.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is due to sign a peace agreement with Unita in Lisbon on May 31 to end a 16-year civil war that has devastated the once-rich country.

The pullout, monitored by a United Nations team and funded by the Soviet, Cuban and Angolan governments, was part of a December 1988 New York accord involving

Angola and South Africa.

The Cubans agreed to leave Angola by June 30 this year, while South Africa withdrew from Namibia, opening the way for Namibian independence last year.

Mr dos Santos and Cuban Vice-President Juan Almeida Bosque unveiled the white-stone memorial to Cuban forces on Thursday. The monument was designed by Cuban sculptor Jose Delarre and based on a traditional Angolan Chokwe throne, with a circular seat supported by four columns.

Cuba is winding up its pullout from Africa at a time when it is turning increasingly inwards to tackle economic and political pressures caused by the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and changes in the Soviet Union, its main supplier. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANITA COULSON

MPLA and Unita forces to merge

Star Africa Service **S**

LUANDA — The ceasefire in Angola has been strengthened by the designation of six cities for joint garrisoning and by the establishment of a third monitoring sub-commission.

Britain, Portugal and France have agreed to send army officers to Angola to help merge 160 000 Unita soldiers with MPLA government troops into a combined national army.

The ad hoc ceasefire that came into effect on May 16 has been reinforced by agreement to establish joint garrisons in Luanda, the capital,

and in Lubango and Mavinga in the south, Huambo in the centre and Saurimo and Luena in the east.

The process of moving the two armies into barracks in these towns will be supervised by the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (Unavem), set up to monitor the Cuban troop withdrawal, which was completed last week.

Unavem has now had its brief extended to supervise the ceasefire agreement between the MPLA government and Unita.

The head of Unavem, Brigadier-General Peri-

cles Gomes of Brazil, says it will begin its new task on June 1. The general will retire from the force and be succeeded by another officer of equivalent rank who has not yet been named.

Reinforcements for Unavem are due to arrive in Angola in the next few days.

Over the weekend the MPLA and Unita established their third joint regional sub-commission for supervising the implementation of the ceasefire.

The sub-commission was set up in Wacungo in central Kwanzara Sul province. Last

week sub-commissions were established at Luena in the eastern province of Moxico and at Cucuyalama in the northern province of Malange.

● The last Cuban troops withdrawn from Angola arrived home in Havana on Saturday night to a salute, handshake and slap on the back from President Fidel Castro, Sapa-Reuter reports.

At a quiet but emotional airport ceremony, President Castro greeted each of the 119 soldiers as they stepped from a Cuban Airlines jet.

● The creature with the big cigar — Page 14

Savimbi confident Unita will win poll

Star 28/5/91
Own Correspondent

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said during a flying visit to Pretoria last night he was confident of victory in Angola's first democratic election in September 1992.

However, if Unita did not win the elections he would not revert to guerilla warfare, Dr Savimbi said during the first press conference he addressed since the ceasefire came into effect on May 15.

"I will participate in the elections as the leader of Unita. If we lose, I will lead the opposition, this is part of the democratic process," he said.

Dr Savimbi and his high-powered entourage flew to Lisbon today to sign the official ceasefire agreement with Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos after holding talks with President de Klerk in Pretoria yester-

day.

Unita had already bought a hotel and a number of houses in Luanda. Dr Savimbi said he would move to the capital in June or July following the departure of about 50 000 Cuban troops.

Dr Savimbi said in terms of the peace accord the MPLA's constitution would immediately be revised to provide for a multiparty system. After the election the winning party would draw up a new constitution.

Unita wanted a market-oriented economy which encouraged and protected foreign investment, he said.

Unita's headquarters at Jamba would be retained as a historic site and school and hospital facilities at the base would continue serving the people, he said.

Dr Savimbi said Unita would have no trouble converting from a military to a political role.

"We are not originally professional soldiers, we are

a resistance group and we are essentially political," he said.

He said the ceasefire would hold because all parties involved had realised nobody was about to win the war.

Dr Savimbi said he had not yet met Nelson Mandela, but was hoping to do so soon as his release was one of the contributing factors to a new climate in Southern Africa which helped make the ceasefire possible.

Unita enjoyed "good relations" with Africa and he would visit more African countries soon, and a delegation would be possibly attend the next OAU conference.

"I envision a powerful new alliance consisting of South Africa, Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe."

He said Unita had already put out feelers to the ANC, an old adversary of the bush war, adding: "We have always treated ANC prisoners well."

Savimbi confident he will win Angolan poll

The Argus Correspondent

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The rebel leader said he was confident the ceasefire would hold: "I have complete control of Unita units throughout the country and since I ordered them to cease hostilities not a

single incident has occurred."

Dr Savimbi said he had been impressed with constitutional changes in South Africa and President De Klerk's earnestness to press on with reforms.

He would not elaborate on South Africa's role in the Angolan transition progress but said: "South Africa will always be a friend to Unita."

Unita had already bought a hotel and a number of houses in Luanda. Dr Savimbi said he would move to the capital in June or July following the departure of about 50 000 Cuban troops.

He said other parties such as the FNLA would probably step forward to take part in elections.

Dr Savimbi said a new national army consisting of 50 000 troops would be formed from the existing Unita and Fapla armies.

Foreign investment would be needed to help those soldiers who could not be absorbed in the new national army to convert to civilian life.

19/5/92
20/5/92

West to send forces to Angola

LUANDA - The ceasefire in Angola has been strengthened by the designation of six cities for joint garrisoning and by the establishment of a third monitoring sub-commission.

At the same time Britain, Portugal and France have agreed to send officers to Angola to help blend 160 000 Unita soldiers with MPLA government troops into a combined national army.

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fire

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Soviet

Rebels, MPLA in neutral Angolan army

⑤ 0729/19

WASHINGTON — France, Britain and Portugal have agreed to help set up a neutral, 50 000-strong Angolan armed force as part of the transition to multi-party democracy after 16 years of civil war, a rebel leader said yesterday.

Members of the new army would be drawn half from the ruling Marxist MPLA forces and half from the Unita rebels, Unita's chief representative in the US, Mr Jardo Muekalia, told a news conference.

A 4 000-strong navy and a 6 000-strong air force would be made up entirely of MPLA loyalists, since Unita personnel lacked the necessary training, he added.

Mr Muekalia said France, Britain and Portugal agreed to oversee the creation of the new force during talks in Lisbon leading to the formal ceasefire to be signed there on Friday by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Mr Jonas Savimbi.

"The three of them (France, Britain and Portugal) will do the whole thing," Mr Muekalia said in an interview after the news conference. They will be helping with technical assistance for the politically neutral, national armed forces.

The agreement, to be signed on Friday, provides for an immediate formal ceasefire, the creation of a

joint political-military commission to administer the peace process and for free and fair multi-party elections under international supervision to be held between September 1 and November 30, 1992.

Demobilisation of the fighting forces will start on July 1, with government forces concentrated in 27 designated zones and Unita troops in 23 areas. Frontier posts will be manned by representatives of both sides.

Currently the MPLA government maintains about 150 000 men under arms and Unita fields about 50 000, Mr Muekalia said. — Sapa-Reuter

Angolans ease way to signing of peace paper

8/10am 2015/9
LUANDA — Angola sent chief negotiator Lopo do Nascimento to Lisbon yesterday to prepare for the formal signing of a peace agreement ending the country's 16-year civil war, officials said. (5)
They said do Nascimento, Minister of Territorial Administration in the Luanda government, would meet Unita delegation leader Jeremias Chitunda "to prepare for the signing ceremony".
Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos will travel to Portugal today to sign the accord with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in the Foreign Ministry banquet hall.
Dos Santos appealed to the international community on Tuesday for \$2bn in aid to rebuild the country. — Sapa-Reuter.

But peace comes to Angola

DALE LAUTENBACH, Weekend Argus Africa News Service, in
LUANDA

⑤ ARGUS 31/5/91

PRESIDENT Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi today sign a peace agreement in Lisbon that has been hammered out through agonising political negotiation.

But it is far away in their own country, on the battlefields of the 16-year civil war, that the agreement must be made hold together. And already the war-weary soldiers have begun seeing to that.

The peace package worked out over the course of year-long negotiations at a senior political and military level was necessary to create the conditions for an end to hostilities.

But soldier-to-soldier is where it all stands or falls. And it is at that level that remarkable things have been happening inside Angola in the past two weeks.

Luena, capital of Angola's eastern province Moxico, saw the last big battle of the war. For 45 days from April 1, the citizens of the government-held town covered while Unita shells fell night and day.

Ironically it was in this place where the fighting had been fiercest that the commanders of the government's armed forces, Fapla, and of the Unita army, Fala, shook hands for the first time and decided between them to make peace work.

The official peace package was put together by the warring sides with mediation by Angola's former colonial power, Portugal, and with the Soviets and the Americans, the former Cold War antagonists in Angola, playing a crucially influential role.

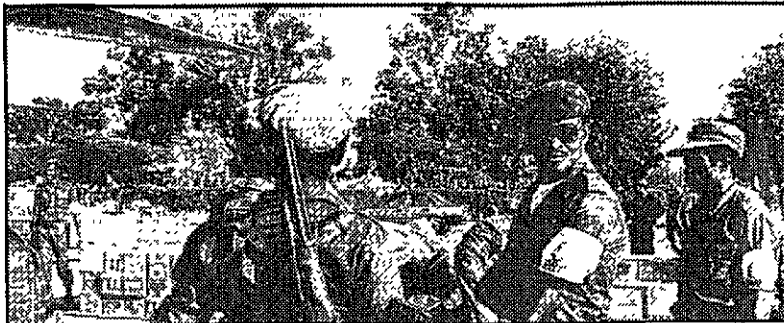
The agreements, initialled by the negotiating teams on May 1, envisaged a de facto ceasefire from May 15, followed by the formal signing at the end of the month.

Only thereafter would formal United Nations monitoring of the ceasefire begin with Portuguese, Americans and Soviets as observers. All Fapla and Unita troops and paramilitary personnel will gather at 50 sites to be established throughout the country, where their weapons will be handed in, stored and guarded.

From an estimated 200 000 men to be demobilised, a national army of 50 000 will be formed. The international observers monitoring the ceas-



BESIDE a dusty road through the bush outside Luena, Colonel Agostinho Fernandez Neluma Sanjar of the government's Fapla army (left) meets Brigadier Geraldo Abreau of Unita (right). The two officers head the sub-commission set up to monitor the ceasefire in Luena. With them is another Unita officer.



WITH the fighting over, supplies come into Luena under the watchful eye of both government and Unita rebel troops. In the background, scores of government soldiers gather to watch the historic event.

sefire will remain in the country to smooth the path to free and fair elections between September and November next year.

It is estimated that the international contribution to the operation will cost about R687-million.

But when the guns fell quiet over Luena in the early hours of May 16, there was no-one around to safeguard the stillness except the very soldiers who had been killing each other just hours before. Peace was

fragile and there were no politicians around to formalise it.

The soldiers themselves made the first move, through the mediation of an Angolan journalist. At a rickety table in the middle of the bush alongside the Cassiondo River as it flows past Luena, the Fapla and Unita forces shook hands for the first time and made their own on-the-spot arrangements to implement the ceasefire.

So far the peace has held and the

two armies are jointly monitoring incoming supplies and beginning to clear the extensive minefields, which remain a serious threat to the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of Angolans displaced by war and who need to get back to their fields soon for the people to feed themselves.

Reflecting the spirit of change in Angola, the government newspaper *Jornal de Angola*, published an in-depth interview with the Unita army's chief of staff, General Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben, under the headline "In Search of Lost Time." It was the first time the voice of Unita had been heard directly, through the government news media.

If the reconciliation is threatened by anything at present it is the elementary issue of hunger. At the military airbase in Luanda I saw a minor food riot among Fapla soldiers. The cause of the dispute was a single can of peaches but it had one soldier being brutally kicked, AK-47 bullets slamming into the air and officers running around with pistols drawn.

Ushering me out of the way of stray bullets, a smiling young soldier offered me a small can of sweet, cool apple juice. He punched a hole in the top for me . . . with a bullet held in his hand.

In Luena I witnessed a similar desperation around the first air delivery of food monitored by both Fapla and Unita. A soldier was arrested for attempted theft while the trucks were being loaded. Once they rumbled out of the airbase, packed so precariously that some boxes would clearly fall off along the bumpy roads, they had travelled only metres before the first shots were heard, presumably to drive hungry Angolans trying to grab the fallen food.

Similarly, the United Nations Special Relief Programme for Angola (SRPA) reports "continued incidents of violence in Lobito due to food shortages, some of which occurred during unloading of food aid".

And all this violence has just been on the side of Fapla. As Fapla and the Unita men find themselves in close peaceful contact it would be a profound reflection of the devastation that war has caused in Angola if hostilities were sparked again by something as mundane as the desire of hungry men for canned peaches.

document' ends 16 years of civil war in Angola

AGL
31/5/91
(5)

Peace signing



Jonas Savimbi

From JUDITH MATLOFF of Sapa-Reuter.

LISBON. — Angola's government and Unita formally sign an historic accord today to end 16 years of civil war.

An internationally supervised ceasefire goes into effect when President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita chief Mr Jonas Savimbi put their names to the pact at a ceremony at Portugal's Foreign Ministry this evening.

On hand will be United States Secretary of State Mr James Baker and his Soviet counterpart, Mr Alexander Bessmertnykh, whose governments will suspend their military backing for Unita and Luanda once the peace agreement is signed.

United Nations Secretary-General Dr. Javier Perez de Cuellar and Organisation of African Unity chairman Mr Yoweri Museveni are also witnessing the signing.

"It is an historic document, not only for Africa but also for the whole international community," Dr Perez de Cuellar told reporters.

"The accord is proof that political discussion is the only way to resolve regional conflicts", said Mr Bessmertnykh.

The Angolan government was staging a 24-hour party in Luanda's central market while thousands of Angolan exiles in Portugal were planning street celebrations in Lisbon.

A provisional ceasefire has been in force since May 15 under a May 1 accord initialled in Lisbon by representatives of Unita (National Union for the

Total Independence of Angola) and the ruling MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

But today's signing should put an official end to what is one of Africa's longest-running wars and superpower rivalry on the continent.

A flurry of diplomatic contacts has surrounded the accord signing, with 20 sets of bilateral meetings between the visiting officials and Portuguese leaders who for one year mediated the peace pact in their former African colony.

Tomorrow Mr Baker and Mr Bessmertnykh meet for three hours to discuss a disputed treaty on conventional arms and Middle East problems.

The Angolan pact provides for the country's first multi-party elections between September and November 1992 and UN monitoring of the truce.

A political-military commission comprising the two Angolan sides and US, Portuguese and Soviet experts will supervise the ceasefire and prepare for elections. British and French observers will also help create a new 50 000-strong armed force.

● Sapa-AP reports that the Security Council yesterday voted unanimously to expand the Angola UN peacekeeping force to monitor the ceasefire and peace accords.

● Peace comes to Angola — see page 11.

Angolans party as as war comes to end

CHURCH bells rang out across Lisbon and millions of Angolans threw parties to celebrate the end of a 16-year civil and regional war which has killed at least 300 000 people.

The Estoril peace accord signed on Friday by the Angolan MPLA Government and the nationalist rebel movement Unita, goes into immediate effect and is subject to international monitoring.

No losers

"There are no losers in the peace accord signed today but only one winner - the Angolan people," said Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.

The ceasefire signed by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, also provides for Angola's first multi-party elections between September and November next year.

The accord is meant to end 30 years of bloodshed - 14 years of guerrilla struggle against Portuguese colonial rule followed by civil war after 1975, independence, and a regional battle involving the South African Defence Force.

Attending the signing were Organisation of

African Unity chairman President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose organisation is sending a peacekeeping force to Angola to help monitor the truce and eventual free elections.

South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha congratulated the parties.

He said the South African Government viewed the signing as an historic step in the development of peace and stability in the whole of southern Africa.

"We hope the momentum created by this development will also lead to the ending of conflict in South Africa and Mozambique in order that all the countries of southern Africa can jointly plan the economic future of the region."

A political-military commission, comprising the two Angolan sides and Soviet, Portuguese and US observers, will supervise the truce and prepare for elections.

Training

It is planned to fuse government and Unita troops into a united Angolan army totalling 40 000 soldiers by the end of July, which will be trained by British, French and Portuguese officers. - Sapa-Reuter.

Savimbi vows to ^(S) step down

Southern 3/6/91.

LISBON - Rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi said yesterday he would step down as head of the Unita movement he created 25 years ago if he loses in Angola's first free elections planned for 1992.

"If I lose I will ask to be replaced by someone younger," said the 56-year-old Savimbi. "I cannot be in opposition. I will step down."

Savimbi spoke to journalists in the Portuguese capital two days after signing peace accords with Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to end their 16-year civil war.

Confident

He said he was confident Unita, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, would win the elections and that he would become the southern African nation's first freely elected president.

Savimbi outlined his vision for a democratic Angola, saying the new political system should give strong

powers to a head of state elected for a five-year term. He said the president should serve a maximum of two terms.

The guerilla chief said he would return to the Angolan capital Luanda early next month to conduct Unita's election campaign.

Speculation

Savimbi started his guerilla struggle in 1966 against Portuguese colonial rule in Angola. After independence in 1975 he fought the pro-Soviet Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, or MPLA, which gained power in Luanda.

Savimbi dismissed speculation other groups could emerge in Angola to challenge both warring factions in next year's elections. "The MPLA has a possibility to win, Unita too, but a third force no."

Tribal divisions that have brought conflicts to other African nations would not be a major factor in the Angolan election campaign, Savimbi said.

*** See also Page 7**

Angolans face fresh violence

Sowetan 10/6/91 (S)

LUANDA - Weary Angolans setting out down the road of peace after 16 years of civil war are faced with fresh violence as armed gangs roam city streets amid a rising crime wave.

"From all over the country news is of a growth in violence at a time when one war has ended," *Jornal de Angola* newspaper says.

The May 31 peace agreement signed between the government and the rebel Unita movement calls for the demobilisation of about 160 000 soldiers from the two sides.

Fears are growing that the demobilised men will swell the ranks of thousands of deserters and criminals.

Jornal de Angola says appropriate measures should be taken to combat a predictable rise in crime, bearing in mind that the mass demobilisation has not yet been carried out and the economy of this once-wealthy country has been shattered.

"The crime stories in the paper are the first indication that there is non-political banditry in Angola, which we never knew before," a Western diplomat said.

Military sources said there were more weapons outside than within government army stores.

But the problem of absorbing demobilised soldiers into a devastated economy, whose bloated civil service already faces cuts of 70 000 people, has yet to be solved. - *Sapa-Reuter*

PM for Angola

WINDHOEK - Angola has its first prime minister in 14 years, former Minister of Planning Dr Fernando Jose de Franca van Dunem. *Sowetan 2/6/91*

Angolan government sources in Luanda said Van Dunem's appointment would be officially announced soon.

They said the appointment reflects the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola government's "gearing up" for multiparty elections, due to take place by November next year.

Van Dunem, a doctor of law, was appointed minister of planning a year ago. *25/6/91*

He was believed to be a man equipped to lead the Angolan economic system away from central planning to a more open system in which free-market forces were recognised. - *Sowetan Africa New Service.*

1974 02 13 13:30

Peace unit to meet ^(S)

Source: 12/6/91
LUANDA - The first meeting of the Politico-Military Joint Commission set up to monitor the Angolan peace process takes place on June 17.

The meeting had been postponed.

A new date was finally agreed upon at a meeting in the eastern Angolan city of Luena between the government and Unita rebel military officers.

Food for Angola - finally

So wefen
From Page 8 14/6/91

across were military.

The huts in the new Mavinga settlement were spaced well apart and again we assumed it was to render air attacks less effective.

Most of the people in Cuando Cubango do not really know what peace is. Most of the older generation were already involved in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, while the younger generation had known only civil war.

But every local can explain what is needed to rebuild their country, the Unita ideology of discipline, socialism, democracy, a market economy and equality colouring every theory.

At Likwiwa, a hospital and medical school serve outlying areas.

The hospital is the main one of 12 in the region and guides all the others with advice, supplies and laboratory research.

The medical school trains nurses, nutritionists and volunteers.

The UN supplies of food such as maize, beans and oil are taken over by Unita's Women's League and issued as needed.

Their emphasis lies strongly on women and children whom they single out as the real victims of war.

Dos Santos' popularity may not be enough for MPLA

W/Mail 7/6-13/6/91. (5)
 The signing of a peace treaty between the government and Unita rebels ended the 16-year-long Angolan war. But can President Dos Santos' personal popularity win the day for the ruling MPLA in next year's elections?
By ANITA COULSON in Luanda

THE tumultuous reception 300 000 wildly celebrating Angolans gave to returning President Jose Eduardo dos Santos highlighted his current popularity in a political context.

Returning from Lisbon where he signed the historic peace accord with rebel leader Jonas Savimbi on May 31, the dapper Dos Santos stepped off the plane in Luanda to chants of "Dos Santos ja ganhau, dos Santa ja ganhau" (Dos Santos you have won already), a reference to Angola's elections scheduled for September 1992.

Last weekend the entire nation celebrated not just the formal end of a civil war that lasted nearly 16 years, but a period of violence going back to February 4 1961, when the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) began the fight to kick out the Portuguese colonialists. It remains to be seen if the MPLA can translate the current popularity of Dos Santos and its historical role as the chief nationalist movement into victory in the country's first open elections next year.

Initial scepticism at the May 1 announcement that agreement had been reached to end the war against Unita rebels gave way to burgeoning hope as a 15-day *de facto* suspension of hostilities, described as a "cooling-off period" before the May 31 peace treaty signing, saw government and rebel soldiers co-operating to preserve the truce and begin the work of lifting the landmines that have maimed so many thousands of Angolans.

At 7pm on Friday May 31, Angolans clustered around televisions and radios to see and hear the live broadcast of the signing ceremony. As Dos Santos and Savimbi sealed the end of the war with a handshake, cheers rang out and a weekend of celebrations got underway.

The festivities were largely orchestrated by the ruling MPLA, but there was no mistaking the spontaneous expressions of joy from one and all. In Luanda, impromptu street parties sprang up, motorists began a city-wide procession of flashing lights and blaring horns and even the normally staid diplomatic corps "boogied down" under the flashing strobe lights and pounding rhythms at the Hotel Panorama disco.

All through the early hours of Saturday, chants of "Dos Santos, amigo, o povo esta contigo" (Dos Santos, our friend, the people are with you) competed with bursts of celebratory gunfire and the strains of the all-night "musical marathon" that attracted tens of thousands to the city's central Kinaxixi Square.

At dawn the bleary-eyed revellers were already making their way to the central square for the peace rally to be addressed by the president on his return from Lisbon that afternoon.

Dos Santos was met by the largest turn-out seen in Luanda since the day nationalist



Dos Santos ...an enigmatic hero



Jonas Savimbi ... charismatic leader

Agostinho Neto returned from exile in 1975. Jubilant crowds stood five-deep along Revelution and Ho Chi Minh avenues leading from the airport. In the square Dos Santos lit an eternal flame to peace before telling the assembled throng: "For too long we learnt to make war, now we have to learn how to make peace."

In the weeks leading up to the end of the war the president returned-again and again in public speeches to the theme that peace does not get installed overnight and that all Angolans will have to work hard to put aside their hatred and desire for revenge in order to achieve reconciliation and real national unity.

"We need to roll up our sleeves and get down to work," said Dos Santos, "to rebuild all that the war destroyed."

United Nations experts estimate it will take billions of dollars to get Angola back on its feet. Dos Santos said he will seek \$2-billion in aid from the international community to start the reconstruction.

Economists say it will take a decade or more to restore Angola to its pre-independence level of economic activity and another decade to unleash the rich potential that can make it, along with South Africa, an economic powerhouse in sub-Saharan Africa.

How quickly prosperity comes depends on how much political stability can be guaranteed over the coming months and years. Dos Santos has warned that the new political freedom could see Angola's most able people frittering away their time in political meetings as a reputed 26 emergent parties organise to compete against the MPLA and Unita in the 1992 elections.

The MPLA's avowed willingness to enter into pre-electoral alliances or post-electoral coalitions betrays its fear of defeat at the polls. Support for Unita has yet to be gauged in practice and according to former ally, MPLA renegade Daniel Chipenda, "Unita could yet lose the election from within its own heartland, when the truth about human rights abuses within the Unita ranks becomes known".

The election campaign is sure to see "dirty laundry" aired on all sides and unpalatable truths about abuses by both MPLA and

Unita may well polarise the electorate. Allegations of ritual witch-burnings by Unita will be met by counter allegations of widespread killings and imprisonments by the MPLA in the wake of the Nito Alves coup attempt in 1977.

Corruption charges are levelled against both sides, although the MPLA as a governing party has had by far the greater gravy train. A common graffito in Angola is "MPLA gatunos, Unita assassinos" (the MPLA are thieves, Unita murderers).

It is not yet known what sort of reception Savimbi will get when he arrives in Luanda in early July. Even if he cannot match the numbers which turned out for Dos Santos in Luanda, one would expect a similar reception in his tribal stamping grounds in the Central Highlands. The MPLA is hoping that the current wave of popularity enjoyed by the enigmatic Dos Santos will boost its fortunes.

There is no mistaking that Dos Santos is seen inside Angola as a hero. He promised he would lead the country to peace and has delivered on that. But he is an insipid public speaker when compared to the charismatic Savimbi whose populist oratory goes down well with an African audience less impressed by European-style statesmanship.

Western diplomats and businessmen concur in believing that Dos Santos would make the better head of state and the expatriate business community indicates a preference to continue to deal with the MPLA government, to date a pragmatic associate.

Undoubtedly, the MPLA is also the only party with experience of government, and despite the impenetrable bureaucracy of yesteryear it is already moving to implement far-reaching changes, including privatisation of state enterprises, the trimming of some 70 000 surplus public sector workers and a change of emphasis away from central planning to Western-style management and administration techniques.

If the MPLA were to win the all-party elections in 1992, some fear Unita would return to the bush. Incongruously, Angola's best bet for the future might be a Unita-MPLA coalition — a prospect that Dos Santos does not rule out.

LUANDA — Talk in Angola a s about the "new chapter" ushered in by a complex set of carefully negotiated documents now formally signed by the Luanda government and the Unita rebels, with the United Nations, the United States, the Soviet Union and Portugal looking over their shoulders as guarantors.

But the real guarantees are neither in the documents nor in international goodwill, particularly that of the former Cold War superpowers backing the peace accord. Angolans themselves must guarantee their new chapter by writing it.

Already there are hopeful signs and changes, big and small, coming so fast that people smile and shake their heads.

"Look, now they're going to put all the old Portuguese statues back," said a Luanda woman reading the single national and state-controlled newspaper, the Journal de Angola.

The newspaper that same week carried an in-depth interview with General Arindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben, the Unita chief of staff who until then had featured in the government press as the enemy and "puppet of the white man".

Agreement

The peace agreement reached and signed in Portugal provides most of the mechanisms for consolidating a ceasefire. The Angolan government and its president are recognised, as is Unita, as legitimate political entities. General elections, to be contested too by any other political parties that emerge in the meantime and qualify for registration, will take place between September and November next year.

Further, a single national army should be forged out of the former warring sides before the elections.

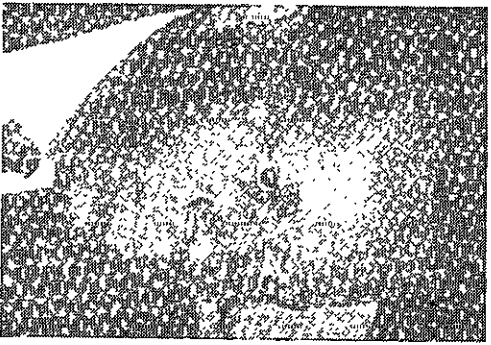
Helping the process along and there to put out wild fires when and if they start is a complicated structure of commissions to monitor events leading to general elections as envisaged in the agreement.

The government and Unita have equal status on these bodies, with UN, American, Soviet and Portuguese representatives on hand to assist.

'Psychology of peace' gains ground in Angola

South 6/6-12/6/91

(5)



Eduardo des Santos

But if these are the tools with which peace can be built, it remains for the Angolan people to pick them up and work with them.

Most importantly, the soldiers and the rebels who, until midnight on May 15 when the de facto truce came into effect were still hammering at one another with their foreign firepower, have to value cold gun barrels and talking it out with the enemy.

That might have seemed the hardest part of all in a civil conflict which has dragged on destructively for 16 years, but it was on the last battlefields of the war that a remarkable willingness to make the ceasefire work emerged just three days after the truce.

The commanders of the opposing forces met and came up with a series of initiatives not envisaged in the grand peace plan. Their aim was to safeguard the peace in its earliest and most fragile days before the formal signing and before all the monitors

The many problems facing Angola are enormous. The peace is fragile. Yet there already are signs and grounds for hope. A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT reports:



Jonas Savimbi

and verifiers had set up their watchdog bodies.

Men in uniform started talking of the "irreversibility" of peace and — with peaceful news coming in from the still smouldering battlefronts — ordinary Angolans started believing in that irreversibility themselves.

Psychology

A general psychology of peace took hold in those first modest meetings between a handful of soldiers from both sides, a psychology that subsequently grew and continues to grow at a pace which makes fresh hostilities less and less likely.

However, this is an optimistic view and the fragility of the situation cannot be underestimated. Hundreds of armed men, former enemies, are in close proximity all over the country and problems like hunger are among the most significant threats to comradely behaviour.

But so far, so good, remarkably.

Peaceful soldiers are not in themselves a sufficient guarantee of Angola's stability, however. The shards of this country urgently need to be put together again for economic recovery. While Angola has much of the raw means, in the form of its rich national resources, to achieve that, there are obstacles too.

Good government ideas about economic restructuring in Angola are notorious for getting bogged down. In the past, the war was blamed. Now it will be seen whether it was the war alone that was the problem or whether other factors must be reckoned with.

These include the bureaucratic bad habits of years of centralised control, foreign debt, the inability of middle and minor officials to execute the good ideas of one or two competent people at the top of ministries, and, as President Jose Eduardo dos Santos himself has recognised, corruption. Internal political development too

will either build or compromise national stability. Just weeks after the law on political parties in a multi-party system was passed, numerous parties are emerging, and there is no way to predict which way things will go.

Neither Unita nor the ruling MPLA Workers' Party is considered a safe bet for victory.

Denied political choices until now, ordinary Angolans — outside a minority intellectual elite in the big cities — are going to have to learn how to respond. When they begin hearing the kind of things political parties in an open system say about one another (and already there is a good deal of mud-slinging going on in Luanda), they might wonder whether they are not hearing afresh the hostile war communiques to which they had grown so accustomed.

Perception

The Angolan government is also not convinced that the creation of internal security and stability is a project that will be safe from outside interference. The perception still exists that reactionary elements within South Africa, will not allow Angola a smooth passage.

The government has not hurried its belief that South Africa remained actively involved to the last in the war on the side of Unita, in spite of the New York Accords of 1988 which expressly outlawed meddling both violently and diplomatically in the affairs of foreign countries. South African diplomats travelling to and from Luanda deny any such violations and report that the Angolan government has accepted their assurances that the South African hand is clean.

"We've accepted nothing of the kind," say Angolan government sources, and they are backed in this by senior Western diplomats in Luanda.

While economic co-operation between Angola and South Africa promises great things for both if a positive relationship can be established, the residual Angolan mistrust of the minority rulers in the powerful south is not something that South African diplomats can wish away.

Peace hopes high as Unita goes legal

By DAVID OTTAWAY: Luanda

AFTER 16 years of guerrilla warfare, the US-supported Unita returned to Luanda on Sunday to begin legal political activity. There had been no official Unita presence in the Angolan capital since 1975, when Savimbi withdrew his forces in the midst of a bloody struggle among three nationalist factions to gain control of the capital, as Portuguese colonial rulers withdrew.

The delegation was led by Elias Salupeto, Unita's chief representative on a Joint Political-Military Commission to oversee implementation of peace accords signed in Lisbon on May 31. The leftist government, party to the accords and to the commission, was supported by the Soviet Union and Cuba in the civil war that became one of Africa's longest and bloodiest conflicts.

Also aboard the plane, which came from Unita's bush headquarters in Jamba in the south-eastern corner of Angola, was Abel Chivukuvuku, who is to set up the movement's party office in Luanda. At a brief airport press conference, Salupeto said the peace process was "irreversible. We're going to have lasting peace."

Unita leaders had planned to hold rallies in Karl Marx Theater and in Soweto Square

downtown, but were unable to reach an agreement with authorities on security arrangements.

The power struggle between the two main contenders, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), armed by the Soviet Union and aided by Cuban troops, and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Unita), armed by the United States and Zaire and aided by South Africa, began 16 years ago. After a military stalemate government representatives began peace talks with Unita in Portugal in April 1990.

With the help of US, Soviet and Portuguese mediators, the two sides finally achieved the May 31 agreement. The government agreed to recognise Unita, to allow it and other parties freedom of activity and to hold internationally supervised elections late next year.

"People don't have the habit of political debate in a multi-party state," said President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in an interview last week. "It's a new situation. Until now, we've been living in a one-party state. It won't be easy."

He pointed out that democracy was attempted in 1975, with disastrous results.

Millions back charismatic rebel

LISBON — Jonas Savimbi is a flamboyant guerrilla leader whose Unita movement has fought for control of Angola since independence in 1975. Dr Savimbi began his bid to rule Angola more than two decades ago when he fought against the Portuguese, the colonial masters of the country. After their departure, the Swiss-educated Savimbi waged a bush war with aid from Pretoria and more recently from Washington, against the Soviet-backed administration in Luanda.

But peace talks in Portugal since April 1990, watched closely by Soviet and US officials whose governments backed Mr dos Santos and Dr Savimbi respectively, have nudged the Angolan government into dropping its commitment to one-party Marxism and promising a market economy.

Pledge

Now, the stocky and ebullient leader says he will move his headquarters from the southern Angolan bush back into Luanda in June, to prepare for multi-party elections in 1992 — the key pledge of the peace agreement initialled on May 1.

His pro-Western, social

(FNL), trapped soldiers of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in a pincer movement and were only kilometres away from Luanda, the MPLA's last stronghold.

But the tide turned as the MPLA, backed then by an estimated 12 000 to 18 000 Cuban troops, swept through the country and won wide recognition as the government of independent Angola.

Dr Savimbi, who describes his movement's political philosophy as social democratic, has acknowledged accepting aid from Pretoria, although as a black man he says he was always opposed to apartheid.

Mr Dos Santos has to date always ruled out any question of sharing power with Dr Savimbi.

Dr Savimbi, who lives with his wife Vinona in Jamba, his "provisional capital" of thatched houses in the bush, projects a colourful image, routinely toting



QUOTES CLAUSEWITZ: Dr. Jonas Savimbi

1990, also fuelled controversy.

At one stage in 1975 it seemed Dr Savimbi would become the next president of Angola. During a civil war between various nationalist movements that accompanied the Portuguese withdrawal, his troops came close to controlling the country.

Unita and its allies, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola

pearl-handled revolvers at periodic news conferences in Jamba. His persuasive charisma contrasted sharply with Mr dos Santos's shy reserve, and has made him a cult figure to his troops.

The son of a railway station master, Joao Malheiro Savimbi was born in the central Angolan town of Munhango on August 3, 1934. He studied medicine in Lisbon and political science in Lausanne, Switzerland.

He formed Unita in 1961, which he says was born as an army of "12 people with knives".

By the time war with Portugal had ended he boasted 5 000 guerrillas and — by his ethnic links with the Ovimbundu, Angola's largest tribe — the support of 40 percent of Angola's 6 million people. — Sapa-Reuter.

● SEE PAGE 6 / ON P1

Technocrat president has quiet skills to offer

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who signed a ceasefire accord yesterday with rebels, is a Soviet-trained oil engineer seeking peace after 16 years of civil war.

He was appointed president in 1979 as an uncontroversial replacement for his charismatic predecessor Agostinho Neto, having been thrown into politics while a teenager in the final years of Portuguese colonial rule.

Now he and his former foe, flamboyant Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, say they can offer peace to a country which has been in the grip of tribal, slave, colonial, independence, regional conflicts for hundreds of years, and a Cold War for decades.



SOVIET-TRAINED:
President dos Santos

Mr Dos Santos (49), a tall and impassive man whose modesty has won him praise from his ruling MPLA-Workers' Party, seems an unlikely architect of this difficult peace.

But the technocrat president, who has worked hard to bring stability to a nation for years on the brink of economic and political collapse, has always confounded expectations.

With no real power base in the ruling party, the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), he was never thought to be any threat to the traditional party bosses of the Luanda administration.

But he has quietly steered the MPLA away from Marxism and set in motion a move to a market economy and democracy demanded by Dr Savimbi's Unita.

Improving

Mr Dos Santos has presided over the end of a bitter regional conflict which put South African troops into the south of Angola in the 1970s and 1980s. The once tense relations with Pretoria are now improving.

He has also relinquished the support of 50 000 Cuban troops who buttressed his own 150 000-strong army in its fight against Unita.

The phased pullout, linked with a South African withdrawal from An-

gola and neighbouring Namibia, was completed ahead of schedule.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos was born on August 28, 1942, in a working-class family in Luanda. His father was a mason and his mother a housemaid.

He entered politics at 19, just before the MPLA launched its armed struggle against Portuguese colonial rule in February 1961.

Fleeing north to Zaire together with hundreds of thousands of Angolans to escape Portuguese repression, he later became vice-president of the MPLA's youth movement in Leopoldville, now known as Kinshasa. He was also appointed the party's first representative in Brazzaville in neighbouring Congo.

In 1962, he joined the MPLA guerillas in the field but his first experience of the bush war was brief. He left for Moscow the following year for further studies on a Soviet scholarship.

Expert

In June 1969, he obtained a degree in petroleum engineering, but stayed on in the Soviet Union to train as a military telecommunications expert until 1970.

It was then that he returned to Angola to act as a radio operator with the MPLA until the Portuguese revolution in April 1974 put an end to the guerilla war.

He holds the rank of major in the Angolan army and although he is now commander-in-chief of the armed forces, he made his name as a technician rather than as a guerilla leader (although a recent official biography describes him as "a prominent fighter").

One of his first acts after being named president was to launch a drive against official corruption and inefficiency.

Mr Dos Santos married his second wife, Ana Paula de Lemos, in May 1991. He has six children.
— Sapa-Reuter.

AND EDITORIAL PAGE 12.

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UN will monitor Angola ceasefire

NEW YORK — The United Nations Security Council voted unanimously this week to expand the Angola UN peacekeeping force from 60 to 350 military observers to monitor a ceasefire and the peace accords signed in Lisbon yesterday.

The 15 council members also voted unanimously to extend until November 1992 the mandate of the UN's Angola Verification Mission at a cost of about R330 million.

The mission already had been monitoring the withdrawal of Cuban forces, which was completed last week. UN officials said the world body might be called upon to monitor free elections in Angola.

Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, currently in Lisbon for the signing, has said that the current force is inadequate to monitor the peace accords.

The expanded force would include 350 military observers, up to 90 police observers, a 14-member medical unit, civilian support staff of 80 UN workers and 80 locally recruited personnel. — Sapa-AP.

Angola holds peace Mass

LUANDA — Thousands of people, including President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, crammed into Angola's biggest sports stadium yesterday for an ecumenical Mass to give thanks for an end to 30 years of war.

Catholic, Protestant and minority faiths in Angola flocked to take part in the service, held at the Cidadela stadium after Mr. dos Santos and Dr. Jonas Savimbi, leader of the rebel movement Unita, signed a peace agreement in Portugal on Friday.

State radio said at least 31 people had been injured in wild celebration parties since the pact was signed in Lis-

bon. The ceremony was broadcast live.

Most of Angola's nine million citizens have never known peace. Fighting started with an uprising against Portuguese colonial rule in February 1961 and turned into civil war between rival nationalist groups after independence in 1975.

Hundreds of the estimated 40 000 worshippers at the Cidadela Mass walked miles to the stadium.

A disabled young woman made her way there on her hands and knees. With a wide smile and a shirt proclaiming "peace", she said: "I am here to give thanks to

God for the peace."

When a pastor announced Mr. dos Santos was present, the crowd rose to applaud, with loud cries of "Dos Santos, Dos Santos".

He received a hero's welcome when he returned from Lisbon on Saturday.

His Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has ruled since independence with Soviet and Cuban support. But earlier this year it ditched Marxism for social democracy, a market economy and a multiparty state.

Angola's first free elections will be held late next year. — Sapa-Reuters.

Factions battle on in Angola

⑤ 17/6/91
LUANDA — Factions of the once-defunct Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) are continuing their armed struggle for independence in oil-rich Cabinda, Angola's northernmost province, reports said yesterday.

Ignoring the May 31 peace accord ending 16 years of civil war between Angola's government and Unita, the disparate groups which claim to represent FLEC continued this month to make sporadic attacks. Eight civilians were said to have been wounded in the most recent attack.

The Angolan armed forces say FLEC is not a threat, as it is not known to receive support from abroad.

A delegation of about 50 former Unita guerillas, meanwhile, was expected to fly in to the capital yesterday to join a ceasefire monitoring commission set up by the peace accords.

The rebels also intend to set up an office in Luanda from where Unita will plan its campaign for the nation's first free elections, due in the first half of 1992.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi says he will return to Luanda early in July.
— Sapa-Reuter-AP

US votes to continue covert aid to Unita

WASHINGTON. — The US House of Representatives voted yesterday to continue covert aid to Angolan rebels, less than two weeks after the country concluded a historic peace accord.

But the aid, supported by the Bush administration, will be sharply pared back from the \$60 million annual level Unita has received through the CIA in recent years, and it will be strictly non-military in conformance with the peace agreement, sources said. The 1992 aid level was set at \$20 million (R50m), sources disclosed.

The money can be used to feed and sustain the idled Unita forces, help them with a transition into civilian life and provide civil administrative services for the large part of Angola that has been under rebel control, an administration source said.

Some have said that its covert nature will also allow political help to Unita as it campaigns for power in a new government, but the administration official denied that was the aim. — Sapa-AP

Crime wave rises as Angola's war recedes

8/Day 10/6/91.
LUANDA — Within days of the signing of a ceasefire ending 16 years of civil war in Angola the country is suffering renewed violence as armed gangs roam its capital's streets amid a rising crime wave.

"From all over the country news is coming in of a growth in violence at a time when one war has ended," the state-owned *Jornal de Angola* said at the weekend.

"Luanda doesn't deserve to become the haunt of armed gangs now. We need to fill up the trenches in the streets and silence the weapons in the suburbs."

The May 31 peace agreement signed between the government and Unita calls for the demobilisation of about 160 000 soldiers from the two sides, at war since independence from Portugal in 1975.

Fears are growing that the demobilised men will swell the ranks of thousands of deserters and criminals whose underworld activities are hitting the headlines in the nation's press.

Jornal de Angola said appropriate measures should be taken to combat a predictable rise in crime, bearing in mind that the mass demobilisation had not yet

been carried out and that the economy of this once-wealthy country was shattered.

"The crime stories appearing in the paper now are the first indication that there is non-political banditry in Angola, which we never knew before," a Western diplomat said.

Military sources said there were more weapons outside than within government army stores, many of them furtively on sale at semi-legal street markets. The sources said some were sold by departing Cuban troops who finished their withdrawal last month. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA sends aid to relieve famine in Angola (S)

^{31 Jan}
WINDHOEK — SA has donated 40 tons of ^{28/6/91} skimmed milk powder to Angola for distribution in the famine-stricken southern regions of the country.

A news release issued by the SA representative in Namibia said the aid, which included a ton of sugar and wheat flour and was worth R250 000, would be sent from Namibia to Angola by the UN agency, World Food Programme (WFP).

The consignment is scheduled to arrive today in Otavi, northern Namibia, where

the milk powder will be blended with maize flour before transportation.

The WFP is managing the UN's Special Relief Programme for Angola (SRPA), which has included four relief aid convoys from Bagani, northern Namibia, to the Mavinga region of south-eastern Angola.

The agency is co-ordinating the airlift from Rundu of 21 000 tons of food and medical supplies to two towns in south-eastern Angola. — Sapa.

Angola 'sets example'

St Times 9/6/91
UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi this week said a peaceful resolution of the Angolan conflict would serve as a useful example for Mozambique, also about to embark on a peace process.

Speaking in Paris, he said it might also bring about reconciliation in South Africa.

Dr. Savimbi said State President FW de

Sunday Times Reporter: London

Klerk was "a courageous man who deserved to be supported".

"Even though the OAU has called for sanctions to be maintained against SA, the fact that they have noted changes in the country has been a positive development." Dr Savimbi arrived in Paris as a

presidential candidate asking for French government and private sector assistance to rebuild Angola.

In a television interview, Dr. Savimbi said when he returned to Angola next month he expected to be enthusiastically received as Angolans regarded him as the person who had expelled the Cubans and Soviets from their country.

He told business leaders he had refused to accept an earlier peace initiative from the frontline states which would have meant him going into two years of exile in exchange for recognition of Unita by the MPLA.

Traitor

"I have not been defeated by the MPLA and therefore felt in no way obliged to accept this imposed settlement."

Dr Savimbi said certain African countries and the Nigerians in particular had accused him of being a traitor for accepting help from South Africa during the civil war.

"Survival led me to do so," he said.

Factors which had contributed to the ending of the war were

- An end to superpower rivalry in Africa.
- The withdrawal of Cuban and Soviet forces from Angola.
- The independence of Namibia.
- The internal developments taking place in South Africa.

Angola dances for joy

By JUDITH MATLOFF
Lisbon

THOUSANDS of jubilant Angolan exiles drank and danced in Lisbon this weekend to celebrate the signing of an agreement to end 16 years of civil war that has devastated their country.

Church bells rang across the city on Friday as Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi signed the document formally ending the bloodshed in which at least 300 000 died.

The ceremony at the Foreign Ministry's banquet hall put the final touches to a year-long process mediated by Portugal, Angola's colonial ruler until independence in 1975.

"This is a moment of enormous joy and emotion," Mr Dos Santos said after signing the 66-page agreement. A new era of peace has begun.

The accord, which ends one of Africa's longest run-

PEACE AT LAST AFTER 30 YEARS OF WAR

ing wars, provides for Angola's first multi-party elections, between September and November 1992.

Witnesses to the signing included US Secretary of State James Baker and his Soviet counterpart, Alexander Bessmertnykh, whose governments have pledged to suspend military aid to UNITA and Luanda respectively.

Also present were Organisation of African Unity chairman Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, and General Xavier Peres de Cuelar.

As the dignitaries cele-

brated at a gala dinner in the sumptuous Quetz Palace, parties erupted in the stone streets and cobblestone streets of Lisbon.

Crowds of Angolan exiles toasted peace. Johning them were many Portuguese who once lived in the former colony — home to 10-million people — and are now considering returning to the shattered country, which is potentially rich in oil, diamonds and agriculture.

They hope the accord will end three decades of bloodshed — 14 years of guerrilla struggle against colonial rule followed by 16 years of war between UNITA and the leftist MPLA, which had set up a one-party state with Cuban and Soviet support.

The agreement superseded a provisional ceasefire between UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola).

The UN is deploying several hundred observers



Jonas Savimbi shakes hands with Eduardo dos Santos as Portuguese premier Anibal Cavaco Silva looks on to oversee the agreement and prepare for elections. France, Britain and Portugal will help prepare a new slimmed down 50 000-man Angolan armed force. During the transition, a political-military commission of Portuguese, US and Soviet observers and members of the two Angolan sides will take charge. It is

Gola and "rogue elements" might stir up trouble making it difficult to maintain law and order.

The MPLA, Angola's sole post-colonial ruler, says more than 300 000 Angolans died in the fighting after independence in 1975, that 500 000 were displaced or fled as refugees to neighbouring countries, and that up to 100 000 were wounded or mutilated.

The economy of what is potentially one of the wealthiest countries in Africa is in ruins.

The best assessment is that it will take billions of dollars to restore roads, railways, buildings and farming.

The government must also find jobs for up to 200 000 demobilised fighting men and women at a time when the overstated public sector is facing 70 000 redundancies.

Mr Dos Santos admitted that the government would be unable to cope without international help.

Angola hopes to cement US ties

LUANDA — Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said on Monday he would soon free political prisoners and was working to establish diplomatic ties with the US. (5)

"In principle it has been agreed that prisoners will be freed, including other prisoners taken during the war by both Unita and the government, and this also means there will be an amnesty," he told reporters before flying to Nigeria for an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit.

Dos Santos signed a peace agreement in Portugal last week with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, ending a bloody 16-year-old civil war.

There are no official figures on prisoners of war and Dos Santos' ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) denies it holds political prisoners.

But human rights and emerging opposition groups say that at least 30 000 people disappeared in the decade following a coup attempt in 1977.

Asked whether he had discussed establishing diplomatic links between Luanda and Washington with US Secretary of State James Baker when they met on Friday at the Lisbon peace signing ceremony, the Angolan president said: *Monday 4/6/91*

"The subject was discussed and we said the process of normalisation of relations should be gradual, a first stage being the opening by the US of an office in Angola." — Sapa-Reuter.

Guns quiet over Angola

Sowetan 3/6/91. (5)

LUANDA - Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi have signed a peace agreement in Lisbon that has been hammered out through agonising political negotiation.

But it is in Angola - the battlefields of the 16-year civil war - that the agreement must be made to hold together.

And already the war-weary soldiers have begun seeing to that.

The peace package, negotiated over a year at senior political and military level, was necessary to create the conditions for an end to hostilities.

But soldier-to-soldier is where it all stands or falls.

And it is at that level that remarkable things have been happening inside Angola in the past two weeks.

Luena, capital of Angola's eastern province Mexico, saw the last big battle of the war.

For 45 days from April 1, the citizens of the government-held town covered while Unita shells fell night and day.

Ironically it was in this place where the fighting had been fiercest that the commanders of the government's armed forces, Fapla, and of the Unita army, Fala, shook hands for the first time and decided to make peace work.

The official peace package was put together by the warring sides with mediation by Angola's former colonial power, Portugal, and with the Soviets and the Americans, the former Cold

As guns fell silent over Luena in eastern Angola - the scene of the final fierce battles between Unita and government forces - soldiers who had been fighting one another were shaking hands and making sure peace has a chance, reports DALE LAUTENBACH of the Sowetan Africa News Service.

War antagonists in Angola, playing a crucial role.

The agreements, initiated by the negotiating teams on May 1, envisaged a de facto ceasefire from May 15, followed by the formal signing at the end of the month.

Only thereafter would formal United Nations monitoring of the ceasefire begin with Portuguese, Americans and Soviets as observers.

All Fapla and Unita troops and paramilitary personnel will gather at 50 sites to be established throughout the country where their weapons will be handed in, stored and guarded.

Free elections

From about 200 000 men to be demobilised, a national army of 50 000 will be formed.

The international observers monitoring the ceasefire will remain in the country to smooth the path to free and fair elections between September and November next year.

It is estimated that the international contribution to the operation will cost about R687 million.

But when the guns fell quiet over Luena in the early hours of May 16, there was no one around to safeguard the stillness except the very soldiers who had been killing each other just hours before.

Peace was fragile and there were no politicians around to formalise it.

The soldiers themselves made the first move, through the mediation of an Angolan journalist.

At a rickety table in the middle of the bush alongside the Cassiondo River as it flows past Luena, the Fapla and Unita forces shook hands for the first time and made their own on-the-spot arrangements to implement the ceasefire.

So far the peace has held and the two armies are jointly monitoring incoming supplies and beginning to clear the extensive minefields, which pose a serious threat to the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of Angolans displaced by war.

Reflecting the spirit of change in Angola, the government newspaper *Jornal de Angola*, published an in-depth interview with the Unita army's chief of staff, General Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben, under the headline "In Search of Lost Time".

Reconciliation

It was the first time the voice of Unita had been heard directly through the government news media.

If the reconciliation is threatened by anything at present it is the elementary issue of hunger.

At the military airbase in Luanda I saw a minor food riot among Fapla soldiers.

The cause of the dispute was a single can of

peaches but it had one soldier being brutally kicked, AK-47 bullets slamming into the air and officers running around with pistols drawn.

Ushering me out of the way of stray bullets, a smiling young soldier offered me a small can of sweet, cool apple juice.

He punched a hole in the top for me ... with a bullet held in his hand.

In Luena I witnessed a similar desperation around the first air delivery of food monitored by both Fapla and Unita.

A soldier was arrested for attempted theft while the trucks were being loaded.

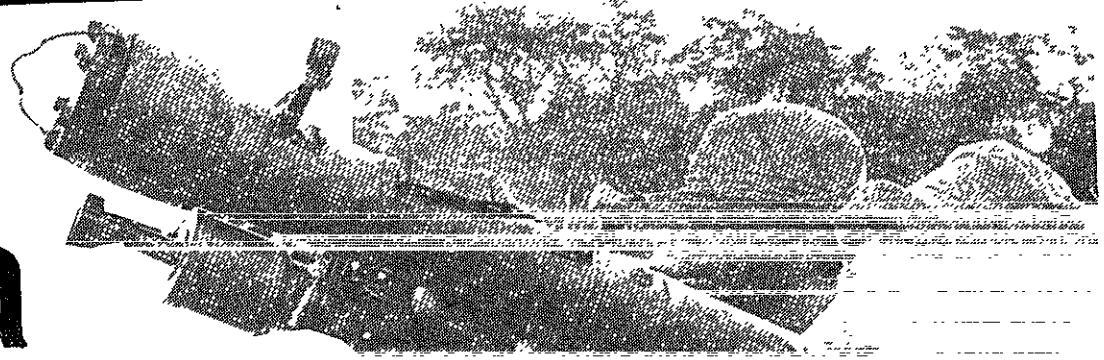
Food shortages

Once they rumbled out of the airbase, packed so precariously that some boxes would clearly fall off along the bumpy roads, they had travelled only metres before the first shots were heard, presumably to drive away hungry Angolans trying to grab the fallen food.

Similarly, the United Nations Special Relief Programme for Angola reports "continued incidents of violence in Lobito due to food shortages, some of which occurred during unloading of food aid".

And all this violence has just been on the side of Fapla.

As Fapla and the Unita men find themselves in close peaceful contact it would be a profound reflection of the devastation that war has caused in Angola if hostilities were sparked again by something as mundane as the desire of hungry men for canned peaches.



With the ceasefire between Angolan the government and Unita rebels, these weapons will become a sad reminder of the war.

28/6/91
SA gives Angola

28/6/91
powdered milk

WINDHOEK — South Africa has donated 40 tons of skimmed milk powder to Angola for distribution in the famine-stricken southern regions of the country.

The food aid consignment, which includes a ton of sugar and wheat flour and is worth R250 000, will be transported from Namibia to Angola by the UN's World Food Programme.

The South African donation is set to arrive in Otavi, northern Namibia, today where the milk powder will be blended with maize flour before transportation.

The World Food Programme is currently co-ordinating the airlifting from Rundu, northern Namibia, of 21 000 tons of food aid and medical supplies to two towns in south-eastern Angola.

The UN relief programme aims to distribute 118 000 tons of relief supplies to almost 2 million people facing famine, mainly in the centre and south of Angola, caused by years of drought and 16 years of civil war. — Sapa.

Angola peace signed

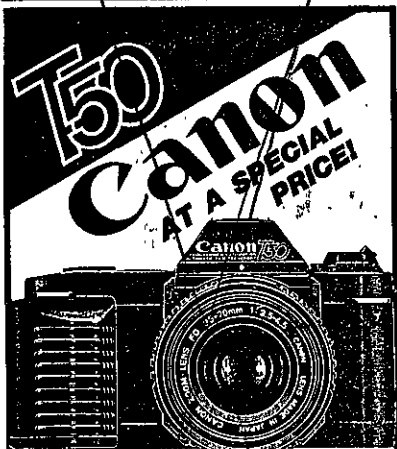
②
CT 1/6/91

NO SHARE GAME TODAY

THE Johannesburg Stock Exchange was closed yesterday so there is no Cape Times/Share Challenge competition today.

Yesterday the Cape Times was unable to publish a complete list of Thursday's closing prices because of a computer fault at the JSE.

The next Share Challenge round will be on Tuesday when the Cape Times publishes Monday's closing share prices.



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LISBON. — Church bells pealed and champagne flowed last night when the Angolan peace accord was finally signed after 16 years of civil war.

The signing by Angola's marxist head of state, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and his pro-Western opponent, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, took place under the watchful eyes of the United States and the Soviet Union, former backers of opposing sides in the bloody conflict — one of Africa's longest.

The formal end to the strife, in which South Africa had played a major role and which had exacted a heavy toll from the country in casualties and resources, was welcomed last night by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

He said the SA government regarded it as a historic step in the development of peace and stability for the whole Southern African region.

He expressed Pretoria's appreciation to Portugal and to the United States and the USSR for their "constructive contribution".

The agreement — four documents and more than 1 500 pages, known as the Estoril Accord — provides for a June 1 ceasefire, UN-supervised monitoring, merging of the two armies, prisoner exchanges and free multi-party elections after September next year.

The ceremony in the sumptuous Lisbon Foreign Ministry state rooms was chaired by Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, whose government brokered the six-round, 12-month negotiations.

Arms agreements

Also present were UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, US Secretary of State Mr James Baker and his Soviet counterpart, Mr Alexander Bessmertnykh.

Champagne flowed with toasts proposed at a formal celebratory dinner hosted later by Portuguese President Mario Soares.

The presence of Mr Baker, who in separate bilateral talks discussed the Middle East and arms agreements with Mr Bessmertnykh, was seen here as a sign of growing US interest in filling the superpower void left on the African continent. The US has had a fairly high profile in current developments in Ethiopia.

The Angolan peace deal spells the beginning of the end of one-party marxist rule in Angola and the virtual downfall of marxism in all five of the former Portuguese African colonies, which over the past 18 months have moved or begun moving towards a multi-party Western-style government in the wake of Soviet and East bloc changes.

Bunting and flags went up all over the capital for a 24-hour party.

The Angolan government said in a statement in Luanda that the peace settlement was "a victory of all the Angolan people" and pledged to create the conditions to attract back to Angola all those in exile "whose intelligence and strong arms will help to build the new Angola".

Angola is rich in oil, diamonds and agriculture. It is Africa's second oil producer after Nigeria, drawing about 450 000 barrels a day of crude from offshore wells.

Infrastructure has been virtually destroyed, with most imports coming only as far as big port towns such as Luanda and Benguela.

Mr Dos Santos this week appealed to the international community for big injections of aid to rebuild roads and railways, in particular the long-disused Benguela railway line which once linked the Atlantic Ocean port with Zaire and inland Zambia. — Sapa-Reuter-AP and Daily Telegraph

Unita holds first rally⁵ in Luanda

LUANDA — About 10 000 people attended the Angolan rebel movement Unita's first political rally here yesterday since it abandoned the capital 16 years ago to fight the country's government. 9724691

The meeting, in Kinaxixi Square, included some 5 000 participants carrying Unita flags and pictures of rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Angolan police, including a mounted force, enforced tight security in and around the square. However, the atmosphere was relaxed and the rally passed off without incident.

"Peace is irreversible, and nobody can undermine it," Unita official Mr. Elias Salupeta Pena told the crowd. — Sapa-AP

Angola's search for integrity

Skw 6/6/91

(5)

The ceasefire for Angola is signed and the way is now clear for multiparty elections and an open society. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star's Africa Service found the political scene alive with change and signs that even the present one-party-state rulers are ready to adapt.

PRESIDENT Jose Eduardo dos Santos, once leader of a one-party Marxist/leninist state, went to church on Sunday.

His presence at the outdoor ecumenical Mass joining Angola's predominantly Catholic believers with Protestants and other minority faiths to give thanks for peace is a reflection of just how much has changed in Angola in recent months.

It would not be too cynical to suggest that the president was electioneering for his ruling MPLA party when he attended the Mass and was reportedly greeted by thousands of celebrants with cheers of "Dos Santos". The president is mindful of the potentially powerful role of the churches will play in formulating public opinion, and having acted against the churches in the past, the MPLA has ground to recover.

It remains surprising, though, how quickly formerly one-party multiparty politics, playing Angola goes to the polls between September and November next year in terms of a ceasefire agreement normally signed with the Unita rebels on Friday, and there is no single group clearly in the running for a victory.

There is much talk in Luanda of an emerging third force, but it is still much too early to spot with any certainty which of the new groups hoping to challenge the MPLA and Unita at the polls will grow to win credibility... and votes.

An uncertain, but large and growing, number of opposition groups has emerged, and while a government source has said there are as many as 26 new parties, only eight are so far known to have sought information about registration.

Most of the emerging parties, apart from one or two with somewhat reactionary historical traditions, are flying the newly fashionable flag of democracy, and before long the best of them will have to form alliances. At the moment they are still at the stage of making loud claims about membership while exchanging insults with other groups of very similar-sounding political agendas.

President dos Santos has made it plain that his party is not above an electoral alliance, even with Unita. And already his movements have been so restricted in the past by the war — he is campaigning for support. Apart from his clever attendance at the Mass he sidled in visits to Benguela, Lobito and Huambo even before the formal ceasefire was signed.

His party's main disadvantage at the polls would seem to be the prevailing popular perception of MPLA bungling and corruption. In addition, the highly centralised and fanatically bureaucratic style that has been associated with MPLA rule does little to ease the hardship of ordinary Angolan living.



Mindful of public opinion... President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola surrounded by cheering crowds.

Exhausted by astonishingly over-hurricane-rattled civic life, Luandans joke about the peculiar blend with which they struggle: "Take 18th century Portuguese bureaucracy, add

the Soviet influence and top up with the African factor and you have... The answer is a knowning chuckle.

Recognising that its best election ticket is an improvement in the quality of life of struggling citizens and that that requires money, the MPLA is also trying to improve the image of Angola on the continent and internationally.

Angolans are beginning to feature in opinion-making forums — with an Angolan heading the African Development Bank and another as candidate for the executive committee of the Organisation of African Unity.

While MPLA corruption — and Mr dos Santos himself admits this to be a problem — could be its Achilles heel at the polls, the perception of Unita as killers could be that movement's greatest weakness.

Joaquim Pinto de Andrade is an opposition voice who is still resisting the temptation to transform his Angolan Civic Association into a political party; seeing instead the need for a forum in which people are free to debate.

He fears an electoral victory for the MPLA or Unita, and hopes an alliance will emerge from the opposition.

But there is a danger in this multiplication (of parties). Many of them have no clear programme. In Africa especially, people don't vote for a political programme, they look for credible personalities. We need a credible, moral person in Angola. □

Picture: Dale Lautenbach

Back to the Angolan front in Buffels — but with food, not guns and bullets

By HENRI DU PLESSIS
Staff Reporter

WE were all between 18 and 22 years old. We sat in the back of a Buffel, strapped in, with bush hats on and clamping our rifles between our knees.

The border town of Santa Clara was all shot up, a few Unita soldiers lounging about, cigarettes clenched between tense lips.

We were fit, aggressive, hungry and spoiling for a fight, the tedious trip from Ondangwa having been the only damper. Our Buffel was one of a long convoy of Buffels heading for Ngiva, 50km inside Angola.

I was much older when the World Food Programme's convoy crossed the border at Mucusso to head towards Mavinga. I was in the back of a different sort of vehicle.

We were far more relaxed and my fitness was very suspect, to say the least. The night before, Unita's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos had signed a peace pact in Portugal.

There was no chance of landmines, because we were moving into an area controlled by Unita for many years. UN convoys from Luanda faced landmines which had not yet been removed on the roads to Cuito Cuanavale and other disputed towns, but we were some distance away.

There was no threat of sudden ambush. Only a frightfully bumpy track in the softest sand in the world.

It would take us six days to reach Mavinga, offload much needed food, and return to the Namibian border, even though we only had to travel some 200km.

There would be no stopping to sleep. Only when the vehicles broke down or when we reached a place where we had to meet locals, did we stop for long enough to prepare a meal or make coffee.

While the passengers had little sleep, the drivers were far worse off.

There were relief drivers, but the opportunities to change over were few and far between.

Halucinations were the greatest problem for the drivers, especially at night.

"I see animals, lots of animals — leopards flying through the bush at the height of the cab windows," said driver and

A CONVOY into an Angola in peace is a far cry from the military convoys that crisscrossed the country's southern parts so often in the past. Staff Reporter HENRI du PLESSIS had done both — the military type in 1983 and the peacetime one last week with a United Nations supply convoy. He compares notes.

⑤ AEGUS
14/6/91
INTO ANGOLA
World Food Programme



Riaan Korsten



Bobby Walker

mechanic Riaan Korsten of Otjiwarongo.

"We all know there are no animals like that in this part of the country and then on top of it, they definitely cannot fly.

"One night, I saw people walking in the track ahead. Carlos (Veloso, a UN man from Luanda) was sleeping next to me in the cab. I actually stopped, greeted the people and said: 'What do you want?' Carlos woke up and asked me who the hell I was talking to and I looked again to see there was nobody there," said truck owner Bobby Walker of Melkbosstrand.

"You see women in the road and as you approach, they fall flat and grow tall before disappearing. There are eyes staring at you all the time from the bush.

"The first time I saw these things, I thought I was going mad so I did not want to talk to anybody about it. Then one of my drivers came up to me one day and in a confidential tone explained to me he had this problem. I felt much better when I realised I was not the only one affected."

Convoy driving takes a heavy toll on the lorries. During the previous convoy, the lorries were loaded with about 15 tons each and broken springs were a common problem.

On this convoy, U-bolt clamps holding the springs broke, starter motors failed and several of the vehicles were soon without brakes. A short-wheel base Unimog taken along as a mobile workshop

The local population was cold and distant back in 1983. They would avoid looking you in the eye and try to keep as far away as possible. Only the children would come closer to beg for sweets from the SADF issue ration packs we carried.

Information about water holes, the positions of settlements and roads were given grudgingly with sparse detail.

The UN convoy's arrival at Likuwa attracted great public interest — children ran alongside the lorries and people waved.

gave up all together and made the return journey on the back of the Samil.



READY TO ROLL: The United Nations convoy, top picture, is lined up alongside the road at the Mucusso border crossing in Angola. Bottom picture shows women singing and dancing at a "cultural show" held in honour of the UN convoy at Likuwa. Pics: H du PLESSIS, The Argus.

Star 17/6/91

Unita delegation set to arrive in Luanda today

LUANDA — A delegation from Angola's Unita rebel movement is due to arrive in Luanda this afternoon for the historic first meeting of the Joint Political-Military Commission (JPMC) set up to oversee the ceasefire in the country's 15-year-long civil war.

It will be the first time Unita members have officially and openly been in the Angolan capital since the beginning of the civil war in 1975.

The delegation had been expected to arrive on Saturday, and during the day cars circulated through the city flying the Unita flag and carrying giant photographs of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

The head of the Unita delegation has been named as Elias Salupeto Pena. — Star Africa Service.

Angola gets premier again

By Dale Lautenbach
Star Africa Service 25/6/91

WINDHOEK — Angola has its first prime minister in 14 years — former minister of planning Fernando Jose de Franca van Dunem.

Angolan government sources in Luanda said Dr van Dunem's appointment would be officially announced soon and that the appointment of a prime minister was a reflection of the present MPLA government "gearing up" to the new political life which promises multiparty elections by November next year.

Dr van Dunem, a doctor of law, was appointed minister of planning almost a year ago as a man equipped to lead the Angolan economic system away from central planning to a more open system in which free-mar-

ket forces were recognised.

Western diplomats in Luanda have had little praise for Dr van Dunem's competence, but his appointment as prime minister is almost certainly a measure of confidence in his abilities by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and the ruling party.

Tipped

Angola's previous prime minister, Lopo do Nascimento, held office in 1977. Asked why the position was scrapped at the time, an Angolan government source shrugged and said: "It's the way one-party systems work".

Mr do Nascimento, who in recent months was widely tipped to become prime minister once again, also has a prominent position in Angolan political life now as minister of territorial administration and

special political adviser to the president. He led the Angolan government delegation at the peace talks and now heads the Joint Political and Military Commission (CCPM) in which the Unita rebels and the government share a forum to oversee the peace process.

In a recent interview with The Star's Africa News Service while he was still minister of planning, Dr van Dunem said he foresaw his ministry moving away from one of control and regulation to one of providing guidance.

"The Planning Ministry will only be a guide, presenting the objectives the government wants to attain but letting the economic agents do the rest," he said.

He criticised the former price-fixing methods of the centralised economy as one which created enormous distortions

because the real cost of goods was never taken into consideration.

The price of Angolan-essentially television sets, for example, had risen seven times in one leap, but "if we're to enter a free-market economy we have to give goods real prices; the law of supply and demand must prevail".

Criticism

Asked why the shift to a less controlled system was taking so long (the probable reason for the Western diplomats' criticism of Dr van Dunem), he said the main obstacles had been the war and a lack of expertise. "We don't have the right people in the right places. What counted in the past was their political fidelity in the confusion of party and State," he said.

● Peace brings Aids threat — Page 17

Angola peace brings threat of Aids and other diseases

Star 25/6/91

LUANDA — As Angola's 16-year civil war and prolonged famine slip into the past, doctors are bracing themselves for an expected onslaught of diseases across the country.

They are worried about the spread of Aids as up to 160 000 soldiers are demobilised from Angola's two wartime armies.

Compounding the problem are some 800 000 displaced people returning to their homes.

Doctors say thousands of Angolans, whose resistance to disease has been lowered by years of trauma and inadequate food, may succumb to diseases such as like measles and malaria.

"Apart from malaria, the commonest problems we have seen here have been urinary infections and venereal disease," said Mario Casuke, a nurse at a clinic on the outskirts of the eastern town of Luena.

The civil war between Unita and the MPLA ended with a peace agreement on May 31.

"We have some preliminary data on Aids, which so far doesn't seem to be a very big problem here," said Stefan van der Borcht of the international medical relief organisation, Medecins Sans Frontieres.

The ministry of health says there are between 200 and 220 cases in the whole country, which seems unrealistically low.

The information came from blood transfusion checks in six of Angola's 18 provinces.

"But as soon as the war is over there will be free circulation of people and there's more danger of the disease spreading. We need information, condoms and a proper Aids programme," Mr van der Borcht said.

"Efforts so far have been symbolic. If you give out three million condoms in Huambo province, for instance, it looks good. But that means the one-and-a-half million people in the province can only make love twice before the supplies run out."

Doctors also expect a rise in injuries from mines planted during the war.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos recently said 80 000 people were injured in the fighting.

Angola's population of about nine million has a higher proportion of people with missing limbs than any other country in the world, according to aid agencies.

Lifting mines from roads and railways is one of the main reconstruction jobs. But Unita

Brigadier Geraldo Abreu told reporters in Luena recently that removing mines was technically complicated.

Military sources say it could take years to lift the mines.

"In the short term, the risks are higher now there's peace," International Red Cross worker Francois Blaise said in the central city of Huambo. "Things will get worse before they get better."

Mr van der Borcht said: "If people change their environment, they can't cope so well with new germs. Diseases like diarrhoea and malaria will spread."

Among other risks facing Angolans was tuberculosis, he said. "Almost no one has completed their course of medication because they fled from their homes, so there is a lot of resistance to treatment now."

One positive consequence of the war's end was that several provinces had become easier to visit in recent weeks.

Famine relief

These included the central and southern provinces which have been the target of a United Nations emergency programme in the past year, aimed at providing food supplies to an estimated 1.9 million people at risk from famine and drought.

After three dry years, plentiful rains fell from last November, reducing the chances of widespread hunger.

"My colleagues have visited Huila and Cunene provinces in the last few weeks. There is no drought there, and no famine," said one aid worker who asked not to be named.

The UN emergency programme runs out on June 30, and aid workers said it would make sense for the international body to switch from emergency to development aid.

"It will have a negative effect on the local market to keep dumping grain in these areas, which keeps prices low," another aid worker said.

Otto Esslan, UN resident representative in Luanda, said the flow of demobilised soldiers and returning villagers meant emergency care would still probably be needed for about 1.2 million people.

He said the nature of UN aid to Angola would change gradually over the next 24 months, to allow time for elections planned in late 1992 and one harvest after that.

"This will give the government time to do a little planning." — Sapa-Reuter

Wild Angolan peace parties

LUANDA. — Thousands of people, including President José Eduardo dos Santos, crammed into Angola's biggest sports stadium for an ecumenical Mass to give thanks for an end to 30 years of war.

Catholic, Protestant and minority faiths in Angola took part in the service, held at the Cidadela sports stadium after Mr Dos Santos and Mr Jonas Savimbi, leader of the rebel movement Unita, signed a peace agreement in Portugal on Friday.

State radio said at least 31 people had been injured in wild celebration parties since the pact was signed in a Lisbon ceremony broadcast live to Luanda.

⑤ Most of Angola's nine million citizens have never known peace. Fighting started with an uprising against Portuguese colonial rule in February 1961 and turned into civil war between rival nationalist groups after independence in 1975.

Hundreds of the estimated 40,000 worshippers at the Cidadela mass walked miles to get to the stadium.

Mr Dos Santos's Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has ruled since independence with Soviet and Cuban support. But this year it ditched Marxism for social democracy, a market economy and a multi-party state.

Angola's first free elections will be held late next year. — Sapa-Reuter.

PPS 3/6/91

HISTORIC peace pact

16 YEARS OF CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA FORMALLY OVER

LISBON — Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi have signed an historic peace agreement formally ending their 16-year-old civil war.

The ceasefire signed at the Portuguese Foreign Ministry banquet hall yesterday goes into immediate effect and is subject to international monitoring.

The peace accord also provides for Angola's first multi-party elections between September and November 1992.

Witnessing the ceremony were US Secretary of State Mr James Baker and his Soviet counterpart Mr Alexander Bessmertnykh whose governments pledged to suspend military aid to Unita and Lushinda on the signing.

Also present were Organisation of African Unity chairman president Mr Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose organisation is sending a peace-keeping force to Angola to help monitor the truce and the eventual free elections.

The two erstwhile Angolan foes shook hands after each signed the 66-page accord, which was mediated by former colonial power Portugal during a year of arduous negotiations.

"We have just witnessed an historic occasion," said Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva.

Church bells rang out across Lisbon and thousands of Angolan exiles threw parties to celebrate the end of the war which has killed at least 300 000 people and shattered an economy potentially rich in oil, diamonds and agriculture.

A provisional ceasefire has been in force since May 15 under a May 1 accord initialled near Lisbon by representatives of Unita and the ruling MPLA.

The so-called Estoril Peace Accord is meant to end three decades of bloodshed — 14 years of



HISTORIC ACCORD: US Secretary of State Mr James Baker, above, with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in Lisbon during the historic peace accord.

PRESIDENTS MEET: Portuguese president Mr Mario Soares (right) with his Angolan counterpart Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos at Belem presidential palace.

guerrilla struggle against Portuguese rule followed by civil war after 1975 independence.

A political-military commission, comprising the two Angolan sides and Soviet, Portuguese and US observers, will supervise the truce and prepare for elections.

Britain and France will also help create a 50 000-strong armed force.

"There are no losers in the peace accords signed today but only one winner — the Angolan people," Mr Cavaco Silva said.

He said the new superpower co-operation had

helped resolve the Angolan war and he hoped it would open perspectives for conflicts in Mozambique and South Africa.

Both Mr Baker and Mr Bessmertnykh have pledged their governments would hold to the agreement not to provide arms to either side and discourage other countries from doing so.

Pressure from Moscow and Washington helped to bring the foes to the negotiating table after the failure of a verbal truce brokered by Zaire in June 1989 which collapsed quickly.

— Sapa-Reuter.

The tragic costs of war in Angola

ARGUS
15/6/91
5

GARNER THOMSON

Weekend Argus
Correspondent

LONDON. — Despite the street parties in Luanda that greeted the signing of the Estoril peace agreement there are many Angolans who will cry with great sadness when Mr Savimbi returns next month.

This is the opinion of the southern Africa expert Miss Victoria Brittain, who likens the possible victory of Mr Savimbi in the elections next year to the Sandanista election defeat by the US-backed coalition led by Mrs Violetta Chamorro.

Such a victory for imperialism, she remarks, is "a cancer that has killed the Angola that was".

Mr Savimbi's return to Luanda, Miss Brittain adds in an article in this week's News Statesman and Society, will mark the culmination of the US's most successful intervention in African politics.

"American officials, like others in the West and in South Africa over the past decade, hope that Mr Savimbi will do well enough in the elections next year to emerge as the leader of an Angola that will finally win diplomatic recognition from the US," she writes.

"They hope also that Angola will embrace the reality of South African domination in the region — something that a socialist, non-aligned Angola had implicitly challenged since

independence."

The histories of Angola and Mozambique were being rewritten every day as the MPLA and Frelimo governments found themselves on an equal footing against Unita and Renamo, she adds.

The former was allied first with the Portuguese, then with South Africa and the US, the latter, created by the old Rhodesian Special Branch, by South Africa, American big business and Kenya.

500 000 died

Mr Savimbi, she records, will return to a country that has lost 500 000 people and \$30 billion (R100 billion) between 1980 and 1988. Food production has plummeted 40 per cent, 40 000 people maimed — mostly by Unita mines — and 300 000 children orphaned or abandoned.

Miss Brittain quotes the MPLA's Mr Lucio Lara saying nearly seven years ago:

"We are facing an enemy bent on utter destruction. This enemy wears the mask of Unita, but it is none other than South Africa which destroys these bridges, these trains, these villages. Their objective is that tomorrow we will give up and ask South Africa for peace. It is clear what our enemies want — they want to impose Savimbi on us."

The war, he said, was "the cancer of imperialism".

Miss Brittain adds: "He was right — cancer kills, and it has killed the Angola that was".

ANGOLA

Ⓔ Argus 5/6/91

The day the president went to church

PRESIDENT Jose Eduardo dos Santos, once leader of a single-party Marxist-Leninist state, went to church on Sunday.

His presence at the outdoor ecumenical Mass joining Angola's predominantly Catholic believers with Protestants and other minority faiths to give thanks for peace, is a reflection of just how much has changed in Angola in recent months and how fast.

It would not be too cynical to suggest that the President was electioneering for his ruling MPLA party when he attended the mass, and was reportedly greeted by thousands of celebrants with cheers of "Dos Santos". The President is mindful of the potentially powerful role the churches will play in formulating public opinion and having acted against the churches in the past, the MPLA has ground to recover.

It remains surprising though how quickly formerly one-party Angolans are learning to play multi-party politics. Angola goes to the polls be-

tween September and November next year in terms of a ceasefire agreement formally signed with the Unita rebels last Friday, and there is no single grouping clearly in the running for a victory.

There is much talk in Luanda of an emerging third force and the precedents set in Sao Tome and Cape Verde in recent elections which toppled formerly one-party rulers are being viewed as prophetic by the many opposition political groupings already testing their voices in a newly opened society.

It is still much too early to spot with any certainty which of the new groups hoping to challenge the MPLA and Unita at the polls will grow to win credibility ... and votes.

Someone noted wryly that Angola now has "political chickenpox" as a result of the recent legitimising of multi-partyism. An uncertain but large and growing number of opposition groups have emerged and while a government source has said there are as many as 26 new parties, at least eight are already known to have sought infor-

THE ceasefire for Angola is signed and the way open now to multi-party elections. DALE LAUTENBACH, of the Argus Africa News Service, found the political scene alive with change and signs that even the present one-party rulers are adapting keenly to the demands of an opening society. Dateline: LUANDA

mation about registration.

Most of the emerging parties, apart from one or two with somewhat reactionary historical traditions, are flying the newly fashionable flag of democracy and before long the best of them will have to form alliances. At the moment they are still at the stage of making loud claims about membership while exchanging insults with other groups of very similar sounding political agendas.

Indeed, among the new political faces are probably a fair number of opportunists and charlatans and Angolans unused to making political choices are going to have to learn quickly how to sort the wheat from the chaff.

President dos Santos of the ruling MPLA has made it plain that his party is not above an electoral alliance, even with Unita. And already, his movements having been so restricted in the past by

the war, he is campaigning for support. Apart from his clever attendance of the mass, he slotted in visits to Benguela and Lobito and then Huambo even before the formal ceasefire was signed.

Recognising that its best election ticket is an improvement in the quality of life of struggling citizens and that that requires money, the MPLA is also trying to improve the image of Angola on the continent and internationally. Angolans are beginning to feature in opinion-making forums with an Angolan head-

ing the African Development Bank and another as candidate for the executive committee of the Organisation of African Unity.

Western diplomats in Luanda, while praising some realistic government thinking and good ideas at the top, fear the major downfall is and will be in the execution of those ideas, particularly as regards

restructuring the economy.

One diplomat said it might be understandably tempting for the MPLA, as it remains in power until the elections, to use its resources on cosmetic improvements that will win votes. This would not necessarily be in the interests of long-term economic stability.

Some sources even questioned the eagerness with which the MPLA has announced the priority of rebuilding of the Benguela railway line. While the line might symbolise a mighty vision that spanned Angola in the past, was it really viable today, asked one business executive in Luanda. "Has anyone done a feasibility study?"

While MPLA corruption — and the President himself admits this to be a problem — could be its Achilles heel at the polls, the perception of Unita as killers could be that movement's greatest weak-



PRESIDENT Dos Santos — cheers from church.

ness. The perception is based on a variable blend of fact and the government's successful propaganda but while Mr Savimbi is sounding confident of victory, few Angolans or foreign observers give him a clear chance.

Joaquim Pinto de Andrade is an opposition voice who is still resisting the temptation to transform his Angolan Civic Association into a political party seeing instead the need for a forum in which people are free to debate.

He fears an electoral vic-

tory for either of the "armed parties". MPLA and Unita and hopes an alliance will emerge from the opposition.

"But there is a danger in this multiplication (of parties) we have now and many of them have no clear programme. In Africa especially, people don't vote for a political programme; they look for credible personalities and don't vote for ideas. We need a credible, moral person ... we have to find that person in Angola."

"Will he be found? He will appear."

SA businessmen turn to Angola^S

8/10am 14/6/91
LUANDA — The end of Angola's 16-year civil war has brought a surge of interest from SA businessmen seeking an early stake in the potential wealth of the oil- and diamond-producing country.

Angolan businessman Mello Xavier said: "We are seeing a growing willingness by the Angolan government to open up economic opportunities for SA within the spirit of multi-party democracy and economic reconstruction."

Xavier recently hosted businessmen from the Safren group.

Safren CEO P C Steyn told state-owned newspaper Jornal de Angola Safren would soon be back to conclude deals with Angolan companies.

Xavier, owner of Intertransport Company, an import-export and transportation firm, said he had contacted several major SA businesses with a view to establishing partnerships.

Steyn said he was well received by Angolan Ministers and state business di-

rectors. They identified a number of areas in which Safren could become involved, including shipping and import-export partnerships with Intertransit and other Angolan companies.

Sources at the state-run Foreign Investment Bureau said more than 60% of inquiries from foreign businessmen about investment in Angola had come from Portugal. SA was prominent among the rest.

Former US banker James MacDade is serving as a UN-sponsored adviser to the Foreign Investment Bureau (GIE) to assist would-be investors and their Angolan partners in drawing up feasibility studies for business projects.

But government's incentives for foreigners are causing resentment among Angola's own entrepreneurs. A UN-sponsored seminar for private businessmen in Luanda this week produced a document censuring government for its open-handed attitude towards foreigners compared with the lack of incentives for nationals.

"The government's economic reforms are far from sufficient. They need to monetarise the economy and eliminate the market distortions which are a disincentive to national production, promote the black market and benefit foreign firms over national ones," the document said.

The Angolan Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Industrial Association have called for more openness and impartiality in government offices dealing with the private sector to avoid abuses of power and to create a climate of equal opportunity for all Angolan businessmen. — Sapa-Reuter.

CORPORATE DEALS

Boland Bank is moving

Clase supports one system

Winds of change overtaking winds of war

GERALD LANGE

THE winds of change are outblowing the winds of war in southern Africa, bringing hope for the first time in years to the embattled region.

After decades of warfare, destruction, misery and death, the people of the region are at last seeing real prospects of reconstruction.

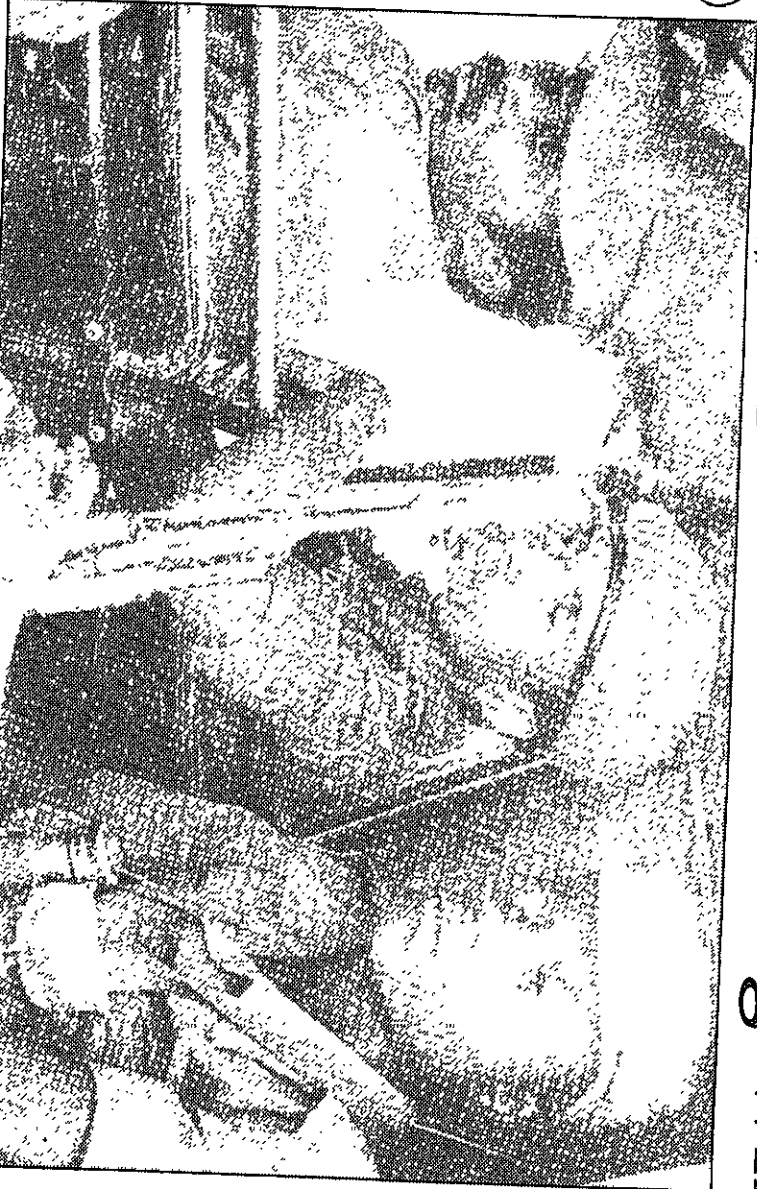
The winds were fairly gusty this week. In Lisbon yesterday the leaders of Angola's MPLA government and the Unita rebels signed a ceasefire agreement that opens the way for the country's first democratic election.

And in Rome on Wednesday representatives of Mozambique's Frelimo government and the Renamo rebels ended months of wrangling and reached agreement on the agenda for negotiations aimed at ending the war.

In Abuja, Nigeria, the foreign ministers of the Organisation of African Unity heard a plea from Nigeria for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa.

The ministers rejected the plea for the present, but for such a move to have come from Nigeria, formerly a leader of the anti-apartheid lobby, is seen as a reflection of a widespread belief in Africa that a new era is beginning.

By going to the negotiating table after years of fruitless fighting, the adversaries in Angola



MOVES TO PEACE: Fapla and Unita soldiers join each other in jeeps as the two sides begin the process of monitoring the ceasefire.

and Mozambique are giving South Africans a living demonstration of the futility of violence.

The winds of change began, ironically, in Moscow, which had long been the source of much subversion and political upheaval in Africa. The collapse of Marxism-Leninism and therefore of Moscow's hegemonic ambitions in Africa made possible the agreement signed in New York in 1988 for the withdrawal of the Cuban and South African troops from Angola and independence for Namibia.

Deprived by these developments of their source of arms and of their Cuban backup, the MPLA commanders in Angola made one last effort to defeat Unita in the field. When that failed, they had little option but to meet Unita at the negotiating table.

From Angola and Namibia the winds blew straight into South Africa. The abandonment of apartheid by the National Party was made possible by the withdrawal of the "red" threat from Angola, by the discovery that a similar threat was

not going to be presented by a Swapo government in Namibia, and by the collapse of the "total onslaught" theory.

The winds blew through the African National Congress headquarters in Lusaka, persuading a majority of the executive to suspend insurgency. Pretoria's deshabilitation in the neighboring states then became pointless.

As in Angola, negotiation became the name of the game in South Africa and the ANC leadership came home. In Mozambique the

between the two sides. However, given the animosity with which the war has been conducted and the deep suspicion between the two sides, it may be too much to expect that it will be all downhill from here to the election.

Even if the Renamo leaders now seek quick progress to the election, a major problem will remain in ensuring that the voting is not interfered with by the large numbers of heavily armed men in the bush who appear to have no allegiance to anything but outright banditry.

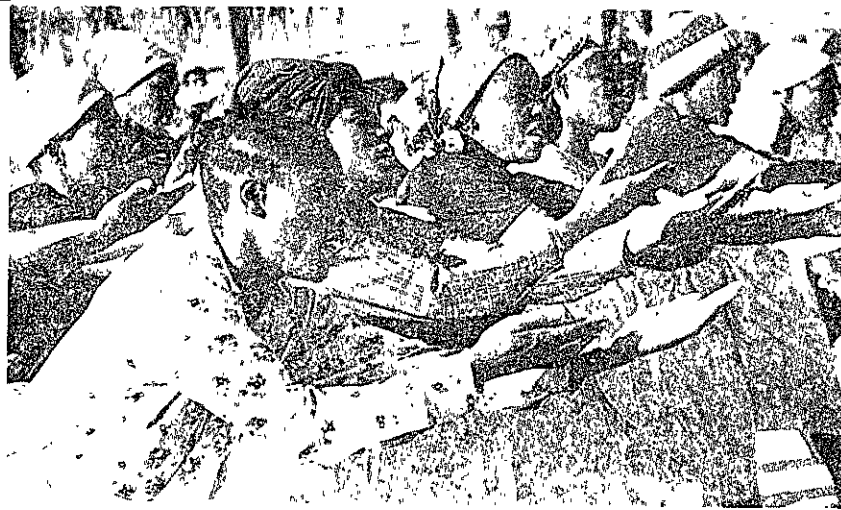
There is no such problem in Angola, where allegiances and chains of command are fairly well defined and where prospects for a fairly clean election are, therefore, much better.

An embryo United Nations monitoring force is already in place, left behind from the monitoring of the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Both Angola and Mozambique are still a long way from having democracy and peace. And South Africa is only at the start of what could be a long road to these objectives.

But, aside from the violence in South Africa, the dynamics of peace in the region are now stronger than the dynamics of war and this is a situation that has not prevailed for decades.

The author is Editor of the Saturday Star's Africa News Service.



Pictures: HENRI du PLESSIS, The Argus.
SAVIIMBI! Women at a "cultural" event at the Angolan town of Likuwa sing a song in praise of Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.



GOING HOME: A woman and her children head home from a river where they had washed clothes near Likuwa in Angola's Cuando Cubango province.

ARG 13/6/91

Both sides agree: Now we must get on with rebuilding

By HENRI du PLESSIS
 Staff Reporter

THE Angolan civil war would not have happened had it not been for foreign interference, says a Planning Ministry official monitoring life-saving convoys taking food and medicine to a population ravaged by conflict.

Mr Carlos Eloy, emergency programmes co-ordinator of the Angolan Directorate of Technical Units, believes the MPLA government and Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita forces would never have gone to war if foreign governments with hidden agendas had not had their own reasons for fuelling the fighting.

Interviewed in Namibia where he was overseeing the start of a convoy of United Nations lorries with badly needed supplies into Unita-held territory, he said the MPLA government's inability to implement Marxist theories properly — for various reasons — had caused confusion and disorganisation in Angola.

The government's Marxist theories had failed in practice and the people were dissatisfied with the way the country was run, he said.

He was there to ensure there was no favouritism towards Unita, although the efforts of the UN's World Food Programme team to be even-handed were quite obvious.

He was not allowed across the border of his own country at the post in Unita-held Mucusso, an indication of continuing mistrust between Unita and the MPLA, in spite of the peace. He followed the convoy from its base in Namibia to where Unita officials took over.

"The civil war started immediately after independence from Portugal and the MPLA gained power because it was the most prominent revolutionary force at the time."

"All the fighting groups in the country had their backers and their

ANGOLA finally has peace after 16 years of civil war and the time for rebuilding the country has come. Here are the views of a senior civilian government official and a civilian Unita leader . . .

fight with one another grew out of the fight between the backers.

"Obviously, each group within the country also had its own ambitions to be at the top and the war became a pure power struggle," he said.

"When Namibia became independent and the foreign powers involved started talking, the climate for a change in the internal situation in Angola obviously improved.

"It is probably true that both sides found it increasingly difficult to continue the war without the degree of support they had from their backers."

Mr Eloy was mainly concerned, however, with the state of health of his country's people.

"Of the country's 14 provinces, only four are in a reasonable state.

"The primary phase of the aid plan was implemented in November after initial planning and negotiations began in August.

"We found the people had food, but their diets were not sufficient and we urgently had to get supplementary foodstuffs through to them.

"Cholera, malaria, pneumonia and tuberculosis are most dangerous diseases and they are rife at the moment. In many parts of the country, we have not been able to maintain a malaria eradication programme because of the war:

"The (Unita-held) Cuando Cubango province is one of the most malaria-infected areas in the country."

The governor of Mavinga, Mr Evaristo Ramon Chitumba, says Angola needs a reconstruction programme as efficient as the one in Europe after World War 2.



World Food Programme

INTO ANGOLA

The area was the scene of several battles between the Angolan government's FAPLA soldiers and Unita guerrillas and it was here, in the middle of last year, that Unita forces finally succeeded in blocking FAPLA's thrust to destroy their Jamba stronghold.

The original town, built by Portuguese colonists, had been bombed, shot up and mined during the civil war and was uninhabitable.

Anti-personnel mines and booby traps make it a no-go area for the casual visitor.

Unita officials refused to allow a group of foreign journalists into the town or to go to the nearby airstrip.

Mr Chitumba, a staunch Unita man, claimed they had reached the first phase of their objective with the signing of the peace accord.

"After 16 years of civil war, we have found agreement with the MPLA. Now the two presidents (Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Jonas Savimbi of Unita) have signed the peace accord.

"The agreements we have signed say how we must live in a multi-party situation. The elections to come will determine the social order to come.

"We (Unita) have done our best to build a new social order in this country. The civilian population, who get the food from this convoy, face most of the problems we experience.

"Food, education, health and clothing need to be the priorities right now. You see many children of school-going age around here — they need to be taught.

"It is part of Unita's belief that the economy should be based on agriculture and we have great needs in this regard.

"We have gone through a severe drought and the seeds we got to sow here were not appropriate for this kind of weather and soil types.

"However, we have to rebuild the country. The people of Mavinga have fought for Angola to be Angola.

"Of course we will rebuild the town of Mavinga. It is here where the war was won and it should be remembered by future generations."

Angola's peace deal puts Luanda in a festive mood

LUANDA — Cars hooted across Luanda, cheers rang out, pedestrians hugged each other, impromptu street parties erupted and fusillades of shots split the air to celebrate an end to three decades of conflict in Angola. (5)

President José Eduardo dos Santos, on his way home from Lisbon after signing a historic peace agreement with rebel Unita leader Jonas Savimbi on Friday, had declared Saturday a national holiday.

The peace agreement ended 30 years of conflict stretching back to an uprising against Portuguese colonial rule in 1961 and the civil war which broke out after independence in 1975.

"It is a triumph of good sense and reason," said Paulino Pinto Joao, president of the Angolan Democratic Nationalist Convergence, one of 26 parties emerging to contest the country's first multiparty elections late next year.

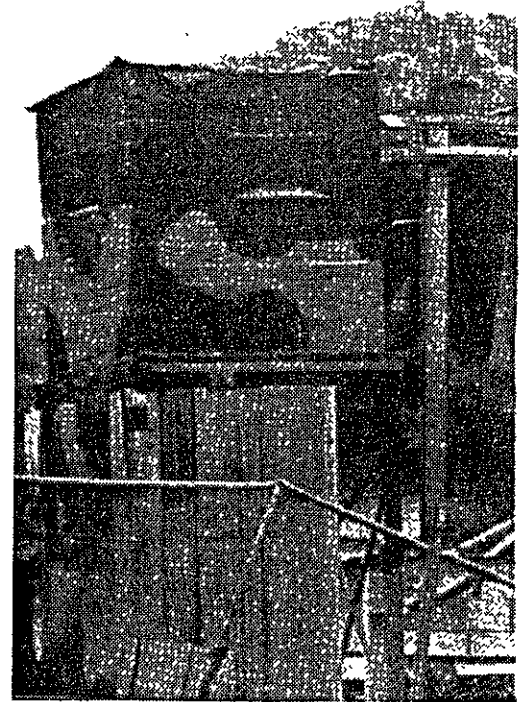
As Dos Santos flew back to Luanda, the UN was organising a peace-keeping force of 600 observers to help to monitor the ceasefire and organise elections.

The next move will be a meeting, probably on June 7 in Luanda, of a joint political-military commission grouping both Angolan sides and US, Soviet and Portuguese observers to monitor the truce and prepare for elections.

US officials warn that, despite pledges by Savimbi and Dos Santos to abide by the accord, rogue elements may continue to fight.

A major priority now is to attract foreign aid to rebuild an economy ruined by war but potentially rich in oil, diamonds and agriculture. Nearly a quarter of the country's 10-million people face famine. — Sapa-Reuter.

● Comment: Page 8



The wrecked shell of the Ulster Defence Regiment barracks in Londonderry, Northern Ireland, after a bomb containing 900kg of homemade explosives exploded in 1992. Civilians were injured in the blast which demolished the building.

High noon for ...

ALBANY, N.Y.

Discussions emphasised health nutrition, agricultural and basic survival needs for the thousands of Angolans who supported Unita and had to flee to the southeast for protection.

The delegation's investigations and talks with NGOs involved in the area, revealed the likelihood of serious food shortages from July.

The UN's World Food Programme organisation, with bases in Windhoek and Luanda, planned a joint operation with World Vision International and the International Medical Corps to intervene in the local nutritional, health and agricultural situation in the area.

WE WERE up early the next morning, packed and ready to go. At 10am the convoy rolled out of Buffalo the old home of 32 Battalion now lying derelict in the Western Caprivi — and headed for the border at Makusso.

After a three-hour delay at the two border posts, we were in Angola on a gravel road which some of us newcomers thought was all that had.

Of the Press corps, the Visnews Television team of Jimmy Matthews and Leon Maherbe and I were the only South Africans.

Not much further however, the gravel abruptly ended and all that lay ahead were two deep wheelcuts in the soft sand shaking its way through the trees.

There were no physical scars of war. No burnt out vehicles, no wrecked buildings.

There were only people and the dense, quiet bush. A too quiet bush. Over the whole 200 km, we saw not one antelope, only a few birds and at night heard not a single jackals cry.

The only elephant we saw was butchered on the back of a Unita lorry which passed us in a cloud of dust from ahead. But the joy over peace was quite evident. At the border posts it was the subject to be discussed, apart from the official dialogue regarding the convoy.

People spoke of returning home — home for a large majority was elsewhere in the country — and rejoining long lost family.

In the Unita-held territory, there seems to be no such thing as a real civilian. The small settlement of Lakuwa, a day and a half's drive from the border, is a case in point.

In and around the settlement, the population numbers about 6000, according to very rough estimates. Each person is neatly slotted into the Unita way of life.

No money changes hands — each person is looked after according to their needs and

clay-walled buildings, but most of the huts are made of poles, sticks and grass. Important buildings are bunkered and sunk below ground level — an indication of the threat of MIG bombardments which have since become part of history.

The only vehicles we came across were military. Most of them were commercial four-wheel drives such as Landrovers, Mercedes Unimogs and Toyotas, but large South African-made six-wheel drive Samlys and even a Caspir with an evil-looking twin-barrel machine gun assembly on top were to be seen.

The huts in the new Mavinga settlement were spaced well apart and again we assumed it was to render air attacks less effective.

MOST OF the people in Cuango Chibango do not really

But every local can explain what is needed to rebuild their country, the Unita ideology of discipline, socialism, democracy, a market economy and equality colouring every theory.

At Likuwa, a hospital and medical school serves outlying areas. The hospital is the main one of 12 in the region and guides all the others with advice, supplies and laboratory research.

The medical school trains nurses, nutritionists and volunteers who assist in vacci-

voys, the next provisionally earmarked for June 22, unless bureaucratic stumbling blocks are created by the MPLA, Unita and Namibia's Swapo government.

The number of months to feed in the region will become fewer and fewer, according to expectations, until the province reverts to being the nature reserve it was many years ago.

Hidden settlements in the bush not far from the road, are well camouflaged and to the untrained eye almost invisible. The only giveaway is often a small patch of mahangu (sorghum) sown in

ALL ALONG the way, the convoy of two Volvos, six Panlys, a Samli, a Mercedes Benz and a Oshkosh, stopped only to make repairs or to meet people.

Hidden settlements in the bush not far from the road, are well camouflaged and to the untrained eye almost invisible. The only giveaway is often a small patch of mahangu (sorghum) sown in

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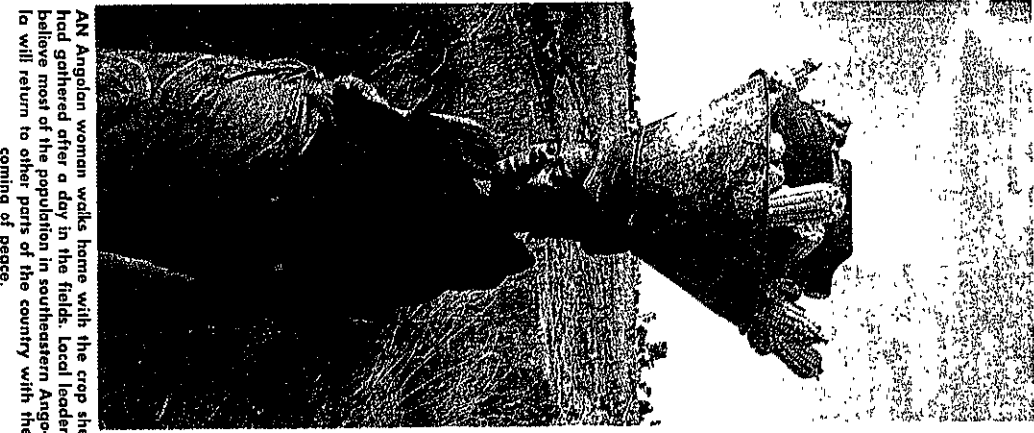
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Pictures
HENRI DU PLESSIS,
The Argus

AN Angolan woman walks home with the crop she had gathered after a day in the fields. Local leaders believe most of the population in southeastern Angola will return to other parts of the country with the coming of peace.

5 Aug 12/6/91

The face of Angola

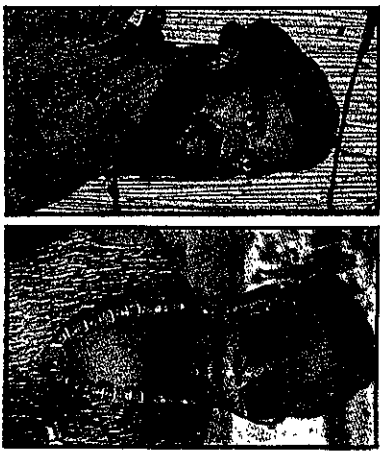
INTO ANGOLA
PART 2
by Henri du Plessis
who has just returned



Pictures: HENRI DU PLESSIS, The Argus



BRIGADIER Benjamin Justo Estavao with dancers from The United Women's League behind him.



COLONEL Jeremias Jahnlu

'The gun that fights the war of liberation does not smell of the country of its origin.'

ANGOLA'S past, present and future is closely intertwined as people from all walks of life, mostly military, wade through a morass of problems in search of the light behind the peace. This is the voice of Unita.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sakato de Meere: We didn't need the South African army



TOUGH, battle-hardened Unita soldiers sit together during a cultural and political event at the small settlement of Likwud's stadium. Most of them have never known peace.

MRS Sara Borges

finally stopped the MPLA's attacks on us. We did it alone and nobody helped us fight," he said.

"President Savimbi himself was in the field, in the front ranks with the soldiers. He had his own rifle, he fought the battle and won.

"It is Unita's power and the leadership of President Savimbi which had brought us victory, not other people.

"The South African 32 Battalion? What were they? Were they not simply ill-trained mercenaries from FNLA who were defeated here? We had to help save them, not them us!"

Then came the crucial issue, raised most emphatically

"I can only speak as a member of Unita, because everybody has his own ambitions, but we must now re-assess our political objectives.

"We have been fighting for 16 years - now we are ready to fight for other means. We are ready to fight the election democratically and to win it."

Colonel Jahnlu said there had been "troubled joy" at the announcement of the peace pact.

He said it had always been Unita's aim to create a democratic multi-party system in Angola and the multi-party aspect had already been implemented by the MPLA government after the pressure of Unita and the world had placed on it.

"There is still a lot of hard work ahead. Unita will have to change from a guerrilla organisation to a political party and be ready for the election, but we are ready to do it," he said.

"Now we have to solve the problems. Mothers who breastfeed their children and pregnant women are especially at risk, because they pass the problems of malnutrition on to their children.

"We have to see to it that all people get exactly the right rations as they need them. We need a lot of support and material in this task. I hope the world will be able to help us."

Brigadier Benjamin Justo Estavao: We need a market economy...

WHILE Lieutenant Colonel de Meere, a tough infantryman,

speaks of socialism, Brigadier Benjamin Justo Estavao speaks of the need for a market economy.

It is probably because, as chief of Unita's general directorate of logistics in Lukwata, he has faced the problems of having to procure goods while the real means of procurement were seriously lacking.

"It is necessary that everybody should sell the country and their cities to the outside world, then each person would reach his or her own goal," he said.

"Only a market economy can bring each the riches the

people deserve. Those on the other side (the MPLA government) have spoiled the country. It is only a new system — Unita's system — that brings new life to a country.

"All Africans, including those in Namibia, have become independent. We have the same rights. Once this country is rehabilitated, its economy will be one of the richest in Africa.

"Now there is no food even in the cities — people have to move from place to place to find it."

TOMORROW, The civilians speak.



LIEUTENANT Finny Kumandila, 27, was the guide of the World Food Programme camp from the border of Mucussa to Mananga and back. With a iron fist in a velvet glove he took charge of the convoy while making sure UN personnel were put in touch with the right people along the way. Peace is an unknown confine for Lieutenant Kumandila - he joined Unita when he was 10 years old and knows no if other than that of a guerrilla fighter in his own country.

"I do not yet really know what to expect of peace. Most people of my age had never known it. I do not know who I will be doing after the elections, but I suppose I will stay in the military. Maybe I will go to Luanda, but it depends on where Unita wants me to go," he said. Talk to him about agriculture or business and he is out of his depth, despite the fact that he is well educated. Lieutenant Kumandila speaks several languages, including English and Portuguese.

as people from all walks of life, mostly military, waded through a morass of problems in search of the light behind the peace. This is the voice of Unita.

Leutenant-Colonel Sakato de Meece. We didn't need the South African army

UNTA had a "commercial" agreement with South Africa and did not need military intervention to back it up

Colonel de Meece, a hardened soldier who joined Unita in the bush in 1974, alleged the SADF's notorious 32 Battalion were nothing more than ill-trained mercenaries who needed help from Unita, rather than the other way around.

My encounter with the Colonel was hardly the way I expected it to be. We were at a dining table in the mess where officers and guests from the Maringa area often had their meals on important occasions. The food was unadorned, supported by wooden poles and the walls were covered with colorful sheets.

The Colonel was a thin, fit looking man with a beard and uncannily resembled the late Frelimo leader Samora Machel. We had just eaten very tough fried chicken and roast potatoes and I felt guilty to have eaten the food under circumstances where the local population had to be helped out by the World Food Programme.

The tables were arranged in a U-formation, the open side of the U towards the entrance of the hall. The colonial bottom end, back to the wall, I sat opposite him with my back to the door.

He was drinking South African wine which UN staffers had brought with them from Namibia. Next to him sat Mr Carlos Valoso, a UN staffer based in Luanda who had been doing most of the translating along the way. The Colonel spoke in a soft, relaxed tone. Outside it was dark and only a few hours remained before the convoy was due to leave at exactly midnight.

It was more a conversation than an interview and I had not expected to be able to talk to the man who earlier was never available for interviews.

He described as Angolan government propaganda fairs that South African forces had backstopped Unita in many battles during the 1971 war in Angola. We fought the last battle in 1990 at Mavinga where we

It is Unita's power and leadership of President Savimbi which had brought us victory, not other people.

"The South African 32 Battalion? What were they? Were they not simply ill-trained mercenaries from Frelimo who were defeated here? We had to help save them, not them us!"

Then came the crucial issue raised most energetically by Vissers journalist Jimmy Mathews. How could Unita be at peace with the fact that they had ties with the SADF and the South African government in order to get power in Angola?

"We have a commercial agreement with South Africa, but we don't hide it in the night," the colonel replied.

"The MPLA government of Angola also had trade relations with South Africa, although they tried to hide it as much as possible. Mingabe (President Robert of Zaire), Kambua (President Kenneth of Zambia), all of them had extensive trade with South Africa. In the day they would criticise the South African regime and at night they would meet to talk business.

"We had to trade with South Africa. Unita opposes apartheid and believe it should be removed from the face of the earth. But it is up to the people of South Africa to do this. Unita is an organisation of Angolans for Angola.

"The gun that fights the war of liberation does not smell of the country of its origin."

Colonel Jeremias Jahulu. Everyone was tired of war

ANGOLANS were "deeply convinced" the ceasefire and peace pact between the country's MPLA government and the Unita rebels would hold. The war was not easy and people were desperate to see their chances of peace would succeed, said Colonel Jeremias Jahulu, Unita's regional commander of the border settlement of Mucusso.

He was speaking to us at the border post between Namibia and the Unita-held south-eastern areas of Angola on June 1, the day after the historic peace accord was signed by Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in Portugal.

Colonel Jahulu said the people were tired of the war. "We are sure the peace will come now the door has been opened. It is not easy to say how all Angolans feel, and we can only speak of ourselves.

create, multi-party system in Angola and the multi-party aspect had already been implemented by the MPLA government after the pressure Unita and the world had placed on it.

"There is still a lot of hard work ahead. Unita will have to change from a guerrilla organisation to a political party and be ready for the election, but we are ready to do it," he said.

Mrs Sara Borges Unita Women's League Looking to the future

BEHIND the harsh face of perpetual military life in Unita's south-eastern Angola, a softer side has emerged.

Unheard of officially during Angola's 16-year civil war, Unita's Women's League LIMA (Liga da Mulher Angolana) have stepped forward to do their share of the work to repair the damage done to their country.

In a society where women more often take a backseat in planning, LIMA gives the impression that it is prepared and able to act in the interests of women, children and the aged.

The foodstuffs taken to Maringa and Likwua by the UN convoys will come under LIMA's command and the women will be responsible for distributing it as needed.

In Likwua, Mrs Sara Borges is at the head of LIMA and her appeal is a simple one.

"Because of the war, there are many women without husbands, children without parents. It is our task to look after them and see to their wellbeing," she said.

"There is a great need for help. Not only has the war killed many people, but families have been torn apart as some supported Unita and others the MPLA.

"People had to move from their homes to get out of the way of the fighting, but also to get to the people they supported.

"We need teachers and schools to give our children a proper education and LIMA has tried to get this going as far as was possible.

"We want to hold workshops for people who have become invalids by war and to teach them how to cope with their problems.

"We do have teachers, but we need the materials required for proper education. We need wheelchairs for the invalids."

Mrs Borges, although somewhat awed by the attention of cameras focused on her, was quick to point out the war had mainly begun because of foreign intervention.

economy... WHITE Lieutenant Colonel de Meece, a tough infantryman,

goal," he said. "Only a market economy can bring each the riches the

TOMORROW: The civilians speak...

Lieutenant Kumondle speaks several languages, including English and Portuguese.

ANGOLA - GENERAL

1991

JULY - DEC

THANK YOU

R 25 000.00

GRAND TOTAL:

R 5 000.00

1 person full-time for 2 months @ R 10.00 per hour

C. Staffing (Depending on the needs of the rest of Department, as most library data has already been captured, a temporary data capturer could be employed, or the current library student could be employed for longer than the minimum no of hours (10 hrs per week), to release librarian to do the data capturing, and to staff the library in the absence of the librarian e.g. attending training sessions etc.)

2.4. Has been "tried and tested". Many installations and continuous upgrades. Has been developed to Version 8, the current version.

Unlocated mines a hazard

CT 2/1/91

From PATRICK COLLINGS (5)

JAMBA, Angola. — Mines which have maimed thousands of Angolans during three decades of war are expected to injure many more as soldiers defuse the explosives which are strewn throughout the country, military experts said.

British army officer Colonel John Longman, who is in Angola to help with the formation of a new national army, believes the main problems lie in the location of the mines and the technical expertise of the people defusing them.

Some of the buried mines date back to the 1960s, when Angolans fought against their Portuguese colonial rulers. Subse-

quent mines have been laid during the country's 16-year civil war by the MPLA government and Unita rebels.

Cuban troops, who backed the MPLA soldiers, and South African troops, who supported the Unita rebels, also concealed mines in the once-prosperous countryside.

The civil war ended on May 31 with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and MPLA President Jose Eduardo dos Santos signing a peace agreement in Lisbon.

However, the location of thousands of mines remains unknown as only a few maps detailing their positions remain in existence. "It will be difficult finding them," Colonel Longman said.

Reports from aid agencies say Angola's

population of nine million have the highest proportion of limbless people of any country in the world.

Many of the maimed are women and children who have stood on anti-personnel mines which ring towns and cities.

The mines will also pose a hazard for the thousands of refugees, who fled the fighting, expected to return to their homes in the countryside.

Unita intelligence officers believe the country's main roads and railways will be cleared of mines within three weeks. However, military observers believe it could take years before the remainder of the country is cleared of mines.

Angola moves forward

JAMBA - Angola took a historical step towards full political and territorial integration this weekend when a top government delegation visited these remote headquarters of the rebel Unita movement.

Leaders of the two opposing armies, which have fought bitterly for 16 destructive years, embraced one another warmly in an atmosphere that offered great encouragement to the peace accord signed in Lisbon on May 31.

Sowetan 2/7/91 (S)
**SOWETAN AFRICA NEWS
SERVICE**

More tentative was the meeting between Unita president Dr Jonas Savimbi and the Angolan minister of territorial administration, Mr Lopo do Nascimento.

Savimbi was not at Jamba's "international airport" in the bush when the Angolan airways Hercules C-130 carrying the government

delegation and representatives of other countries involved in the peace process landed just before 3pm on Saturday.

The two met later with stiff formality at the guest centre adjoining the Unita leader's house.

But, after attending a cultural evening at the local stadium on Saturday night, and holding informal talks on Sunday morning, the two men had obviously developed a much more genial relationship.

Delay in bid for Angolan army unity

Star 2/7/91
LUANDA — Logistical problems yesterday delayed the merger of Angola's two armies that are laying down their arms after 16 years of fighting one of Africa's bloodiest civil wars.

Under peace accords signed on May 31 by the government and the US-backed Unita rebels, soldiers from both sides were to have begun moving to camps where they will be monitored by a United Nations force.

Jose Alberto de Sousa, a spokesman for the Joint Political-Military Commission, said the process had been slightly delayed by logistical problems. But he said the merging of the government and Unita forces would probably get under way in the next few days.

Mr de Sousa said nearly all the 50 points around the country where troops are to gather are existing military installations. The peace accords allot 27 such areas to the government and 23 to Unita.

The UN team will be aided by the UN panel, which includes both Angolan factions, as well as observers from the United States, the Soviet Union and Portugal.

Military officials said the process had been delayed by difficulties in guaranteeing supplies to the camps and by the late arrival of reinforcements to the UN force in Angola.

Some 350 UN military observers are scheduled to oversee the ceasefire until Angola's first free elections scheduled for late 1992.

British, Portuguese and French officers are to help train the new 50 000-strong united armed forces.

The Angolan army has some 150 000 men, Unita about 40 000. Officers from both sides have sought to allay fears that any idle soldiers could become a source of instability. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA may help find ^{CT 317191} buried Angolan mines ⁵

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Defence Force says it will consider helping to clear the Angolan countryside of thousands of mines, buried during three decades of war, if it receives a request from the Angolan authorities.

South African soldiers, as well as Cuban troops, MPLA soldiers and Unita rebels, buried mines in Angolan soil during the 16-year civil war.

The civil war ended on May 31 when Unita

leader Dr Jonas Savimbi and MPLA President Jose Eduardo dos Santos signed a peace accord in Lisbon.

A Defence Force spokesman said the Angolan government was free to approach Pretoria for assistance "via normal diplomatic channels".

"To date the SADF (has) not received any request concerning assistance with, or information in connection with the lifting of any mines in Angola," he added.

Aug 4/7/91

5

Ang

Angola's biggest battle — the clean-up

JAMBA (Angola) — Angola's long war has ended, but some of the biggest battles lie ahead: cleaning up the deadly mess and overcoming monumental logistical problems to monitor the truce.

This drowsy bush camp, where the US-backed Unita guerrillas established their headquarters in 1979, is illustrative of the problems.

Amputees hobble on crudely made artificial legs, victims of

mines littering the countryside. There are no phones, little water, and spine-snapping dirt roads carved through the bush where elephants roamed before they were poached or departed for more peaceful pastures. Through the dust appears a white-gloved traffic officer, waiting for cars that rarely come to this camp in the south-eastern corner of Angola.

Luxury is the VIP centre, a large wood-and-straw hut where, on a recent Sunday delegates from the Unita rebels, Angolan

government, and United Nations sat fidgeting, dozing, or chatting away the hot afternoon.

They had come to Jamba a month after the signing on May 31 of accords that ended the war between Unita (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and the formerly Marxist government.

The visit gave United Nations observers a first-hand look at the daunting task ahead.

South-eastern Angola is poorly mapped and underdeveloped. The

peace agreement stipulated elections be held in the dry season, before the roads turn to sludge.

Before the vote, scheduled in autumn 1992, hundreds of United Nations observers must make their way to dozens of assembly points like Jamba to oversee demobilisation of soldiers from both sides.

At the same time, Unita and government teams will be prowling the country with long sticks and metal detectors in a treacherous attempt to find mines.

UN monitors said logistical problems already were slowing their work, even before the start of the demobilisation.

"We don't know the airfield conditions. We don't know the road conditions," Brigadier-General Pericles Ferreira Gomes of Brazil, head of the UN forces, said.

"The country is in poor condition for providing accommodation. For example, we have no gasoline in this area. By that I mean in the eastern part of the country." Sapa-AP.

Facelift on agenda for Benguela line

HUAMBO — Angola, is eager to restore the Benguela railway, once an economic lifeline to the heart of Africa, as a unifying link after 16 years of civil war.

But trade and diplomatic sources doubt whether the railway can regain its former status as the main regional trade route for southern and central Africa, carrying millions of tons of copper from Zambia and Zaire to the Atlantic coast.

They say only about one-third of the 1 305km railway is likely to be restored to link the Atlantic ports of Benguela and Lobito to the cities of Huambo and Kuito.

But even this could give President Jose Eduardo dos Santos a political boost in his battle with Jonas Savimbi, leader of the former rebel Unita group, in the run-up to elections late next year.

The railway runs through the heartland of the Ovimbundu people from whom Savimbi has traditionally drawn support.

Since the Angolan war broke out at independence from Portugal in 1975, central Africa's copper has been exported mainly through Tanzania, Mozambique and SA.

The world copper market has declined, and mines in Zaire's Shaba province will probably be uneconomical by the end of the century.

"The economic motivation for re-establishing the Benguela railway, from the point of view of the Zairean and Zambian

governments as well as of the Angolans, is not evident," said one diplomat.

"In 10 years' time, for geological reasons, the copper in Shaba will be too expensive to deal with."

The railway was started in 1903 to haul copper from Belgian-owned mines in Shaba province. It is 90% owned by Tanks Consolidated Investments Ltd, a British subsidiary of Belgium's Société Générale de Belgique. The Luanda government holds the other 10%.

Until the war, the railway employed large numbers of people in central cities.

Dos Santos, who toured Lobito and Huambo the week before signing a peace agreement with Savimbi on May 31, said restoring the line would be a priority of post-war reconstruction.

"In colonial times, the Benguela line served Angola, Zambia, Zaire and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe)," dos Santos told Lobito railway workers. "I am fully convinced that after winning the war we can win the economic battle to come."

At its pre-independence peak, over 2-million tons of freight travelled on the line each year. By 1987 freight to Huambo and Bie provinces had dwindled to 90 000 tons.

The railway was closed east of Kuito in Bie province in 1988 and few trains have run since between the coast and the two inland destinations. — Sapa-Reuter.

AFRICA FOCUS

Beer and small talk seal peace prospects

At an historic meeting in Jamba, generals of Angola's 16-year civil war slapped each other on the back — and took a giant step towards national unity.

By WILLI GERMUND

AS the plane touched down on the dirt airstrip of Jamba Airport, Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda and the reception committee scurried away to escape the dust. But the necessary dignity was re-established by the time Angola's minister of administration, Lopo de Nascimento, emerged.

De Nascimento leads the international commission which is in charge of verifying Angola's month-old cease-fire. The civil war between Unita and the MPLA had lasted for 16 years — but last weekend only a three-hour flight was necessary to bridge the distance from the capital of Luanda to the historic meeting held in Jamba, in the south-eastern corner of the Angolan bush.

When De Nascimento walked off the plane, it was the first time that an MPLA member had entered Unita headquarters.

Unita laid on the red-carpet treatment for the occasion. Brand-new Landcruisers ferried the 70-strong delegation to the guest house and Unita soldiers carried loads of beer on their heads from Namibia, 30 km away. New shirts arrived from South Africa for the soldiers, who played waiter as the generals sipped beer together, slapped each other on the shoulder and engaged in lively small talk.

The relaxed atmosphere during the meeting indicated that the prospects of national unity are possible. Zacharias Mundombe, Unita's deputy chief of intelligence, summed up the basis for the co-operation: "After 16 years of war, MPLA and Unita are tired. The population is tired. And the government knows that it cannot defeat us militarily."

Commented another Unita delegate: "This visit shows that Luanda is willing to recognise Unita. That is an important step."

The picture is not entirely rosy, however. Among the problems is the logistical nightmare of de-mining the



WAR LEGACY ... 30 years of conflict have left Angola with the largest number of amputees in the world

Photo: AP

country, which has about 10-million inhabitants.

The Portuguese left landmines behind when the country assumed independence in the early 1970s, and the South Africans, Unita, MPLA and the Cubans have since dotted the countryside with an unquantifiable number of landmines. "I do not believe that anybody has complete control over the mines," says General Ferreira Gomes, chief of the United Nations peace-keeping force in Angola.

By the end of July all the main roads should be de-mined. But it will take years until Angola is safe and there may still be a lot more war victims as a result.

The optimism at the Jamba meeting was not undermined by such problems, however. Said Unita leader Jonas Savimbi, who regularly travels with an escort of cars over the dirt tracks around Jamba: "Lopo de Nascimento says the government wants to

keep the peace process on track. So do we."

Savimbi was not keen to repay the visit by going to Luanda soon. "There is no house for me there yet," he explained.

His information minister presented a more convincing explanation: Unita has yet to build up the kind of organisation in Luanda that could give Savimbi the reception he would like to see.

Lopo de Nascimento, on the other hand, was anxious to return to Luanda.

After a marathon seven-hour "cultural programme" and a long night in dust-covered Jamba, he told United States representative Jeffrey Millington, who was on his way to see Savimbi: "Millington, *poco tempo* (make it short)."

Fortunately, the US representative was a soccer fan and was equally enthusiastic to get back to Luanda to watch a soccer match on TV.

The elephants have gone, leaving a town of one-legged men

5 Star 6/7/91

By John Ryan
Africa News Service

JAMBA — Elephants gave this place its name, when herds abounded in south-eastern Angola. Now, largely, they are gone.

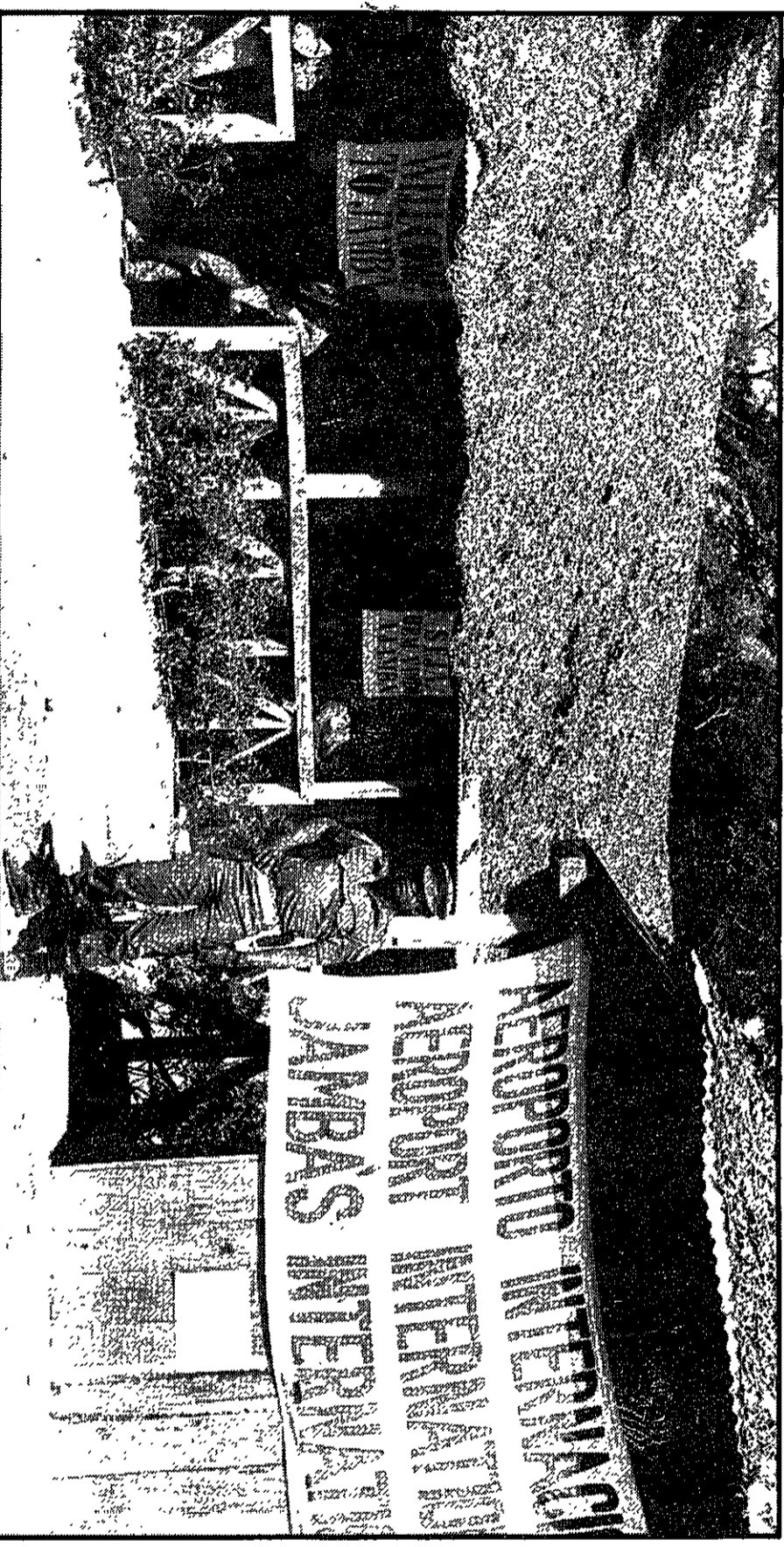
The "Jamba" eventually fell victim to a 16-year civil war between the ruling MPLA party and the rebel Unita movement, which made the Jamba district its headquarters in 1979 — at considerable ecological cost.

The pursuit of exchanging ivory for weapons, and Unita's need to find food to fill the stomachs on which to march its army, has left Jamba almost totally bereft of wild life.

Cynics say Unita maintains a small elephantine presence in a secret reserve to trot out for visiting dignitaries. Elephants, certainly, feature on propaganda videos produced by the Unita information department.

But you don't encounter them in hours of driving around this outlandish guerrilla capital in the bush, nor see them from the air.

For years, Jamba's exact position was known only to Jonas Savimbi and his lieutenants, and the pilots who



5 BUSH AIRPORT: Jamba's "international" airport, where visitors have to go through the usual Customs and immigration formalities.

flew in regular groups of journalists in the cause of promoting Unita.

Around the Western world, Dr Savimbi gained the reputation of a freedom fighter ranged against the oppressive Marxist regime in northern Luanda, intent on bringing democ-

racy to the country he had begun battling for in the 60s, years before the Portuguese left.

Doubt about the erudite leader's credibility only surfaced in 1988 when, after the decisive battle of Cuito Cuana-vale, shutters were opened on the horrors of

the war. As in most conflicts, both sides were revealed to be guilty of atrocities.

But Unita's crimes were much more stark. In cities like Lubango and Huambo, Angola's second largest, the foreign media found evi-

dence of a campaign to prevent the common people from growing their own food — by strewing fields with anti-personnel mines.

As a result of such mindless brutality, Angola now has the largest proportion of amputees in the world. And in Huambo province, one

out of every 15 children is an orphan. Jamba's share of protestis cases is not inconsiderable. There is a special clinic here for the making and fitting of artificial limbs. When Unita goes on parade, at public functions in the "national" stadium, a

phalanx of veterans in wheelchairs takes prime position.

Unita leaders say there are 7 000 amputees in their territory, casualties of landmines or shells. But, they add as though with pride, the MPLA side has many mo-



5 TERRORS TRANSPORT: Wheelchair veterans of the 16-year war against the ruling MPLA government go on parade at every major function.



TOYING WITH DEATH: In a pageant that may soon fall into history, Unita children simulate the deeds of their fathers.

Jamba is unique, a settlement 6 km sq but covered by the bush. It has its own international airport, so-called, where visitors are put through the formalities of customs and immigration.

From 3 000 m, the town itself is invisible. That was the minimum height Cuban and Angolan aircraft could fly in their bombing raids, for fear of American Stinger ground-to-air missiles.

They unloaded a great deal of metal, but no direct hits were ever recorded.

Obscured

The 150-bed hospital is an example of the camouflage techniques Unita learnt from its one-time Chinese mentors.

It is distributed around a series of huts, obscured by scrub and mopane trees.

The hospital has several wards, a maternity section, an isolation department to handle infectious diseases, a day clinic and two fully equipped operating theatres.

There are seven doctors in Jamba, six civilian and one military. That is the total in the area under Unita's control, although more than 900 other health workers — medical assistants, nurses, midwives, physiotherapists and technicians — man the 845 hospitals and clinics spread around the terri-

tory.

The files at the central hospital make interesting, and pathetic, reading. They show that, despite the ravages of the war, malaria remains far and away the most frequent cause of death within the general population of Unita country.

Twice as many soldiers have been killed by malaria than by bullets.

Babies are particularly vulnerable to the disease, and to pulmonary infections. The infant mortality rate in some parts is 90 percent, the overall mortality rate of the area 80 per thousand.

Other disorders listed in the records of military personnel are said to have been caused by chemical warfare. Unita claims a Belgian toxicologist found evidence of mustard gas poisoning in some patients in 1986 and that cases were frequently diagnosed until last year.

Carlos Morgado, the director of military health, says the symptoms are paralysis of the lower limbs, lung problems, blindness and psychological disorders.

The MPLA has frequently denied engaging

in chemical warfare.

Jamba's overall population is about 15 000, mainly women. And mainly it is unseen, melded with the bush. Apart from the national stadium, which is only used when security can be assured, there is no central community area.

There are no shops, because the movement itself distributes food to those not in a position to grow their own, and clothing to reward loyalty and effort. The general dress is a drab green uniform bought of American money.

Unita's "Free Land of Angola" has no currency, no postage stamps. There are, however, post boxes. Anyone wanting to send a letter out of the country merely drops it in a box and the movement pays the postage.

That, anyway, is the theory.

With the Angolan ceasefire on May 31, the Unita hierarchy obviously is considering a move to Luanda. If things stay on line, it has an election to fight in September next year. The headquarters must be in the capital.

Will Jamba return to nature, or to as much of

nature as still survives? Will it become a latter-day Zimbabwe ruin?

The consensus is no. Carlos Morgado believes it certainly will not happen in the short term.

"Jamba has become a town like any other in Angola," he says. "Sure, there are many displaced people here who would like to return to their villages.

"But conditions in most of those villages are not good. Some have been destroyed.

Viable

"Jamba has schools and other facilities that are viable. It must not be allowed to die."

Unita's Minister of Information, Colonel Jorge Valentine, agrees. "We must keep Jamba, at least, as an historical site to remember. After all, it was from Jamba that Unita resistance really started."

Colonel Valentine feels there should be a large monument erected in the settlement to remind all Angolans of the special history of the place.

Perhaps a stone elephant, supine, would be appropriate.

On a sandy island across Luanda Bay, restaurants are full and music from nightclubs wafts out over the waters of the South Atlantic.

After 30 years of almost unbroken warfare, Angolans are finally enjoying the first weeks of peace. But not everyone can join the dancing.

Beneath the palms lining Luanda's waterfront, young men lounge on crutches. Each has had a leg blown off at the knee.

International aid officials believe Angola has the world's highest proportion of amputees. The government estimates 80 000 soldiers and civilians have lost limbs.

Many are victims of the countless mines planted around the country during Angola's 14-year struggle for independence from Portugal. Others lost limbs in the subsequent civil war between the pro-Soviet government and US-backed rebels after Lisbon's colonial rule ended in 1975.

Since the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) signed peace accords on May 31, the two sides have been working together to remove mines around the country.

The task is enormous and the mines claim victims daily. Half a million mines are thought to have been laid on roads, fields and in the bush.

The close co-operation between the two sides since the ceasefire has surprised many observers.

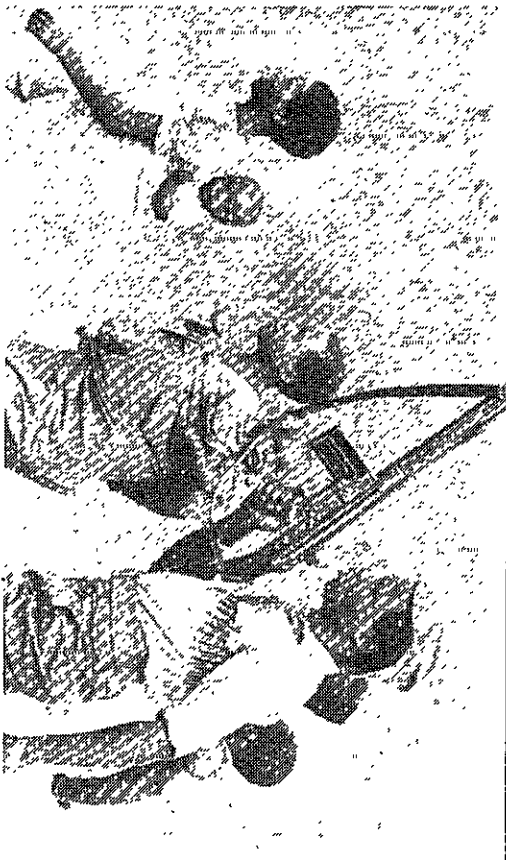
In Luena, 800km east of the capital, commanders who fought the last battle of the war have exchanged maps of the mine fields of their former enemies. Teams are working together to clear mines from roads around the town.

Road links to Luena, the capital of Angola's easternmost province of Moxico, have long been cut off by the war.

Now, through the combined efforts of government and rebel troops, a 260km road has been opened north to

Angola rebuilds after war

APress 7/7/91



VICTIMS OF WAR . . . No security for Angolans after 30 years of war.

Saurimo, the main town of Lunda Sul province.

The Portuguese left Angola with an extensive network of paved roads, and the clearing of mines since the truce has greatly assisted the supply of international aid to isolated areas.

Starvation, another serious problem worsened by war, is also being dealt with more effectively, officials say.

The immediate risk of starvation has been alleviated in all but some

Programme in Luanda.

"With the signing of the peace accords, there have been good immediate results - very good co-operation."

Essien wants to provide assistance to the 400 000 Angolans who fled the war to neighbouring Zambia, Zaire and Namibia: the 700 000 internally displaced Angolans and an estimated 150 000 soldiers to be demobilised under the terms of the peace accords. Meanwhile in Jamba, the Unita bush camp established in 1979, the process of gearing up to monitor the truce is underway.

Here too amputees hobble on crudely made artificial legs.

There are no phones, little water, and the only infrastructure consists of spine-snapping dirt roads carved through the bush.

The only sign of luxury is the VIP centre, a large thatched hut which was filled last week with delegates from the Unita rebels, the Angolan government, and the UN.

They had come to Jamba a month after signing the peace accords.

The visit gave UN observers a firsthand look at the daunting task ahead.

South eastern Angola is poorly mapped and underdeveloped. The peace agreement stipulated that elections be held in the dry season, before the roads turn to sludge.

Before the vote, scheduled for late 1992, hundreds of UN observers must make their way to assembly points like Jamba to oversee the demobilisation of soldiers from both sides.

UN monitors said demobilisation was scheduled to begin next week, but already logistical problems were slowing their work.

"We don't know the airfield conditions. We don't know the road conditions," lamented head of the UN forces, Brigadier General Pericles Ferreira Gomes of Brazil.

He said Angola was in no position to provide accommodation, and no petrol was available in the eastern regions. - Sapa-AP

MPLA makes first visit to Unita's headquarters

JAMBA — Angola's civil war foes took a further stride towards peaceful democratic rule with a historic weekend meeting at the former rebel Unita headquarters deep in the Angolan bush.

The two-day meeting in Jamba was the first visit by government officials to Unita's bush headquarters.

MPLA chief negotiator Lopo de Nascimento said there had been several problems in consolidating a Portuguese-mediated agreement signed in Lisbon on May 31 ending the civil war.

"But I can say the problems are not putting in doubt the (peace) accords," he said.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said he was certain the accord would hold. "Lopo de Nascimento . . . told me

he believed on their side nothing will derail this process.

"That's also our conviction because I think that if the process is derailed, it will be almost impossible to put it on track again," Savimbi added.

Asked why a peace agreement had been reached at this time, Savimbi said: "First of all . . . we had come to the conclusion that no one could win militarily."

Improvements in relations between the Soviet Union and the US, the independence of Namibia and political reforms in SA had also created an atmosphere conducive to peace.

Nascimento went to Jamba as a member of the joint political military commission which is overseeing the peace accords leading up to the country's first multi-party elections late next year.

Diplomats with the group were heartened at the mutual understanding between the former foes and doubted whether the civil war would break out again.

Soviet delegate to the commission Vladimir Petrokov said: "The people do not want war, they are tired of war."

The US chief observer on the commission, Jeffrey Millington, said the trip to Jamba after having met President Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda was important symbolically "to show very publicly they (Unita and MPLA) can work together."

The next step in the peace accord is for the armies of the two sides to start assembling with their weapons in designated areas around the country under the supervision of UN observers. — Sapa-Reuter.



Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at his Jamba stronghold after meeting ruling MPLA government representatives at the weekend. Picture: AP

Angola's civil war



The two Angolas: Can they meet in peace?

⑤ Argus 11/7/74

“WHITE Portuguese citizen” offering attractive financial security seeks “mulatto virgin”. Any takers?

The single national newspaper, the state-run Jornal de Angola, has changed remarkably in recent months and opened its columns to reflect a broad spectrum of new political debate and squabble. But when a personal advertisement such as the one quoted above appears, the first of its kind, one begins to get the measure of how ordinary citizens are rising (or stooping) to grasp at a normal life.

Sidewalk cafes are opening up again and you can sit out on a balmy winter night with a beer and a plate of spicy prawns. The joint is a bit tacky but Luandans are responding enthusiastically and you might wait for a table.

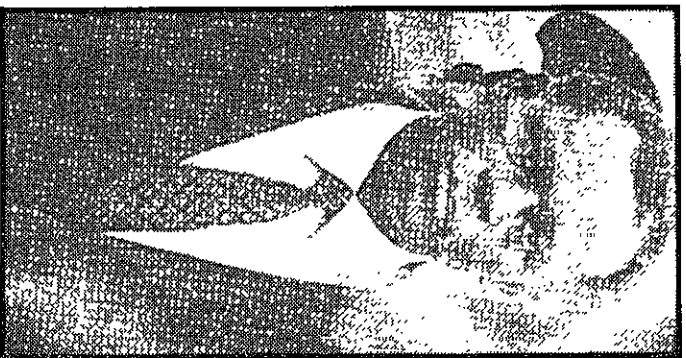
You can also make a telephone call from the airport now at a bright green instrument on which you might get a line. Also bright green are the new litter bins dotted along the Island of Luanda courtesy of the municipal authority.

Buildings around the city are being renovated and construction abandoned years ago is beginning again. The beautiful Luanda, dormant beneath grime and rubble, just might be stirring.

The charm of Luanda is also its frustration. The city is chaotic, its people equally so. There are no guaranteed appointments, no schedules certain of respect. But just like the man seeking a “mulatto virgin” there is an irrepressible initiative.

A small example of this is that since the May 31 ceasefire, some of the main roads out of the capital have been cleared of mines. Now anyone who can get their hands on a truck is driving out to buy produce in the countryside for sale on the markets of the capital. Truck drivers in battered old

Angolans are beginning to believe in peace. But still far from clear is who will lead the way along the path Angola must travel to create a single nation.
DALE LAUTENBACH of Argus Africa News Service visited the deeply different heartlands of the two warring sides who are now committed to peace: Luanda, the seat of government, and Jamba, the “capital” of the Unita rebels.



President dos Santos . . . grabbed the high ground

wrecks told Angolan television that they were having no problems on the roads. But much more significant is the message implied in their entreprenering: a growing confidence in peace and an urgent desire to get on with life.

Those with political ambitions are also grabbing the new opportunities. In terms of the peace accord and new laws allowing political parties to operate freely there is a new clutter in the city where before there were only MPLA slogans. The black cockerel symbol of

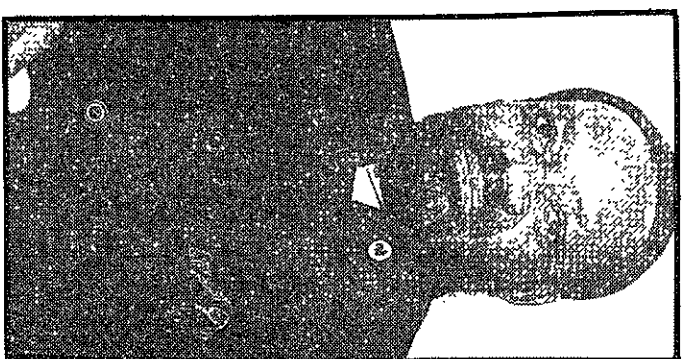
Unita on its red and green flag is hung out daily from the Hotel Turismo where the movement has its temporary headquarters.

The state newspaper carries Unita communiques and the spokesman for the rebel group in Luanda, Abel Chivukuvuku, says his people feel quite safe in the city. If there is any threat, he says, it comes from those hardliners opposed to change and not from the core of government loyal to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos who, he believes, are thoroughly committed to the peace process.

Other emergent political parties — eight known so far with others in the wings — have swung their banners across city streets and are already calling regular Press conferences to make claims and level accusations with a credibility that has yet to be tested against popular support.

In all this activity the MPLA has been remarkably quiet. Between the short-sightedly quiet. Between the truce of May 15 and the official signing of the ceasefire on May 31, President dos Santos grabbed the high ground and the limelight. He made two very successful trips to provincial capitals, he returned triumphant to Luanda after the Lisbon signing ceremony and the next day made the astute move of attending an ecumenical mass celebrating peace.

Since then, nothing. In its defence, MPLA members say the party is “soul-searching” and reorganising behind the scenes. That might well be necessary but the party has sacrificed the momentum established in those early weeks of peace euphoria.



Dr Savimbi . . . waiting to make his entry into Luanda

Far from Luanda, and a challenge as yet to be quantified, is Jamba, the Unita “capital” where even if you arrive from within Angola itself as we did, you are required to go through immigration control as if you had arrived in another country.

In comparison to Luanda it is another country. Jamba is no more than an extended military base, a garrison “town” the plan and size of which is impossible to grasp as you are driven along dusty roads from one constellation of huts and buried bunkers to another.

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It seems strange indeed that South Africa and the United States defended their support for Unita as support for democracy in the face of a socialist threat. Unita has achieved in Jamba a parody of socialism in a Maoist form that the MPLA at the height of its Marxist-Leninist doctrine never achieved in Luanda.

When Dr Savimbi strode into the open-air stadium for the cultural event organised to welcome the historic first visit to Jamba of an MPLA delegation from Luanda, the crowds roared their single-minded approval. At the flick of a Savimbi hand carrying an ivory topped cane, they fell silent. There was no applause for speeches by the visitors; when Dr Savimbi spoke the night reverberated.

Dr Savimbi is waiting in Jamba now for the appropriate moment to make his entry to Luanda. Observers have expressed some concern that the image he is cultivating is not merely Angolan leader but black African leader in the reactionary tradition of the elder statesmen of the continent who have ruled like great chiefs or self-styled emperors.

Having seen Luanda on the one hand where a sort of jumble-sale democracy has begun and Jamba on the other where Savimbi! Savimbi! is the only permissible cry, it is hard to imagine how these two cultures will meet and find common cause as Angola struggles towards a single spirit of nationhood after 16 years of division by civil war.

Angolan adversaries worlds apart

Star 9/7/91 (5)

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Committed to peace . . . Dos Santos.

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Focus of attention in Jamba . . . Savimbi.

swung their banners across city streets and are calling regular press conferences to make claims and level accusations.

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Angolans speak of peace

Southern 10/7/91

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When Savimbi strode into the 'open-air stadium for the cultural event organised to welcome the historic first visit to Jamba of an MPLA delegation from Luanda, the crowd roared their single-minded approval.

At the flick of a Savimbi hand carrying an ivory-topped cane, they fell silent. There was no applause for speeches by the visitors; when Savimbi spoke the night reverberated.

Savimbi is waiting in Jamba now for the appropriate moment to make his entry to Luanda. Observers have expressed some concern that the image he is cultivating is not merely Angolan leader but black African leader in the reactionary tradition of the elder statesmen of the continent who have ruled like great chiefs or self-styled emperors.

Having seen Luanda on the one hand, where a sort of jumble-sale democracy has begun and Jamba on the other, where Savimbi is the only permissible cry, it is hard to imagine how these two cultures will meet and find common cause as Angola struggles towards a single spirit of nationhood after 16 years of division by civil war.

Soccer fraternity excited about the IOC's decision

Angola forges credit link ⁽³⁾ with SA bank

star 12/7/91

LUANDA — Angolan and South African banks have agreed to open credit lines worth about R5 million to finance trade between the two countries.

The agreement between Banco Popular de Angola (BPA) and Bank of Lisbon International has not yet been approved by the respective central banks, the *Journal de Angola* newspaper said.

BPA director Amílcar Silva said on Angolan national radio that the accords emerged during a visit last week to Angola by Bank of Lisbon International executive Durval Marques.

He said the initial pact was intended to finance imports of South African goods and Angolan exports of coffee, fish, fishmeal, canned tuna and sisal.

Economic analysts said the Luanda government expected to save up to 30 percent of its estimated \$30 million annual hard-currency bill for food exports by switching to South Africa as a supplier.

"Lower transport costs account for 25 percent savings and lower production costs for the other five percent," said one economist.

Marques is also said to have shown keen interest in backing Angolan government plans to rehabilitate and develop the rail links from the port of Lobito into the central highlands.

A team of South African experts will visit the line next week to evaluate possible participation by the South African bank, Cleofas Silinge, director-general of the railway, told national radio.— Sapa—Reuter.

An old-style African leader

JONAS Savimbi is a man with many friends and many enemies. While the world has grown increasingly sceptical of African political leadership and its ability to provide effective rule, Savimbi is taken seriously in Western capitals.

Star 13/7/91
Savimbi's aim may not be democracy

He is widely admired in and outside Angola, but he is also deeply hated. His return to Luanda after 16 years of civil war is the culmination of a lengthy and tortuous peace process. If the 10-week-old peace accord holds, and multi-party elections are held late next year, it will put within his grasp the prize for which he has fought for nearly 30 years — the presidency of Angola, potentially the richest country in Africa.

Jonas Malhero Savimbi stands apart from most African leaders. He exudes authority whether addressing a crowd of followers or holding

talks with diplomats or businessmen. He can do so in at least two African languages, Portuguese, English and French, and he even speaks German.

He has absorbed all the lessons of the political PR men. He gives the impression of activity, movement, urgency. He is up to date on world affairs and rarely appears in public without a court around him, whose members refer to him in hushed tones as "the president".

Savimbi has never been short of rich and powerful friends. Tiny Rowland of Lomro gave him money and lent him a jet in the early days of Unita. Any public appearance of Savimbi in London draws right-wing MPs whose interest in the rest of Africa is minimal. In Washington, he has been a regular visitor to the Reagan and Bush

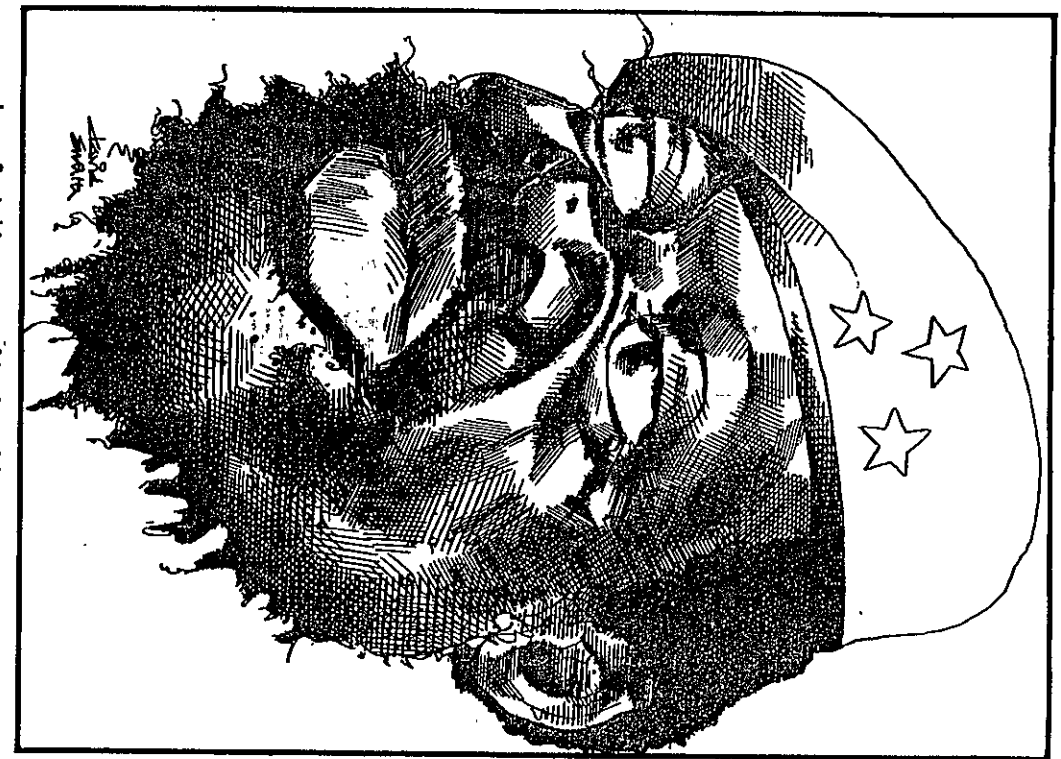
White Houses.

The Right sees Savimbi as a heroic cold warrior who has struggled against the Soviet domination of Africa. To them he is a democrat and a free marketer. Those who make the trip to Jamba, his bush headquarters in south-eastern Angola, come back impressed with the spartan, boy scout lifestyle of his "capital" and the discipline with which it is run.

In the bush, Savimbi dresses in camouflage and a black beret. He wears a pearl-handled revolver and a belt of bullets and carries a cane. He likes to be seen to be in the field, directing operations.

which could not be more different from the somnolence and sterility of Luanda, the capital. Savimbi has always been hated by his opponents. Many Angolans blame him for the war, which has been one of the bitterest in Africa. Unita, in particular, specialises in planting anti-personnel mines around villages and, as a result, killed and maimed large numbers of civilians.

The Left regards Savimbi as the arch traitor, a puppet of South Africa and America. To it, Unita was, from its beginnings, a construction of Western secret services inspired by tribalism and driven by Savimbi's ambition.



Jonas Savimbi: ... many friends and just as many enemies.

His persistence was rewarded; he completed a three-year course in two, and won a medical scholarship to Portugal.

But politics came first. For the next seven years he worked with the Angolan liberation movements

the MPLA, and the CIA helped the FNLA and Unita.

The South Africans, believing they had US support, sent a military column in support of Unita

cutting off the South Africans. Three new airstrips brought Cuban MIG fighter bombers within range of South African bases in northern Namibia. The

has been forced to hold a democratic election. Angola, however, is one of those countries in which first impressions are not the reality. The

non-South African black leader to appear at P W Botha's inauguration as South African president in 1984.

Jamba and areas of Angola under Unita control operate on socialist lines and without money, but socialism — the second slogan of Unita — has not yet been fully reconciled with its adoption of free market capitalism, nor its support from the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Democracy, the third slogan, is a word frequently on Savimbi's lips and may deliver what he has fought so long for. But for the Unita leader democracy, like war, may be a means to power — not an end in itself.

Asked recently whether there was democracy within Unita, he said the "culture of democracy" had to be created nationally before it could be adopted by a party.

Few would deny that Savimbi is an old-fashioned African leader when it comes to decision making. He is Unita, and Unita is Savimbi.

Angola's peace is not the result of military victory or reconciliation but of the mutual entrenchment of the two combatants. Since the South Africans stopped bailing out Unita and the MPLA lost its Cuban troops, both sides have come to realise that they cannot win by shooting.

In public both sides accept the need for peace, but in private they still

ELWOOD MANUFACTURING 32 SECOND STREET MARLBORO

Angola launches bank

LUANDA — President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has inaugurated the first new bank to open in Angola under laws passed in March to liberalise the banking system.

The first and main branch of Banco de Comercio e Industria (Bank of Commerce and Industry BCI) is expected to open to the public next week following publication of its constitution and registration.

Operating capital is initially set at one billion new kwanza (about R51m) divided into 100 000 nominal shares.

The state holds 91% of the shares, with the remainder held in 1% tranches by nine public-sector companies.

— Sapa-Reuter

**More finance
on page 11**

Savimbi set to abandon SA

(S)
So we few
15/7/91

FOCUS

LUANDA - In the next 15 months before multi-party elections in Angola, Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi can be expected to "pick a fight with South Africa" in order to distance his movement from its old ally.

This is the view of American academic and expert on Angolan affairs Dr Gerald Bender. It might come as a surprise to some, especially those South African government officials who have until now defended their close relationship with Unita on the dubious moral grounds that "because we shed blood together we must stick together".

But Bender's is not a voice in the wilderness. Within Unita itself there are already signs that the cosy relationship the South African Government might like to claim is beginning to cool.

Argus Africa News Service spoke to a member of Unita's "ministry of foreign affairs" in Jamba recently and asked whether Unita considered itself to be in debt to South Africa for the help afforded Unita during the war with the forces of the Angolan government.

Astute

"Absolutely not," said Mr Chivuku Martinho. "We don't owe South Africa anything and I'm proud to say it."

On the one hand, distancing itself from the South African regime will be an astute political move on the part of Unita as it enters the election campaign in Angola, during which its links to the African pariah state will be questioned. (It is also not unthinkable that elements of Unita and the ruling MPLA could find common cause in an electoral alliance.)

However, Bender sees another motivation: Savimbi's desire to express a real grievance following

There could be a surprise or two ahead as some of the players in Angola's history of strife and war drop old allegiances in favour of new alliances. DALE LAUTENBACH of the Argus Africa News Service reports on some of the signals from shifting ground.

the humiliation he has suffered at the hands of the South Africans whose attitude to him and his movement has been characterised as patronising and not without aspects of white superiority and "baasskap". There have also been several books published in South Africa recently which, quoting SADF sources, are less than complimentary about Unita's military ability.

"Savimbi is a proud man and he must feel hurt about the way he has been treated by South Africa," says Bender.

He notes too that Savimbi, "a real chameleon," has gone through several backers from the People's Republic of China, North Korea and Romania, to the US and South Africa. "Unita did not start out with South Africa and I can guarantee it will not end up with South Africa."

Another historical player in Angola is the United States and there too, the relationship is less than straightforward. For much of the war the US administration backed the Unita war machine with millions of rands worth of lethal aid while predominantly American oil companies ran the industry that fueled, both literally and by its earnings, the Angolan government's armed forces.

It is worth noting too a broadly



JONAS SAVIMBI

held misconception about the other superpower in the Cold War game that played out in Angola, the Soviet Union: the military equipment which poured in from the Soviets for the Fapla forces of the MPLA government did not come free, as many people assume. The Angolan government paid - and still owes a good deal - for its Soviet hardware.

Angolan officials say the foreign debt to the Soviet Union is "more than 50 percent" of the total R16,8 billion foreign debt. Soviet officials have mentioned debt to their country as R11,2 billion.

Stages

The US Congress has reportedly confirmed another aid package to Unita for the sum of R168 million in three stages. The aid is defined as non-lethal now, following the peace accords established with Portuguese, American and Soviet support on May 31 but it remains, like previous American aid packages, covert.

The aid is also defined as money that Unita may not use for electoral purposes. The new Angolan law on political parties changing the country from a one-party to a multi-party state, forbids parties from receiving foreign financial support. American diplo-

mats argue that the new aid package is not for Unita, the political party, but to "level the playing field" in Angola and put Unita fairly in the running.

Bender, and others, fail to see where the distinction is going to be made: "If you can help me define that grey area between non-lethal and non-electoral, I would really appreciate it but frankly I've been out with a magnifying glass trying to find that gap and I can't."

Another concern is the continued American secrecy. "Why covert?" questions Bender. "If the United States's purpose is innocuous as American leaders say it is, why not bring it in the open? If it's innocent, let's tell the world."

In his opinion, whoever comes to power in Angola is just about irrelevant to the relations the US will have with Angola in the future. There's proof enough in the past: apart from the US oil barons, who have found it quite acceptable to do business with the former Marxist-Leninist MPLA regime all along, more than 50 percent of Angola's trade has been with the US over the years.

What the US should be doing in Angola now is supporting not one side or the other but the electoral process itself, says Bender. As only one third of the latest aid package has been committed so far, with R112 million still to be disbursed, he says, there are those who would hope to challenge the terms of its distribution.

However American and South African politicians juggle the ironies and anomalies of their histories in Angola, US business interests in that rich country are not going to decline. And much of their competition is going to come from South Africa whose business community is already beating a path to Angola's door.

Savimbi to pick a fight with SA?

Star 15/1/91

IN THE next 15 months before multiparty elections in Angola, Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi can be expected to "pick a fight with South Africa" in order to distance his movement from its old ally.

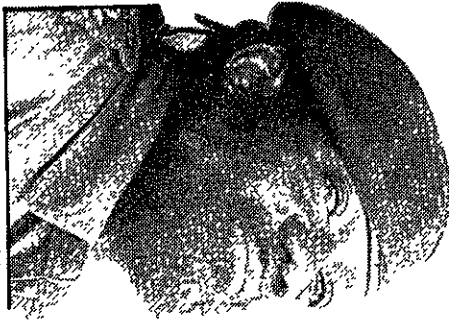
This is the view of US academic and expert on Angolan affairs Gerald Bender. It might come as a surprise to some, especially those South African Government officials who have until now defended their close relationship with Unita on the grounds that "because we shed blood together we must stick together".

But Dr Bender's is not a voice in the wilderness. Within Unita itself there are already signs that the cosy relationship South Africa might like to claim is beginning to cool.

The Star Africa News Service spoke to a member of Unita's "ministry of foreign affairs" in Jamba recently and asked if Unita considered itself to be in debt to South Africa for the help it received in its war with Angolan government forces.

"Absolutely not," said Chivuku Martinho. "We don't owe South Africa anything, and I'm proud to say it."

Players from Angola's history of strife are dropping old allegiances in favour of new alliances. DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star's Africa Service reports.



Tactics . . . Savimbi.

Dr Bender anticipates that Dr Savimbi's move against the South Africans will be "very visible and very effective, partially contrived and partially real".

On the one hand, distancing itself from South Africa will be an astute political move as it enters the election campaign in Angola during which its links to South Africa will be questioned.

But Dr Bender sees another motivation: Dr Savimbi's desire to express a real grievance after the humiliation he has suffered at the hands of the South Africans whose attitude to him and his movement has been characterised as patronising and not without aspects of white superiority.

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He notes, too, that Dr Savimbi — "a real chameleon" — has gone through several backers, from China, North Korea and Romania to the US and South Africa.

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Another historical player in Angola is the US, and there, too, the relationship is less than straightforward.

For much of the war the US administration backed the Unita war machine with millions of dollars in aid, while predominantly American oil companies ran the industry that fuelled the Angolan government armed forces.

It is worth noting, too, a broadly held misconception about the other superpower in the Cold War game that played out in Angola, the Soviet Union: the military equipment which poured in from the Soviets for the Fapla forces of the MPLA government did not come free.

The Angolan government paid, and still owes a good deal, for its Soviet hardware.

Angolan officials say its debt to the Soviet Union is more than half its enormous foreign debt.

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But US and South African politicians juggle the ironies and anomalies of their histories in Angola. US business interests in the rich country are not going to decline.

And much of the competition is going to come from South Africa, whose business community is already beating a path to Angola's door. □

Working it out in Angola⁽⁵⁾

Star 17/7/91.

The seemingly impossible mission of peace in Angola IS proceeding, reports DALE LAUTENBACH.

A GAINST ODDS that some had considered impossible, the peace process in Angola is staying on track.

There is a growing sense of wonder among outside observers at the remarkable degree of co-operation being achieved by the MPLA government and the opposing Unita movement.

The latest evidence of this is the disclosure that all prisoners of war are expected to be released by the end of July.

This speedy agreement was reached by the Joint Political-Military Commission (CCPM) set up to oversee the peace process, comprising representatives of the MPLA government, Unita, Portugal, the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Nations.

The agreement on PoWs, according to an Angolan government source, provides for some of the prisoners to be released by Saturday and the rest by the end of the month, with the co-operation of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The continued cohesion of the peace programme is attributed by academic observers and diplomats to two factors: the end of the Cold War hostilities, and pure and simple exhaustion with hot war on both sides.

Both sides had at last come to realise that there was nothing to be gained militarily, that a sort of stalemate had been reached in which neither side was going to secure a military victory or even an advantage.

The explanation seems almost too simple, the success almost magical. Undoubtedly crucial to this is the excruciatingly detailed set of documents underpinning the process.

Worked out over the course of negotiations lasting a whole year (the peace talks which resulted in the May 31 ceasefire this year began in Portugal on April 1 last year), the accords provide a solid negotiating framework with anticipated points of reference for just about everything that might go right... or wrong.

There is also a psychological factor. Many of the members of the CCPM now meeting regularly in Luanda are old hands at the game, having become familiar with each other during the year-long preparation of the ceasefire.

And the CCPM has a built-in conflict-resolving mechanism which probably has as much to do with the personalities involved and their shared experi-

ences to date as with the formal agreement.

Abel Chivukuvuku, Unita's press spokesman in Luanda and member of the CCPM, said that whenever the negotiations were heading into a corner, whenever tensions became a little too manifest, the leaders of the two sides would call a halt and go off somewhere together to break the deadlock.

It is not easy to imagine just how this is achieved. The chief Angolan government member of the CCPM, Lopo do Nascimento, is a retiring, enigmatic personality. Behind thick spectacles, he smiles at questions and offers few clues. He has however said that the best solution for Angola might lie in a government of national reconciliation, and therein may lie a significant clue to his approach.

His opposite number, Elias Salupeto Pena of Unita, presents a totally contrasting impression: flashy, rather aggressive. But between them, these two men are making it work.

Under the umbrella of the CCPM, two subcommissions operate — one to monitor the ceasefire with the assistance of a 350-strong United Nations force, and another involving French, Portuguese and British assistance — in merging the former combatants into a single national army of 40 000 soldiers. (There is no hard-and-fast figure, but the warring armies are believed to have anything from 150 000 to 200 000 men under arms between them.)

All three bodies are reportedly working well, the only major stumbling block so far being that some of the Unita-controlled areas are so remote that the UN teams are having difficulty reaching their destinations. It is at 50 points nationwide, 27 in government areas and 23 in Unita areas, that the soldiers must gather during the monitoring process.

The UN is also providing 90 police monitors to ensure the neutrality of the police force. This is something which has been worrying Unita, and when The Star Africa Service was in Luanda recently, police monitoring was identified by Mr Chivukuvuku as one of the major problems. Now the UN policemen are reportedly beginning to arrive.

The government has rejected the idea of a national conference to address the political questions, but a forum will be established where all parties can put their views on the electoral process.

There have been comments that the UN monitoring force is remarkably small for a country the size of Angola but, as one observer noted, if the two sides want to start shooting again, no matter what the size of an international force, nothing will stop them.

So far, the two sides clearly have chosen words over guns. □



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Hotline (S)
keeps peace
in Angola *Star*
12/1/91
Star Africa Service

LUANDA — A telephone hotline linking Unita leader Jonas Savimbi at his bush headquarters of Jamba to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda has proved to be of major importance in maintaining the Angolan peace agreement.

The leader of the Unita mission in Luanda, Elias Salupeto Pena, has revealed that the hotline was installed immediately after the peace accord was signed in Lisbon on May 31, and has been in constant use ever since to resolve disputes that have arisen between the two once warring sides.

General Savimbi has several times postponed moving to Luanda to direct his political campaign, making the hotline of supreme importance.

New Angolan politicians are fighting for survival

Sowetan 22/7/91 (5)

LUANDA - A chaotic array of about 60 political groups has sprung up to chase power in Angola's first free democratic elections late next year.

Many complain that their activities are being severely restricted by regulations governing the registration of parties.

These include producing identity documents, criminal records, certificates of residency, certificates of employment, photographs and duty stamps for each individual member.

Only the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the former rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) have been accorded de facto status as parties.

The MPLA and Unita signed a peace accord on May 31, after waging a 16-year civil war that devastated this country of nearly nine million people.

Earlier this year the MPLA ditched Marxism-Leninism for multi-party democracy and a market economy, but it was taken by surprise over the

speed at which the peace deal was struck with Unita.

"We tend to forget that the whole democracy package was passed at a time (March) when the MPLA did not expect a peace accord with Unita so quickly," said a Western diplomat.

"So they legislated for a multi-party democracy filled with checks and controls precisely because they were intended for a period of continuing civil war."

At least 18 groups have applied to the Peoples' Supreme Court for accreditation so they can fight the elections.

Emergent parties complain that the welter of paperwork is difficult to obtain in the capital Luanda, and much more so in the provinces where even getting a photocopy or photograph is virtually impossible.

Secret censorship in the state-owned media of any significant information about parties other than the MPLA is also hindering the new groups.

Former secret police are another problem, says Luis dos Passos, secretary-general of the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD).

"Many of the former

secret police in the recently-extinguished Ministry of State Security have been recycled into jobs in the provincial administrations and it is highly intimidating for would-be members to reveal information to men they know to have been MPLA secret police," he said.

If tacit support does not translate into effective party membership, many of the emerging parties will find it difficult to comply with regulations requiring proof of 3 000 members, with at least 150 in each of 14 of Angola's 18 provinces. - Sapa-Reuter.

New parties hamstrung by Angolan bureaucracy

816 am 22/7/91

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Political observers suspect many groups will not gain the legal status to take part in next year's elections. — Sapa-Reuter.

Missing arrest

Ratsiraka, battling to curb protests which started six weeks ago and have plunged the Indian Ocean island into turmoil, declared a state of emergency in Antananarivo on Tuesday and imposed a night curfew. - Sapa-
Reuter.



Red Cross man is released, deported from Mozambique

Sowetan 26/7/91
MAPUTO - The representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Mozambique, detained on suspicion of supplying uniforms to the Renamo rebel movement, has been released from custody and will be deported from Mozambique it has been reported. -
Sowetan Africa News Service.

Cubans in Angola

says Unita

Sowetan 26/7/91
LUANDA - Unita's representative in the Joint Politico-Military Commission, Elias Salupeto Pena, said his party would present proof that Cuban soldiers are still in Angola, a breach of the New York accord.

Unita's representative in Lisbon said 5 000 Cuban soldiers are still in Angola.

Salupeto Pena said Unita would produce proof to back up its claim "in due course".

However, a UN verification mission headed by General Pericles Gomes, of Brazil, has found that all Cubans have now left for home. -
Sowetan Africa News Service.

5 000 Cubans still in Angola - Unita

Star Africa Service
and Sapa 26/7/91

LUANDA — The Unita representative in the Joint Politico-Military Commission (JPMC), Elias Salupeto Pena, yesterday said his party would present proof that Cuban soldiers were still in Angola — a breach of the New York Accord.

Unita's representative in Lisbon said the last 5 000 Cuban soldiers were still in Angola.

The New York Accord between Angola, Cuba and South Africa put the number of Cubans in Angola at 50 000.

A United Nations verification mission headed by General Pericles Gomes of Brazil has found that all Cubans have now left for home.

But Mr Pena said "nobody could guarantee that there are no more Cubans in Angola".

A meeting of the JPMC, overseeing the May 31 ceasefire and the transition to democratic rule, and elections in the second half of next year broke up yesterday in a

stalemate over Unita's failure to release prisoners on Sunday. The government freed 107 Unita prisoners on Saturday.

Unita has said the government PoWs were "at liberty in Jamba" — an assertion not upheld by the International Committee of the Red Cross, and disputed by the government, which says that under the peace accords, prisoners must be transported to their place of choice.

Unita officials, at a news conference yesterday before the JPMC session denied that there were problems preventing the release of prisoners, and said Unita was ready to free them.

General Gomes told the national radio that logistics matters were creating problems. This would make it difficult for the mission to finish its work on schedule.

He appealed to the MPLA government and Unita to create the necessary atmosphere so that the 200 UN men in Angola could get on with their work.

Angolan peace hits new snag

AP 26/7/91
LUANDA — Angola's peace process has run into its first major problem, over the delayed release of government prisoners by Unita.

A meeting of the Joint Political and Military Commission (JPMC), overseeing the May 31 ceasefire, broke up late on Wednesday in a stalemate over Unita's failure to observe last Sunday's scheduled prisoner release.

A source at the JPMC, which comprises government and Unita officials and foreign observers, said the problem "could cause the whole peace process to stagnate".

Unita has said the government POWs were "at liberty in Jamba", an assertion not upheld by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and disputed by the government. — Sapa-
Reuter

POW affair 'smells bad'

AS THE 31 July deadline for the release of prisoners taken during Angola's 16-year civil war draws near, Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement has yet to come up with a satisfactory explanation of what happened to an estimated 8 000 pro-government prisoners.

According to Amnesty International's 1989 annual report, supported by statements to the Portuguese press by Savimbi himself, 8 000 POWs were being held in Unita camps. Yet the list of prisoners supplied by Unita so far amounts to just 1 356.

Some of those should have been released last Sunday, but their release was inexplicably postponed amid reports of a major row brewing between the rebel group and the MPLA government.

Unita representatives say many MPLA soldiers and government functionaries captured during the war "voluntarily" chose to join the Unita ranks. Such "voluntary adherents" do not appear on its list of 371 officers, 61 sergeants, 642 soldiers, 271 policemen and 11 civilians.

Another discrepancy is that with a Red Cross list of POWs. Between October 23 and 26 last year, the International Committee of the Red Cross interviewed 202 prisoners in Jamba, among them 11 MPLA army officers. Only 29 of those interviewed now appear on the Unita list.

At Monday's meeting of the Joint Political Commission — one of the three peace commissions that report to the Joint Political and Military Commission overseeing the implementation of Angola's peace accords — Unita came up with another 146 names, this time including about 24 officers.

W/Mail 2/8-8/8/91. (5)

What has happened to thousands of prisoners taken by Unita and held in POW camps? **ANITA COULSON** reports on a numbers game with potentially tragic consequences

Vincent Nicod, the International Red Cross delegate in Luanda, will not be drawn on disputes over the numbers of prisoners held by each side. "First we have to gain access to the prisoners, establish their identities and where they wish to go. Then we have to confirm their release. Only then will we draw up a list of discrepancies to be submitted to both sides for further action," he says.

Diplomatic sources say the affair "smells bad" and a source close to the American observers to the peace commissions in Luanda adds: "The guys are getting embarrassed over this."

The government is declining to tell journalists the specifics of the dispute over the prisoners, in order "not to add fuel to the fire as that would be in no one's interest."

One of the causes of discontent is that the government's amnesty law, published on July 15, states that all prisoners of war and conscience will go free. The government says that in the wake of the peace accords, the amnesty was a necessary judicial tool to wipe the slate clean of the "crimes" under which many of the political prisoners and POWs were sentenced. The subsequent release of the first 17 political prisoners and 107 POWs is evidence of its good faith, it says.

Unita complains the amnesty is a political manoeuvre and that the release of all prisoners was provided for under



Political pawns? ... Jonas Savimbi is at the centre of the POW row

the terms of the peace accords.

Disputes over this and other minor points of principle are meanwhile setting back the timetable for releasing the prisoners, all of whom should be freed by July 31.

Unita is determined to allow the MPLA no political advantage.

Abel Chivukuvuku, a spokesman for Unita in Luanda, says it was "the need to clarify the terms of the releases, whether they are under the peace accords or the government amnesty" that led to the failure to set free the first government prisoners from Jamba last Sunday. Government sources say Unita's de-

cision to postpone the releases also had something to do with unfounded suspicions that the MPLA would infiltrate security agents into Jamba. "We could have the same fears, but that shouldn't be allowed to delay liberty for the POWs."

The nit-picking over political issues is seen by some of the international observers as a serious flaw which is preventing the Angolans from adhering to the timetables for implementing the peace accords.

"It's clear the strategy is to gain maximum electoral advantage," comments one observer. "The prisoners are pawns in this game."

Angolans have to clean the war mess as rivals brace for peace

Landmines are a new menace

Sowetan 13/8/91 (5)

MAVINGA - Narrow tracks cleared of landmines thread through Mavinga like precarious tightropes.

Everyone here walks in single file and if you are not used to confining your movements so closely you begin to feel dizzy, imagining you might fall off the path into the lethal grasses just centimetres away.

Unita soldiers in the abandoned town, useful now only for its airstrip where United Nations World Food Programme-organised food relief supplies are landing, reacted cautiously to our request to see the town... rather what is left of it, for there is not one habitable building.

"We will have to walk," they said, explaining that if we drove on the only double track along which vehicles could pass, there would be no turning back. You have to drive for kilometres before you can safely leave the road to turn the vehicle around on mine-free ground.

Unsafe

We walked along this road following the tyre tracks strictly. Even the *middelmannetjie* in between was considered unsafe.

It seemed unimaginable that people had adapted to living like this. What happens when in a few weeks' time the oranges on some of the surviving trees at the roadside ripen? Wouldn't a child, wouldn't anyone in this hungry, drought-stricken area be tempted to take just those few steps to reach a sweet, rare fruit?

The battle of Mavinga early last year remains one of the enigmas of the Angolan civil war. Unita claims to have sent the Angolan Fapla troops packing; Angolan government sources tell a quite different story.

Pressure

Fapla had taken the area, they say, and ahead lay their target, Unita headquarters at Jamba. Then President Jose Eduardo dos Santos met US Secretary of State James Baker in Windhoek on the occasion of Namibia's independence in March last year, and it was agreed that Fapla should withdraw from Mavinga and leave it in Unita hands as a "diplomatic token" paving the way for the beginning of the peace talks the next month.

More crucial than Mavinga itself, though, was that the Fapla withdrawal took the pressure off Jamba to the south.

Whatever the truth, both sides mined the Mavinga area. The greater area stretching up to Cuito Cuanavale was mined by the SADF too when it pulled out of south-eastern Angola by August 1988.

A Unita colonel at Mavinga said the rebel forces had been "obliterated"

Hundreds of thousands of landmines are one of the greatest obstacles to rehabilitation in post-war Angola, reports DALE LAUTENBACH of Sowetan Africa News Service. The clearing operation is underway and there are plans to ask South Africa and Cuba for assistance.

ged" to mine the area. I asked whether Unita had maps or records of where the mines were. He laughed and shook his head. "We have no maps but we know that in all the areas where there was fighting there are mines."

Landmines

All accounts of the war show that south-eastern Angola, the "land at the end of the earth" as the Portuguese colonists called it, saw fighting all over the place.

Landmines are one of the biggest frustrations of the World Food Programme effort. As part of the UN Special Relief Programme for Angola, WFP in Windhoek has been co-ordinating convoys and airlifts of emergency food aid into south-eastern Angola's Cuando-Cubango province.

A crucial part of the aid package is seeds and basic

tools and as long as the lands cannot be worked, the real serious development and rehabilitation effort which the UN would like to see beginning for the people to find their own feet will be stalled.

"It's the old question," said Coutts. "Do you teach someone to fish or do you give that person the fish? Right now we're just giving fish."

Although Mavinga is a bombed-out ghost-town, about 30 000 and more people are estimated to live in the surrounding areas, many of them having been displaced in the west by the war.

Ceasefire

The Unita colonel said there were plans to return the people to their places of origin and that their return had to be matched with plans for agricultural development; but again "there is a high risk of

It's an old question. Do you teach someone to fish or do you give that person fish? Right now we're just giving fish.

agricultural implements. But while the lands remain inaccessible, this part of the operation looks almost futile and, worse still, will continue the population's dependence on food aid, for as long as they can't plant they will need food support.

Supplies

Douglas Coutts, director of WFP in Windhoek, said the present Namibian-based part of the programme, which has provided 5 000 tons since March and aims to deliver another 10 000 tons by February next year, is simply an emergency programme providing substitute supplies.

As long as this con-

ditions exist, he said.

Soldiers under UN flag who recently arrived in Mavinga to monitor the ceasefire (Mavinga is the monitoring headquarters for the southeastern region) have no mine-clearing role. "But mines prevent cultivation so if anyone can help it would be a good gesture," said a Malaysian colonel.

His report about his peace-keeping role was positive though. He had received no word of ceasefire violations and he and his handful of men - the advance of a force which will be about 20 for the next year or so in this region - had been welcomed by the locals.



As Angola is moving towards a settlement, thousands have to do without legs, arms or hands. Most were maimed by landmines planted by the warring parties before the ceasefire.

A recent report, quoting military sources in Luanda, said Fapla and Unita soldiers had cleared 300 000 mines since the ceasefire on May 31, most of them on the roads in the central provinces.

Some soldiers have died or lost limbs in the process. In Mavinga, the Unita colonel said one of his men lost a leg to a landmine "just over there" and he pointed to a spot a few metres away.

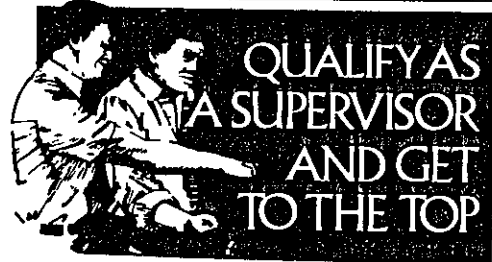
The report from Luanda said an estimated 600 000 mines still littered the country and that there were plans to request assistance from Cuba and South Africa to continue the clearing operation.

Risk

The close connection between food and mines holds true throughout the country. One positive report is that improved road links from Luanda into the surrounding countryside has increased the supply of fruit and vegetables to the capital, resulting in a drop in food prices there in recent weeks.

Notwithstanding these scraps of good news that have emerged following the peace settlement, mines will continue to exact their toll, directly or indirectly. The International Committee of the Red Cross believes that Angola has the highest proportion of war disabled in the world, 80 percent of them women and children and, of that figure, anti-personnel mines probably did most of the damage.

And even with peace apparently now a reality in Angola, a child might reach for an orange in Mavinga and add to this statistic. If Angola receives help with the landmine clearing task, that risk would be significantly reduced.



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AFRICA

Frelimo moots final break with Marxism

MAPUTO — A congress of Mozambique's ruling Frelimo Party yesterday discussed proposals for a new structure that would break completely with its Marxist-Leninist past.

A report from the party's Central Committee, presented by President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo on Monday, called on the 700 delegates to abandon "democratic centralism", the Leninist principle that has been Frelimo's cornerstone.

There had been "excessive centralism", leading to passivity among the rank and file and dependence on instructions from the party leadership, Chissano said.

"Now we need to broaden and develop democracy inside the party," he said, adding that divergent opinions had to be tolerated.

Frelimo dropped its Marxist label at its last congress in 1989 and has been seeking a political identity before the country's

first multiparty elections, planned for next year.

The government last week cut short a round of peace talks with rightwing rebels without making progress towards ending a civil war in which a million people have been killed since 1976.

Under the changes Chissano, who is Frelimo leader as well as head of state, would remain party president. This would be symbolically important because the popular reformist is considered to be Frelimo's greatest electoral asset.

The Soviet-style Politburo would be renamed the Political Commission and would concentrate on broad political issues and the party's electoral strategy.

The document for the first time defines Frelimo as a "democratic socialist party" committed to humanist values and to ending "authoritarian phenomena". — Sapa-Reuter.

Angolan peace commission to discuss PoWs

LUANDA — Angola's joint peace commission is due to meet on Monday to discuss the release of hundreds of prisoners of war held by Unita and the government.

Official sources said the meeting of the joint political and military commission, set up after the end of

Angola's civil war in May, would discuss Unita's failure to present to the Red Cross on Saturday prisoners who, it says, want to remain at its Jamba headquarters in the south.

About 326 of the estimated 1 500 prisoners of war

have been released so far by the two sides under the peace agreement.

The commission said Unita should present those prisoners to it and the Red Cross, after allegations that it was forcing them to remain at Jamba. — Reuter.

IMF praises Uganda's economic recovery

KAMPALA — The IMF yesterday praised Uganda's economic recovery in recent years, but said further reform was necessary.

A fund official, speaking before a Ugandan visit today by IMF MD Michel Camdessus, said the economy had responded well to IMF-backed reforms launched in 1987.

But further efforts were needed in a country still plagued by security problems, poor industrial infrastructure and shortages of labour and hard currency.

"The objectives are to reduce inflation to 15%, achieve annual growth rate of 5% and to strengthen the balance of payments position," he said.

The official, who declined to be named, said Uganda was the first stop on a tour which would also take Camdessus to Tanzania and Kenya next week.

Austerity

A decade of industrial neglect in Uganda, much of it under dictator Idi Amin, and a five-year bush war which brought current president Yoweri Museveni to power in 1986, has shattered the once-prosperous country's economy.

Under an austerity programme backed by the IMF, World Bank and international donors, Uganda has cut its inflation from 240% in the financial year 1987/88 to 29%.

Growth has recovered to an average 6% annually in recent years, having declined at an average rate of 2.8% a year between 1965 and 1989.

But the IMF official cautioned that Uganda was likely to continue to suffer shortages of hard currency because of low coffee prices. Coffee is the country's main foreign exchange earner, accounting for 95% of total export income.

Government officials estimate Uganda has lost \$250m a year since the collapse of an International Coffee Organisation quota pact in 1989. — Sapa-Reuter.

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after the Department of Interior could not supply guards to escort the van.

Two hours later than usual, the pensioners and

had been paid. The people cheered when I made the announcement that they were getting paid, and they cheered again

proud of the work I am doing.

"People should always remember that a policeman is just a human being doing his job."

Angolan secret police violating peace agreement, say observers

star 16/8/91

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Observers sent to Angola by the International Freedom Foundation, a Washington-based education body, have reported that secret police are masquerading there as ordinary policemen in violation of the Estoril agreement which ended fighting between the MPLA and Unita.

In a statement, the foundation said its observers had reported that Angola's Ministry of

State Security, which was established in June 1990 by former president Augustinho Neto, continued to have agents in place in Unita-held territory and in most of Luanda's hotels. The ministry also continued to operate a radio communications network.

"In the run-up to next year's election, these agents may attempt to eliminate certain members of the Unita leadership, employing any means necessary, including assassination or poisoning," the statement

said.

● The Star Africa Service reports that Unita and MPLA armies have begun to withdraw their forces to barracks, more than a month later than the deadline stipulated in the peace agreement signed in Lisbon in May.

The agreement called for the troops to be confined to their barracks from July 1.

Despite the delay, there have been no serious breaches of the ceasefire that is the basis of the Lisbon accord.

Ray of hope for Angola

(Prem) 18/8/91

AFTER two decades of systematically destroying their economy the Angolans at last seem to have reached the stage of starting the slow and painful rebuilding process.

The destruction was so comprehensive that no modern roads, water supplies or even the most elementary municipal services are left in most parts of the country.

The leadership of the MPLA as well as Unita leader Jonas Savimbi are increasingly turning to South Africa for help in rebuilding the economic and physical infrastructure.

Angola is a potentially rich country with a small but well developed oil industry which provides the vital foreign exchange needed to rebuild the country. The gold and diamond mines are part-

MONEY TALK



ly under the control of Unita, while several base metal mines, including iron ore, will have to be redeveloped.

Capital and expertise probably constitute Angola's biggest single need at the moment. With the Soviets and Cubans gone, the old socialist slogans have mostly disappeared. Government spokesmen talk about introducing the West's free market system. However, they have no clear idea of how such a system could be implemented.

The former countrywide trade and banking networks no longer

exist and will have to be created from scratch.

Savimbi is playing a waiting game. Originally a socialist, he developed a more capitalistic approach when South Africa and Western countries replaced Eastern bloc countries (especially China) as his suppliers of finance and military hardware.

However, he believes that the nations of southern Africa must develop as economic partners under the leadership of the new South Africa.

Whoever wins the elections will face the difficult task of restructuring Angola's economy. Yet, given its great potential wealth, South Africa will certainly benefit by fully supporting the new government in revitalising the economy.

... opened fire on their policemen. — Sapa-Reuter.

... former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and their daughter Priyanka pay tribute to him during a memorial service in New Delhi to mark his 47th birthday.

Picture: AP

Angolan gem output falls

LUANDA — Production of Angolan diamonds fell in the first six months of 1991 while illegal mining and smuggling soared to "frightening levels", the state-run daily Jornal de Angola said yesterday.

But it said state diamond company Endiama chairman Noe Baltazar still hoped to meet 1991 production targets of 1.5-million carats.

Baltazar said in a radio interview illegal mining operations were rife in the north-eastern diamond producing province Luna Norte.

8/10/91 21/8/91
Military (5)

He said it was up to the central government to take action. "Endiama does not have jurisdiction to interfere in or put a halt to this avalanche (of illegal operations) in the diamond mining areas."

The Jornal de Angola said the change in the political and military situations would permit increased working hours and access to areas previously out of reach.

Baltazar said Endiama, recently con-

verted into a holding company, would soon hold a meeting of the board in the provincial capital of Dunde to explore ways of extending its control and minimising illegal diamond operations.

The new Endiama group of companies has a monopoly over prospecting, exploration and commercialisation of Angola's diamonds. It has granted service contracts to a few foreign companies.

Baltazar said Endiama would soon sign a new contract with De Beers for prospecting and exploration. In April, De Beers won back for its Central Selling Organisation (CSO) the right to buy all Angolan diamond production from the Cuango basin.

Companies in the new Endiama Group are: Endiama Mines, Endiama Services (including electricity generation and heavy equipment repairs and maintenance), Endiama Agriculture, Endiama Industry, Endiama Real Estate and Endiama Finance.

Baltazar said the new arrangement into separate companies would permit greater involvement by foreign partners. — Sapa-Reuter.

Diamond smuggling soaring ^{Star 21/8/91} (S)

LUANDA — Production of Angolan diamonds fell in the first six months of 1991 while illegal mining and smuggling soared to "frightening levels," the state-run daily Jornal de Angola reports.

But says Noe Baltazar, chairman of state diamond company Endiama, the government still hopes to meet 1991 production targets of 1.5 million carats after the 16-year civil war ended in May.

Mr Baltazar was quoted as saying Endiama would soon sign a new contract with South African mining giant De Beers for prospecting and exploration. In April, De Beers won back for its Central Selling Organisation the right to buy all Angolan diamond production from the Cuango basin.

Mr Baltazar said: "Anyone who visits the province (Angola's northeastern diamond-producing province, Lunda Norte) only has to look around to see the illegal mining operations."

He said it was up to the central government to take action.

Endiama, recently converted into a holding company, would soon hold a meeting of the board in the provincial capital of Dunde to explore ways of extending its control and minimising illegal diamond operations.

The new Endiama group of companies has a monopoly over prospecting, exploration and commercialisation of Angola's diamonds. It has granted service contracts to a few foreign companies, including Sociedade Portuguesa de Empreendimentos. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angola and Gabon in offshore oil drive ^{Star 21/8/91} (S)

LONDON — Angola and Gabon are embarking on a drive to develop their offshore oil resources.

As a first step the two countries are opening up licensing rounds for acreage in promising deep water zones in the southern part of the Gulf of Guinea, a region also encompassing Cameroon, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Zaire.

Only minor exploration work has been carried out to date beyond the area's narrow continental plateau.

Dave Norman, an American oilman with long experience in the Gulf of Guinea, says the zone beyond a depth of 200 metres holds outstanding promises for oil companies with the expertise and an imaginative approach to exploring in frontier areas.

Deep water

Both countries are offering attractive fiscal terms for foreign oil companies as sweeteners to compensate for the higher risks and extra cost involved in exploring virgin deep water sites.

Gabon is proposing 12 deep offshore blocks, while Angola has two deep water permits on offer, to be followed later this year by another three.

Deep offshore acreage as well as long-ignored onshore tracts are expected to provide the momentum for a continued surge in oil exploration and a steady growth of production in this part of West Africa in the second half of the 1990s.

Already an established hydro-

carbons province, the region has attracted a growing number of oil companies: 57 are now in the six countries, of which 15 have arrived in the past three years.

Last year 78 wells were completed, the highest level since 1981, and the industry expects a record to be set in 1991.

Production

Investment in development projects last year reached \$970 million (about a third of spending in the UK part of the North Sea), with \$1.1 billion in the pipeline for 1991.

Production is also on the increase. According to estimates by Edinburgh-based consultants County Natwest Woodmac, it should reach 1.1 million barrels a day in 1991, with a figure in the 1.3 million to 1.5 million m b/d range forecast for 1995.

Matthew Shaw, a County Natwest Woodman analyst, says: "Within the past five years, some significant finds have been made in more remote areas, opening up the possibility of new plays and sparking off new exploration interest."

"Other recent discoveries, as in areas of the UK, close to existing fields show sizeable fields remain to be found in previously licensed fields."

Angola, the sub-Saharan Africa's largest producer after Nigeria, with an estimated 490 000 b/d in 1991, also boasts the region's second biggest reserve base, estimated conservatively at 2.7b barrels. — Financial Times.

C/Pres 25/8/91

Peace returns to Luena

5
TWENTY-SIX years after the first shots of war were fired against the colonising Portuguese near Luena in Angola there is peace.

The town, capital of the Moxico province, has 150 000 residents and is the last major stop inside Angola for the Benguela railroad before the line meanders a further 350 km to the border with Zaire.

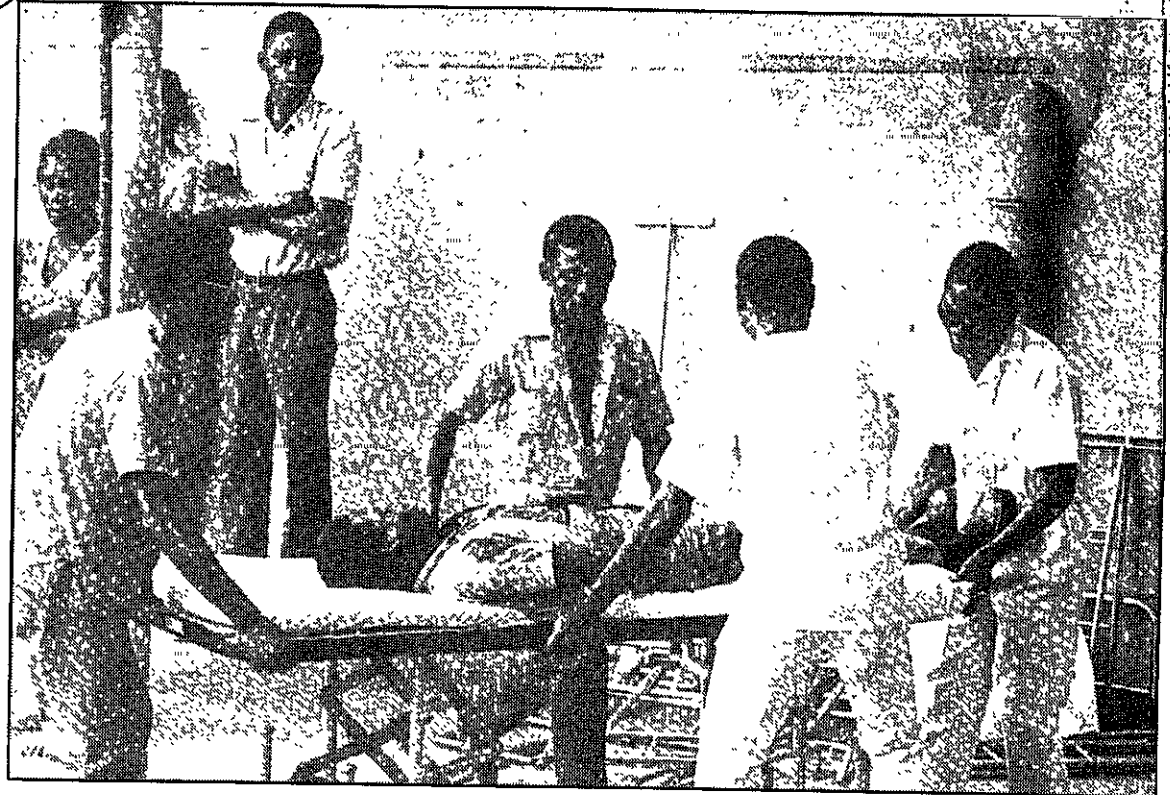
Over the years the isolated region bordering Zambia and Zaire has been perfect infiltration territory for guerrilla fighters. In 1966 liberation soldiers of the MPLA, which has been the government since 1975, launched their eastern offensive from Moxico. In the same year Jonas Savimbi of Unita slipped into the province with a small band of fighters.

In its first post-independence offensive in 1976 and in 1977 against the rebel Unita movement, the MPLA's Fapla army marched south from Luena, driving Savimbi's forces out of the province.

But by 1982 Unita was back, attacking villages, mining farm lands and sabotaging the railway line. This brought another Fapla offensive in 1983, driving Unita out and provoking a major invasion by South Africa.

As the rebels vacated the province, South African Air Force planes reduced Moxico's southern Cangamba town to rubble.

The most devastating battle of all occurred in



THE PAIN OF WAR . . . A casualty in Angola's long war with Unita being taken for treatment on a stretcher by paramedics. It has taken 26 years of war to reach a peace settlement.

Luena. It started on April 1, 1991 and ended 45 days later when an interim ceasefire came into effect. Luena was the target of Unita's plan to capture a provincial capital before a formal ceasefire was signed.

When the war ended, 40 Fapla troops had died and over 100 were wounded, while Fala (Unita troops) had 53 deaths and 153 wounded.

More than 350 civilian deaths and 1 350 wounded were registered at the provincial hospital.

Today every building in the city shows evidence of bombing and bullet scars.

"People were advised to seek shelter on the ground floor of multi-storey buildings," explains Germano Kapikapi, a 36-year-old first lieutenant and deputy chief of Fapla Special Forces for the Eastern Front.

"Fighting was very heavy and military confrontations were consecutive, one occurring right after the other," says Kapikapi.

"On May 13," says 32-year-old colonel Rafael da Silva Kalipi of Unita, "there was heavy fighting here in the Sangondo area (just west of Luena). Both Fapla and Fala used

shells and guns, and there was fierce fighting up to zero hours on May 14 (when the interim ceasefire came into effect)."

Says a Fapla major in Luena, who asked not to be named: "The civilian administration controlled food distribution to the civilian population from food reserves in the city. But by early May, the food reserves were exhausted."

Said Kapikapi: "Although there was radio communication with Luanda, there was no road communication, and supplies were not able to get to the area. Most of the population left the

city when Unita showed up"

According to official statistics released in mid June, there are 306 000 Angolan refugees, of whom 46 000 are in Zambia, 210 000 in Zaire and 50 000 in Namibia. Most of the people from Luena went to Zambia.

Now a few refugees are straggling back to their homes.

After 26 years of war people are slow to believe that the danger has ended. They don't really believe peace has come. But this distrust will eventually end. - AIA

Former enemies work together

AS the process of peace and reconstruction gets underway in war-ravaged Angola, soldiers from the ruling MPLA and the rebel Unita movement in Luena have been providing a model for co-operation.

The town was the site of one of the fiercest battles of the whole 16-year civil conflict during the final 45 days leading up to a ceasefire.

Yet as soon as a peace agreement was signed, commanders from both sides of the Luena conflict were the first to spontaneously form a joint

military commission, with each side having five members.

This commission was quickly used as model of co-operation throughout Angola.

These commissions, Angola's first "peace-time" structures in 31 years, began the task of guaranteeing a ceasefire, removing mines from roads and railways, re-establishing civilian administrative structures in those areas only days earlier controlled by Unita, and providing emergency medical assistance to the local population.

It was only on June 17 that MPLA and Unita representatives sat down together for the first time in Luanda. The occasion was the first meeting of the Joint Political and Military Commission (JPMC), the formal structure created under the Angolan peace accords to oversee the ceasefire and transition to free and fair elections.

Because the provisional military commissions worked so effectively, they have been incorporated into formal JPMC activities.

Since de-mining began

in the Luena area, people are now circulating more freely and there is some commerce taking place between the countryside and the city.

In addition, the local JPMC is helping organise basic social services for surrounding rural areas.

For example, in areas west of Luena there are no health facilities. Malaria, measles, urinary tract infections (transmitted by VD), and nutritional problems such as kwashiorkor and marasmus are chronic, and the high incidence of these diseases is partly the result

of the lack of basic health care.

There is also the task of helping resettle thousands of people who have been displaced from Luena.

In the midst of the slow process of rebuilding, the one bright spot is that there will not be any more fighting.

Typically, Rafael da Silva Kalipi, a 32-year-old Unita colonel says: "The country is at peace, and it is not possible that war will begin again. First, we have the accords. Second, Fapla and Fala are strong, and they don't want war anyway." - AIA

AFRICA FOCUS

Angola's homeless start life anew

W/week 30/8 - 5/9/91.

TWICE a week, Carlos Alfredo lumbers along a bombed-out 17km road in eastern Angola carrying on his back a stack of wood. He heads to the local *car-donga* (black market) in the provincial town of Luena, where he sells his bundle for 900 Kwanza (about R4). With his earnings, he buys food staples.

Alfredo (41) is one of about 300 000 Angolan refugees who is starting life anew. Six years ago he fled his war-torn home in south-eastern Angola to Zaire. Other refugees found new homes in Zambia and, to a lesser extent, Namibia.

Today, along with some 4 600 other repatriated refugees from Zaire, Alfredo calls home a wood-thatched mud hut at the Sakiasange resettlement camp outside Luena.

"The government wanted me to go to Luanda to resettle," he says, "but I am from Moxico province. I've never been to Luanda."
Established in late 1989, the sprawling, dusty Sakiasange compound is

jointly operated by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Geneva-based Lutheran World Federation. Each family is allocated one hectare of land on which to build their "homes".
Despite the official parceling of land, the camp appears decidedly makeshift. Tap water and electricity do not exist. Inhabitants must bathe at a nearby stream.

Children run around in tattered clothing stretched by the mahourished sign of protruding bellies. In silent hope they crowd around two visiting journalists, for the arrival of foreign-speaking whites usually means that food and other basics are not far behind.

The camp is serviced by a two-roomed clinic. Inside, posters advising on hygiene are hung with plasters. Each day 60 to 70 people come for treatment for a variety of ailments, including tuberculosis, gonorrhoea and malaria, says Crispin Ndala, one of nine nurses at Sakiasange.

However, the clinic's near-bare shelves are testimony to the limited help Ndala can provide. "For some diseases tablets don't work so well," he says. "We really need injections."

Thousands of refugees are streaming back to war-ravaged Angola — but "home" has become a very different place.
MICHAEL WANG reports

Outside the sprawling camp, disabled rocket launchers and used shells dot the veld. Nearby, a bridge destroyed by the retreating South African Defence Force in 1975 remains caved-in over a river. Once controlled by the MPLA government, the area is now Unita territory.

Sakiasange is no different from the two dozen or so other resettlement camps dotted across Angola: it is meant to provide temporary accommodation to refugees as they try to pick up the pieces in a country that is quite different from the one they left.

Angola's recently concluded 16-year civil war between the MPLA and Unita is estimated to have killed 400 000 people, maimed an additional 45 000 and caused R80-billion damage to the country's infrastructure.
Extensive road, railway and airport mining has left Moxico province virtually cut off from the central government. Moxico vice-governor Fernando Rosario says he has not received a budget from Luanda in the past two years. Teachers and health workers complain they have not received a government pay packet since January.

if they go back," explains camp coordinator Javier Mwakawene. UN officials estimate that less than 50% of refugees will return to their communities.
Carlos Alfredo says he will not be one of them: "With all the land mines in the fields, I will go home to die."
Alfredo's fear is not unfounded. The legacy of the civil war — one of Africa's longest — is a country replete with unexploded, and largely unrecorded, land mines. Indeed, Angola has earned the horrific distinction of having the most amputees per capita in the world. Recently, in hand-mine clearing exercises around Luena, two soldiers lost their lives.

Coupled with this has been the deep insurgence of Unita troops into most regions. The upshot is that these temporary resettlement camps are starting to take on a sense of permanency.
Officials at the UNHCR say refugees will be able to return to their respective communities later this year, but many wonder whether they really want to return. "Because so many bridges have been destroyed, the refugees are afraid they will be cut off from supply trucks

As a result, inhabitants of Sakiasange are taking steps to secure a future at the compound. After exchanging crop seeds provided by the UNHCR last year for food staples, the camp has now irrigated a wide section of land and is cultivating a variety of vegetables.

"In its own way," says Mwakawene, "Sakiasange is part of the rebuilding process that is starting in Angola."

China can come in from the cold now, says Major

BEIJING — British Prime Minister John Major, saying it was time to end China's international isolation, began a three-day visit yesterday by reviewing troops in Tiananmen Square where the army crushed pro-democracy protests two years ago.

He stood with Premier Li Peng, widely blamed for ordering the crackdown, as a guard of honour with bayonets poised marched past and a gun salute rang out.

Major is the most senior Western leader to visit Beijing since troops and tanks killed hundreds, if not thousands, of protesters in Beijing on June 4 1989.

"China has had a period of isolation. It needs people going in and telling them face-to-face what the rest of the world thinks," Major said as he flew into Beijing.

He said he would raise human rights issues with China's hardline communist leaders, who have quashed all open opposition and detained hundreds of people involved in the 1989 protests.

"An important part of the dialogue will be on human rights. I will raise the issue and I will carry it as far as I can without provoking a breakdown of communications."

Major came from Moscow where, as representative of the G-7 industrialised countries, he met leaders of the reformist movement to discuss political structures emerging after the collapse of communist rule.

Major referred obliquely to events in the Soviet Union when he met Li at a courtesy call.

"We live in a changing world in which events move very rapidly, very speedily and sometimes in a most unexpected way," he said.

"I think that argues very strongly for the closest possible consultation on all these questions."

British government officials said Major would brief Chinese leaders, including Li, Communist Party general secretary Jiang Zemin and President Yang Shangkun, on the Soviet situation.

The officials said they feared China would react to Soviet developments by tightening political controls.

The centrepiece of Major's visit is the signing today of an agreement on construction of a large new airport in the British colony of Hong Kong, which reverts to Chinese rule in 1997.

The \$16.3bn project was the subject of sharp exchanges between London and Beijing.

But Western diplomats said China's objections to the airport melted instantly after the offer of a visit by Major was made in June during a secret visit to Beijing by a senior adviser to the Prime Minister.

Major, who has barely disguised his personal reluctance



A member of the Chinese Communist Party youth organization the Young Pioneers greets British Prime Minister John Major on his arrival in Beijing yesterday. Picture: AP

to be the first Western leader into Beijing since 1989, made clear the visit was vital for Hong Kong's long-term interests.

"The vast majority of people in Hong Kong are pleased I am going because they recognise the importance of the airport agreement and what would happen to Hong Kong if I did not sign it," he told reporters before arrival.

"I have to live in the real world. It would not be proper for one to sit back and strike attitudes and let Hong Kong pay the price," he said.

British officials said Major would also raise Western concern over China's big arms sales to areas of conflict, including the Middle East, and pursue his proposal for a UN register of international arms sales. — Sapa-Reuter.

LONDON — Opinion polls suggest that Prime Minister John Major's ruling Conservatives may be restoring a tarnished public image, raising the possibility again of an early British general election.

The Conservatives, in power since 1979, had trailed their Labour Party opponents during summer months when the economy was deep in recession.

An improved poll showing has coincided with forecasts of an economic recovery, although it may also reflect Major's own high global profile through the

Poll prospects looking good for Conservatives

Soviet coup and its aftermath.

It also revived speculation that he might gamble on a snap election in November rather than wait until next year.

Major need not seek a new mandate before July.

The latest Mori opinion poll gave Major's party a two-point lead over Labour.

"Mr Major's world swing from fishing with George Bush in Kennebunkport to

his warm encounter with Soviet leaders in Moscow yesterday has served to build his stature in domestic eyes," said political correspondent Alan Travis in The Guardian.

But Labour retorts that the next British election will be decided on bread-and-butter domestic issues.

A credit-fuelled consumer boom towards the end of Margaret Thatcher's premiership forced the Tory

government to raise interest rates as high as 15% per cent to curb inflation.

That created a recession and brought misery to millions of voters with repayments to make on home mortgage loans.

But the harsh medicine has begun to work, with inflation about halved in the past year. Interest rates have been lowered accordingly to 11%.

And with these improvements has come greater optimism about Britain's economic prospects among the electorate. — Sapa-Reuter.

Landmark visit to Angola

LISBON — Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva flew to Angola yesterday for a landmark three-day trip to support a peace pact ending civil war in the former Portuguese colony.

Diplomatic sources said the first official visit by a Portuguese premier since Angola won independence in 1975 was mainly a political gesture.

It would not involve the signing of economic deals, they emphasised.

Cavaco Silva will meet President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and possibly Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

Savimbi and Dos Santos signed a peace accord in Lisbon on May 31 ending 16 years of civil war after a year of talks mediated by Portugal.

The agreement provides

810cc 4/19/91
for a ceasefire, the country's first multi-party elections late next year and the merger of the two armed forces.

Diplomatic sources said Cavaco Silva might visit Luena, the capital of Angola's eastern Moxico province, scene of heavy fighting in the final stage of the civil war which erupted upon independence.

Shattered

The Portuguese leader also plans to join a plenary meeting of the joint political-military commission overseeing Angola's truce and transition to multi-party democracy.

The commission comprises military officials of the MPLA and Unita and Portuguese, Soviet and US observers.

Portugal and many other

nations are keen to take part in the reconstruction of Angola's shattered economy and tap into its potential oil, coffee and diamond wealth.

Cavaco Silva is accompanied by Trade and Tourism Minister Fernando Faria de Oliveira and a delegation of Portuguese businessmen.

Diplomatic sources said he timed his visit ahead of a planned trip to Angola by the Brazilian president later this month.

In Madrid, Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez said Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez had cancelled his next week to Angola and the former Spanish colony of Equatorial Guinea to keep in touch with developments in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. — Sapa-Reuters.

From Angola hell to the hustings

LUANDA — Angola's most famous prisoner of conscience spent eight years in jail awaiting execution.

Freed in July, he is now forming a party to fight for election in a new climate of political tolerance.

"So much has changed since I was put behind bars," Moises Andre Lina (39) said in an interview. "I need to get fit and then devote myself to political work, including making contact with other emergent parties."

Mr Lina was one of thousands to benefit from the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) government's amnesty in July, which followed the end of its 16-year civil war with Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) rebels two months earlier.

The war broke out at independence from Portugal in 1975.

The peace settlement provides for Angola's first multi-party election to be held by November 1992. The once-Marxist MPLA and United States-affiliated Unita will be the main contenders.

Mr Lina was an MPLA guerrilla fighting Portuguese colonial rule in his youth, but rebelled against the party after it took power in 1975. An exile for four years, he was sentenced to death after being caught inside Angola recruiting supporters.

He does not know why the death sentence was never carried out, but believes campaigning by the human rights group Amnesty International helped his cause.

"Right up to the day of my release, I was waiting to be executed," he said.

During his years in jail, Mr Lina said he slept on wet stone floors, ate slops poured into his hands or out of a plastic bag, and was often put in solitary confinement.

After being captured in October 1983, he said he was ques-

ANITA COULSON

tioned repeatedly for three months by Cuban-trained interrogators and deprived of food and sleep.

His case came to trial four years later. Mr Lina was accused of involvement in a coup conspiracy to assassinate Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos with an unspecified "Israeli secret weapon". He said no evidence was ever submitted to the closed-session court.

Mr Lina spent his youth under Portuguese colonial rule fighting for independence alongside Mr dos Santos and Defence Minister Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale.

But after 1975, when Lisbon's colonial empire collapsed and the MPLA chased other pro-independence movements out of the capital, he became disillusioned by faction fighting among his comrades-in-arms.

He fled to Portugal after a year and contacted Angolan movements in exile. But the other Angolan groups were feuding among themselves even more bitterly than the MPLA, so Mr Lina formed his own party in 1977.

It was called the Movement for Angolan Socialist Unity (Musa) and its theory evolved to include the possibility of rebellion against the MPLA.

"I returned clandestinely to northern Angola in March 1981, crossing the River Zaire into my home province where I started to contact friends and sympathisers — some of whom eventually denounced me to the security police," Mr Lina said.

The dream of an Angolan multiparty democracy, which Mr Lina wrote about from prison, had come true by the time he was released on July 17. — Sapa-Reuter.

● Oscar Dhlomo is overseas. His column will resume next week.

Brazilian premier arrives in Angola

LUANDA — Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello arrived in Angola yesterday for an official visit at the beginning of an African tour that will also take him to Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Namibia.

Mr Collor de Mello's talks in

Angola are expected to concentrate on economic issues.

He and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos are due to hold official talks today and Mr Collor de Mello is scheduled to leave for Zimbabwe tomorrow.

Sapa-AP.

9/9/91

SA denies report of Angolan oil deal

Blow 11/9/91
LONDON — SA is reported to be negotiating a one-off \$600m agreement allowing it to sell Angolan crude oil on the international market, says the London-based trade magazine Petroleum Argus.

Petroleum Argus says this is the first time since the introduction of the 1979 UN oil embargo that SA has "openly been offered access to foreign crude supplies and potential hard currency earnings of the spot market".

However, Central Energy Fund chairman Danie Vorster yesterday denied that SA had entered into any agreement with Angola regarding the sale or purchase of Angolan crude oil.

BP SA chairman Tony Deacon said he could not comment on the Angolan deal.

A Shell SA spokesman said he was not allowed to comment on any matters relating to the supply of oil.

The Argus, quoting "trade sources", says representatives of the Strategic Fuel Fund (SFF) and the Angolan oil ministry headed by Petroleum Vice-Minister Diserderio Costa had drafted an agreement.

Under the pact, it says, Angola would set aside a portion of its 500 000/bpd oil output to guarantee payment for increased imports of foodstuffs and mining equipment from SA.

KIN BENTLEY

A spokesman for Petroleum Argus said yesterday SA would not be shipping the crude to its refineries because they were not suited to handling the type of crude exported by Angola.

He said crude oil was Angola's sole product earning currency with which to obtain SA foodstuffs, mining equipment and technical expertise. He believed if the first deal succeeded, others could follow.

Meanwhile, the latest newsletter of the Dutch Shipping Research Bureau, which monitors the oil embargo on SA, has reported that an oil deal with Nigeria is also imminent.

This, too, was strongly denied by the CEF's Vorster, who said discussions were not in progress — or being contemplated — with regard to the supply of Nigerian crude to SA.

The bureau said Nigeria was keen to exploit the SA market so as to gain access to SA goods.

The bureau said SA was also interested in a huge gas field in Mozambique, with plans to pipe gas via Maputo to the Witwatersrand. This report was also denied by Vorster.

September 11 1991 3

Angola peace under threat

LUANDA. — Unita said yesterday that the country's three-month-old peace accord was in jeopardy.

Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi gave the warning in a radio broadcast from his bush headquarters at Jamba.

He accused Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of dishonesty and Portugal of bias in favour of the Luanda government.

Dr Savimbi said the government had violated the ceasefire and a UN verification mission had failed to report violations.

'Mediators'

Dr Savimbi also accused Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva, who visited Luanda last week, of favouring the formerly Marxist MPLA government.

Mr Cavaco Silva told Portugal's TSF radio: "These accusations ... are the same as criticisms in the past regarding Portugal's conduct of its foreign policy towards Angola. Yet in the end it was we, as mediators, who brought the two sides together at the table and the peace accord was signed."

Sapa-Reuter

P.O. BOX 4005
 KWANOBUHLE TOWNSHIP
 6242
 UITENHAGE



Reaching out . . . US Vice-President Dan Quayle shakes hands with Mozambican refugees in southern Malawi this week. Picture: AP

Quayle due to meet Savimbi in Abidjan

(5)
 Star
 13/9/91

By Dale Lautenbach
 Star Africa Service

WINDHOEK — US Vice-President Dan Quayle is set to meet Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi tomorrow in Abidjan.

Asked to comment on the situation in Angola following Unita's suspension of its participation in the peace process, Mr Quayle said only that the "peace process is still on track".

He said an indication of this was the meeting scheduled to take place between President George Bush and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola in Washington on Monday.

Mr Quayle, who leaves Namibia today, will be meeting Dr Savimbi in the Ivory Coast, which is the final stop of his five-nation African tour.

Mr Quayle was asked to explain why the \$60 million (R168 million) American aid package to Unita was covert, even though a peace accord had now been signed.

He was also asked why the US was choosing to be partisan in its Angolan aid during the run-up to next year's general election.

Mr Quayle did not respond. When asked for the second time, he answered: "I do not comment on covert aid."

He said he expected the peace process in Angola to move forward, but that after 16 years of civil war there were bound to be hurdles.

"We'll jump those hurdles," he said.

Asked why his Africa tour had not included South Africa and if he would visit that country,

he said he hoped to in the future.

At present, with "sensitive negotiations" in South Africa, a visit by him would have been "inappropriate".

President Sam Nujoma of Namibia and Mr Quayle signed a memorandum of understanding on conservation protection and the US donated a further \$2,7 million (R7,56 million) to Namibia in the form of a marine patrol boat to monitor the country's sea resources, and an aeroplane for game patrols.

Hugh Robertson of The Star's Washington Bureau reports that Mr dos Santos's visit to the US is seen as an attempt to win friends for the MPLA in a country which up to now has been solidly behind Unita.

Quayle, Savimbi meet

WINDHOEK - Vice-President of the United States Dan Quayle will meet Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi tomorrow in Abidjan. *Sowetan 13/9/91* (5)

Asked to comment on the latest situation in Angola, Quayle said only that the "peace process is still on track".

A reflection of this was the anticipated meeting between President Bush and President dos Santos of Angola in Washington on Monday. - *Sowetan Africa News Service*

Savimbi to talk peace ⁽⁵⁾

S. Time

ABIDJAN: US Vice-President Dan Quayle said Angolan rebel leader Jonas Savimbi agreed yesterday to return home "in a few weeks" for peace talks. 15/11/91

The two met on the last day of Mr Quayle's week-long five-nation tour of Africa. Mr Quayle said: "Dr Savimbi assured me personally he would return and remain engaged in the peace process" (to end Angola's 16-year-old civil war).

Mr Quayle ended the visit by saying that the US would "forgive" debt totalling \$419-million (about R1.16-billion) owed by Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Senegal, Tanzania and Uganda.

Dale Lautenbach questions what the Unita leader is trying to achieve with his

Is Savimbi losing the peace?

Skw 11/19/91

(5)

stalling

THE Angolan peace process is back on track, but just how threatened was it last week when Unita suspended its participation in the peace committee? What was the fuss about and was this the first ominous crack in what has been until now a surprisingly smooth process?

Early last week Unita leader Jonas Savimbi lashed out at both the Angolan and Portuguese governments over Radio Vorgan, the Unita radio station that broadcasts from the rebel movement's headquarters in Jamba.

Mr Savimbi accused the Angolan government of bad faith and the Portuguese of favouring the MPLA rulers. Reading the subtext it seemed he was profoundly miffed that Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva had visited Angola but had not gone out of his way (in other words made the trip to remote Jamba in

the far south-east) to see Mr Savimbi.

The Portuguese leader snapped back "I had had Mr Savimbi been in Luanda, where he was expected, according to his own words, to arrive as far back as July 1, Mr Cavaco Silva would have been pleased to meet ..."

Mr Savimbi's long-prolun, a return to Luanda has begged the question as to just what his game is. He stalled the July 1 promise saying the Angolan government had not found him a suitable residence in the capital. According to Angolan government and independent sources, that problem was solved by about mid-July, but as recently as about three weeks back Mr Savimbi moaned to South African Foreign Affairs sources that the Angolan government was not playing the game and had not yet found him a residence.

If Mr Savimbi's accommodation standards are set by those of Ya-

moussoukro in Ivory Coast, where his old friend Felix Houphouët-Boigny lives in reported splendour and where he was happy to host Mr Savimbi at the weekend for his meeting with US Vice-President Dan Quayle, the Angolans could wait forever. Accommodation in Luanda is notoriously difficult and even the out-of-town and heavily garrisoned presidential compound, Furtango de Belas, is by no means an unduly lavish creation.

So signals from Unita have been nothing if not confusing. When the movement announced last week it was suspending its participation in the Joint Military-Political Committee (CCPM), the most senior instrument created by the peace accords for overseeing the process, reaction across a wide spectrum was rather cynical.

Members of the international community represented in Windhoek read Unita's actions as evidence that "Unita is losing the peace". They felt the week's

events might have been staged in an effort by Unita to relake the initiative it might consider itself to have lost.

South African sources wondered whether Mr Savimbi was not "grandstanding" and Angolan government sources seemed to have no doubt that he was. With President Jose Eduardo dos Santos arriving in the US at the weekend and scheduled to meet President George Bush yesterday, they felt the Unita leader was trying to divert some attention to himself.

And in this he succeeded. Subsequent to meeting Mr Quayle in Ivory Coast, Mr Savimbi declared that Angola's peace was again secure and that Unita would resume its participation in the CCPM.

Mr Savimbi certainly got attention: a prominent news item on the BBC international service over the weekend and a personal interview.

In the interview Mr Savimbi softened the tone of what Unita

said last Wednesday were "conditions" for the resumption of its participation. According to Mr Savimbi these were now "concerns" and he called on the government in Luanda to address them.

Among these concerns were that a date for general elections be set, that government troops proceed to the assembly points set up throughout the country and monitored by the United Nations, that prisoners of war be exchanged and that a new national army be formed.

What is confusing in this is that, in terms of the peace accord, Unita has equal authority with the Angolan government in determining all these events. The very purpose of the CCPM on which Unita and government representatives have equal weight with US, Soviet, UN and Portuguese observers in the wings, is that these very issues be hammered out by both sides.

It is no secret that the peace process has been bedevilled by

delays. Much of this is attributable to administrative and logistical problems, by questions like just how on earth do the UN monitoring teams go to work in places where there are no roads and where the countryside is heavily mined? Whatever Unita sought to gain by last week's fuss, it forced its way - with Mr Quayle's help - back into the news just hours before Mr Bush's first meeting with Mr dos Santos. Viewing it this way also gives credibility to the view that Unita was "losing the peace" and had to grab at some straw to get attention.

Mr Savimbi has now publicly assured Mr Quayle that he would remain engaged in the peace process and would return to Luanda "in a few weeks", according to news reports from the capital of the Ivory Coast. This must surely be a commitment on which he cannot afford to cry wolf again. □

Star Africa Service.

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**Savimbi set
for Luanda**

LISBON: Unita leader
Jonas Savimbi will
arrive in Luanda next
Sunday for his first visit
to the Angolan capital in
more than 16 years, Unita
said. He will first tour
southern Angolan cities.

6/6/20
Cavill
15

War is over but Angola risky

Refugees can't go home just yet

do we can 25/9/91 -
LUANDA - The United Nations is delaying the return of refugees to Angola now that the 16-year civil war is over for their own safety and wellbeing.

The Angolan government estimates the civil war with Unita rebels that ended on May 31 forced 400 000 refugees to flee to neighbouring countries. Of these, some 200 000 registered with the United Nations need assistance to return home.

Ms Hope Hanlan, Luanda representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said none of the registered refugees would be brought home before May next year because their survival could not be guaranteed.

Hope

"We cannot uproot families who at present have a roof over their heads, access to health and educational facilities and a means of earning a livelihood and bring them back to insecure, heavily-mined areas with no infrastructure to receive them," she said.

Officials of the UN body work closely with the Luanda government's Secretariat of State for Social Affairs on the refugee question but have been forced to restrain post-war enthusiasm for the immediate return of refugees.

The only previous experience

of returning refugees to Angola points to the pitfalls ahead.

In September 1989, more than 1 724 families - around 5 000 men, women and children - were flown from their refugee camps in Zaire for temporary resettlement in Lunda Sul and Moxico provinces in eastern Angola.

Around half live in Sacassange, 13km south of Moxico's provincial capital of Luena, which suffered a 45-day Unita artillery bombardment and siege before the May ceasefire.

Reach

"When the refugees arrived at Sacassange, this was totally bush, because even the authorities couldn't reach this place," admitted Mr Alfred Samihombo, of the Geneva-based Lutheran World Federation charity, which assists the returned refugees.

"The land was identified as suitable for agriculture so they were transferred to Sacassange, but when they arrived here they were in a pathetic situation and had virtually nothing."

The federation donated

hoes, axes and machetes to add to tools and seed provided by the UN body. Today, Sacassange grows manioc, maize, sorghum, beans and groundnuts and vegetables - enough for about half its food needs.

The Lutheran charity encouraged the refugees to build their own adobe-and-thatch homes, but Sacassange still has an impermanent feel and lacks electricity and water.

But its inhabitants have built a bakery, tailor and carpentry shops, schoolrooms and a health clinic. Carpenters complain, however, that there is no market for their goods and they cannot make a living.

It is not easy to make ends meet. Some refugees collect firewood to sell in Luena, making the 26km round trip twice a week on foot along a road potholed by mine explosions and flanked by disabled rocket launchers and empty bunkers.

Treating

The two-roomed clinic is run by nine refugees with basic nursing skills, treating around 70 people a day for a variety of ailments,

including malaria and tuberculosis.

But the shelves are almost empty of medicines, an eloquent testimony to the limitations of help they can provide.

Sacassange was intended as only a temporary camp but, after two years, most of the refugees will probably stay.

"Where should I take my family now?" asked Mr Pedro Domingoe. "There is not much here, but it would be worse if we went back to our original homestead further south in the province."

Hope

For all its limitations, Sacassange has an air of hope that the end to civil war will bring a better life.

Some people, however, query whether Sacassange should have happened in the first place.

"They (the refugees) should never have been brought back in 1989," one diplomat said privately. "At the time, the official view seems to have been that they were better off dying in Angola than surviving outside the country's borders." - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Savimbi jets into Luanda after 16 years



SAVIMBI

LUANDA - Rebel leader Jonas Savimbi returned to the Angolan capital yesterday for the first time since retreating to the bush 16 years ago to lead the US-backed Unita against Swapo.

A crowd of about 15 000 supporters greeted him at Luanda's airport. More followers, waving Unita's green and scarlet flags, joined the streets leading to the central business district. *Sowefem 30/9/91.*

Savimbi drove immediately to the capital's Independence Square where a cheering crowd estimated at 60 000 to 70 000 heard his impassioned speech.

He said: "Unita's strength is not just measured in terms of arms, but in terms of its political presence. *Sowefem*
"We are an opposition movement, we want free and fair elections." - Sapa-AP.

Savimbi returns triumphant

⑤ CT30/9/91

From PATRICK COLLINGS

LUANDA. — Angolan rebel leader Dr Jonas Savimbi made a triumphant return to the Angolan capital yesterday, emerging from his 16-year bush war against the ruling MPLA government.

About 15 000 cheering supporters turned out to welcome the Unita leader back to Luanda.

At the airport he was greeted by senior Unita officials, representatives of the MPLA and the United Nations and Soviet and American diplomats. He then drove to Luanda's Independent Square where about 65 000 people listened to him repeat his

call for Angolan unity.

A local journalist said the turnout for Dr Savimbi's return was disappointing when compared to the welcome President Eduardo dos Santos had received when he returned on June 1 after signing the peace accord.

Dr Savimbi, 57, is expected to meet Mr Dos Santos within the next couple of days.

It was Dr Savimbi's first visit to the Angolan capital since the country was plunged into civil war. His return comes four months after he and Mr Dos Santos had signed a Portuguese-mediated peace accord in Lisbon.

The peace accord ended the bloody war which saw an estimated

500 000 people die.

Dr Savimbi's return to Luanda followed a triumphant five-day journey through Angola's central region where most of his support lies with his own people, the Ovimbundos — Angola's largest ethnic group which makes up more than a third of the country's population. The rebel leader had preached a message of national unity and hard work to rebuild Angola's shattered economy.

Dr Savimbi is expected to meet President George Bush in Washington next Monday.

After his American visit, he will return to Luanda to start campaigning for his country's first free elections.

Joyous thousands at Unita rally hear call to put war behind them

Red carpet for Savimbi

30 Argus 30/9/19

GERALD L'ANGE
Argus Africa News Service

LUANDA. — Thousands of Unita supporters gave their leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, a rapturous welcome in Luanda when he returned to the Angolan capital for the first time since leaving it 16 years ago to begin his guerrilla war campaign.

Crowds lined the streets from the airport to a market place yesterday where he addressed a large crowd — but smaller than Unita officials had predicted. Independent observers said the party's support might not be as great as that for the rival MPLA.

Dr Savimbi flew to Luanda on an aircraft lent to him by the Ivory Coast, which he had used for a whistle-stop tour of three other major cities, Huambo, Lubango and Lobito.

At all these stops he called on Angolans to put the war behind them and work together for the reconstruction of the ravaged economy. He steered clear of party political issues.

Looking out over the decaying ruin of Luanda, Dr Savimbi called on Angolans to "make Luanda beautiful again".
The MPLA government,

which has ruled since driving Unita and the FNLA party out of Luanda in 1976, appears to have done nothing overtly to obstruct Dr Savimbi's return.

Unita banners were strung throughout the city and party supporters moved about without hindrance.

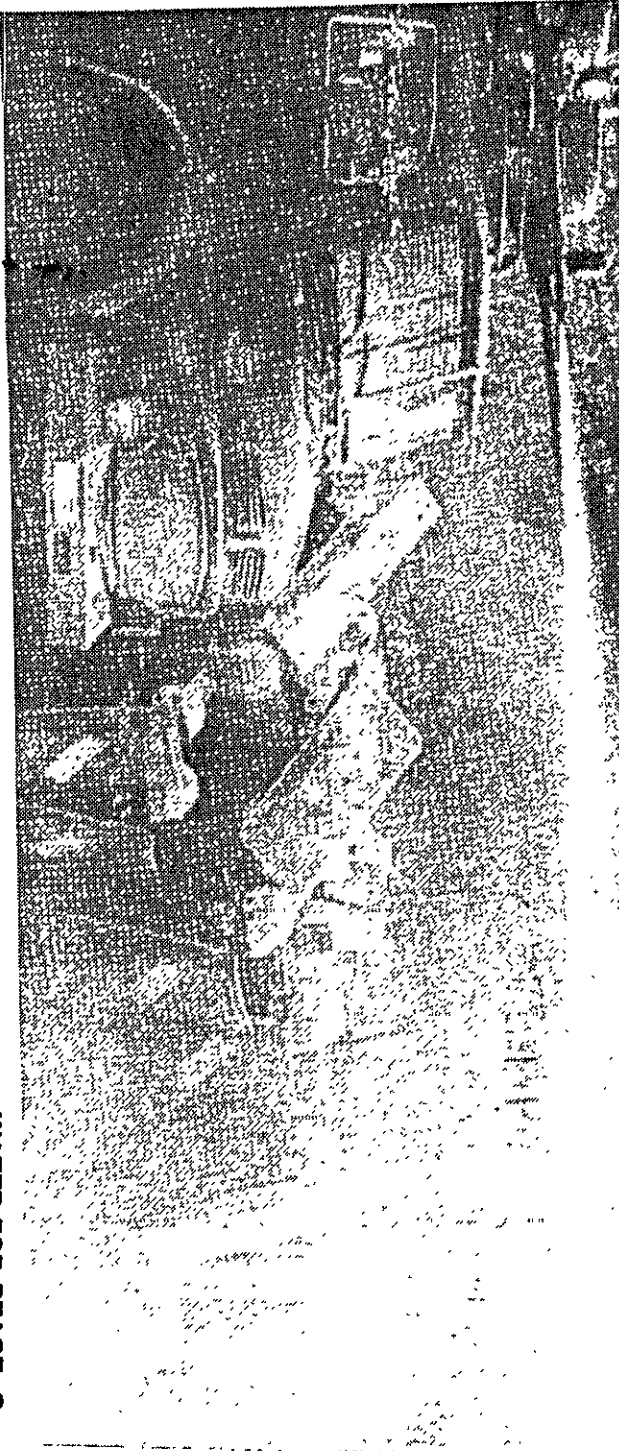
Busbands and even plane-loads of Unita supporters were reported to have been brought to the capital.

But at the rally in the market place there were fewer people than normally attend a key Currie Cup rugby match at Loftus Versfeld.

Among those lined up to meet him were western diplomats and the American representative on the joint commission monitoring the ceasefire and peace accord signed in Lisbon on May 31.

He is due to fly to Abidjan on Friday and then on to Washington for a meeting with President Bush, shortly after Mr Bush meets President Dos Santos in the US capital.

Dr Savimbi's return to Luanda in a sense marks the start of the political contest between the former combatants that is due to reach a climax with a general election in September next year.



German leader denounces neo-nazis

BONN. — Neo-nazis attacked at least seven homes for immigrants across Germany as a wave of racist assaults went into its third week.

Leftist demonstrators protesting against the upsurge in neo-nazi violence clashed with police in the east German town of Hoyerswerda, where a refu-

gee centre was evacuated last Monday after a week-long siege by rightwing gangs.

German President Richard von Weizsaecker announced a visit this week to a refugee centre, the first such step by a Bonn politician since the Hoyerswerda riots against for-

eigners.

"Treating foreigners the way we have seen in recent weeks is alarming and disgraceful," Mr Weizsaecker said.

The outburst follows months of debate on ways to stem a tide of Third World and east European refugees. — Sapa-Reuters.

WATER FOR PEACE: German riot police use a water cannon to clear a street blocked by leftwing demonstrators during a protest march against racism in Hoyerswerda, where a centre for refugees was evacuated after a week-long siege by rightwingers



Luanda celebrates as Savimbi returns

By Gerald L'Ange
Star Africa Service

(S)

Star 30/9/91

LUANDA — Thousands of Unita supporters gave their leader Jonas Savimbi a rapturous welcome in Luanda yesterday when he returned to the Angolan capital for the first time since leaving it 16 years ago to begin his guerilla war campaign.

Crowds lined the streets from the airport to the marketplace where he addressed an even larger crowd.

However, the size of the crowd was relatively smaller than Unita officials had predicted. This suggested to local observers that the party's support might not be as great as had been claimed.

Dr Savimbi flew into Luanda on an airliner lent to him by the Ivory Coast and which he had used for a whistle-stop tour of three other major cities: Huambo, Lubango and Lobito.

At all these stops he called on Angolans to put the war behind them and work together for the reconstruction of the ravaged economy. He steered clear of party-political issues.

Looking out over the decaying ruin of Luanda, Dr Savimbi called on Angolans to "make Luanda beautiful again".

The MPLA government, which has ruled since driving Unita and the FNLA party out in 1976, appears to have done nothing overtly to obstruct Dr Savimbi's return.

Unita banners were strung throughout the city and party supporters moved about without hindrance.

Busloads and even planeloads of Unita supporters are reported to have been brought into the capital for the occasion.

Unita officials wrestled with photographers as four small children handed Dr Savimbi symbolic doves after he had disembarked from the plane.

Among those lined up to meet

him were the local Western diplomats and the American representative on the joint commission monitoring the ceasefire and peace accord signed in Lisbon on May 31.

As Dr Savimbi walked down a long red carpet from the plane he was confronted by a huge portrait of his former enemy, Dr Agostino Neto, the former MPLA president who was succeeded by Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The portrait has remained on the facade of the airport building since Dr Neto's death.

The Unita leader is due to fly to Abidjan on Friday and then to Washington for a meeting with President Bush, which will come shortly after Mr Bush confers with President dos Santos in the US capital.

Dr Savimbi's return to Luanda in a sense marks the start of the political contest that is due to reach a climax with a general election next September.

Unita asks for US help

UNITA chief Jonas Savimbi yesterday said he would ask US President George Bush to continue supporting the Angolan peace settlement.

Savimbi, whose National Union for the Total Independence of Angola was backed by Washington before the civil war ended early this year, is due to meet Bush in Washington on October 7. *Souefan 1/10/91*

Unita signed a ceasefire with the Moscow and Cuban-backed Luanda government on May 31 to end the war that broke out soon after the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975.

Unita is the MPLA's main rival in the first multi-party elections in 16 years, scheduled for between September and November next year. - *Sapa-Reuter*

ONCE one of Africa's most modern cities, Angola's capital is now a decaying monument to decades of war and neglect which have devastated much of the city's infrastructure.

Although peace returned to Angola with the signing of the May 31 peace accord between the rebel Unita movement and the MPLA government, much of Luanda still suffers from mounting pollution and severe water shortages.

Many of the port city's 1960s buildings are dilapidated and overcrowded, toilets cannot function because of the lack of water, the crime rate is on the rise and discarded waste litters the city's streets.

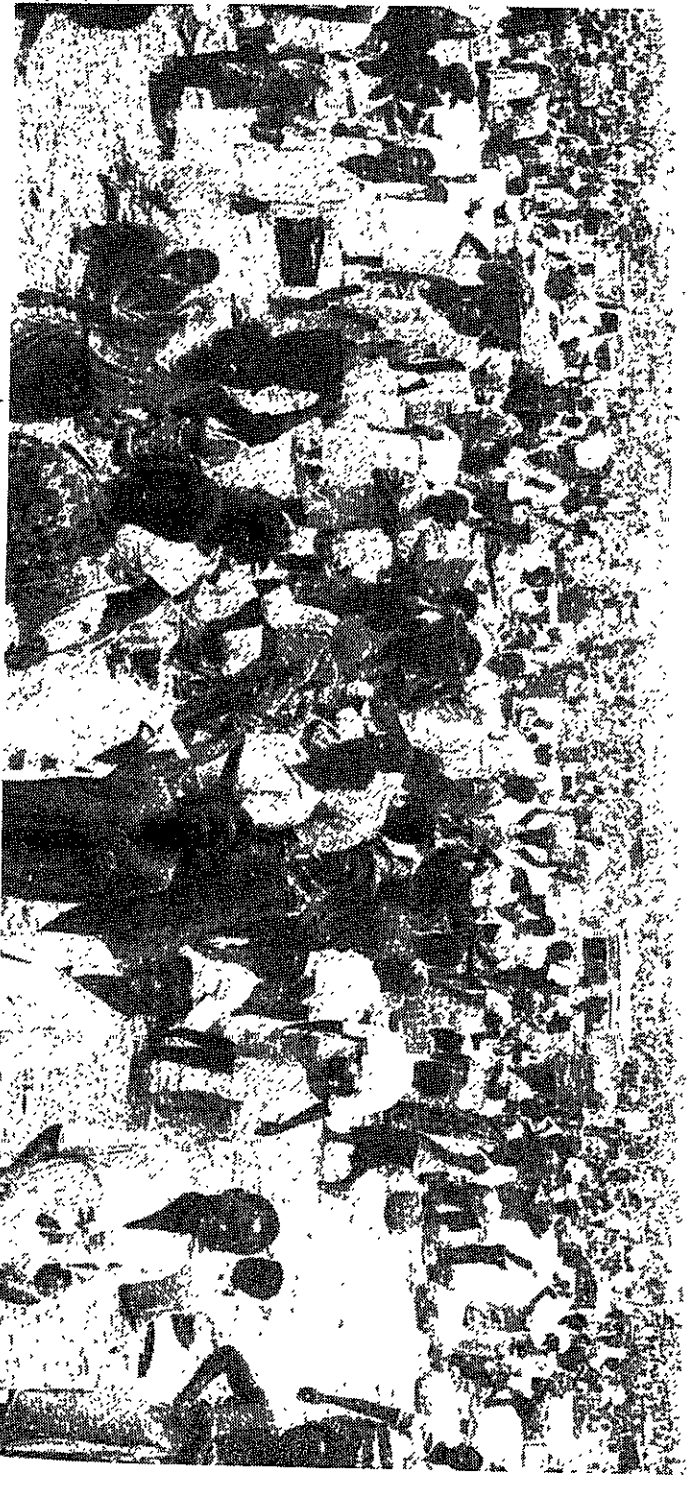
The country's official currency, the Kwanza, is almost worthless. Despite a 50% devaluation of the Kwanza in March to AK60=\$1, economists believe a further devaluation of 98% is required.

The US dollar reigns supreme on the streets of Luanda, beer and cigarettes are used as money and many factory workers receive merchandise they have produced as part of their pay-package.

The majority of Luanda's 2.5 million residents tend to stay away from the city's shops, preferring a sprawling black market on the outskirts of the city.

Accommodation is scarce, and when found — expensive. After signing the peace accord, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi often delayed his return to Luanda, saying there was a lack of adequate accommodation. He finally arrived here on Sunday.

But Luanda's future is looking up. Local residents say construction projects, abandoned because of the country's civil war, may be completed in the future. Foreign investors, encouraged by the government's decision to move towards a market-orientated system, are returning to Angola — potentially one of Africa's richest countries with its vast oil and diamond reserves.

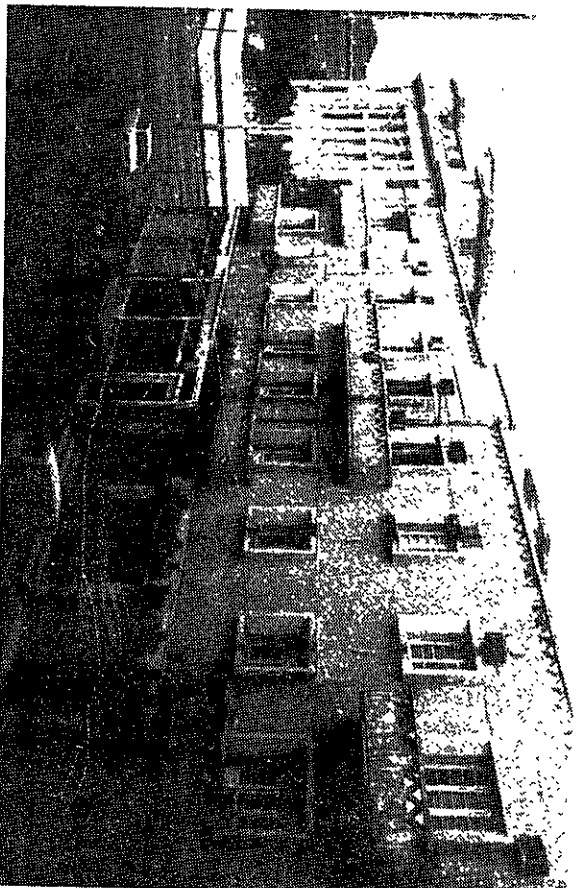


HARD BARGAINS ... Thousands of people shop at a huge market an hour's walk from the centre of Luanda. Most shops in the capital have only enough goods to display in their windows.

5 CT 2/10/91

Luanda now monument to decay

From
**PATRICK
COLLINGS**
in
LUANDA



FACE OF NEGLECT ... Most buildings in Luanda are rundown and overcrowded, like this apartment block.



PULLING STRINGS ... A boy keeps his pet field mouse under control.

SA set to link up with old enemy

From PATRICK COLLINGS

LUANDA. — South Africa is expected to resume diplomatic ties with Angola soon, a source close to the Angolan peace process said here on Monday.

A high-ranking delegation from the Department of Foreign Affairs is expected to arrive in Luanda later this morning for what could be the decisive meeting before diplomatic relations between the two countries are resumed.

Officials in Luanda at the weekend to welcome back Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi, said the two countries were "keen to resume diplomatic relations".

SA withdrew its diplomats from Angola in 1975 and a state of virtual war existed between the two countries until about two years ago.

Delicate

The source said recent negotiations had been delicate as the SA government did not want to leave Dr Savimbi in the lurch but wanted to play a role in Angola's transition to democracy.

An MPLA delegation led by Mr Lobo do Nascimento, Minister of Territorial Administration and chief political adviser to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, met President F W de Klerk in September.

Although the SA government would not give details of the meeting, it is believed they focused on SA's position during the peace process in Angola.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has refused to comment on whether diplomatic relations with Angola would be resumed soon.

● Luanda a monument of decay — Page 6

Savimbi may have missed the boat

(S) Sowetan 3/10/91.
WINDHOEK - Dr Jonas Savimbi, president of the Angolan rebel movement Unita, has made his long-awaited return to Luanda.

But in the absence of signs that the timing held any particular advantage for him, it still remains a mystery what took him so long.

Indeed, events between July 1, the date on which he was originally due to arrive - just one month after the ceasefire - and the weekend just past when he finally showed up, have possibly worked to his disadvantage.

Multiparty elections, scheduled to take place between September and November next year, will not be entirely a stand-off between Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Numerous political groups have entered the fray (about 60 at last count) and there is still time for challenging individuals to emerge.

Crucial

But the Dos Santos-Savimbi dynamic remains the crucial one to watch.

Not least of all because the MPLA government and the Unita movement are the sole Angolan parties responsible for maintaining the peace accord, without which it would presumably all fall apart, as no other contenders have significant military backing.

Outside of blind partisan support, the Angolan voter will be watching the two opposing leaders and awarding points accordingly.

Dos Santos supporters were presumably quite high when he returned to Luanda after signing the peace accord in Portugal on May 31.

Relief that the war was over after 16 years probably clouded the list of his failings and Luanda embraced him as a hero.

He went a notch higher the next day when he attended an open-air ecu-



Jonas Savimbi . . . opportunity may be lost.

menical Mass among people for whom religion is important but whose churches, particularly the Roman Catholic, had felt the cold stare of the Marxist-Leninist government that Dos Santos led until recent reforms.

Usually confined to the capital because of the war, during the last weeks of May he visited the important port city of Lobito and accompanied Mrs Lynda Chalker, British Minister for Overseas Development, to the provincial capital Huambo.

Journalists quipped that the normally rather reserved president was already electioneering and resigned themselves to becoming accustomed to this new high-profile presidential style.

All this culminated in the church appearance . . . then he disappeared.

Just when it seemed the government was on a roll, all became quiet. Other would-be parties sprang out of the woodwork in Luanda and splashed the city with their banners and strident

talks with the head of the World Bank.

Barely catching his breath, the Angolan President was off again for official talks with British Prime Minister Mr John Major and a meeting in Brussels with European Commission President Jacques Delors.

Nudge

According to US diplomatic sources the presidential face-to-face was just the keeping of that promise and a nudge from the US to encourage the peace process and progress towards multiparty elections.

Nevertheless, in many Angolan eyes, their president has met Bush and even though Dos Santos did not come away with a promise of a US mission in Luanda before the elections (some indications were that he had hoped for this) the meeting was most certainly a big one in the bag.

Pay-offs might also be the review of certain US sanctions against Angola and the extension of foreign tax credits for US companies in Angola.

Concrete change in American policy seems still to remain conditional upon timeously held elections but the tax concessions

could be retroactive to January 1992 once an Angolan government has been elected.

The Major and Delors meetings also produced nothing signed and sealed but both provided a weighty audience for Dos Santos's lobby package.

Major was apparently rather impressed with Dos Santos and of the Delors meeting the Angolan president said he was "pleased".

The EC delegate to Namibia, Mr Louis Moreno, said apart from the roughly R250-million available to Angola over the next four years in terms of the Lome Convention, the community could also now consider a special restructuring allocation and aid for refugee resettlement.

Savimbi was well received in Luanda at the weekend but the crowd which gathered to meet him, estimated between 50 000 and 100 000, fell short of Unita expectations - which some sources said were one million.

On Saturday Savimbi is due to meet Bush but, with Dos Santos' act to follow, one wonders whether Unita doesn't now consider July 1 an opportunity sorely lost. - *Sowetan Africa News Correspondent.*

notices of their arrival.

Then Unita, without Savimbi, arrived with a song and dance and set up office in a downtown hotel, where the sight of their green-and-red flag made Luandans smile - not in support generally, but because this was real change.

And not a peep from the MPLA.

Had Savimbi returned on July 1 as Unita had originally promised, he would have caught the president without much in the bag.

Then, from early September, the president went shopping and it's now Savimbi who has little in the bag.

Dos Santos' list of quickly garnered goodies includes Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva and Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello - both received in Luanda.

Dos Santos saw US President George Bush at the White House on a working visit and, with his highly regarded free market Finance Minister Aguinaldo Jaime, held

Savimbi lets his chance pass by

(5)
Star
3/10/91

By Dale Lautenbach,
Star Africa Service

WINDHOEK — Jonas Savimbi, president of the Angolan rebel movement Unita, has made his long-expected return to Luanda.

But in the absence of signs that the timing held any particular advantage for him, it remains a mystery what took him so long.

Indeed, events between July 1 — the date on which he was originally due to arrive a month after the ceasefire — and the weekend just past when he finally showed up, have possibly worked against him.

Multiparty elections scheduled to take place between September and November next year will not be entirely a stand-off between Dr Savimbi and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Numerous political groupings have entered the fray.

But the Dos Santos-Savimbi dynamic remains the crucial one to watch right now — not least because the MPLA government and Unita are the sole Angolan parties responsible for maintaining the peace accord.

Points

Without them, it presumably all falls apart as no other contenders have significant military backing.

Outside blind partisan support, the Angolan voter will be watching the two opposing leaders and awarding points accordingly. Mr dos Santos's stocks were presumably quite high when



Late arrival . . .
Unita president Dr
Jonas Savimbi.



he returned to Luanda after signing the peace accord in Portugal on May 31.

He went a notch higher the next day when he attended an open-air ecumenical mass among a people for whom religion is important but whose churches had felt the cold stare of Mr dos Santos's Marxist-Leninist government until recent reforms.

Mr dos Santos had done some profile-building in the months before the signing too. In April, he visited France where he held talks with President Francois Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Roland Dumas. In Spain, he met Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and King Juan Carlos.

Back home in May, he visited the important port city of Lobito and accompanied Lynda Chalker, British Minister for Overseas Development, to the provincial capital, Huambo.

All this culminated in the church appearance — then he disappeared.

Just when it seemed the government was on a roll, all became awfully quiet. Other would-be parties came out of the woodwork in Luanda and splashed the city with their banners.

Then Unita, sans Savimbi, arrived with a song and dance and set up office in a downtown hotel. And not a peep from the MPLA.

Had Dr Savimbi returned then, on July 1 as Unita had originally promised, he would have caught the president without much in the bag.

Then, from early September, the president went shopping and it is now Dr Savimbi who has little in the bag.

Mr dos Santos's list of quickly garnered goodies includes Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva and Brazil-



High profile . . . Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

ian President Fernando Collor de Mello, both received in Luanda.

Soon thereafter, Mr dos Santos saw US President George Bush at the White House and held talks with the head of the World Bank.

Barely catching his breath, the Angolan president was off again for official talks with British Prime Minister John Major and a meeting with European Commission president Jacques Delors.

In many Angolan eyes, their president has met Mr Bush now and, even though Mr dos Santos did not come away with a promise of a US mission in Luanda, the meeting was most certainly a big one in the bag.

Weighty

The Major and Delors meetings also produced nothing signed and sealed, but both provided a weighty audience for Mr dos Santos's lobby package.

After years of exclusion from a First World circuit at this top level, Mr dos Santos's domestic profile can only have been boosted.

Dr Savimbi was well received in Luanda at the weekend. But the crowd that gathered to meet him, estimated between 50 000 and 100 000, fell short of the Unita expectations.

On Saturday, Mr Savimbi is due to meet Mr Bush, but with Mr dos Santos's act to follow, one wonders whether Unita does not now consider July 1 an opportunity sorely lost.

President dos Santos seizes initiative in run-up to Angola's multiparty elections

The Cockereel lands in Luanda

W/Week 4/10-10/10/91
Jonas Savimbi returns to Luanda after 16 years, signalling the end of the long bush war. But the Unita leader still has a fight on his hands — this time for voters.
By ANITA COULSON

As the sleek Fokker-100 jet, loan from the Ivory Coast, emerged through the clouds the drumbeats quickened and men in plastic grass skirts danced with renewed fervour because Unita leader Jonas Savimbi was returning to Luanda.

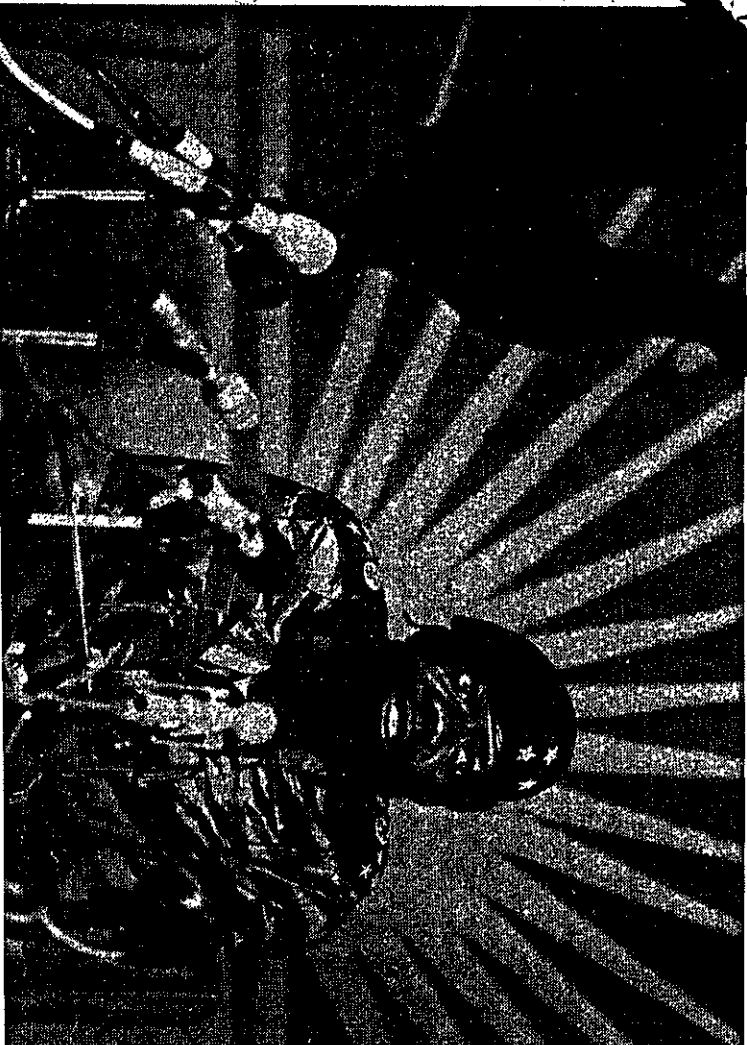
Savimbi last saw the Angolan capital in 1975 when he marched his Unita forces away from the breaking of the pre-independence transitional government and into a bush war that would last until May this year.

The charismatic guerrilla leader appeared in the door of the plane in full military uniform, pistol on hip, ivory-topped black cane raised in a gesture of triumph. A roar went up from the crowd of several thousand gathered at the airport to meet him.

"In my language we have a saying, a guest is like a cloud. It passes on, but I am not a guest and I am here to stay," said Savimbi at a speech in Luanda's Independence Square. But last Sunday it was not how long he would stay that mattered to the Unita supporters who turned out to see him, but the fact that the man had finally arrived.

The one who really ruled Angola for 16 years is here," proclaimed one banner, while others along the route from the airport stated "Savimbi is our father", "Savimbi has already won" and "The intellectual above all intellectuals is here".

Unita leaders had confidently predicted days earlier that over a million people would flock to greet Savimbi but less than 50 000 supporters, sympathisers and the merely curious actually turned out. President José Eduardo dos Santos was welcomed



Home to roost ... Jonas Savimbi returns with promises of peace

by some 200 000 people when he returned with the peace accord earlier this year.

"Our cockereel has taken flight, the cockereel is flying, the cockereel is flying," chanted Savimbi, but he failed to get the passionate response he is accustomed to hearing from his Unita band at his bush headquarters in Jamba.

Savimbi's rhetoric failed to move a crowd already familiar with the content of the Savimbi speech from radio and television broadcasts of nearly identical speeches delivered this week in Huambo, Lubango and Lobito en route to Luanda.

The Luanda event didn't even match the turnout or fervour of Savimbi's Lobito rally, according to foreign cor-

respondents who accompanied him on the tour.

"Peace is neither the monopoly of the government nor of Unita, but of all the people," Savimbi told the Luanda crowd. "We should be ashamed to have fought among ourselves all these years."

He stressed peace needed continued work from all sides to guarantee a smooth passage to Angola's first democratic election in September 1992.

Savimbi had harsh words for foreign interests in Angola, saying that under a Unita government "co-operation will be completely reformulated. We need to put the Angolan first, second and third and only then comes the foreign collaborator".

As for allegations that Unita has been

behind a wave of labour strikes, Savimbi said he backed the workers: "If they are hungry, they have the right to strike for a better deal."

By Monday children all over Luanda were mimicking the Unita president's gestures of a rooster raising its wings and attempting flight.

Savimbi found regal lodgings in the colonial mansion owned by the Angolan diamond company, Erdiama, in the elite Miframar suburb overlooking the Luanda bay. He received a stream of visitors — members of the government, the peace commissions, United Nations officials, foreign aid officers, the press and the diplomatic corps. He hosted two receptions at the five-star Hotel Presidente Meridien two nights running in order to accommodate all

his guests.

Late on Tuesday he attended a full session of the Joint Political and Military Commission and promised an end to all hostilities including the propaganda of the Unita radio station.

Savimbi also pledged Unita would not withdraw from the peace commission in a repeat of his action last month to protest against alleged fiddling over the implementation of the May 31 peace accords.

"I want to say Unita has no interest in making the JPMC live through another crisis. When differences emerge we'll do everything to be able to talk them through," promised Savimbi.

He reiterated hopes that the international community will help the MPLA and Unita pick up the bill for implementing the peace and pledged a speedy return to full government administration of Angolan territory.

Savimbi met Dos Santos on Wednesday before ending his stay in Luanda. On Friday he is due in Gabon for a 24-hour visit en route to the United States where he is to meet President George Bush on Monday.

"I will not be asking him for more money but for him to continue to support this process," said Savimbi of Bush. "Even to reach the settlement it was through the efforts of the Americans. They put pressure on the Russians, the MPLA and Unita and if they withdraw support they could delay the peace process, though not derail it."

No matter what size crowd turned up to welcome Savimbi, all sides agreed the Unita president's arrival in Luanda was a landmark that meant 16 years of war was finally over.

But while his presence in Luanda is seen as necessary by the government and peace commission leaders, the people have not given Savimbi an enthusiastic thumbs-up. The low turnout at his arrival and rally, while no reliable gauge of the real extent of Unita support in the Angolan capital, does indicate Unita has a battle on its hands to win votes in what has been the MPLA heartland. Votes that could be decisive in next year's election battle.

Photo: TREVOR SAMSON

South Africa must avoid the Angolan tragedy, writes Graham Linscott

Ghastly mistake ruined rich land

Steve 11/10/91.

THERE is an uncanny sense of *déjà vu* about parts of Africa these days.

Zaire has erupted in army mutiny, plunder and pillaging, just as it did at independence more than 30 years ago.

European troops have had to be brought in again to restore order; thousands of white refugees have again fled south.

And in Angola, Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi is back in the capital, Luanda, where he was 16 years ago, with a military contingent similar to what he had 16 years ago — and waiting for eventual elections, the way he was 16 years ago.

Between times, much has happened. Zaire has been through civil war, attempted secession, the involvement of mercenary armies and the imposition of a political system that resembles brigandry rather than conventional law and order.

In spite of its vast mineral wealth, its per capita income has plummeted to something like one-tenth of what it was at the time the vast country received independence from Belgium.

The wealth that exists is still generated largely by expatriate Belgians and French, most of whom have now departed — the third such panic evacuation since independence.

It is not for nothing that Zaire — once known as the Congo — has become a byword for the corrupt brutality of so much of post-independent Africa.

And Angola? At the time that Dr Savimbi was waiting hopefully in Luanda 16 years ago, it was an oil producer earning more than a million dollars a day in royalties. It was one of the world's largest coffee producers. It produced iron ore, diamonds and sugar (plus a vile brand of whisky).

The civil war that engulfed the country is familiar to all of us. South Africans, Cubans and Rus-

sians died in it, along with many thousands of Angolans.

And now Dr Savimbi is back in Luanda waiting for an election.

Last time, he was part of a tripartite transitional government, made up of Unita, the MPLA and the FNLA. The last-named was a movement closely associated with President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire but which now appears to be moribund after its military defeat attempting to storm Luanda at the time of independence.

Angola is surely an example of the ghastly consequences of a partner in a transitional coalition over-estimating its strength and support.

Those of us who were there at the time recall the brittle tension of the place.

The swearing-in ceremony of the transitional government was about as comfortable an affair as a first introduction of a number of fox terriers. They circled one another suspiciously in the gover-

nor-general's palace, armed to the teeth.

They were in government together and they had to hang together. There was no real alternative.

Any disturbing of the fragile peace would surely be suicidal.

All the same, the MPLA opted for a coup d'état.

Jonas Savimbi and his FNLA counterpart Holden Roberto were eventually driven from the capital. The rest is history.

Nothing is ever directly replicated. The Brezhnev doctrine which inspired the MPLA's wrecking of the transitional government is as dead as those thousands in Angola who promoted or opposed it.

But there must surely be some kind of underlying lesson about weighing up the options of coalition with people you don't particularly like, and going it alone when you don't really have the strength to carry it off.

Let us avoid a future sense of *déjà vu*. □

Unicorn Lines calls on Angolan ports

8/10/91

Business Day Reporter

AFTER a break of 16 years, Angolan ports are again featuring on Unicorn Lines' sailing schedules.

Tropic Lines, for whom Unicorn is managing agent, has started a regular service to Angola from Durban and Cape Town, calling at Lobito, Luanda and Cabinda subject to inducement.

At present calls are made by vessels en route to West Africa, but a dedicated vessel will be introduced once demand reaches viable levels.

Basic and perishable foodstuffs, agricultural implements, building materials, beer and other beverages in dry, flatrack and reefer containers make up the main cargoes discharging at Lobito and Luanda.

Drilling mud, chemicals, paints and other commodities relating to the oil industry are moving to Cabinda.

Unicorn trade manager for West Africa Tim Hastie accompanied a vessel on a recent call to Angola. He is optimistic about future trade relations.

"Because of the proximity of SA, prospects for increased trade are excellent, particularly for perishable cargoes and construction materials. The rehabilitation of the agricultural sector in Angola will also provide opportunities for exporters."

Cargo handling facilities in the ports are poor, with ships' gear being used for discharge. Tropic Lines has employed a private contractor to work their vessels and to control and track containers.

Sailings are at monthly intervals and the fourth Tropic Lines sailing will take place in October.

AFRICA

Riots hit copper output in Zaire

B/day 9/10/91

LONDON — Zaire is likely to produce around 250 000 tons of copper this year and output losses as a result of the recent riots are about 3 000 to 4 000 tonnes at most, a senior source from the state mining company Gecamines said.

"Output is expected to return to normal sometime this week," said the source, who was in London attending the annual metals week gatherings.

The independent consultancy, Commodities Research Unit, recently pegged finished Zaire copper output this year at 240 000 to 255 000 tons, down from 345 000 tons last year.

The company still expects to produce about 12 000 tons of cobalt this year and losses from the recent strife were probably no more than 300 tons, the Gecamines source added.

The central African country produced 10 000 tons of cobalt last year, he said.

The recent riots had not damaged mining installations or offices in southern Zaire, he said. Edward Lyssen, the company's Canadian financial director, said two weeks ago that its office in Kolwezi had been demolished.

But the disturbances did reduce output as workers stayed away and supplies of acid and other inputs were held up.

Lorries carrying supplies for the mining industry decided not to enter Zaire when the troubles started and papers were de-

stroyed in railway offices, the source said. There had been no damage to the railway network, he added.

Zaire has several export routes for its copper — through the country's western port of Matadi, via Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, or via East London and Durban.

The Gecamines source said Zaire was likely to meet its official creditors next week in Europe or in the Zaire mining town of Lubumbashi to discuss a resumption of loans.

The country is seeking in the region of \$300m over four or five years to boost its copper output to 470 000 tonnes a year.

The IMF said last month Zaire was no longer eligible to borrow more money because it was behind in its payments. The IMF said its overdue payments totalled about \$81.7m.

Other countries have also cut off aid.

US aid to Zaire totalling some \$13m was also suspended because of arrears in repayments, the chaotic state of the economy and Zaire's record of human rights abuses.

Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko has failed to resolve a political crisis over control of the army.

Monday's talks, after an inconclusive first round on Friday, maintained a climate of instability which many diplomats fear could spill over into fresh violence.

Riots led by soldiers two weeks ago devastated the capital and killed more than 100 people. — Reuter.

Cabinda to get some autonomy

B/day 9/10/91
LUANDA — Angolan

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos says his government is in contact with unidentified forces in oil-rich Cabinda and aimed to concede some autonomy to the northern coastal enclave.

"Military tensions still exist in Cabinda, but there have been contacts with some forces with influence among the armed groups carrying out acts of violence there, with a view to creating principles to end that war and provide a statute of autonomy whose terms could figure in the new constitution," Dos Santos said at the opening of the 10th session of parliament this week.

The government and Unita rebels recently reached a peace accord.

But Cabinda, which is separated from the rest of Angola by a small strip of Zairean territory, has been troubled by sporadic separatist violence.

The enclave produces nearly 70% of Angola's oil output of around 470 000 barrels per day. — Reuter.

Zambia's battered economy put on hold

B/day 9/10/91
LUSAKA — Zambia's battered economy has been put on hold until after the country's first multiparty general election in two decades is held on October 31.

The world community is keeping a wary eye on the parliamentary and presidential elections, which could end President Kenneth Kaunda's 27-year rule.

"It's too close to call and there are too many factors which keep changing," said one Western diplomat.

Zambia's international aid was cut off when it defaulted on a \$20.8m arrears payment to the World Bank in September.

A key factor in Zambia's off-again on-again econom-

ic reform programme backed by the IMF is an end to state subsidies, particularly on maize meal.

Despite heavy donor pressure, Kaunda has deferred raising meal prices until after the elections.

Government has just announced maize and wheat producer price rises, but these are being eroded by inflation.

There is general agreement that Zambia's eight million people, burdened by \$7.8bn in foreign debt, face hard times whoever wins the elections.

Economists say moves have been made in the right direction, including plans for civil service reform,

privatisation of state firms, higher interest rates and a tightening of money supply.

The big problem centres on maize meal subsidies, expected to reach \$106m this year (\$61m last year).

Meanwhile, bankers say forex is in "exceedingly short supply".

Government is in effect mortgaging its vital copper exports to pay for fuel and emergency imports of South African maize meal.

Economists estimate year-on-year inflation at more than 100%.

The maximum lending rate for banks is 46%. The government-controlled savings account deposit

rate is 33% — with banks obliged to hold 30% of deposits in non-interest-bearing Treasury bills.

Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) leader Frederick Chiluba, Kaunda's presidential rival, admits immense problems lie ahead.

"If we accept that we must win the election, we must also accept the idea that there are problems we must solve," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Angolans ⁵ seeking full diplomatic ties with SA

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — The Angolan government appears to be hoping that a South African delegation due in Luanda next week will bring concessions from Pretoria that will enable the two countries to establish diplomatic relations.

"We would like to have a more normal relationship with the South African government," said an Angolan source, speaking on condition of anonymity.

However, "normal" in the Angolan view was subject to South African clarification of the questions raised at a meeting last month in Pretoria between President de Klerk and a senior Angolan government official, Lopo do Nascimento.

Those questions revolved largely around South Africa's continuing association with the rebel Unita movement, according to the source.

He said the Angolans wanted an indication from South Africa that it was willing to subscribe to the trilateral agreements signed between Angola, South Africa and Cuba in New York in December 1988 and which require diplomatic non-interference in the affairs of other states.

The Angolans would also insist that South Africa respect international norms and practices in dealing with another sovereign state and that the South African government clarify its relationship with Unita.

The source said: "For us it is absolutely unacceptable that the South African government maintains its special relationship with Unita as if they were a government in exile. Unita is simply one political party in Angola and we would like to see South Africa make a clear step away from treating Unita like a government in Jamba."

The Angolans also want clarity on whether South Africa intends withdrawing diplomats it has for some time posted as "observers" in the Unita capital of Jamba.

Also at issue is whether South Africa was still ferrying aid to Unita. Even non-lethal aid would be viewed by the Angolan government as an infringement of its territorial sovereignty and in contravention of the New York Accords.

The South African delegation to the meeting in Luanda next week will be led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden, and is expected to include the new Acting Deputy Director-General for Africa, Derek Auret.

Dos Santos prepares to devalue new kwanza

(10/10/19)
LUANDA — Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has warned his people they face renewed sacrifices in the immediate post-war period because economic reforms so far have not been effective.

"The imbalances and distortions in the national economy are very large. The measures we have applied up to now have not been enough to correct them," he said on opening a new session of parliament this week.

Diplomatic observers said his remarks heralded fresh action on the economic battlefield by the ruling MPLA government despite fears among many ministers and party leaders that mishandling of successive economic crises will lose the MPLA next September's first democratic elections.

The first new economic move is likely to be a devaluation of the Angolan currency, the new kwanza.

Finance minister Agunaldo Jaime indicated during a visit by Dos Santos to Washington in mid-September that the next devaluation would be of the same degree — taking the kwanza to around 120 to the dollar — and would be followed by others.

A deputy finance minister subsequently told British businessmen and diplomats that the government was studying a proposal to introduce a dual exchange rate.

These would be an official rate for debt repayments and essential imports, and a parallel rate falling somewhere between the official rate and the black market rate, currently 710 kwanza to the dollar.

Dos Santos told parliament: "The new multi-party society and market economy regime are already realities in an irreversible process". But he admitted the government was responsible for delays in moving to a full free market system.

Sources close to the finance ministry say many economic reform measures had been blocked by cabinet ministers jealously guarding their privileged access to foreign exchange. — Reuter.

Angola-SA talks 'soon'

5 ARCT 18/10/91

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Relations between South Africa and Angola will probably be discussed in Luanda soon, says Angolan foreign minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem.

Mr Van Dunem, attending the Commonwealth Conference in Harare as an observer, said his government was anxious to develop trade relations with South Africa as soon as possible but could not do so on a large scale until formal international sanctions were lifted.

He said the two countries were potentially the richest in the region and should play a joint and leading role in regional economic co-operation.

Angola had products such as oil that South Africa needed and South Africa could provide technology and other services and products required

by Angola.

● Sapa reports from Windhoek that Angola plans to discuss with South Africa reparations of about R70 million for war damage, according to NAMBC radio news.

It said Mr Van Dunem made the statement at a media briefing in Harare.

He said Angola was morally entitled to request South Africa to repair the damage it caused during the civil war, when it backed Unita.

Mr Van Dunem said his government would begin to free all prisoners of war on Saturday, and the process could last about two weeks.

Regarding the prospects for Western development aid to Angola, the Foreign Minister said he foresaw no problems as the political situation in his country was changing.

THE South African government presented Fidel Castro's Cuba with two cheetah in a bizarre bout of zoo diplomacy last year.

The two cheetah, valued at R15 000 and obtained from the De Wild Cheetah Research Centre, were airfreighted on a KLM flight via Amsterdam and Madrid to Cuba's national zoo in Havana in May last year.

The operation, which cost R11 000, including the cost of the return airfare of a veterinarian accompanying the animals, was funded by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Willie Labuschagne, the director of the National Zoological Gardens in Pretoria, denied Foreign Affairs' involvement in the deal but could not ex-

Cheetahs for Castro in bizarre zoo swap

W/May 18/10 - 24/10/91.

plain why the department had paid the bill for the operation.

The export of cheetah is subject to international agreements and regulations. The administrative body, CITES, gave its go-ahead for the animals' export on April 18 1990. Less than a month later, the cheetah were on their way to Havana.

The deal took place at a time of inten-

As a gesture to improved relations between South Africa and Cuba last year Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha sent Fidel Castro two furry friends. **By GAYE DAVIS**

sive off-the-record diplomacy between South Africa and Cuba in the wake of the signing of the New York Peace Ac-

cord, which paved the way for Namibia's independence and the withdrawal from Angola of Cuban troops.

Negotiations around the accord were marked by the aggressive posturing of two arch ideological foes: Cuba's Castro, on the one hand, and South Africa's Pik Botha, on the other. Soon they would be swapping animals.

Labuschagne told *The Weekly Mail*

the deal arose after a group of "Cuban zoo people" hitched a ride on one of the flights regularly shuttling between Cuba and Angola at the time.

While in South Africa, they requested a pair of cheetah with which to launch a breeding programme.

Labuschagne said the Cuban delegation had not actually visited the Pretoria zoo. He was in Singapore at the time and was made aware of the request on his return.

"The council of the zoo decided to present the (Cuban) national zoo with two cheetah and that had nothing to do with Foreign Affairs," he said.

A consignment of Caribbean flamingoes made its way from Cuba to the Umgeni Bird Park in Durban; the cheetah flew to Havana and subsequently both Labuschagne and bird park owner Dr Alan Abrey were flown to Cuba to visit the zoo.

This week the Department of Foreign Affairs was adamant that the swap was a straightforward exchange of animals between two zoos and that it had nothing to do with oiling the wheels of diplomacy.

The offer to exchange the flamingoes for the cheetah was made during a meeting of the Joint Monitoring Committee in late 1989 — a year after the accord was signed.

"The Department of Foreign Affairs facilitated the exchange of the animals, as is for example now happening with the donation of two elephants to the Santiago zoo in Chile by the National Parks Board," a Foreign Affairs spokesman said.

"There is therefore no question of the minister ever having made a gift."

"His department handles matters of this nature as a matter of course in the normal execution of the department's functions subject to certain guidelines and financial regulations."

The cost was met out of the department's technical aid budget.

(5) AUG 24/10/91

Ghosts of a curious trek

The land the boers farmed in Angola . . .

HUMPATA (Angola). — A deep, shady stoep, the spit of sprinklers on green lawns and farm hospitality to match any boer's boast . . .

The atmosphere is profoundly familiar. Beyond the tall gum trees the carefully tended farm graveyard marks the passing of "Ons Moeder" Elizabetha Helena de Jager born Botha in 1880, died in 1920; "Ons Seun" Christiaan Mathys Opperman lived just 12 years and died in 1927. Old man Johannes Martinus van der Merwe had a good innings though, born 1792, died 1884.

With them lie many others, all Van Der Merwes, Bothas, Venters and one Dominee Pieter van Drimmelen "stigter van ons Nederduitsch Hervormde Gemeente T'Humpata". He was born in Java and died in 1919.

With a hearty braai on offer and a view from the cool stoep down an avenue of jacarandas, the atmosphere is that of any number of South African farms one has visited or imagined.

But we're deep in Angola and farmer Fernando Borges is delighted to have a South African lunching on the stoep of the house built in 1882 by the "boers" as they are commonly called here. We exchange a few words in Afrikaans just to underline the changes that are creeping over our region.

Angolan-born of Portuguese parents, Borges is married to a South African woman who lived in Cape Town for the duration of the 16-year civil

Over 100 years ago in the fertile highlands of south-western Angola, bands of wandering Afrikaners found their alternative to the Transvaal. DALE LAUTENBACH of Argus Africa News Service visited the graves of the Dorslandtrekkers in a part of Angola where a smattering of Afrikaans persists to this day.

war in Angola. Their son Rodrigues has just returned to Angola for the first time since he left with his mother and he has brought strawberries from Stellenbosch to follow the braided chicken and pork.

But Borges, educated in Grahamstown and dedicated to the five farms he has in Huila province, is unwilling to be drawn further on his personal story. He wants to talk about the boers, the farmer's farmers, and he wishes they would come back to work this rich land as they did before.

"You can grow everything here . . . coffee, avocados, maize . . . it's good for dairy farming." The boers found their piece of Transvaal in faraway Angola.

The farm we are visiting in Humpata is called Jamba, meaning place of the elephants. Borges's father bought it from Michiel van der Merwe in 1938. The Angola boers, the first of whom arrived in 1880 (a group recorded by one Doc Immelman as comprising "550 whites and 300 non-whites") left Angola in late 1928 and settled in what was then South West Africa.

The reasons behind the trek back of about 2 000 people are complicated

and inconclusive. Popular belief holds that the deeply Calvinist Angola boers did not fare well under Catholic Portuguese rule.

A romanticised picture of fine and determined farmers is built up by unashamedly biased recorders of events. The Afrikaner as hero in a harsh land is the theme; it is history in the service of a nationalist ideal.

More recent research reveals a different picture. Many of the claims made against the allegedly unreasonable Portuguese authorities have been shown to be exaggerated. Also a myth is that the Angola boers were good farmers.

Some undoubtedly farmed this rich land well, but many of the so-called boere were in the transport business with their ox wagons, or big game hunters who roved the countryside and sold hides and ivory.

Portuguese sources indicate that the boers were an undisciplined lot with scant respect for the law.

One recent historian says the "equalisation politics" of the Portuguese, for which read racial mixing, was unacceptable to the boers. Even in far away Angola, this tiny community sought to maintain an Afrikaner

hegemony particularly in their striving for something with an all too familiar ring, "own" schools which the Portuguese refused to recognise.

The latest studies also assert that by the early 1920s the Angola boers were becoming increasingly impoverished, but this contradicts sharply with the fond memoirs of Dr Paul van der Merwe, former MP, who said farewell to Humpata at the age of five.

"We had milk and honey in abundance. The green corn was on the lands . . ."

When they arrived in SWA (to settle in the Gobabis, Grootfontein and Mariental districts on farms provided by the SWA Administration), they found a harsh place in comparison to fertile Humpata.

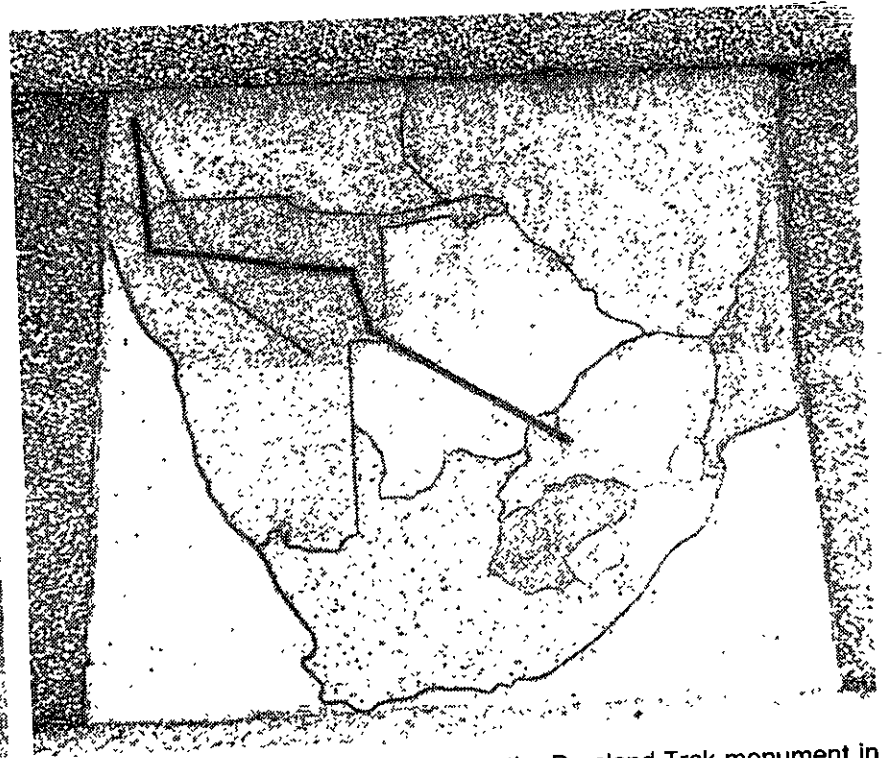
Whether heroes or a ragged band — or perhaps more reasonably a combination — the Dorslandtrekkers represent a curious historical sideshow.

On one side of the coin is the tale of Afrikaner heroism; on the other is fanatical nationalism and faith, white supremacy and the attitude that gave birth to apartheid.

It's a crazy jumble to digest. Sitting on the quiet stoep of the 1882 Jamba homestead, in every way a South African farm, while the bloody images of South African and Angolan history since then jostle for space with the dour mutterings of century-old boer ghosts.



AT HOME: Farmer Fernando Borges on the farm Jamba outside the house built by the Van der Merwe family in 1882.



JOURNEY INTO AFRICA: A plaque on the Dorsland Trek monument in Humpata shows the route taken by the trekkers. The heavy line represents their journey to Angola beginning in the 1870s and the thinner line their route back in 1928.

Delays could affect ceasefire

Troops in Angola wait for changes

Sowetan

25/10/91

(5)

MAVINGA - The Soviet-built UN helicopter see-sawed to a landing on a dusty, makeshift parade ground after flying over the shell-pocked terrain of Angola's southeastern Cuando-Cubango province.

Some 3 000 Unita guerillas stood rigidly to attention as the UN Under Secretary-General, Mr Marrack Goulding, strode over to inspect them.

To one side an army choir gave a full-throated rendering of a Unita campaign song.

Five months after the end of Angola's 16-year civil war, a top-level United Nations party was visiting some of the troop assembly areas - on this occasion in the remote southeast which saw some of the fiercest fighting.

Under the terms of the May 31 peace accord, government soldiers and guerillas of the former National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) - totalling in all around 160 000 - are gathering at designated assembly points for demobilisation or absorption into a new 50 000-strong national armed force.

The regimented and partisan conduct of the Unita battalions lined up at Mavinga contrasted with the bedraggled and bewildered government units confined to an assembly area outside Cuito Cuanavale, further to the northwest.

"I guess the former guerillas are in better morale," said a blue-bereted UN officer far from his native Singapore.

Morale-building among the poorly fed and idle soldiers awaiting demobilisation is one of the concerns of senior UN officials, among them Goulding, a former British ambassador to Angola.

Goulding said a recent UN initiative to supply food to the confined troops and their camp followers was intended to help keep them at the assembly points.

"I don't think there is a risk to the ceasefire," he said. "Five months on it's held and that's a remarkable achievement."

Still, there are fears that continued delays in concluding the process of confinement, formation of the new national army and demobilisation of the other former combatants could lead to outbreaks of crime and banditry.

The scenes at three of Cuando-Cubango's provincial towns, Menongue, Mavinga and Cuito Cuanavale, were depressingly similar: shell craters, earthworks, gun emplacements, trenches and the detritus of now distant battles scar this arid corner of Angola.

Virtually all the brick-built structures in the area are in ruins.

Most of the remaining population of the province is grouped in government or Unita garrison towns or scattered among thatched huts in the bush.

The UN Angola Verification Mission party flew north-west to the main rebel bush headquarters at Jamba, now also a temporary home to US, UN and government observer missions.

The government lieutenant-colonel assigned to Jamba complained of lack of freedom of movement.

"We've been here since early September and all we have seen so far is the track between the airstrip and our camp. We asked if we could wander-around in our off-duty hours and perhaps meet some of the former

prisoners of war who were our colleagues in arms, but that was denied," he said.

Unita's General Nzau Puna had just assured the visiting UN officials that Jamba residents enjoyed total freedom of movement and action.

As the UN party returned to the airstrip, Goulding's Landcruiser took a wrong turning, to the consternation of Unita escorts.

Walkie-talkie radio traffic burred frantically as a Unita vehicle set off in hot pursuit.

"I think there was a slight misunderstanding," Goulding said later. "I had expressed a wish to see for myself that Jamba really does exist on as large a scale as Unita has said, and wanted to check out their general headquarters area.

"I thought General Nzau Puna had agreed."

Despite describing it as a "minor incident of no great importance," it did give Goulding food for thought on the limits to freedom of access and movement existing in Jamba.

The party declined to fill in Unita "immigration forms", a throwback to the days when Jamba was the "capital of free Angola" but an anachronism in a united post-war country.

It appears there is still some way to go before normality returns, while the dangers of further delays and obstacles along the path to the country's first multi-party elections in September next year are myriad.

"It's crucial to finish the confinement and disarmament of troops quickly, proceed to forming the new army and demobilising the rest into civilian life," Goulding said.

Only then could the authorities ensure an orderly electoral census and campaign in which ordinary civilians no longer felt menaced by the nearby presence of large concentrations of former combatants. - Sapa

Class backlog to be halved

502
ET25/10/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The Department of Education and Training (DET) will more than halve the backlog of almost 10 000 classrooms in black schools by the end of next year, Education and Training Minister Mr Sam de Beer said here yesterday.

He also said there could be no normal education without the co-operation of communities.

South Africa had now reached the stage where avenues had been established wherein people could express their political aspirations and there was no longer any need for children to be used as "cannon fodder", the newly appointed minister told a press conference.

In the past 18 months the government had allocated an extra R510 million to the DET's ordinary budget for capital expenditure.

"This money will be used for

the building of 5 395 classrooms, while the shortage of classrooms at the end of 1992 should be limited to about 4 596," he said.

The results of the additional funds would become apparent only at the end of 1992, because the planning and building of schools and additional classrooms inevitably take time.

This year the DET would complete 1 565 additional classrooms, while the extra funds provided by the government would be used to build a further 3 830 classrooms by the end of 1992.

About 640 classrooms built annually by farm owners and volunteers, which were receiving DET subsidies, were not included in the minister's projections.

The recent transfer of 24 disused whites-only schools to the DET would provide accommodation "for fewer than 3 000 pupils". The transfer process would, however, continue, Mr De Beer said.

● The DET was being phased

out and an announcement about discussions on a new education system could be made before the end of the year, Mr De Beer said.

"It is our serious intent that as soon as possible we must bring about a discussion forum where all parties with a vested interest in education should be present, and where we can sit down and start talking of a new education system to address the needs of all our people.

"This can come about fairly soon," the minister predicted.

"A large number of pupils affected by the backlogs are attending schools already in existence but without their own building," Mr De Beer said.

"These schools function in the afternoons by using the facilities of other existing schools. The classrooms used by the pupils of these platoon schools are included in the shortages. This also applies to classrooms rented from other bodies."

Savimbi a big hit with Natal industrialists

Political Correspondent

(5)

DURBAN — Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi last night received a standing ovation at the Natal Chamber of Industries dinner.

The African National Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation objected to the NCI inviting Dr Savimbi, saying the South African taxpayers' money he spent fighting his bush war should have been spent on social upliftment in South Africa.

The ANC declined an invitation to the NCI dinner.

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi was the first to embrace Dr Savimbi after his 40-minute address captivated Natal's industrial bosses.

Dr Savimbi spoke without notes, made a few gulps, pledged peace in Angola and called for close relations between the two countries.

He tipped himself as the winner of the September 1992 elections in Angola.

Stevenson 25/10/91

NCI bosses called him "president". They introduced him as the Unita army commander who waged a freedom struggle, and won the title of spokesman for people in search of freedom.

He introduced members of his party, including three senior military officers, who were warmly applauded.

Dr Savimbi distributed copies of Unita's policy on economic democracy and guidelines on foreign investment. He called guests at the dinner

"my fellow Africans of South Africa".

He said he was not ashamed of his association with South Africa over many years.

Without South African support, he said, it would have been impossible for Unita to have opposed the 1975 invasion of Angola by communists, Cubans and Russians.

And, he said, without Unita's fight there would not have been elections in Angola, changes in South Africa or democracy in Namibia.

1974 29 10 91
**SA, Angola
agree on
formal ties**

Political Staff

LUANDA. — South Africa and the Angolan government have agreed in principle to start formal relations for the first time in 17 years.

This implies the withdrawal of South African representatives from Jamba following Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi's impending move to Luanda.

The establishment of relations would open doors for South African businessmen, said Department of Foreign Affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden.

It is understood that there is great enthusiasm in the South African business community for links with Angola. Mr van Heerden described the agreement as an important development, saying the two countries were neighbours and it was important to have direct access to each other.

Angola, SA to formalise ties

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It is understood that tremendous enthusiasm exists in the South African business community for links

Sowetan
30/10/91
with Angola, particularly in the civil engineering, mining and oil industries.

The agreement was concluded on Monday by Van Heerden and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Luanda.

During an hour-long meeting with Dos Santos, Van Heerden conveyed a message from President FW de Klerk which eliminated stumbling blocks in the establishment of formal relations.

De Klerk's letter addressed various aspects of bilateral relations but Van Heerden could not discuss it in detail.

After his meeting with Dos Santos, Van Heerden discussed the agreement to start relations in greater detail with the Angolan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura said the agreement was also meant as encouragement for De Klerk and the Government to continue the reform process.

Van Heerden described the agreement as an important development, saying the two countries were neighbours and it was important to have direct access to each other.

(5) Dos Santos also informed the South African delegation of his views on the Angolan peace process while he was informed of the state of negotiations in South Africa.

South Africa is preparing to transport humanitarian aid, which could include maize seed, to Angola to help alleviate the threatening famine in the country.

It has also appealed to countries, such as the US, Germany and Portugal to donate aid to Angola in order to support the peace process.

Van Heerden also met the Unita representative in Luanda.

AFRICA

It is not yet dawn in Luanda when a convoy of three shiny white Land-cruisers rolls out of this crumbling port city toward a road that for more than 10 years was closed because of the Angolan civil war.

In the grey light, the convoy begins the long trip into "Savimbi-land", the south-central region of the country that was the military freedom of Unitas leader Jonas Savimbi.

The 16-year war ended with the signing of a peace agreement on May 31 but death still lurks in the beautiful landscape. Although Angola's roads have been cleared of land mines, identified by the square patch of new asphalt under which each one was buried, the shoulders hide an untold number of them, as do the fields and footholds on either side.

The Landcruisers belong to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which for 10 years was the only aid organisation in Angola helping civilian victims. Because the

Long road back from war

Salvador 11.11.91

roads were closed, all relief efforts were carried out by air. Now the ICRC can travel by road, and this overland trip to Huambo, 800km south of Luanda, is only the second in three weeks since the peace accord was signed.

For the first 100km or so, the narrow, two-lane highway is surprisingly smooth as it cuts through the rolling hills and savannah. Then the problems begin: burny detours through fields of maize because of a collapsed bridge or a crater left by a land mine.

In the town of Quibala one sees the heavy imprint of the war. Artillery fire has ripped apart most of the once gaily painted buildings. At the edge of town, a couple of old Soviet tanks are positioned at a former checkpoint, their usefulness now past.

But the war legacy lives on in this

HEATHER HILL tests the peace in Angola by venturing out on a road that was closed for 10 years

former battlefield. Go just a few metres off the road and one can quickly collect a handful of AK-47 rifle bullets from the rich harvest lying on the ground. Drive past the Portuguese-built towns and see abandoned factories, hospitals and schools. A petrol station sits idle, its pumps unused for years. Only the small farms, benefiting from donated seeds and tools, give evidence of the revival of this ravaged country.

Half-way to Huambo, the convoy is stopped by a bizarre accident: an old bridge has given way under the weight of a Russian-built lorry. The lorry hangs by its front wheels as Angolans

pick their way through the wreckage. The picture is an irresistible metaphor for the country — Angola has a mere fingertip hold on the precipice of economic collapse. And it is clear that it will take a long time to move the truck and repair the bridge.

The ensuing detour clocks up at a bone-jarring 160km on washerboard backroads over a series of rickety bridges. The main highway finally reappears at Waku Kungu, a heavily fortified town of checkpoints, tanks and foxholes ... all eerily silent in the deepening twilight.

Now the remnants of bombed-out vehicles, both civilian and military, appear on the side of the road where the fighting intensified in the south. As night settles in, their sudden and grotesque manifestation in the headlights creates yet another obstacle for

the exhausted drivers.

Because the 12-hour trip has stretched to 15 hours, the drivers agree to an overnight stop in Altoama, a village just over an hour's drive from "Nova Lisboa" Huambo, as the old colonial road signs still call it. Only in the morning light does the full disaster of Altoama reveal itself: more rubble, more bombed and abandoned buildings. The church alone is untouched by the guns.

Huambo is, by comparison, a miracle of civilisation: the factories and houses of Angola's second-largest city are badly maintained but people live and work here. The hotels rent out rooms and the shops sell basic food-stuffs.

It comes as a shock to see commerce and society again after the long trip through desolation and waste. The rebuilding of Angola will no doubt be an even longer journey.

OSLIVY & HANMER, REINHOLD, SCALE-TRIPE & MANN 69981



Angola's elusive peace bid

Star 11/11/91.

(5)

WHEN Angola gained its independence on November 11 16 years ago, there was no orderly lowering of the colonial flag, no solemn shaking of hands.

The Portuguese governor had left Luanda the day before and from the safe distance of a ship at anchor in the bay he might have heard the chaotic birth of the new nation as it tumbled straight into a civil war that lasted until May 31 this year and in which it is estimated half a million people died.

"We acceded to independence under most inauspicious circumstances," says Alberto Bento Ribeiro Kabulu, the Angolan ambassador to Namibia.

He clearly appreciates the irony that this time there will be Portuguese representation in town in the person of Dr Durao Barroso, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

According to Mr Bento Ribeiro, Dr Barroso is expected to be in Luanda with US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, and his Soviet counterpart, Vladimir Kazimirov.

This "troika" represents the three foreign powers who nurtured the Angolan peace accord into being and who continue, with the UN, to monitor its progress.

Mr Bento Ribeiro says that on this first peaceful celebration of indepen-

Angola celebrates its 16-year-old independence for the first time today without the sound of gunfire or Angolan pitched against fellow Angolan in bloody civil war.

DALE LAUTENBACH of The Star's Africa Service reports from Luanda.

dence, Angola would like to remind the world that "it has a claim to the international community's support now that we have achieved peace and because we contributed substantially to the independence of Namibia".

His words are a slimly veiled plea for money needed to keep the Angolan peace process alive.

Problems

The former warring armies of Unita and the MPLA government were supposed to have gathered in confinement areas by August 31.

A report on October 1 said 43 088 of the estimated 120 000 government troops, as well as 9 765 of the approximately 25 000 Unita troops, had been confined.

Last week UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar noted the "serious logistical problems" which were causing the delays.

Over and above the \$132 million (R369 million) UN budget for peace verification in Angola, known as Unavem-2, the Angolan government has asked for a further \$27.3 million

(R76 million) in international assistance specifically to assist the confined troops with food, shelter and medical supplies.

According to sources in Luanda there have been reports of soldiers leaving the confinement areas in search of food.

Mr Bento Ribeiro acknowledges that food and shelter are a problem. There has been no response to the request for assistance yet, but his government is optimistic.

But there are other problems threatening the climate of trust that has held out so remarkably in Angola so far.

Among these, the breakdown of law and order and the lack of faith in the neutrality of the police force appear the most threatening.

In terms of the peace accords, Unita has agreed to recognise the Angolan State and its responsibility for functions such as law and order.

Police neutrality is supposed to be monitored by Unavem-2 and there is provision for the incorporation of Unita bodyguards into the force. Although 89 police

monitors are in position, according to Dr Perez de Cuellar, no Unita bodyguards have yet been incorporated.

Mr Bento Ribeiro said this was an urgent problem and that his government had just appointed a Deputy Minister of Home Affairs to a new post specifically to enhance law and order.

A BBC correspondent in Luanda said there was impatience with Unita among the infant opposition parties on the new multiparty scene.

They say Unita has undertaken to recognise the Angolan State but each time there is an incident involving a Unita member, the former rebel movement shows no willingness to respect the organs of State.

Commitment

Although Unita is now clearly moving its party hierarchy to Luanda from its wartime bush headquarters in Jamba, the BBC correspondent said the party's leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, had not yet made his presence felt in Luanda.

Much of the tension that does exist is considered inevitable following so many years of conflict. More importantly, the process has not collapsed and the presence of people like Mr Cohen and Dr Barroso indicates an ongoing commitment to ride the tensions out. □

Events overtake Angola watchdog

WINDHOEK - The eleventh and final meeting of the historic Joint Monitoring Commission which gathered South Africans, Cubans and Angolans together is expected to take place in Havana around November 20.

Established in terms of the Brazzaville Protocol of December 1988 in the process which culminated in the independence of Namibia, the commission has also been attended by former Cold War warriors who fought each other through their surrogates in Angola.

When Namibia became independent on March 21 last year, it too joined the JMC and while the body's immediate brief was to monitor the withdrawal of some 50 000 Cuban troops who had been assisting the MPLA government of Angola in the fight against Unita rebels and the SADF, it became a valuable forum too for the discussion of bilateral issues.

Once the official business of the Cuban head-count had been dealt with at each meeting with all the parties present, a journalist's task became one of corridor watching.

The idea was to spot which delegation (Cuban, Angolan, South African,

The Joint Monitoring Commission established to oversee the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola appears to have been overtaken by events. Nonetheless, its members are expected to meet for the last time soon to assess whether this body has a future as a security watchdog. By DALE LAUTENBACH of Sowetan Africa News Service. (5)

Namibian, American or Soviet) was meeting which and to grab its members afterwards in the hope of finding out what had gone on behind closed doors.

The accounts from two delegations which had just met invariably did not match but these bilateral meetings were clearly of great value, providing the opportunity for people who were not in regular contact to air their concerns in a region bristling with arms and old hostilities.

Probably the most valuable encounters were between the delegations of the immediate region (the Angolans, the South Africans and the Namibians) with the other members playing a mediator role. The realisation of this value gave rise to talk of an extension of the life of the JMC and it is this future which may well be discussed in Havana.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said at the last meeting in Cape Town on January 29 that the JMC was a "unique organisation" being not the usual political-economic forum or diplo-

matic forum but, crucially, a political-military meeting place where the generals themselves met and, over time, even learnt to laugh at the same jokes.

"The key is the integration of South Africa into regional security arrangements," said Cohen at the time, suggesting the idea of a continuation of some form of the JMC as a regional watchdog. "South Africa inside such arrangements is not dangerous. South Africa outside and alone, can be ..."

Although much has changed in south-western Africa in just the 10 months since Cohen held this view, many things stay the same and could be cause for concern.

"The region is swimming in armies with large numbers of soldiers. We need a forum to reduce the arms, the size of the armies, to protect against border violations. And there's no other forum that can do that."

Although the peace accords in Angola require that the country create a single defence force of 50 000 men, that reduction

is still a fragile process.

"It's important to have South Africa involved as the most powerful military force," he said.

The Havana meeting will probably begin in the atmosphere of a job well done and completed: the Cubans withdrew virtually without incident and indeed the last of them were out of Angola 36 days ahead of the June 30 deadline this year.

There are also signs that this last JMC gathering has not been a real priority for all concerned. There was supposed to have been a meeting in Luanda in about April this year followed by a final gathering in Havana three months after that.

The Luanda meeting has now been forsaken entirely and the Havana meeting has been on and off the cards for months, probably due to the more immediate concerns of all the parties involved, South Africa and its domestic crisis and Angola and its peace-making particularly.

But if these members look beyond their immediate pressures and elect to create a regional security forum using the JMC blueprint, they will have, as Cohen put it, "a place where disagreements and ambiguities can be aired and resolved between the parties: talk rather than war".

Angola holds top spot for business

By Dale Lautenbach
Star Africa Service

Angola has come out far on top of a survey of African countries in which South African business people were asked to identify their main countries of interest for future opportunities.

According to a survey by the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) of more than 100 companies, among them some of the most important on the South African scene, Angola was earmarked by 74 as a place where they hoped to develop new markets.

Second on the list was Kenya with 46 points of interest, third

Zambia with 26 and next Zaire and Zimbabwe with 22 each.

Paul Runge, manager of Safto's Africa Business Development Group has for some months noted with excitement the growing interest in Angola.

He said the Safto survey bears out all the signals that he has been picking up as South African business people make their way back into African markets formerly denied them in all but the most clandestine dealings.

Waiting list

A fourth Safto-organised tour to Angola left this weekend. Mr Runge said visits to African

countries by South African business people were proving increasingly popular and there was a waiting list for the Angola trips.

Mr Runge is convinced that South Africa has an important role to play in the development of the mining sector in Angola. Another area of great attraction to South African companies was the infrastructural upgrading necessary now as Angola emerges from 16 years of civil war in which so much of its transport and communications network was destroyed.

He warned that the international competition for work in Angola was fierce and was convinced that South African com-

panies should be positioning themselves in the Angolan market now.

"A number of people feel that they should wait until the political scene in Angola is more stable following multiparty elections expected next September. I feel that would be a mistake, however. We must get in there now."

Much of the financing for big projects would probably come from the World Bank but that organisation was only now beginning to do a comprehensive survey of damage assessment in Angola.

Financing work in Angola was one of the major obstacles, said Mr Runge. He anticipated

that South Africans might become involved in joint operations or "piggybacking" with other international companies.

The response of the South African business community to the Safto survey bears out opinion that has been catching on in recent months. Earlier this year Neil van Heerden, Director General of Foreign Affairs, said Angola was potentially South Africa's best trading partner in Africa.

The South African and Angolan governments recently agreed to exchange trade missions which is another important step in facilitating the operation of South Africans in Angola.

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Star 21/11/90

Joint Commission's future to be decided

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The members of the Joint Commission on the Namibian/Angolan peace accord (JC) are holding their last scheduled meeting in Cuba today to consider whether to transform the commission into a broader permanent forum on regional security.

However, it is understood that SA — which originally favoured the JC being transformed into a regional security forum — has now changed its mind and wants to terminate it.

Diplomatic sources said that SA now thought that a regional security forum should be pursued by different means.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden heads the SA delegation at the meeting which starts today in Havana.

The JC — comprising SA, Angola, Namibia and Cuba as full members and the US and USSR as observers — was formed to monitor Namibian in-

dependence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

Since all Cuban troops withdrew from Angola by June this year on schedule, the JC's main task is complete.

However, SA and other members suggested at the last meeting of the JC in Cape Town that it might be useful to continue the JC, with a different mandate and perhaps with different members. But the thinking has changed since then, partly because SA has in the meantime established some form of diplomatic relations with the USSR and Angola and does not need the JC to maintain contact.

The USA is also not keen on joining a permanent forum with Cuba and sources also suggest that Namibia is not eager to enter a permanent forum until both SA and Angola have effected transition to democracy.

The USSR is believed to be the keenest to continue the JC. But the lack of enthusiasm elsewhere suggests this may after all be its last meeting.

Portugal jostling for Angolan toe-hold

STAR 30/11/91

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GARNER THOMSON

LONDON — Portugal is trying to stage a comeback in post-war Angola, and is jostling with other European powers for a stake in the diamond and oil-rich republic.

But the former colonial power could be dislodged by Spain or South Africa, according to The European newspaper.

The European points to the move by the De Beers mining company to explore kimberlite deposits in Luanda North province as one sign that South Afri-

ca is moving in.

Nevertheless, Portuguese companies have registered 148 projects with Angola's new Foreign Investment Office. Britain has 16, Italy 12, Liechtenstein and Spain four each, and France three.

Lisbon believes it has earned the right to a share of the economic spoils of Angola by helping to mediate a ceasefire between the Unita rebel move-

ment and the MPLA government earlier this year.

Portugal's knowledge and experience in the area will also serve it well.

However, The European's Joana Rosado predicts problems for Lisbon arising from the difficulty it has raising loans beyond seven-year terms for rates of less than 7.5 percent, while Spanish banks will finance projects at rates below 7.5 percent for up to 25 years.

"The Portuguese are ostenta-

tious in their Angolan connections, while the Spaniards are discreet.

"Portuguese entrepreneurs have been described in Luanda as 'carpetbaggers'," she says.

Spain has previously supplied transport aircraft to Angola and now hopes to develop dry-dock facilities and telephone systems in that country.

It is also expected to train a rural police force along the lines of the one the Spanish Guardia Civil is helping to form in Mozambique.

Angolan official wants 32 Battalion to quit SA

Come back home!

STAR 7/12/91

**DALE LAUTENBACH
AFRICA NEWS SERVICE**

WINDHOEK — One of South Africa's most decorated army units, the notorious 32 Battalion, may soon be heading back to Angola — for good.

After a visit to the battalion recently by Daniel Chipenda, a former leader of the FNLA soldiers who became the basis of 32 Battalion, he says that now that peace has returned to Angola, some of 32's men want to go home.

"All Angolans want to go home," he said after his visit to Pomfret in the northern Cape, where the men of the outfit are now stationed.

Mr Chipenda has been the Angolan government ambassador to Egypt since 1989 and while his visit to Pomfret was private and unofficial, he will be briefing President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola on his meeting with 32.

Mr Chipenda left Pomfret with a gift — a book on the history of the SADF elaborately dedicated by 32 Battalion commander Commandant L Potgieter. In careful calligraphic script, the commander thanked Mr Chipenda for his "concern". "May this be the beginning of something big," wrote Commandant Potgieter.

It's not clear quite what the commandant meant or why the SADF has denied the visit when Mr Chipenda was able to show the book to Africa News Service. But what Mr Chipenda hopes to achieve is the homecoming of 32 Battalion.

His message to the men is that they have no need to fear any sort of reprisals in Angola for having fought with the South African "enemy".

"There is no spirit of reprisal, absolutely not," says Mr Chipenda.

Indeed, Mr Chipenda's own history is a testimony to Angolan tolerance. Once commander of the MPLA forces which



CRACK SQUAD: A member of 32 Battalion on patrol. The unit has been stationed at Pomfret in the Cape since 1989.

fought the Portuguese colonial regime in Angola, Mr Chipenda broke away from the mainstream MPLA which went on to rule the country as a Marxist-Leninist state from November 1975.

He led what is known as the MPLA eastern revolt in the confused year of 1974 when Angolans saw three contesting factions of the MPLA, the Unita movement led by Jonas Savimbi and the FNLA led by Holden Roberto all jostling for power as independence approached.

By March 1975, Mr Chipenda had formed an alliance with the FNLA. He says about 3 000 FNLA soldiers followed him to southern Angola and northern Namibia where, the next year, 32 Battalion was formed by

Colonel Jan Breytenbach of the SADF.

The size of 32 was always bigger than the usual battalion, with around 3 000 men. The SADF says the present size is about 6 000, but this figure probably includes the families that moved with 32. The SADF also acknowledges that "a few" men resigned to join civilian life in South Africa.

The men of 32 Battalion fought for the SADF throughout its war in Angola, and only when independence came to Namibia were they pulled out and stationed at Pomfret in 1989.

The transfer of 32 to South Africa, where the SADF publicly admitted that this crack unit would be used for counter-insurgency, has been strongly

criticised by the Angolan government.

Luanda's view is that Angolan nationals are being used as "mercenaries" in South Africa doing duty in the townships, "pitted against our own brothers in the liberation struggle", in the words of one senior Angolan official.

Moreover, the Angolans view the location of 32 as a glaring contravention of the New York accords, signed between South Africa, Angola and Cuba in December 1988 to provide for independence in Namibia and requiring an end to hostilities and non-interference in the affairs of other states in the region.

South African diplomats have argued that 32 needed safe haven and the men would be slaughtered if returned to Angola.

Now Mr Chipenda, who calls 32 "my family", has begun facilitating their repatriation.

His own reconciliation with the MPLA government happened in late 1987 when he returned to Luanda with the view that it was "patriotic to help achieve national harmonisation". That he was appointed ambassador to Egypt must indicate that the sincerity of his intentions was accepted.

It is also rumoured that with multipartyism getting well under way in Angola now, Mr Chipenda has some hefty political ambitions of his own.

The process of repatriating 32 is still just an idea. Mr Chipenda was warmly received by both his 32 "family" and the SADF in South Africa. He would not confirm it, but other sources have indicated he was received by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

There is no indication how many 32 members want to return to Angola, but Mr Chipenda hopes to convince them.

He acknowledges that their standard of living is much higher in South Africa than it would be in Angola, but they have the skills and some education gained in the SADF that should be put to use in their own country, he says. He will return to South Africa to convince them of this.

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on the ropes" and "PM to go" after a late night meeting of senior Cabinet officials reportedly discussed how to convince him to step down.

Unita rejects all-party talks

BID by 13/12/91.

LUANDA — Angola's main opposition force, Unita, yesterday rejected a government proposal for an all-party conference to discuss the country's transition to democracy.

A statement from the former guerrilla movement said it rejected any plan that altered peace accords signed in May to end Angola's 16-year civil war.

However, many of the about 30 fledgling parties that have emerged since the peace accords welcomed the proposal from President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Dos Santos said a conference of all parties could create a national commission to help supervise the southern African nation's first free elections.

These were scheduled for September 1992.

The commission could function alongside a monitoring group set up under the peace accords to oversee a ceasefire and the elections, he said.

That group is made up of government and Unita representatives, and observers from the US, Soviet Union and Portugal. — Sapa-Reuter.

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